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1961

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS: A STUDY IN SOCIAL CHANGE, 1893-1958

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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BY

EVELYN RICHARDSON STRONG

Norman, Oklahoma

1961

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS: A STUDY IN SOCIAL CHANGE, 1893-1958

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF TABLES		viii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		ix
Chapter		
I.	THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY	1
	Introduction	1
	Need for the Study	3
	The Problem	5
	Purposes of the Investigation	6
	Limitations of the Study	6
	Method of Investigation	7
	Sources of Data	10
	Related Studies	11
	Plan of the Study	13
II.	DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUNDS	16
	Ethological Backgrounds of Early Leaders	16
	Development of Early Educational Backgrounds	19
	Educational Forces After the Civil War	21
	Denominational Activities in Education	22
	Philanthropic Influences	26
	Significance of Educational Backgrounds	27
	Summary	28
III.	EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD FOR NEGRO TEACHERS IN OKLAHOMA	29
	Emigration of Negro Pioneers to Oklahoma Territory	29
	Colonization Plans of Edward P. McCabe	30
	Development of the School Code	35
	First Territorial Teachers	38
	Summary	45

Chapter Page

IV. ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATION..... 46

Organizational Backgrounds: The Oklahoma County Normal Institute for Negro Teachers, 1891-1892..... 46
Activities of the Territorial Association.... 51
Summary..... 57

V. ORGANIZATION AND EARLY LEADERSHIP OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS..... 58

Statehood and Reorganization of the Territorial Association..... 58
The Choice of Early Leadership, 1907-1924.... 59
Environmental Challenges for the Early Leaders..... 63
Professional Challenges for the Early Leaders..... 67
Organization for Leadership..... 68
Qualifications for Leadership..... 70
Early Interests and Activities of the Association and Its Leaders..... 79
Summary..... 82

VI. LEADERSHIP AND THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE DECADE OF THE 'TWENTIES..... 85

Introduction..... 85
Expansion of Areas for Leadership and Internal Development..... 86
Extension of the Educational Program for Negro Teachers and Scholars..... 101
Stirring of Interests in State Legislation to Broaden the Base for Financial Support of Negro Education, 1929..... 121
Summary..... 127

VII. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE DECADE OF THE 'THIRTIES... 129

Introduction..... 129
Administrative Emphases of the 1930's..... 132
Summary..... 152

Chapter Page

VIII. IMPACT OF WARTIME DEVELOPMENTS ON THE THINKING OF OANT LEADERS: LEGISLATIVE MOVEMENTS OF THE 'FORTIES..... 154

Political, Social, and Educational Developments as Backgrounds for Legislative Movements of the 'Forties..... 154
Impact of Wartime Developments on the Thinking of OANT Leaders..... 162
Broadening of the Base for Financial Support of Oklahoma Separate Schools: Legislative Movements of the 'Forties..... 173
Motivating Philosophies Underlying Legislative Work of OANT in the Decade of World War II..... 176
Summary..... 183

IX. IMPACT OF THE DESEGREGATION MOVEMENT ON THE PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE DECADE OF THE 'FIFTIES..... 184

Introduction..... 184
Developments in the Movement for Desegregation of the Public Schools..... 186
OANT Goals in a Crucial Period as Expressed by OANT Leaders, 1950-1956..... 190
Planning to Participate in Facilitating Implementation of Decisions of the Supreme Court..... 197
Merger with the Oklahoma Education Association..... 217
Final Year of Activity by the General Organization..... 219
Activities in the Interests of Displaced Teachers..... 221
Summary..... 235

X. SUMMARY..... 237

Introduction..... 237
Summary of Findings Concerning Organizational Backgrounds..... 238
Summary of Findings Concerning Early Organization and Early Leadership of the Association..... 239
Summary of Findings Concerning Expansion and Deactivation of the Association and Its Organizational Program..... 241

Chapter Page

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 249

APPENDIX I..... 255

APPENDIX II..... 261

APPENDIX III..... 266

APPENDIX IV..... 271

APPENDIX V..... 276

APPENDIX VI..... 278

APPENDIX VII..... 290

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Educational Backgrounds of Early Leaders: Institutions Maintained by White Denominational Boards	24
2.	Educational Backgrounds of Early Leaders: Institutions Maintained by Negro Denominational Boards	25
3.	Presidents of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, 1907-1924	60
4.	Negro Conductors and Instructors of County Normal Institutes and Numbers of Teachers in Attendance, June, 1913	71
5.	Negro Educational Leaders of Oklahoma Who Served as Conductors and Instructors of County Normal Institutes, June-July, 1914, 1915, 1916	73

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate		Page
I.	Teacher's Certificate of the First Grade, Dated August 26, 1911.....	77
II.	Conductor's Normal Institute Certificate, Dated April 3, 1913.....	78
III.	Presidents of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, 1907-1954.....	83

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS: A STUDY IN SOCIAL CHANGE, 1893-1958

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Twentieth century America has been characterized by change, one aspect of which is social change in which groups, ranging from basic families to whole cultural institutions, have experienced dislocations necessitating adjustment to new and unexpected situations. Factors contributing to recent innovations, as these affect the field of education, include the historic decisions issued by the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954[1] and May 31, 1955,[2] declaring unconstitutional the practice of racial segregation in the public schools. These have had international impact, particularly in the acceleration of patterns of social change.

One effect is the gradual elimination of institutions and agencies originally established to facilitate the

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[1] Brown et al. v. Board of Education et al., 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

[2] Idem, 349 U. S. 294 (1955).

processes of education within states maintaining dual educational systems for their majority and minority groups. Among such educational agencies in process of deactivation is a local one, the state professional organization of Negro teachers which functioned for more than sixty years in promoting the educational program for Negroes in Oklahoma.

In the year 1955, when the Supreme Court issued the second decision,[1] the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers represented 1,679 teachers throughout the state. The organization constituted the largest professional unit among 145,503 Negro people who comprised one-fifteenth of the total population in Oklahoma.[2] Included in its membership were teachers in 363 schools of 312 school districts where Negro pupils were eligible to attend the local schools.[3]

Beginning in that year, the organization, maintained since 1893 by Oklahoma's Negro educators, entered a period of rapid disintegration as the teachers became eligible to join the Oklahoma Education Association, one of the many indices of social change accelerated by decisions of the United States Supreme Court. By 1958 its deactivation was

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[1] Ibid.

[2] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 Population Census Report P-B36 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office), p. 30.

[3] F. D. Moon, "Information on Integration," Program of the Forty-Eighth Annual Session (Oklahoma City: The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, October 26-27, 1956), p. 15.

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[3] F. D. Moon, "Information on Integration," Program of the Forty-Eighth Annual Session (Oklahoma City: The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, October 26-27, 1956), p. 15.

virtually complete. Thus, in the course of historical events, began the end of an institution and of an era concerning which few historical records have yet been organized.

Need for the Study

In the literature of the history of Oklahoma little information concerning the work of Negroes in the field of education may be found. Therefore, several expressions of need for a study in the history of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers may appropriately be considered.

Among these are statements, documented by the Association on the day of the teachers' decision to merge with the Oklahoma Education Association, expressing a desire of the Negro educators to have a record of their organization developed in the form of a history.[1] Concerned, to great extent, with educational needs of the people, the Association had always been faced with problems of helping to secure basic necessities for an effective educational program. The Negro population in Oklahoma had ranged from seven to ten per cent of the total population of the state. An account of how this integral part of the population secured for their children school sites, buildings,

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[1]Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, "Minutes of the Business Council," October 28, 1955 (in the files of the Association).

equipment, and educational leadership would be incomplete without knowledge of the role played by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. And, since Negroes, themselves, played a decisive part in promoting their own educational development within the state, knowledge of their activities appeared essential to a full understanding of the history of education in Oklahoma.

A second and general need for studies of professional organizations in education was cited by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1957. "Voluntary groups," the Commission said, "are important units of action in the social process. Power in American society tends to be expressed in groups."[1] The statement continued:

> In the professions voluntary groups serve both their membership and the general public. Their record of public service is outstanding. They have received wide public recognition. An individual who is active in shaping the policies and programs of the groups in which he holds membership increases his own participation in the social process.[2]

The Commission emphasized a need for more information concerning educational organizations in America:

> Too little analysis has been made of the nature and role of voluntary organizations in American life, not

---

[1]Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, Professional Organizations in American Education (Washington: National Education Association, 1957), p. 5

[2]Ibid.

> only in education but in many fields. The sociology and psychology of organizations is largely unwritten, although recent researches in these fields are beginning to yield illuminating results . . . .[1]

Based on these observations are two assumptions: (1) that the field is open for historical research in the area of educational activities of Negro teachers in the state; and (2) that deeper insight into the nature and problems of people, sometimes resolved through voluntary organization, is needed by those with whom the responsibility rests to secure the full advantages of educational opportunity within the state. This historical study may provide a resource helpful toward widespread achievement of such insight.

The Problem

The scope of the problem may be defined in a question: What has been the role of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in the developing history of education in Oklahoma? Analysis of the subject poses another question within which the immediate problem is presented: What is the history of the organization to the time of its deactivation? Further analysis reveals that the study must involve an investigation of (1) the nature of organizational backgrounds and environment of the Association and of their effect upon its development; (2) the nature of activities by the Association and its leaders as a factor in the total educational

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[1]Ibid, p. 7.

process of the state; and (3) the evidence of influence by the organization on historical patterns of the locale.

Purposes of the Investigation

The aim of the study is to contribute beginning research in areas of the problem as defined: that is, (1) to trace, from its origins to the time of its virtual cessation, the historical development of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, of its leadership, and of its programs as aspects of social change; (2) to present an authentic and verifiable account of its participation, and that of its leadership, in educational processes of the state, including the solution of educational problems; (3) to preserve parts of the writings of its major leaders as documentary evidence which may hold value in future studies of social process; and (4) to give recognition to outstanding Negro educators in Oklahoma who fulfilled the function of educational, social, and political leadership during the period under consideration.

Limitations of the Study

The findings herein presented are limited to an examination of developmental aspects of the Association and of its leaders, purposes, and programs as these emerged to meet the demands of the changing times. Major attention is devoted to the aspect of leadership, particularly in the development of educational programs of the Association and

in the execution of activities for the professional welfare of teachers. Internal, structural, and legislative developments, as phases of the organizational history, are identified, but are given summary treatment.

Method of Investigation

Techniques in the use of historical method, during the process of research, were studied in numerous sources. Among these, the works of Hockett, noted American historian;[1] Whitney;[2] Brickman;[3] and Barzun and Graff[4] were especially productive. Data concerning the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was assembled, analyzed, and critically evaluated for its authenticity in identification of causes, origins, successive steps of development, and processes of the organization. Generalizations were based on findings presented.

For descriptive analysis of characteristics of the Association, its leaders and their philosophies, its character, administrative organization, purposes and

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[1]Homer C. Hockett, Introduction to Research in American History (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1938), pp. 1-141.

[2]Frederick L. Whitney, Methods in Educational Research (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1931), pp. 147-289.

[3]William Brickman, Guide to Research in Educational History (New York: New York University Bookstore, 1949), pp. 1-220.

[4]Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, The Modern Researcher (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1957), pp. 1-367.

objectives, interests, and activities, insights were developed through studies of educational and other organizations in general, as presented in other investigations. Three of these were especially helpful: (1) a Columbia University study by Granrud, describing the purposes, objectives, and programs of forty-two state teachers' associations contemporary with the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers;[1] (2) a statement by the Educational Policies Commission concerning the nature and role of professional organizations in American education;[2] and (3) a compendium by the American Educational Research Association, reviewing research on group process and programs of groups in action.[3]

Development of the chronological perspective necessary to relate aspects of the Association and its program to its actual historical setting of social change involved research in the history of Oklahoma and of its political, social, and educational problems since the settlement of Oklahoma Territory. Studies of the works of recognized historians, cited throughout the study, were helpful in this respect.

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[1]John M. Granrud, Organization and Objectives of State Teachers' Associations (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College Columbia University, 1926), pp. 1-68.

[2]Educational Policies Commission, op. cit., p. 5.

[3]American Educational Research Association, Review of Educational Research, Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (1953), chaps. i, ii.

In order to identify the causes of the movement toward territorial organization of Negro teachers in Oklahoma, investigations were made of Oklahoma statutes, as these related to education, and of local traditions, mores, customs, and codes of conduct as described in primary and secondary sources. For this phase of the study, procedures of reading and interviews were employed. These methods also were used in determining the actual origins of the Association, as well as the date, time, place, leadership, and method of organization.

During analysis of the data, efforts were made, also, to determine and identify the early and later purposes of the Association and their modification with the changing times. Traced chronologically, in ten-year sequence, were developmental aspects of the organizational program from the decade of the 1920's through the decade of the 1950's. Structural growth and expansion of activities constituted topics of investigation, as did social forces affecting the psychology and functioning of the group, special problems influencing the organization of projects, and social forces affecting the process of deactivation of the Association.

Contributions of outstanding leaders afforded an especially interesting area of investigation. Study of these necessitated an examination of the collected data for evidence of attention by the Association to activities described, in the literature on professional organizations, as common

among state educational organizations. Areas of such activity included legislation, research, educational programs, professional qualification of teachers, promotion of specialization in subject areas, unification of teachers, contribution to professional knowledge, publicity for information of teachers and of the general public, general cultural development of teachers, social development of teachers, promotion of ethical standards, and attention to the inspiration, welfare, and placement of teachers. For this phase of the inquiry, the Granrud study provided invaluable direction.[1]

Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary sources of data were utilized throughout the investigation; those in the primary category produced most of the findings presented in the study. These included journals, proceedings, resolutions, bulletins, programs, and correspondence of the Association. Others included (1) Oklahoma statutes and constitutional law; (2) records and publications of the Oklahoma State Department of Education; (3) testimonials developed through interviews with Association members, other educators, and laymen; (4) interpretations of judicial law as presented in sources cited in the study; and (5) articles from newspapers and other periodicals.

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[1]Granrud, op. cit., pp. 21-27.

Related Studies

Studies of the literature dealing with educational programs in Oklahoma brought to light few references to the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers: thus, their major contribution was to confirm an assumption that the field is open for historical research into the nature of educational work by Negro teachers in the state.

Roberts surveyed the field of Negro education in Oklahoma in 1930 and recommended that the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers utilize its facilities to disseminate information relative to judicial decisions favorable to the development of more adequate financial support for the Negro schools.[1] Crossley presented biographical information concerning early leaders in the territorial and state associations of Negro teachers.[2] Miller dealt briefly with the history of the Association and with an analysis of the structure and general activities of the state organization.[3] The emphasis of the Miller thesis on administrative framework of the organization (see

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[1]Charles S. Roberts, "Negro Education in Oklahoma," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1930), p. 70.

[2]Mildred M. Crossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma" (unpublished Master's thesis, College of Education, University of Oklahoma, 1939), pp. 77-81.

[3]Jeanette M. Miller, "A History of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1948).

Appendix I) constituted an approach different from that provided in this investigation, which presents developmental aspects of the Association and its program as phases of social change.

Publications of the State Department of Education in Oklahoma made no reference to the professional program of the Negro teachers.[1] Granrud pointed out the influence of certain state associations in the passage of state legislation.[2] Such influence was illustrated in a 1960 report of accomplishments sponsored by the Oklahoma Education Association.[3]

At the national level, educational organization was most strikingly illustrated in the National Education Association, the largest of all professional organizations. Wesley reported its purposes as stated in its charter.[4] The American Teachers Association was organized under the name of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools and incorporated in 1937 under the name it now carries. One writer stated:

In 1957 it affiliated about 12 state associations

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[1]Oklahoma, State Superintendent of Public instruction, Biennial Reports, 1914-1954.

[2]Granrud, op. cit., p. 44

[3]Oklahoma Education Association, The Oklahoma Teacher (April, 1960), p. 34.

[4]Edgar B. Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 22-23.

> and enrolled about 14,000 individual members. For years it has worked with the National Education Association through a joint committee.[1]

Concerning state educational associations, with one of which this study is primarily concerned, an interesting conclusion reached by Granrud appears significant as a criterion by which to examine the record of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers:

> . . . that the state education association should be dynamic, not passive, and that it should assume a definite place in the body politic as a political and social agency striving to function in a clearly defined way towards specific educational goals.[2]

Plan of the Study

The study is arranged in chronological sequence according to the following pattern: (1) historical backgrounds of leaders and organizers of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, (2) organization and early development of territorial and state associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma, and (3) development of leadership and the program of the Association throughout the second quarter-century of statehood. Knowledge of historical backgrounds is assumed to be essential to an understanding of their influence on the nature of the Association and of the philosophies, activities, and personalities of its leaders.

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[1]American Educational Research Association, op. cit., p. 1494.

[2]Granrud, op. cit., p. 80.

Chapter I presents the problem, method of investigation, sources of data, and related studies. Chapters II and III portray the early shaping of ethological and educational backgrounds of teachers who were later to organize and comprise the leadership and ranks of the Association. They describe also the establishment of a geographic and social setting for the teachers' organization in Oklahoma Territory. Chapters IV and V deal with the organization and early development of territorial and state associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma to 1924. An attempt is made to portray the character and qualifications of early leaders, as well as some of the challenges they faced in accepting responsibility for the educational program to be developed for their Negro communities.

Chapter VI is a description of the expanding program of the Association in the decade of the 1920's. Areas of development are classified and methods of expansion analyzed. Attention is given to leadership in each category of activities. Chapter VII gives attention to the organizational program in the decade of the 'thirties, emphasizing programs for improvement of facilities and opportunities in higher education for Negroes in Oklahoma, cooperatively sponsored with the Langston University Alumni Association. Chapter VIII gives emphasis to basic philosophies of leaders of the Association, as expressed in their writings during the period of World War II, and in their legislative

activities, which developed into movements resulting in increase of financial support for the separate schools.

Chapter IX documents the impact of the desegregation movement on the program of the Association in the decade of the 1950's. Goals of the Association, as expressed by its leaders, are set forth and the effort of these leaders to protect the welfare of Negro teachers during beginnings of the transition to desegregated school systems in Oklahoma are detailed. Chapter X presents a review and summary of findings.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

> It is an old axiom that the roots of the present lie deep in the past. Behind institutions . . . behind constitutional forms and modifications lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet the changing conditions.[1]

Ethological Backgrounds of Early Leaders

From the moment in 1619 when a Dutch man-of-war landed the first Negro people to come to America,[2] forces were set in motion developing the distinctive professional educational spirit that ultimately was incorporated in territorial and state organizations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma. The history of the people who formed and cultivated these associations thus dates back into the pasts of other countries and other societies. Economic needs of the English people set in motion those forces which brought ancestors of Negro Oklahomans to America in 1619. Economic interests of England, Spain, France, and Germany brought

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[1]Edward Everett Dale and Jesse L. Rader, "The Spirit of Sooner Land," Readings in Oklahoma History (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930), p. 858.

[2]Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1947), p. 82.

thousands more Negroes from Africa during the next two hundred years, 1661-1861. Social, political, and moral pressures exerted continuous influences which finally directed the coming of a small portion of the American Negro population, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to Oklahoma.

The first of the Negro Oklahomans came when, from 1817 to 1841, American economic expansion and the press of a growing population sent the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians and the Negroes living among them out of their fertile reservations in southeastern states to that southwestern portion of the Louisiana Purchase, federally established as Indian Territory and later known as Oklahoma.[1] By 1890, 21,609 Negro people were counted among the earliest inhabitants of the land popularly viewed throughout the country as "the last frontier."[2]

Thousands more Negroes came to Oklahoma when economic and social readjustments after the Civil War led to the reapportionment of Indian Territory and the opening of the "unassigned lands," later known as Oklahoma Territory, to settlement, beginning in 1889. In 1891, 3,289 Negro pioneers were enumerated among the enthusiastic newcomers to Oklahoma

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[1]Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, History of Oklahoma (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 132.

[2]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 Population Census Report P-B36 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 30.

Territory.[1]

In the interim between 1619 and 1889, the presence of the Negro people in America had led to and been affected by many historic events. The Revolutionary War had been fought and the heroism of Crispus Attucks and other Negro soldiers had strengthened the cause of freedom in newly independent America.[2] The Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States with its Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments, all promulgating ideals of certain unalienable rights, had been adopted. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 had been negotiated, expanding both the American frontiers and the outlook for frontiersmen with the pioneering spirit. The Missouri Compromise of 1821 had established its psychological and physical boundaries between North and South within the United States.[3] The Civil War of the 1860's; the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln; the Period of Reconstruction, 1865-1877, with its inauguration of the first public school systems of the South;[4] all these had exerted their impact on developing Negro life in America and had played their part in forming

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[1]Oklahoma, The First Annual Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior (1891), p. 4.

[2]Woodson, op. cit., pp. 120-128.

[3]Fremont P. Wirth, The Development of America (New York: The American Book Company, 1938), pp. 231, 359.

[4]George W. Cable, "Education for the Common People of the South," Cosmopolitan, XIV (November, 1892), 65.

the character of the Negro newcomers who made their appearance on the frontier scene in Oklahoma.

Development of Early Educational Backgrounds

Forces influencing the early educational history of Negroes in America had consequent bearing on the later history of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. Predominant among these were the ideologies and practices of religious, governmental, and other social agencies.

Religious ideals in four types of settlements in early America--French, Spanish, and English in the southeast and Dutch in the north--had influenced the course of Negro education prior to 1889. In the French provinces, Jesuit teachings decreed early that Negroes should be given such education as would enable them to grasp the principles of the Christian religion. In the Spanish colonies, Latin social customs, including racial intermarriage, were an "important factor in the education of Negroes," as was an order by the King of Spain that the Negro children should be "indoctrinated in the principles of Christianity."[1] In the English provinces, the education of Negroes was retarded by colonists who were

> . . . strenuous in their efforts to prevent any enlightenment . . . until the Bishop of London settled the difficulty by issuing a formal declaration . . .

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[1]Loretta Funke, "The Negro in Education," Journal of Negro History, V (January, 1920), 3.

that conversion did not work manumission.[1] Thereafter, in 1701, the Established Church in London organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to do missionary work among Indians and Negroes. The Society required its ministers and schoolmasters to instruct the children, to teach them to read the Scriptures and other poems and useful books and to ground them thoroughly in the Church catechism. While the English colonists kept to the plan of private tutorial instruction for their own children, these religious agencies provided instruction for many early American Negro children.[2] Their work preceded and ultimately gave rise to the movement for denominational schools of higher education for Negroes sponsored, after the Civil War, by the American Missionary Association, the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics. The American Missionary Association was agent for the Congregationalists, Free-Will Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Reformed Dutch.[3]

Meanwhile, in the Northern and Middle States, religious and other agencies had worked toward the education of Negroes who would one day furnish educational and moral

---

[1]Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1919), p. 25.

[2]Ibid., pp. 23-30.

[3]U. S. Bureau of Education, Negro Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 38, I (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 275.

leadership of their race in the South. The Quaker influence of William Penn made Pennsylvania a particularly favorable location for the earliest permanent schools devoted to the education of Negroes. Thirteen private schools had been established in Philadelphia by 1838. Avery College in Allegheny was opened in 1849, while Ashmun Institute, now Lincoln University, was established in Pennsylvania in 1854.[1]

Educational Forces after the Civil War

By an act passed March 3, 1865, the United States Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau in the War Department, an agency which served as a strong educational force in the South. An Act of Congress, July 16, 1866, set aside more than half a million dollars for educational work by this office.[2] Under the direction of General O. O. Howard, Commissioner, the Freedmen's Bureau instituted general supervision over all the schools specializing in education of Negroes, grading and systematizing these and promoting the establishment of elementary schools, high schools, and normal schools.[3]

Between 1865 and 1871, the Bureau spent $5,262,500

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[1]Funke, op. cit., 3.

[2]George S. Dickerman, "History of Negro Education," Negro Education, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1916, No. 38, I (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 252.

[3]Ibid.

for educational purposes in the South.[1] This expenditure was supplemented by contributions by northern societies for freedmen's aid, which established day, night, Sunday, and industrial schools, as well as normal schools for training Negro teachers.[2] The freedmen themselves gave continually growing amounts, contributing $478,995 to the freedmen's aid movement between 1862 and 1870.[3] By 1870, 2,677 schools had been established for Negroes in the South, with 3,300 teachers and 149,581 scholars.[4] The Bureau thus joined with other agencies in setting up and improving facilities whereby the Negro people could acquire education as a qualification for citizenship.

Denominational Activities in Education

Meanwhile, the churches turned their attention to the development of higher education in the South, taking measures "to build up schools of higher learning at carefully chosen centers, which they hoped might become favorite resorts for scholars, . . . and enlightenment for the region all around."[5]

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[1]Julius H. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies," Negro Education, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1916, No. 38, I (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 289.

[2]Ibid., 284.

[3]Ibid., 297.

[4]Ibid., 289.

[5]Dickerman, op. cit., 252-253.

These schools furnished teachers, background, training, and philosophical conditioning for the early Negro educators who were to organize for the improvement of educational conditions in Oklahoma.

In 1916, a survey showed that white denominational boards were sponsoring 354 schools for the education of Negroes in southern states, employing 1,069 white teachers and 1,493 Negro teachers and counting 51,529 students in attendance.[1] A number of these schools, shown in Table 1, are known to have been attended by early leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

The survey showed further that, in 1916, Negro church boards were sponsoring 153 active schools for the education of Negroes. The churches were employing in these schools, at the time, 826 Negro teachers; 727 specializing in academic work, 44 in industrial training, 4 in agricultural areas, and 51 in other work. Established prior to 1889, some of these Negro denominational schools were located in the North, in Ohio and Kansas. Others, in the South, were instituted in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Several of these schools listed in Table 2 are known to have contributed in establishing educational backgrounds for early leaders of the Oklahoma

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[1] Ibid., 254.

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF EARLY LEADERS: INSTITUTIONS MAINTAINED BY WHITE DENOMINATIONAL BOARDS[a]

Church or Denomination	Institution	Location	Year Established
Privately controlled	Oberlin College	Oberlin, Ohio	1833[b]
Presbyterian	Ashmun Institute[c]	Lincoln University, Pennsylvania	1854
	Biddle University	Charlotte, North Carolina	1867
	Oak Hill Industrial Academy	Valliant, Oklahoma	1886
Baptist	Roger Williams University	Nashville, Tennessee	1867
Methodist Episcopal	Walden University	Nashville, Tennessee	1865
American Missionary Association	Avery Institute	Charleston, S. C.	1865
	Fisk University	Nashville, Tennessee	1867
	Hampton Institute	Hampton, Virginia	1868
	LeMoyne College	Memphis, Tennessee	1869
Southern Methodist Episcopal	Paine College	Augusta, Georgia	1884

[a]In 1917, white denominational boards were maintaining 354 schools attended by Negroes in states from which came early leaders of state and territorial associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma. This table lists only those definitely identified as having furnished educational backgrounds for early leaders of territorial and state associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma.

[b]U. S. Bureau of Education, Negro Education, Bulletin, 1916, I, No. 38 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 252-54.

[c]Now known as Lincoln University.

TABLE 2

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF EARLY LEADERS: INSTITUTIONS MAINTAINED BY NEGRO DENOMINATIONAL BOARDS[a]

Church or Denomination	Institution	Location	Year Established[b]
African Methodist Episcopal	Wilberforce College[c]	Wilberforce, Ohio	1847
	Western University	Quindaro, Kansas	1864
	Allen University	Columbia, South Carolina	1881
	Morris Brown College	Atlanta, Georgia	1885
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	Livingstone College	Salisbury, North Carolina	1882
Colored Methodist Episcopal	Lane College	Jackson, Tennessee	1878
Baptist	Houston College	Houston, Texas	--

[a]In 1917, Negro denominational boards were maintaining 153 schools for Negroes. This table lists only those definitely identified as having furnished educational backgrounds for early leaders of territorial and state associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma.

[b]U. S. Bureau of Education, Negro Education, Bulletin, 1916, I, No. 38 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 254-56.

[c]Now known as Central State College.

Association of Negro Teachers.

Philanthropic Influences

When the system of public schools in the South was in the formative stage and the practice of separate schools for white and Negro children was being established, several philanthropic agencies contributed funds for the education of both whites and Negroes.

The George Peabody Fund, instituted in 1867 for aid to education of all people in the southern states, contributed part of its income for the training of Negro teachers. The John F. Slater Fund, established in 1882, and the Daniel Hand Fund, provided in 1888, designated their entire income for use in education of the Negro people.

The Fund established in 1907 by Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia, for support of Negro rural schools, had significance in Oklahoma educational history, as did the Phelps-Stokes Fund, instituted in 1909 and given partly for the educational improvement of Negroes, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, established in 1914 for the building of rural school buildings in the south.

The Peabody, Slater, and Jeanes funds, later combined with the Virginia Randolph Fund to form the Southern Education Foundation, were destined to exert influence in the development of Negro educational leadership throughout the entire period of the history of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Significance of Educational Backgrounds

Dickerman has pointed out that many schools instituted for Negroes in the years following the Civil War were established in educational centers "famous long ago for the academy or college to which came the sons and daughters of wealthy planters and businessmen, lawyers, ministers, and physicians of the Old South."[1] People in these places were characterized by Dickerman as "large-minded enough to welcome into their neighborhood" the schools intended for aspiring Negro children.[2] Thus in many southern states, Negro people who later came to Oklahoma formerly had lived in centers which had one or more influential schools for their education. In the words of Dickerman:

> The young people of such a place acquire more or less of an educational spirit. The servants are affected by it; the janitors who look after the buildings, the waiters who serve at a commencement banquet, the housemaids in every professor's house where distinguished men of learning are entertained from time to time, get the ideas that are ruling all about them. In such intellectual centers, therefore, schools for the colored people took root most readily, and grew more vigorously than in different surroundings.[3]

From among the men and women who attended these schools came some of the teachers and many of the forebears of future educators, writers, speakers, leaders of thought, and moulders of opinion who would furnish leadership for

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[1] Dickerman, op. cit., 255-256.

[2] Ibid., 255.

[3] Ibid.

Oklahoma Negroes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and would organize and develop the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Summary

The course of history for the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers can be traced back as far as 1619, when the first Negroes landed in America to become part of the slow and sub-surface movement of human events that shaped the materials of both American and Oklahoma history. Among factors contributing to the establishment of the Association as an institution may be counted the ethological and educational backgrounds brought by its early leaders and their forebears to Oklahoma, for these served, as described in Chapter III, to condition the manner in which early Oklahoma Negroes interacted with their new environment.

CHAPTER III

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD FOR NEGRO TEACHERS IN OKLAHOMA

Emigration of Negro Pioneers to Oklahoma Territory

The second western emigration of Negro people from the Old South into the Oklahoma frontier, beginning in 1889 and reaching its climax about 1910, has been depicted by Hill, the former Oklahoma sociologist, as a phase of the "great Westward Expansion--an all-inclusive social movement--which characterized that period of social unrest in American history which followed the Civil War."[1] During this period many people, both white and Negro, became possessed of a common restlessness and desire to experience freedom of citizenship and economic opportunity, to escape lawlessness and terrorism then characteristic of parts of the Old South, and to find a "new way of life" in the frontiers of the West.[2] In this connection Turner developed an interesting interpretation of "the West":

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[1]Mozell C. Hill, "The All-Negro Society in Oklahoma," Journal of Negro History, XXXI, (July, 1946), 254-68.

[2]Ibid.

> The West (frontier), at bottom is a form of society rather than an area. It is the term applied to the region whose social conditions result from the application of older institutions and ideas to the transforming influences of free land. By this application, a new environment is suddenly entered, freedom of opportunity is opened, the cake of custom is broken, and new ideals are brought into existence.[1]

Arriving in Oklahoma Territory with the earliest newcomers to share in the making of a new western society was the Negro pioneer, characterized by Hill as seeking for "new ways of personal development, freedom from social and governmental restraints . . . and the innumerable opportunities" which pioneers envisioned in the frontier environment.[2]

Colonization Plans of Edward P. McCabe

Many of these early settlers from Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Kentucky, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Southeast Missouri[3] had come on invitation from the young Negro pioneer, Edward P. McCabe, assistant auditor of Oklahoma Territory from 1890 "until the day prior to statehood."[4] This remarkable young Negro lawyer, who had been the twice-elected state auditor of Kansas before

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[1]Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1920), pp. 205-206.

[2]Hill, op. cit., 255.

[3]Grant Foreman, A History of Oklahoma, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 256.

[4]Dora Ann Stewart, "The Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1930), p. 344.

coming to Oklahoma,[1] was a prominent figure in the early territorial political scene. Appointed in 1889 by United States President Benjamin Harrison and Oklahoma Territorial Governor George W. Steele to the office of assistant auditor of Oklahoma Territory,[2] he worked in close connection with each of the territorial superintendents of schools, who were also the territorial auditors and who have been portrayed as capable educational figures with no experience as auditors.[3] Also the first treasurer of Logan County,[4] secretary for the first session of the Council (Senate) of the first territorial legislature,[5] and nominee defeated by only one vote for the position of chief clerk of the Council,[6] McCabe "believed the new commonwealth would be a haven for the Negro and it was for that reason principally that he had come to Guthrie on the first day" of settlement in 1889.[7]

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[1]Marion T. Rock, Illustrated History of Oklahoma (Topeka, Kansas: C. B. Hamilton and Son, 1890), p. 272.

[2]Stewart, op. cit., p. 344.

[3]Corb Sarchet, "Guthrie's Negro Official Used As Campaign Material in Fight to Remove Capital," North Star (Oklahoma City), August 11, 1960, p. 1.

[4]Rock, op. cit., p. 271.

[5]Ibid., p. 208.

[6]Ibid., p. 211.

[7]Sarchet, op. cit., p. 1.

McCabe, with a colonization plan not unlike that of William Penn in his Pennsylvania experiment,[1] had founded Langston City, Oklahoma Territory, on October 22, 1890.[2] He named the new town for the Negro Congressman, John Mercer Langston of Virginia, member of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress; former professor of law, dean, and acting vice president of Howard University; former minister-resident to Haiti and charge d'affaires of the Dominican Republic; first president of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute;[3] and supporter of the westward movement of the Negro people. McCabe, in 1891, had established, edited, and circulated throughout the south a newspaper, the Langston Herald, which described in most attractive terms the opportunities to find "new and better horizons" of living in Oklahoma Territory. In this effort he was ably assisted by his young protege, David J. Wallace, Negro attorney-at-law from Langston who was to serve as Representative of the Twenty-second District in the Assembly (House of Representatives) of the second territorial legislature in 1893.[4]

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[1]Marshall B. Davidson, Life in America, II (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1951), 338-340.

[2]The Langston City Herald (Oklahoma Territory), Thursday, November 17, 1892.

[3]Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1959), p. 66.

[4]Oklahoma Red Book, II (1912), 159. See also Oklahoma Red Book, I (1912), plate, 208.

Wallace, in 1892, was business manager for the Langston Herald. Working with other enterprising young Negro pioneers and fathers of future Oklahoma Negro educators, including Clairville Breaux, president of the Herald Publishing Company, Langston, and R. Emmett Stewart, a lawyer and editor of the Langston Herald, Wallace continued to issue strong invitations that resulted in the coming of many early settlers, including teachers to Oklahoma Territory.[1]

Meanwhile, McCabe had established the McCabe Town Company in Guthrie. Agents for the Company promoted emigration to Oklahoma throughout southern states, selling contracts for lots in Langston which, by 1892, comprised 320 acres of land purchased by McCabe to provide new homes for territorial newcomers.[2] Prospective homeseekers also were urged, through the Langston Herald and the agents of the McCabe Town Company, to come in time for the opening on September 22, 1891,[3] of lands in the Sac and Fox, Iowa, and Shawnee-Pottawatomie reservations where each person could buy 160 acres of land for $1.25 per acre and take one year to pay.[4] The primitive but hardy Langston Herald was active

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[1]The Langston Herald, 1891-1895.

[2]Hill, op. cit., 266.

[3]The Langston Herald, 1891

[4]Stewart, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

throughout the early years of the settlement of Oklahoma Territory, advertising the opening of the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893, as well as the Kickapoo opening of May 23, 1895, and continuing to depict the Territory as a land of unlimited opportunity. Many of the first pioneers settled, with their children, in Guthrie, the seat of the territorial capital. Others established homes in Oklahoma City, Kingfisher, Norman, Stillwater, and El Reno, designated in the Organic Act as county seats. Still others came to Langston, Mulhall, Hennessey, Lincoln, Perkins, and Edmond. Thus, it was here that the great need for schools first arose.

Positions for Negro teachers in Oklahoma Territory developed soon after passage of the Organic Act on May 2, 1890 by the Fifty-first Congress. By terms of this Act, August 5, 1890 had been set for a general election to choose the members of the legislature. The keen interest of the Negro people in this body was assured with the election of a Negro representative, Green I. Currin, to a seat in the Assembly of the first territorial legislature.[1] Negroes were among the several hundred leading citizens of Guthrie and other sections of the territory assembled to witness the interesting ceremonies as McCabe took his seat with the Council at two o'clock on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of August, 1890, when the first legislature of Oklahoma

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[1] Oklahoma Red Book, II (1912), 158. See also Oklahoma Red Book, I (1912), plate, 128.

Territory convened at the McKennon opera-house in Guthrie. It was at this meeting that "a temporary organization was effected by electing Hon. Geo. W. Gardenhire president and Hon. E. P. McCabe secretary; L. G. Pittman, Chas. Brown, and J. W. Howard being appointed a committee on credentials."[1]

At the organizational meeting of the Legislative Assembly Currin was among those to whom Robert Martin, Secretary of Oklahoma, administered the official oath and instructed:

> And now, gentlemen, one word further: Your mission as legislators for the Territory of Oklahoma is an important one. You meet to make the laws and enact such regulations as shall control the affairs of this new commonwealth for some time to come; and I may be pardoned if I counsel you to lay aside all past differences, and act with that wisdom and intelligence which I know you possess, and lay broad and deep the foundation of a glorious future State.[2]

The first territorial legislature was to hold a special place in the history of education in Oklahoma, for one of its major tasks was that which resulted in the establishment of a free public school system for the Territory. The laws enacted by this body set the pattern by which the school system was developed after statehood.

Development of the School Code

By terms of the Organic Act of May 2, 1890, two sections of land in each township of the Territory--the

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[1]Rock, op. cit., p. 208.

[2]Ibid., p. 209.

sixteenth and the thirty-sixth--had been reserved to be used for the benefit of a system of public schools.[1] A supplemental act of May 14, 1890 provided $50,000 to be expended by the governor in temporary support and aid of common schools when these should be established.[2]

Shortly thereafter, Governor Steele asked that a committee from the Oklahoma Teachers' Association be appointed to draft a school code. The Association had organized on December 25, 1889 and later had discussed "the formation of a school system and code of laws to be submitted to the legislature" during its first assembly.[3] The code of school laws accordingly drawn up by F. H. Umholtz of Oklahoma City; Lucy Twyford of Edmond; and others of a committee of seven "was based substantially upon the laws of Kansas and was adopted by the legislature practically as submitted by this committee."[4] The first territorial legislature thus began an undertaking to provide, for the Territory, facilities and opportunities for education ranging from the level of the common schools through teacher training and higher education.

Enactment of Laws for Separate Schools

The census of 1890 showed the population of Oklahoma

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[1]Oklahoma, Statutes (1890), sec. 18, 1588.

[2]Ibid., sec. 22.

[3]The Oklahoma Teacher (February, 1960), p. 18.

[4]Angelo C. Scott, The Story of Oklahoma City (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Co., 1939), p. 96.

Territory, ages 5 to 19, to consist of 19,689 white children and 998 Negro children.[1] Despite the assurance of a Congregationalist minister, Reverend Lemuel Jones, welcoming Governor Steele on May 24, 1890, in behalf of the people of Oklahoma, that ". . . there is no Mason and Dixon's line here. . . . No sectional ideas or issues are known here. . . . No South, no North, but one country, one people, . . ."[2] the issue of separating the white and Negro children in the schools arose shortly after the first legislature convened in August, 1890.

> When the actual writing of the laws was undertaken, a bitter fight arose over whether to segregate Negroes in the schools. Advocates of non-segregation did not prevail although they had the support of Governor Steele.[3]

Until 1897, when the Fourth Territorial Legislature enacted laws for mandatory separation of the races in the schools,[4] the issue was left to be decided every three years by popular vote at the county level. The "local option" law which inaugurated the era of separate schools in Oklahoma read:

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[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 Population Census Report P-B36 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office), p. 34.

[2]Rock, op. cit., p. 141.

[3]Ollie Everett Hatcher, "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1954), pp. 77-78.

[4]Session Laws of Oklahoma Territory--1897 (Guthrie: Leader Co., 1897), c. 24, Art. 1, secs. 1-11.

> Separate schools for the education of white and colored children may be established in the Territory as follows, and in no other way. In each county at the first election for township school officers and on the first Tuesday of April every three years thereafter, there shall be held an election where all persons who are qualified school electors may vote for or against the maintenance of separate schools for white and colored children in said country. If a majority of the votes cast at said election be against the establishment of separate schools in said county, then the white and colored children shall attend the same school in such county; but if a majority of the votes cast be in favor of the establishment of separate schools for white and colored, then there shall be established such separate schools for white and colored children as hereinafter provided.[1]

With the passage of the school laws of 1890, the need for Negro teachers in Oklahoma Territory was definitely established. With the townspeople and rural settlers primarily concerned with providing shelter and food for their families and with building homes, few teachers were available and all teachers were welcome. In counties where the majority vote of the electorate was cast for separate schools for white and Negro children, however, it became the policy to employ in the schools teachers of the same race as the children.

First Territorial Teachers

Some of the first Negro teachers in Oklahoma Territory arrived shortly after the territory was opened to settlement. Strong has described the pioneer spirit of these teachers, as embodied in one of the earliest Negro women teachers in Oklahoma Territory, in a biographical sketch of Judith C.

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[1]Oklahoma, Statutes (1890), Art. 13, secs. 6464-66.

Horton, Guthrie. Presenting Mrs. Horton, a graduate of Oberlin College, as the pioneer woman leader under whom the first club organized by Negro women in Oklahoma established the first Negro library in the state, Strong wrote:

> Among the many Negro pioneers who came to Oklahoma in her territorial days to share in the building of the state and to gain for themselves "a more abundant life," were Negro women of intellectual power, humanitarian attitudes, and the capacity for leadership and racial pride. The importance of organized efforts in the interest of race development soon became apparent to these Negro women leaders. Establishment of local clubs was the first step in state-wide organization.[1]

Describing the pioneer educational work of Judith Horton in Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, Strong quoted her as saying:

> I can conceive of no better or surer way to hasten education and uplift of our people than the establishment of reading rooms and libraries in every community. When we become a reading people, we will be a thinking people.[2]

Personified in Judith C. Horton was the spirit of other early Negro teachers of Oklahoma--educated by their own effort, dedicated to ideals of uplift of their race, inspired by the examples of outstanding Negro leaders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and geared to multi-phase service in communities wherever they might be.

At Oklahoma City, Jefferson Davis Randolph, of Galatin, Tennessee, was first of the teachers in separate

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[1]Willa A. Strong, "The Origin, Development, and Current Status of the Oklahoma Federation of Colored Women's Clubs" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, College of Education, University of Oklahoma, 1958), p. 51.

[2]Ibid., p. 54.

schools, opened in March, 1891. A native of Dyersville, Tennessee, he was born October 19, 1862, of mixed Cherokee Indian and Negro parentage. Randolph's early years were spent on a Tennessee plantation where he received tutorial instruction from a German teacher, Zanderwich.[1] His eighth grade public school studies were completed in Galatin, Tennessee; later he attended Roger Williams University in Nashville, Tennessee. After coming to Oklahoma Territory in 1889, Randolph continued studies by correspondence with an instructor at Roger Williams University.

As the first teacher of the 93-pupil separate school opened in Oklahoma City in March, 1891, Randolph launched a curriculum for the Negro children similar to that of the elementary department at Roger Williams.[3] This included, in addition to the academic subjects prescribed by law,[4] activities in gardening, sewing (taught by one of the older girls), baseball, art, student government, and Negro

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[1]Mildred M. Crossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma" (unpublished Master's thesis, College of Education, University of Oklahoma, 1939), pp. 79-80.

[2]Interview with Edna Randolph Slaughter, Oklahoma City, January 28, 1960.

[3]U. S. Bureau of Education, Negro Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 39 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 539-540.

[4]Subjects required by law were: Spelling, penmanship, reading, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, United States history, the Constitution, physiology, and hygiene.

history.[1] Randolph was later to become the first Negro conductor of an Oklahoma County normal institute for teacher training; the founder of the territorial organization of Negro teachers;[2] and an appointee of Governor Renfrow as one of five educational commissioners to attend the Tennessee Centennial in 1898.[3]

Other nineteenth century territorial teachers, working in Oklahoma City before the turn of the century, included: (1) Lewis S. Wilson, employed in 1891 to work with Randolph as grammar teacher; (2) Druscilla Dunjee, 1893, later noted as a lecturer, writer, and club woman, and as the founder of a denominational school in Oklahoma;[4] (3) Lucy Carruthers, 1894; (4) W. Manzilla, 1897, graduate of Mt. Union College in Ohio,[5] and, later, an instructor in mathematics at Langston University;[6] and (5) John W. Sharpe, 1898, graduate of Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, third principal of the

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[1]Interview with Edna Randolph Slaughter, Oklahoma City, January 28, 1960.

[2]Interview with William Sulcer, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

[3]Crossley, op. cit., p. 80.

[4]Strong, op. cit., p. 117.

[5]Ralph E. Brand, "A History of the Oklahoma City School System, 1889-1907" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1938), p. 62.

[6]Edwin O. Tyler, Report of the Secretary of the Board of Regents, Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, Oklahoma Territory (Guthrie, Oklahoma: State Capital Company, 1901-1902), p. 4.

first Oklahoma City separate school, and third president of the territorial association of Negro teachers.

In 1960, ninety-one year old William Sulcer, a Tulsan, served as a valuable resource in the history of early day education in Oklahoma Territory. Mr. Sulcer also was one of the first emigrants to serve as a teacher in the territorial separate schools, working in Edmond, Choctaw, Oklahoma City, and Arcadia, all in Oklahoma County.

According to Sulcer, the first separate schools were established in 1891 in Oklahoma City and Guthrie and in 1892 in Kingfisher. Describing the employment of early teachers in the territory, he stated:

> The first teachers were, in Oklahoma City, J. D. Randolph and L. S. Wilson; in Kingfisher, Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Johnson; and, in Guthrie, Judith Carter Horton, Dr. J. H. Granger, and W. A. Jackson and wife. Guthrie was the leading town; there were four teachers.[1]

Sulcer, born in 1869 and "reared around Galatin, Tennessee," continued: "Randolph came in 1889 to Oklahoma City. I came on August 12, 1890."[2]

Reminiscences of William Sulcer provided interesting insights into the nature of developmental backgrounds of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. Moving to the topic of training institutes held in Oklahoma City for teachers of Oklahoma County, out of which grew the territorial association

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer (charter member of both the territorial and state associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma), Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

[2]Ibid.

of Negro teachers, he commented:

> The Institute in 1890 was mixed racially. In 1891, there were two institutes--one for the white teachers and one for the colored. A. R. Sullins was the first superintendent of the Oklahoma City schools and F. H. Umholtz was the second. J. A. J. Bauguess was the first county superintendent of Oklahoma County.[1]

Sulcer described the educational interests and backgrounds he brought to Oklahoma Territory:

> I always wanted to be a teacher. I went to school first in Castilian Springs, Tennessee. Then I attended Roger Williams University in Nashville for a while. After that I took correspondence work from schools in Scranton, Pennsylvania and Boston, Massachusetts.[2]

Relating early methods by which teachers were employed in the territorial public schools, he continued:

> In getting a certificate, one method was to go to the county superintendent and make application. Another was to go to the county normal [institute for teachers] and take an examination. When the normal was not in session, a teacher could get a temporary certificate until the examinations were held, which was once every quarter.
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> They issued three kinds of certificates after the regular examinations. . . . A third-grade certificate would last one year; a second-grade--two years; and a first-grade--three years. For a first-grade certificate, a teacher had to make an over-all average score of 90 on the entire test; for a second-grade certificate--80; and for a third-grade certificate--70.[3]

Comparison with documentary resources has shown the memory of pioneer William Sulcer to be amazingly accurate. In the matter of qualifications for teaching certificates in

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Oklahoma Territory, which constituted one of the first concerns by which early Negro teachers in Oklahoma were drawn into close association, the following might be added:

1. Minimum age and experience requirements were: for the first-grade certificate, twenty years of age and twelve months of teaching experience; for the second-grade certificate, eighteen years of age and three months of teaching experience; and for the third-grade certificate, sixteen years of age and no teaching experience.

2. Minimum passing scores on tests for the certificates were: first-grade, over-all average of 90 percent, with minimum score of 75 percent on any division; second-grade, over-all average of 80 percent and minimum score of 60 percent on any division; and third-grade, over-all average of 70 percent and minimum score of 50 percent on any division.

3. Test areas for teaching certificates were:

   First-grade certificate: orthography, English grammar, reading, writing, composition, arithmetic, physiology and hygiene, geography, United States history, Constitution of the United States, theory and practice of teaching, elementary philosophy, and bookkeeping.

   Second-grade certificate: the same subjects, except bookkeeping and philosophy, as required for the first-grade certificate.

   Third-grade certificate: the same subjects except physiology and hygiene, Constitution, and theory and practice of teaching, as required for the second-grade certificate.[1]

Conductor's certificates, as well as normal certificates were also sought by leaders among Negro teachers in Oklahoma Territory. "I attended the summer normals for fourteen years," said Sulcer. "I served two years as a teacher and one year as a conductor. Randolph had both a normal and

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[1]Oklahoma, Statutes (1890), c. 79, Art. 4, secs. 3-5.

a conductor's certificate; he was a conductor for several years."[1]

As will be noted later, Randolph and Sulcer were close friends; both came from Galatin, Tennessee; both made contributions to education in bustling, early day Oklahoma Territory; and both participated in the shaping of conditions for establishment of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Summary

The continual play of social forces contributing to historical development of a setting for the organization of Negro teachers in Oklahoma Territory has been depicted in this chapter. These included: (1) the emigration, out of the Old South into Oklahoma Territory, of Negro pioneers with ability in political and social leadership; (2) the establishment of codes by which the educational and social milieu for Negroes in the Territory was determined; and (3) the development of associations among Negro leaders holding common interests in the emerging program of education within the Territory. Thus continued the shaping of the field for future establishment of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATION

Organizational Backgrounds: The Oklahoma County Normal Institute for Negro Teachers, 1891-1892

The territorial organization of Negro teachers in Oklahoma emerged in development of associations and mutual interests built up during annual teacher training institutes of Oklahoma County, 1890-1895.

Because teachers of high qualifications were generally the exception during the early developmental stage of the public school system, the statutes provided that a county institute for teacher training must be held annually in each of the county seat towns.[1] There were seven of these towns in 1890--Oklahoma City, Norman, El Reno, Stillwater, Kingfisher, Guthrie, and Beaver City.

By 1893, the institute held at Oklahoma City for Negro teachers of Oklahoma County had expanded to include a number of teachers from rural schools and those of surrounding towns--Edmond, Choctaw, and Lincoln township,

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[1]Oklahoma, Statutes, 1890, c. 79, Art. 2, secs. 1-3.

among others. Those who attended were tremendously interested in upgrading their qualifications, for even the first-grade certificate was valid only three years; the second grade certificate was valid only two years;[1] and temporary certificates could not be renewed.[2]

The teachers and aspiring candidates came together in the institutes each year for days of study and preparation for the examinations. The work was a routine though interesting review of the common school subjects and those required for certification: orthography, English grammar, reading, writing, composition, arithmetic, physiology and hygiene, geography, United States history, Constitution of the United States, theory and practice of teaching, and elements of natural philosophy.

Among the Negro group, however, were some teachers of powerful intellect and broad social interests. They shared in common--among such concerns as their small, primitive, and isolated schools--and avid interest in reading and an intense race pride. Sulcer named the teachers of Oklahoma County who organized the Ida M. Wells Teachers' Association in Oklahoma City, in 1893:[3]

Jefferson Davis Randolph, president

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[1] Ibid., Art. 4, sec. 2.

[2] Ibid., Art 2, sec. 6

[3] Interview with William Sulcer (charter member of the territorial association), Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

Druscilla Dunjee, secretary	W. M. R. Fullbright
William C. Sulcer	Susie Turner
Reverend J. W. Turner	R. Hamilton
Cynthia Ware	Charlie Clemm
Victoria Payne	Lizzie Malone
Josephine Elliott	Lewis S. Wilson
Sarah Spigner	

It was this organization that expanded into the territorial association of Negro teachers.

Jefferson Davis Randolph, chosen as president and acknowledged as a leader among the territorial teachers of Oklahoma County, was also a writer, editing and publishing in the 'nineties a journal with an interesting title, The Occidental Lighthorse. Although his school was "an old two-room camphouse, in an abandoned wagon yard . . . located on the corner of Reno and Harvey streets"[1] in Oklahoma City, he enriched his curriculum with an activity program of strikingly modern flavor. He gave his students practical industrial experience through projects in the community, organized a "mock-government" within the school, and had daily military drill for the school boys.[2]

Druscilla Dunjee, elected secretary, was the

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[1]Mildred M. Crossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma" (unpublished Master's thesis, College of Education, University of Oklahoma, 1939), p. 7.

[2]Interview with Edna Randolph Slaughter, Oklahoma City, January 28, 1960.

daughter of a minister, John Dunjee, who had been sent to Oklahoma City by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1892 to organize churches in the Territory. Thus, she was daughter of the founder of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, today one of the largest Negro churches in Oklahoma City and credited as the first organization among Negroes in the city.[1] She was also a sister of the free-thinking, free-spoken crusader for civil rights--Roscoe Dunjee, for thirty-five years editor of the nationally circulated Black Dispatch newspaper.

Druscilla Dunjee later became an outstanding lecturer, writer, club woman, founder of a girls' seminary in McAlester and president of a denominational school in Sapulpa. Strong has portrayed her as projecting continuously two themes in her speeches and her writings--Negro history and civil rights. "Her book, Wonderful Ethiopia," Strong commented, "was widely ready by the Negro people of Oklahoma."[2]

The name of Ida M. Wells, chosen by the teachers for their territorial organization, held special significance. Miss Wells was internationally known as an intrepid campaigner for civil rights; as a newspaper editor of the Free Speech

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[1]National Urban League, A Study of the Social and Economic Conditions of the Negro Population in Oklahoma City (New York: National Urban League, June-July, 1945), p. 9.

[2]Willa A. Strong, "The Origin, Development, and Current Status of the Oklahoma Federation of Colored Women's Clubs" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1958), p. 51.

in Memphis; as a lecturer both at home and abroad; and as a humanitarian who, in Chicago, joined Jane Addams and others in a number of liberal causes.[1]

Following their natural bent, the close-knit little group of territorial teachers discussed many things--the Panic of 1893, the policies of Grover Cleveland, the gold-silver controversy, the World's Fair in Chicago, and the social and educational philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. Burghardt Dubois. These were matters of interest to many among the territorial reading public. Locally, the teachers were concerned with the precedent-setting session of the Second Territorial Legislature in which the Negro Representative of the Twenty-second District, David J. Wallace, had participated. Out of the legislative sessions of 1893 had come statutory designations of separate schools and majority schools; a system of ad valorem taxation in counties of unequal wealth as the basic provision for financing the separate schools; and a controversial grant of power to judge separate school needs vested in all-white boards of county commissioners.[2]

Problems of inequities in financial support of the schools, too, were arising. The system of levying a county-wide ad valorem tax in addition to the regular taxes levied

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[1]Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1959), p. 136.

[2]Oklahoma, Statutes (1893), c. 73, Art. 8

for school purposes, in order to maintain separate schools, could not guarantee the provision of equal facilities for these schools as the statutes required.[1]

Activities of the Territorial Association

Efforts for Improvement of Facilities

Separate School Facilities and Provisions for Higher Education

Shortly after the Ida M. Wells Teachers' Association was organized, Randolph led a delegation from the Association which appeared before the Oklahoma County commissioners with a detailed statement of needs of the separate schools.[2] From this initial effort to promote understandings outside the group was to develop a pattern for concerted action, by the state association later organized, in financial behalf of the schools.

In 1896, the Negro teachers of Oklahoma County had taken note of their own growing need for broader and more advanced training than that offered at the county normal institutes. Other teachers were earning, in the territorial normal school at Edmond, territorial certificates which, being renewable on evidence of satisfactory teaching, were virtually life-time certificates. The normal school at Edmond, during the six weeks' summer term, was offering the

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[1] Ibid., 1890, c. 79, Art. 13, pp. 1115-1118.

[2] Interview with Jeanette Miller, Oklahoma City, December 27, 1959.

regular work of the county normal institutes as well as regular credit courses leading to normal school graduation. At the University of Oklahoma, too, some teacher training was being offered. High schools were being developed and the need for higher qualification among the teachers was recognized.

At the University of Oklahoma, President David Ross Boyd had expressed a purpose to articulate the work of the university with that of the graded and elementary schools. His position was that the work of the university was part of the public school system. The school was open, he said, to all who desired an education, tuition free.[1]

Social forces in 1896, however, were operating to restrict the availability of these attractive educational facilities at Norman, as this article indicates:

> In the southern portion of the Oklahoma Territory, White Cappers are running the Negroes out of the country. At Norman, not one Negro remains.[2]

Accordingly, in the summer of 1896, the Association delegated its County Normal Committee to ascertain the availability of facilities of the territorial normal school at Edmond. Concerning this action, William Sulcer reported:

> We took Cynthia Ware to Edmond to enroll her in the teachers' course in the normal school. E. D. Murdaugh was president. We took her to the registrar; he sent us to the president; the president sent us to the

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[1]Oklahoma, Report of the Governor, 1896, p. 6.

[2]The Kingfisher Press (Kingfisher, Oklahoma), September 24, 1896.

> Board of Education. She was not enrolled. The next year, in 1897, the legislature met and passed a bill, in January, to set up the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston.[1]

At the time, forces were already in motion that would effect the provision of separate facilities in higher education for the Negro people of Oklahoma. A number of the southern states had already established agricultural and mechanical colleges under support of the New Morrill Fund created by the New Morrill Act of August 30, 1890. This Act carried a proviso that states maintaining land grant colleges under provisions of the Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, should make no distinction based on race or color in the admission of students to such colleges. Another part of the Act provided that states or territories establishing separate colleges for whites and Negroes might receive Morrill funds for support of both colleges if the funds received were equitably divided.[2] In Oklahoma Territory, the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater was receiving support from the Morrill Fund. In 1896, however, it was the plan of the territorial governor to establish a separate institution of higher learning for the Negro people. In his biennial message of January 10, 1895, to the Secretary of

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer (charter member of the association of Negro teachers in Oklahoma Territory), Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

[2]U. S. Bureau of Education, Negro Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 38 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 120.

the Interior, he had recommended the establishment of a territorial school of higher education for the Negroes which, while complying with the terms of the Morrill Act of 1890, would effect the complete separation of the races at all levels of the educational system. In that year, also, he had vetoed a civil rights bill which had been aimed against race segregation.[1] The establishment of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston "was the triumph of Governor Renfrow's policy of race segregation for which, as a democrat, he had vigorously contended."[2]

It is interesting to note, however, that when McCabe had founded the town of Langston in 1890, one section of the site had been designated as "college heights."[3] When bidding took place for location of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University in 1897, Langston was the victor. Sulcer reminisced:

> We had a denominational school at Choctaw with a ten acre tract, two buildings, and three departments. We thought we would get the location at Choctaw; the school there had been running for three or four years. But Langston outbid us. They offered forty acres.[4]

Expansion of the Territorial Association

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[1]Oklahoma Territory, Council Journal (1895), p. 28.

[2]Dora Ann Stewart, "The Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1930), p. 313.

[3]The Langston Herald (Langston, Oklahoma Territory), November 17, 1892.

[4]Interview with William Sulcer, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 10, 1960.

Following J. D. Randolph (1893-1898) as president of the Ida M. Wells Teachers' Association came three other presidents--William C. Sulcer, Choctaw (1898-1900); John W. Sharpe, Oklahoma City (1900-1902); and L. E. Cunningham, Guthrie (1902-1904). The activities of Sulcer have already been described.

Sharpe was a graduate of Teachers' College, Emporia, Kansas. That he held considerable prestige as an educator in the Territory is indicated in these excerpts from newspaper articles:

> Mr. Sharpe has been re-elected principal of the colored school in Oklahoma City. He is one of the best educated teachers in the territory and his success during the past year was such as to make his re-election a certainty.[1]

> Principal Sharpe, of the Douglass colored school, reported his school in good condition and the attendance the largest in the history of the city.[2]

During the Sharpe administration, 3,929 Negro children were enrolled in the separate schools of the territory. This was about two-thirds of the number enumerated (6,136) and was rather a high percentage in enrollment, for the times.[3] However, in meetings of the Ida M. Wells Teachers' Association, considerable time was spent in discussing how to get more of the children into the schools. By this time, the teachers

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[1]Oklahoma School Herald (Oklahoma Territory), Vol. 6, No. 7, May, 1898.

[2]Daily Oklahoman, April 3, 1901.

[3]Oklahoma Territory, Report of the Governor, 1900.

of Logan County held membership in the association, including those of the Colored and Agricultural and Normal University, most of whom had formerly been public school teachers in Oklahoma, Logan, and Kingfisher counties.[1]

L. E. Cunningham of Guthrie completed in large part the task of bringing together the teachers of Oklahoma Territory to share their professional interests and work out group methods of solving their problems. Impetus was given to this work with the organization of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools in 1904. This organization, "corresponding in purpose and method to the National Education Association,"[2] was invited to send its national president, J. R. E. Lee of Tuskegee Institute, to speak at the annual meeting of the territorial association in Oklahoma in 1904. He explained the objectives of the national association, "to promote and to implement the functioning-achievement of America's objectives: "Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher.'"[3] The appearance of J. R. E. Lee as convention speaker in 1904 generated an interest in affiliating with the national teachers' organization.

Territorial school systems represented in the

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 10, 1960.

[2]U. S. Bureau of Education, Negro Education, p. 21.

[3]Letter from H. Councill Trenholm to F. D. Moon, February, 1956 (in the files of the Association).

territorial organization of Negro teachers, at the end of the Cunningham administration, included:

County	Town or City
Blaine	Watonga, Geary, Okeene
Canadian	El Reno, Okarche
Cleveland	
Garfield	Enid
Grant	Pond Creek
Kay	
Kingfisher	Kingfisher, Hennessey
Lincoln	Chandler, Stroud, Wellston
Logan	Guthrie, Langston
Oklahoma	Oklahoma City, Choctaw, Luther
Pawnee	Pawnee, Cleveland
Payne	Stillwater, Cushing
Pottawatomie	Tecumseh, Shawnee, McLoud, Arcadia
Woods	Alva

Summary

The training institutes attended by Negro teachers of Oklahoma County in 1891 and 1892 provided opportunities for social and professional interactions that led to the organization of the Ida M. Wells Teachers' Association in 1893. This territorial organization developed, under leadership of four presidents, to include Negro teachers in 14 counties and 26 communities which had enrolled by 1900, 3,929 children in the territorial separate schools. Activities of the Association, during this period, included efforts to secure improvement in facilities for these schools and for professional advancement of the Negro teachers. The territorial organization provided backgrounds and a nucleus for the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers established after statehood.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATION AND EARLY LEADERSHIP OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Statehood and Reorganization of the Territorial Association

In December, 1907--one month after Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory were united, by act of the federal government, as the State of Oklahoma--sixty-seven teachers of the former "twin territories" met at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, to reorganize their fourteen-year-old territorial association into a state educational organization, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. Host to the teachers, in their organizational meeting, was Inman E. Page, then in his ninth year as president of the University.

John Lampton, veteran educator from Guthrie, issued the call for the historic gathering.[1] Elected as executive officers of the new state association were J. H. A. Brazelton of Oklahoma City, president; John Lampton of Guthrie, vice-president; Harriett Price Jacobson of Oklahoma City,

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[1]Interview with Jeanette Miller, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, December 27, 1959.

secretary; and William C. Sulcer of Oklahoma City, treasurer.[1]

Stated purpose of the Association, as developed during the organizational meeting, was "to raise the standards of Negro education in Oklahoma."[2] Basically, as the records indicate, this purpose was to dominate the work of the state Association throughout the entire period of its active existence. During the period from 1907 to 1925, however, concomitant purposes evolved. These appeared in part to include a development of Negro leadership in education; an encouragement of growth in professional competence among the membership; the promotion of cohesiveness within the group; and development of common understandings, interests, values, and goals.

The development of these organizational purposes during the first seventeen years of statehood is illustrated in accounts of early activities of leaders of the Association, as recalled by certain of its pioneer members and as described in this chapter.

The Choice of Early Leadership, 1907-1924

Sixteen leaders, chosen by nomination from the floor during annual conventions of the Oklahoma Association of

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer (charter member of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers), Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

[2]Ibid.

Negro Teachers, were elected to serve as presidents of the organization in the years 1907-1924. They are listed in Table 3.

TABLE 3

PRESIDENTS OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS, 1907-1924

Name	Dates	Position
J. H. A. Brazelton	1907-1908	Principal, Douglass High School, Oklahoma City
Inman E. Page	1908-1909	President, Colored Agricultural & Normal University
C. B. Bryant	1909-1910	Principal, Manual Training High School, Muskogee
George W. Carry	1910-1911	Principal, Faver High School, Guthrie
E. H. Hall	1911-1912	Principal, Hall School, Hennessey
N. J. Caesar	1912-1913	Principal, Dunbar School, Shawnee
W. E. Day	1913-1914	Principal, Washington School, Sapulpa
E. M. Watson	1914-1915	Principal, Boley High School
T. R. Debnam	1915-1916	Principal, Douglass High School, Oklahoma City
W. H. Fort	1916-1917	Principal, Dunbar School, Okmulgee
Mrs. L. C. Clark	1917-1918	Director of Music, Manual Training School, Muskogee
J. Oscar Spencer	1918-1920	Principal, Lincoln School, Nowata
J. Wilson Pettus	1920-1921	Principal L'Ouverture School, McAlester
Ellis W. Woods	1921-1922	Principal, Booker T. Washington High School Tulsa
Edward E. Weaver	1922-1923	School Administrator, Muskogee
D. G. Horton	1923-1924	Principal, Faver High School, Guthrie

It is noted that with one exception these sixteen leaders were all school principals. Further, the range of selection included schools in only twelve centers: Oklahoma City, the Colored Agricultural and Normal University in Langston, Muskogee, Guthrie, Hennessey, Shawnee, Sapulpa, Boley, Okmulgee, Tulsa, Nowata, and McAlester. Facts pointed out by Scales, in a study of the political history of Oklahoma, constitute a possible reason for the selection of the Association presidency from these twelve centers.

Although at the beginning of statehood there were nearly a million and a half people in Oklahoma, they were three-fourths rural. Five centers with more than 10,000 population had the largest schools with the largest teaching staffs: Oklahoma City, 32,451; Muskogee, 14,418; Guthrie, 11,643; Shawnee, 10,955; and Enid, 10,097. Six other cities had more than 5,000: Ardmore, McAlester, Chickasha, Tulsa, Lawton, and El Reno. All of these cities were located in counties with sizeable Negro populations. In addition, Boley was located in Okfuskee County which had a 40.4 per cent Negro population in 1910. Nowata was in Nowata County where the Negro population constituted 13.7 per cent of the total; Sapulpa--in Creek County, 10.6 per cent; and Hennessey--in Kingfisher County, 12.7 per cent.[1]

The cities and counties cited, from which the early

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[1]James Ralph Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1949" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1949), pp. 21-25.

leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers were selected, were centers of intense political activity in which these school principals necessarily shared. Bardolph has pointed out:

> The maturing Negro community in 1900-1936 concentrated responsibility for "race work" in the professional church, the press, the inter-racial commissions.[1]

The race's achievers, Bardolph stated, had not abdicated such responsibility, but they exerted their pressures now through the organized agencies that a more specialized age demanded. But, the writer further pointed out, ". . . the 'talented tenth' were in fact the principal reliance of these organizations, for the masses showed a surprising inertia."[2]

In Negro communities where, in the first year of statehood, separate schools were established from which came leaders of the state teachers' association, "race work" was a predominant need, an index to which is found in numerous sources, including the objective studies by Scales[3] and Hatcher[4] of political and legal developments in the early

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[1]Richard M. Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 135.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Scales, op. cit., pp. 21-25.

[4]Ollie Everett Hatcher, "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1954).

history of the state. Each early leader chosen was outstanding in his record of service to his Negro community.

The opportunity for frequent and beneficial contacts with state educational officials placed the school principals in first position to serve as representatives of the teachers and the Negro constituencies during the hectic years of educational pioneering in early statehood. Needs arising in conjunction with political and social developments of the times determined their purposes and their activities.

Environmental Challenges for the Early Leaders

In 1906, as Oklahoma prepared for statehood, the race question became an issue constantly held before the public by candidates for seats in the Constitutional Convention. Scales pointed out an interesting aftermath of the election:

> Many delegates faithfully pledged to see that separate cars, waiting rooms, and other segregation measures were incorporated into the constitution.[1]

One causal factor in this situation was that Negroes, emigrating to Oklahoma in greater proportions than whites in the first decade of the twentieth century,[2] had been exerting their political power almost unanimously for the Republican party. A predominant desire for "home rule," held

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[1]Scales, op. cit., p. 33.

[2]Ibid., p. 25.

by members of the Democratic party, motivated many individuals to use whatever tactics seemed useful in routing the Republican party from that tenuous control of government which they had enjoyed, under Federal jurisdiction, except during the presidency of Grover Cleveland, throughout the territorial years. These strategies included the elimination of the Negro as a political factor; the most direct approach and first step in this direction was the further reduction of his social status.[1] So successful were the vote seekers in this effort that two-thirds of the seats in the constitutional convention were obtained by seventy-five persons from former slave territory, with only thirty-five remaining to those from anti-slave states.[2]

During the Convention, according to Scales, fears were expressed that

> . . . thousands of disfranchised Negroes from adjoining states would rush to Oklahoma if the constitution did not incorporate a suffrage exclusion measure, along with separate coaches and other Jim Crow features.[3]

These attitudes created an issue of whether to include segregation measures in the state constitution. A strong conviction on the part of influential leaders that "Theodore Roosevelt would make good on his threat to refuse to proclaim

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[1]William Shorey Harmon, "Oklahoma's Constitutional Amendments" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1951), chap. i.

[2]Scales, op. cit., p. 36.

[3]Ibid., p. 47.

a constitution embodying the usual features of racial discrimination" helped to settle the issue "with the frank understanding on all sides that it would be revived after statehood."[1]

Although the Constitution was ratified by a state-wide margin of five-to-two, the count in counties with heavy Negro populations showed passage by a narrow margin; in Logan County, the margin was only 88 votes; in Woods County, only 326; and in Okfuskee County, only 334. This attested the significance of the Republican vote.[2] Thus, the constitution was adopted with a measure included that was to result in the establishment of separate schools in the state of Oklahoma[3]--the first such law that was to affect the course of the history of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and the direction of its leadership.

Factors of the First Gubernatorial Race and First State Legislation

The significance of the work of early state officials in the historical development of Oklahoma and its institutions has been pointed out by Scales:

> The statutes enacted by the First Legislature would vitalize the general policies enunciated by the constitution. The first governor and his colleagues in the executive branch would be responsible for laying

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 62.

[3] Oklahoma, Constitution, Art. 13, sec. 3.

> down the procedures to guide their successors, and the precedents they established would be proved wise or evil by future application.[1]

During the contest for the governor's chair in 1907, aspirants for the office of chief executive again made capital of the race question. Especially during the campaign in southern counties, the fact was decried that the Republican party had elected Negroes, including territorial deputy auditor McCabe who served as assistant to the territorial superintendent of schools, to office.[2] The successful contender and first governor, however capable, publicly was uncompromisingly pledged to principles by which the First Legislature enacted, as the first statute of Oklahoma, the "Jim Crow law."[3]

The terrific impact of this legislation on the Negro people during the first half-century of statehood can only be suggested in the fact that the environment for education was to become narrowly restricted. Combined with subsequent legislation requiring strict separation of the races in the schools and separate financing of such schools, its ultimate effect was that, in years to come, a majority of cultural, recreational, educational, and economic resources would be enjoyed by the Negro people and their children only when developed within the Negro community. The task for Negro

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[1] Ibid., p. 81

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

[3] Oklahoma, Session Laws (1907), p. 203.

leadership was thus defined; these things must be provided, though the cost be doubled. Funds, aside from tax revenues directed by law to the support of facilities the Negro could not share, must be found for civic, social, moral and spiritual, and, in large part, educational development of Negro youth within the confines of the Negro community.

Professional Challenges for the Early Leaders

Separation of the white and Negro teachers of Oklahoma for all educational purposes was effected in 1908 with the passage of legislation which, in the words of one researcher, required the teachers "to maintain a strict racial cleavage in the schools of the state."[1] By law, the teachers were under penalty neither to teach in nor to attend together, for purposes of teacher improvement, any educational institution, public or private, within the state.[2]

One effect of this legislation was to keep the teachers apart, not only in the schools, but also, for many years, in their voluntary groups organized for purposes of professional communication and for professional self-improvement. This fact was most vividly illustrated when, in 1909, State Superintendent of Public Instruction E. D. Cameron, who was also president of the Oklahoma

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[1]Ollie Everett Hatcher, "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1954), p. 105.

[2]Oklahoma, Session Laws (1907-1908), pp. 694-695.

Education Association, sought a place for Dr. Inman E. Page, president of Langston University and of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, on the speakers platform of the annual convention of the white teachers. Apparently for reasons connected with this effort, the Superintendent later was subjected to a libel suit brought by a former professor in the Alva normal school just at the inopportune time of his campaign for re-election to his position as State Superintendent of the public schools.[1] He lost to his opponent.

The range of immediate sources for professional enrichment thus restricted, the Negro teachers delved into their own resources, eventually establishing and developing means for both communication and state-wide exchange of educational ideas.

Organization for Leadership

Reports from the ranks and from early leaders indicate that the interests and activities of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in early years were largely the interests and activities of its leaders. Communication between the two elements, leadership and ranks, appears to have been somewhat incomplete, perhaps for the reason that, aside from the annual conventions, no continuous method of communication between these two elements had yet been established.

The organization for leadership within the Association

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[1]Scales, op. cit., p. 126

was very close-knit in early years. An indication of this is that, almost without exception, names of early leaders of the state association appear consistently on rosters of conductors and instructors of the county normal institutes held each year for improvement of the qualifications of teachers. Numerous opportunities existed each year for these leaders to meet. In conjunction with supervisors and inspectors of the rural schools, from which came the majority of teachers attending these institutes, they frequently delved into and reported the problems of the separate schools. The effect of their informal small-group discussions, in clarifying problems and defining goals, cannot be over-exaggerated. It was in these situations that Negro educational leaders shared information concerning financial problems of the separate schools in each community; the problems of disfranchisement with which the Negro population had to cope, legally from 1910 to 1914 and extra-legally thereafter until about 1920;[1] and other challenges accruing in outcome of school legislation enacted in 1907, 1909, 1911, and 1913.

Problems of out-of-school youth were considered, as were the needs for local organizations of parents and teachers. Professional problems of teachers received attention, as did the growing movement for accreditation of schools. The Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston

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[1]Lee E. Lewis, "Political Activities of the Negro After Statehood" (unpublished manuscript dated June 16, 1939, in the files of Carolyn Dunjee Kelly, Oklahoma City), p. 3. Cf. Harmon, op. cit., ch. i.

and its problems in finance, staff, and curriculum were never forgotten. Cooperative study of resources in publications from the State Department of Education--which portrayed, in numerous illustrations, superior educational facilities provided for children of the majority race and clearly showed, in graphic statistical reviews, the differential between financial support of majority and separate schools[1]--all these contributed to the general knowledge and kept the Association leaders stimulated in their resolve and active in their effort, encouraging teachers and communities to promote improvement of the program for education of Negroes in Oklahoma.

Qualifications for Leadership

Sharing ideas in this process of organization for leadership were outstanding Negro educators, listed in Tables 4 and 5, who served as conductors and instructors of county normal institutes during the period 1913 to 1916. Required by the statutes and by the State Board of Education thoroughly to know school law,[2] each of these representatives had further qualified himself by meeting one or the other of these interesting prerequisites for directing the early work of teachers in Oklahoma:

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[1]Oklahoma State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Reports (1912-1924).

[2]Oklahoma State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Fifth Biennial Report (1914), pp. 122-123.

TABLE 4

NEGRO CONDUCTORS AND INSTRUCTORS OF COUNTY NORMAL INSTITUTES AND NUMBERS OF TEACHERS IN ATTENDANCE JUNE, 1913*

County	Location of Institute	Attendance[a]	Conductor	Instructors
Atoka Bryan Coal Marshall Latimer	Atoka	66	I. B. McCutcheon	M. A. Guest S. C. Counts
Carter	Ardmore	57	W. E. Day[b]	G. A. Kenyon
Creek Okmulgee	Okmulgee	71	W. H. Fort[b]	P. W. Watman Mrs. J. E. Porter
Kingfisher	Kingfisher	94	E. H. Hall[b]	M. J. Johnson F. F. Bailey
Logan Lincoln Oklahoma	Chandler	107	G. W. Carry[b]	J. C. Whitaker Mrs. L. L. Sawner A. J. Scales
McCurtain	Idabel	48	E. W. Bailey	C. F. Hughes
Muskogee	Muskogee	135	C. B. Bryant[b]	B. F. Wilson R. H. Graham Mrs. N. Greene T. W. Grissom[b] Mrs. B. L. Vaughn

TABLE 4--Continued

County	Location of Institute	Attendance[a]	Conductor	Instructors
Okfuskee	Boley	100	B. F. Abner	E. M. Watson E. L. Coffey M. P. McRiley
Pittsburg	McAlester	-	J. W. Pettus[b]	J. O. Spencer[b]
Wagoner	Wagoner	64	J. H. Smiley	C. M. White

*Oklahoma State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Fifth Biennial Report (1914), p. 174.

[a]Total attendance: 742 plus unknown number of teachers at Pittsburg County Institute.

[b]Early presidents of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

TABLE 5

NEGRO EDUCATIONAL LEADERS OF OKLAHOMA WHO SERVED AS CONDUCTORS AND INSTRUCTORS OF COUNTY NORMAL INSTITUTES JUNE-JULY, 1914, 1915, 1916*

Date	Name[a]	Position	County	Location of Institute	Attendance
1914	W. R. Wimms L. J. D. Young	Instructor Instructor	Atoka-Coal-Pontotoc	Atoka	19
1914	H. J. Hilburn	Instructor	Garvin-Carter	Ardmore	43
1914	F. J. Gordon J. C. Mebane C. E. Buttram	Instructor Instructor Conductor	LeFlore	Poteau	54
1914	William A. Hill J. I. Jones W. B. Jones	Conductor Instructor Instructor	McIntosh	Eufaula	69
1914	Mrs. L. C. Clemons	Instructor	Wagoner	Wagoner	68
1915	Inman E. Page[b]	Conductor	Lincoln-Logan-Oklahoma	Langston	32
1915	J. R. White	Instructor	Garvin-Carter-McClain	Rentiesville	75

TABLE 5--Continued

Date	Name[a]	Position	County	Location of Institute	Attendance
1915	Z. J. Nevels	Instructor	Cherokee	Tahlequah	57
1915	J. R. Hogan J. H. McRiley	Instructor Instructor	Pittsburg- Seminole	McAlester	119
1915	A. C. Priestly	Conductor	Sequoyah	Vian	29
1915	J. W. Hughes[b]	Instructor	Creek- Okmulgee- Tulsa	Okmulgee	131
1916	F. A. Bills S. A. Hammond S. G. Johnson	Instructor Instructor Instructor	Creek- Okmulgee- Tulsa	Okmulgee	145
1916	O. D. Hutton	Conductor	Atoka	Atoka	55
1916	R. A. Long C. F. Hughes	Conductor Instructor	Choctaw- McCurtain- Pushmataha	Idabel	70
1916	J. M. Marquess D. G. Horton[b]	Conductor Instructor	Lincoln- Logan- Oklahoma	Langston	92
1916	R. N. Pyrtle H. H. Gladney Mrs. P. C. Bradley	Conductor Instructor Instructor	Okfuskee	Boley	84

TABLE 5--Continued

Date	Name[a]	Position	County	Location of Institute	Attendance
1916	W. H. Haynes	Instructor	McIntosh	Eufaula	72
1916	Edward Dobbins Mrs. Hazel McDaniel	Instructor Instructor	Pittsburg	McAlester	38
1916	R. S. Mitchell	Instructor	Rogers	Claremore	100
1916	J. H. Smiley	Instructor	Wagoner	Wagoner	67

*Oklahoma State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Fifth Biennial Report (1914), p. 174; Sixth Biennial Report (1916), p. 225.

[a]Leaders who served in institutes of 1913, as well as in those of 1914-1916, are not here included. For complete listing, see reference above.

[b]Early presidents of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Conductor's Certification: Examination in Oklahoma school law, philosophy of education, rhetoric and composition, American literature, English literature, history of education, psychology, methods and management, with a general average of ninety per cent of the examination and no grade below seventy-five per cent.

One year of experience as instructor in an institute and five years of successful teaching experience.

Possible certification upon recommendation by reasons of professional fitness for institute work and of holding state certificates or normal diplomas; or of "eminent professional experience and ability in educational work."[1]

Instructor's Certification: Examination in all subjects required for conductor's certification except philosophy of education and Oklahoma school law, the examination having been taken the last Saturday in January at the office of a county superintendent.

Qualification to the extent of at least a first-grade county certificate, which certified that the person to whom it was issued was proficient in and fully qualified to teach

Algebra	American literature
Physics	United States history
Arithmetic	Elementary psychology
Music	English grammar
Reading	Elements of agriculture
Writing	Physiology and hygiene
Composition	Oklahoma history and government
Civics	Theory and practice of teaching
Geography	General history.[2]
Orthography	
Domestic science	

Three years of successful experience as a teacher.[3]

Presented in Plates I and II are interesting examples of teaching certificates earned by these early educational leaders in Oklahoma: (1) Teacher's certificate of the first-grade issued to James T. A. West, Claremore, by the County Superintendent, Rogers County, in 1911; and

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 126.

[3] Ibid., p. 122.

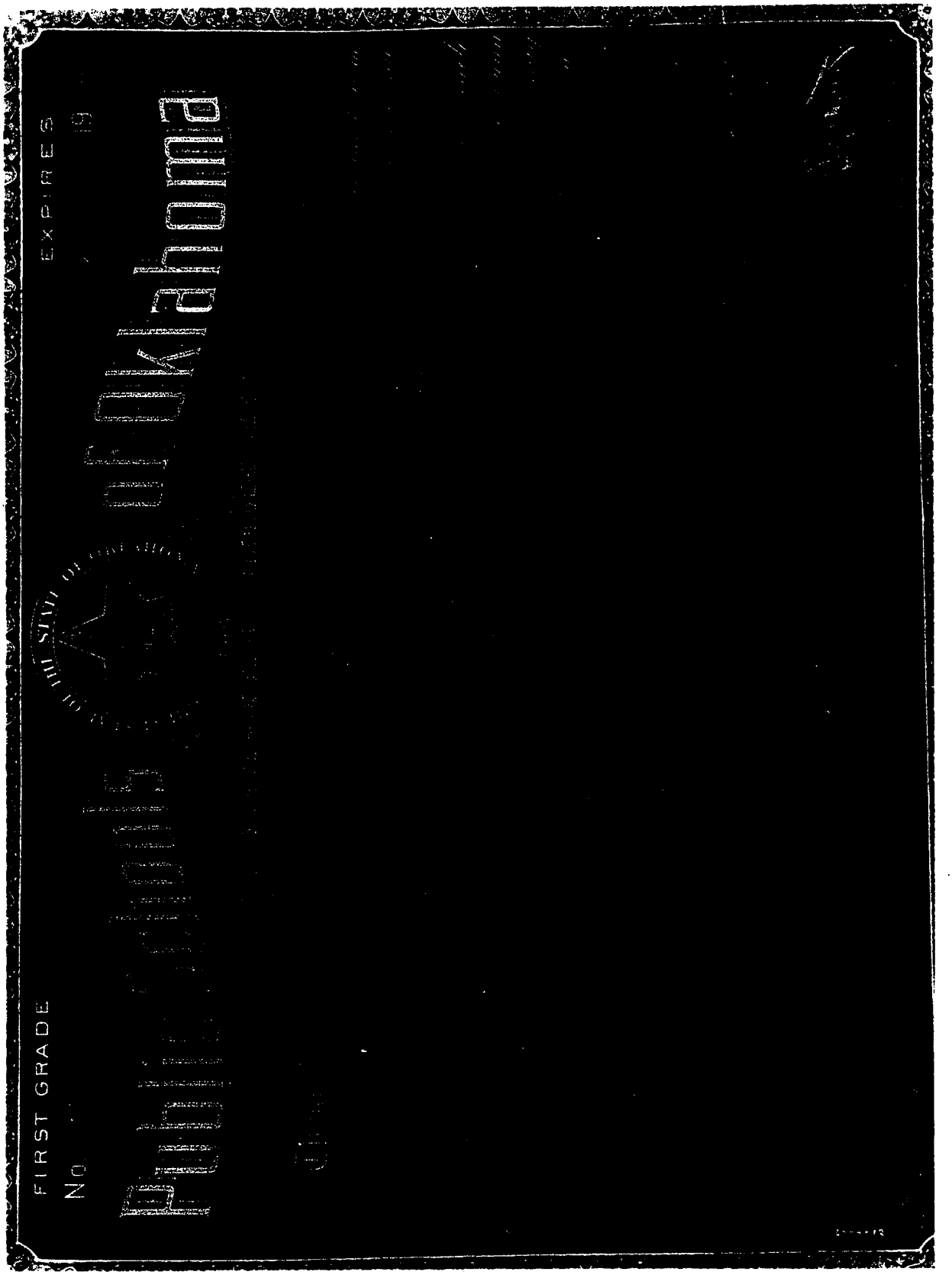

PLATE I

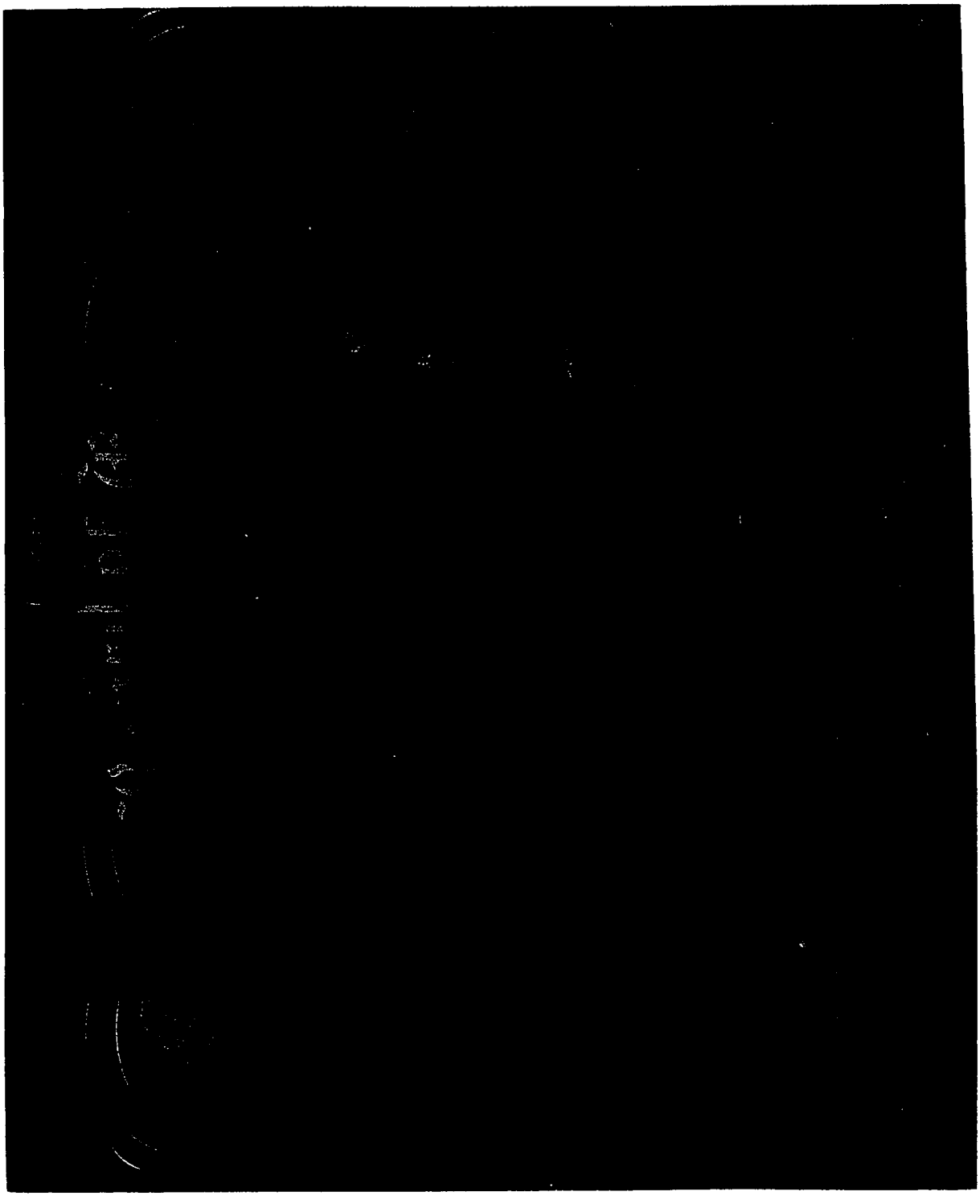

PLATE II

(2) conductor's normal institute certificate issued to West by the State Board of Education in 1914.

Early Interests and Activities of the Association and Its Leaders

As a group, early leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers have been cited for their legislative interests and efforts. These culminated in legislative enactments, in 1921, and judicial decisions, in 1926 and 1930, that broadened the base for financial support of the separate schools.[1]

In connection with one of their first major efforts, carried on from 1919 to 1921, one mill was added to the permissible levy which could be made by excise boards on all taxable property of counties for support of the separate schools, the ceiling thus being raised from one to two mills.[2] Over a period of years, this provision was to bring hundreds of thousands of dollars to the separate schools. In addition, the legislature, in 1921, responded to their urgent statements of need by appropriating $35,000 for the separate schools as the first special grant in aid from the state for weak schools.[3] In 1926 and 1930, appeals quietly

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[1]F. D. Moon, "What Has the State Teachers' Association Done?" The Journal of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers (February, 1949), p. 3.

[2]Oklahoma, Session Laws of 1921, c. 48, Senate Bill 323, Act of March 31, 1921.

[3]Ibid., c. 36, sec. 1.

sponsored by the Association resulted in state supreme court decisions entitling the separate schools to an equitable share of the gross production tax and other state aid funds apportioned among the common schools of Oklahoma.[1]

An article by J. W. Pettus, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in 1920, describes in part the first cited effort, spearheaded from 1919 to 1921 by school principals J. Oscar Spencer of Nowata, J. W. Pettus of McAlester, and W. H. Fort of Okmulgee, with the help of Governors J. B. A. Robertson and Jack Walton and of William Sulcer and others among state and community leaders of the time:

> Because of the existence of county high schools in some counties at the beginning of statehood, the Constitution provided that, in addition to the provisions it had made otherwise for the maintenance of public schools, an additional levy not to exceed two mills may be made in those counties and in such others as might establish them. One mill may be used for the support of these high schools, and the other goes to supplement the common school fund (Oklahoma, Constitution, Article X, section 9). For several years after statehood, this one mill was taken to mean and became accepted as the sole means of raising revenue for the maintenance of the separate or colored schools. During this regime the general condition of the schools was pitiable.
>
> In the year 1919 a poll was taken of the sixty-odd counties containing colored schools to discover what was being done in the way of supporting them; and it developed that of this number, only five counties were levying the full one mill for the support of these

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[1]Moon, op. cit., p. 3. These cases included Board of Commissioners of Carter County et al. v. School District 19, Carter County, 248 Pac. 324; and Grubb v. Smiley, Treasurer Tulsa County, 285 Pac. 38, December 10, 1929. Cf., also, Charles S. Roberts, "Negro Education in Oklahoma" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Colorado, 1930), pp. 21, 77.

> schools. Many counties having several colored schools were levying a half mill or less.
>
> This revelation formed the basis for agitation which became so rife in 1920 that the legislature was induced to enact in 1921 a law authorizing a two-mill levy as a maximum for the separate schools, and making it mandatory for the proper support of the separate schools.[1]

It is interesting to note that leaders outstanding in the history of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers were members of an inter-racial committee on human relations organized, in December, 1920, about one month after the election of Jack Walton as governor of the state. A study of the work of this committee reads in part:

> In 1920, an inter-racial committee was organized to bring about a closer understanding between both races. The organization was encouraged by J. B. A. Robertson before the expiration of his office tenure. The white men who attended the meeting of this committee held in the halls of the House of Representatives were:
>
> Adjutant-General F. Barrett, John R. Boardman and J. R. Keaton, all of Oklahoma City; Prof. Jerome K. Dowd of Norman, R. W. Clymer of Okmulgee. Negro committeemen were: Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City; J. Oscar Spencer, Nowata; G. W. F. Sawner, Chandler; R. Emmett Stewart, Muskogee; and D. J. Wallace of Okmulgee. J. B. Thoburn, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, along with Governor Robertson, promised the idea of the conference.
>
> Through recommendations, the committee pledged to support a strict and impartial enforcement of the law on the statute books; the protection of the law to be furnished every citizen so that it will be impossible for any court official to discriminate against any person or group of persons; any cause that will eliminate lynchings and mob-violence; a just and fair distribution of the best educational facilities among all the people; the cause for equal and just accommodations for the Negroes as were furnished the whites in all places where they were separate; the movement of equal wages for equal work and equal economic opportunity for all citizens; the abolishment of all unsanitary living and housing

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[1]Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, The Teachers' Journal (1924), Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1.

> conditions; non-discrimination in the matters of public improvements such as paving, lighting, and sewerage; provisions to create parks and playgrounds for both whites and Negroes; and to take immediate action to affiliate with the General Inter-racial Commission. In making the organization permanent, it was agreed that fifteen members of each race of the State would constitute the commission.[1]

The recommendations of this committee described rather well many of the aspects of that "higher type of citizenship"[2] toward which, as stated in the constitution of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, the educators and their leaders worked through the years. Social conditions implied in the statement quoted above were a factor which affected the course of the entire history of the organization and of the Negro community within which it moved.

Summary

The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was organized in December, 1907, at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, Oklahoma. Sixty-seven teachers were counted as charter members at the organizational meeting.

Early presidents of the Association, 1907-1924,[3] with one exception, were school principals outstanding both

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[1]Lee M. Lewis (unpublished manuscript dated June 13, 1939, in the files of Mrs. Carolyn Countee Kelly, teacher, Moon Junior High School, Oklahoma City).

[2]Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Constitution. See Appendix I.

[3]See Plate III.

PIONEER EDUCATIONAL STATESMEN



These former and early presidents of the Oklahoma Association are:

Sitting, left to right: E. M. Watson, C. B. Bryant, Inman E. Page, N. J. Caesar, W. E. Day.

Standing, left to right: T. W. Grissom, E. W. Woods, J. Wilson Pettus, Mrs. Clark, J. Oscar Spencer, W. H. Fort, and J. W. Hughes.

"The stately ships move on to their haven under the hill." Only two of the pioneer educational statesmen remain, namely, "Young" E. M. Watson, Shawnee, and "Miracle Man J. W. Hughes, Tulsa.

PRESIDENTS OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

1. J. H. A. Brazelton 1907*
2. Inman E. Page 1908*
3. C. B. Bryant 1909*
4. George W. Carry 1910*
5. E. H. Hall 1911*
6. N. J. Caesar 1912*
7. W. E. Day 1913*
8. E. M. Watson 1914
9. T. R. Debnam 1915
10. W. H. Fort 1916*
11. L. C. Clark 1917*
12. J. Oscar Spencer 1918-19*
13. J. Wilson Pettus 1920*
14. E. W. Woods 1921*
15. E. E. Weaver 1922
16. D. G. Horton 1923
17. T. W. Grissom 1924*
18. S. L. Hargrove 1925
19. J. W. Hughes 1926
20. W. G. Sneed 1927*
21. W. C. Jones 1928*
22. F. D. Moon 1929
23. Z. T. Hubert 1930
24. R. Goodwin Parrish 1931
25. J. W. Sanford 1932*
26. W. A. Dobson 1933
27. C. R. Buford 1934
28. W. E. Anderson 1935
29. J. T. A. West 1936
30. L. A. Hill 1937*
31. T. P. Scott 1938
32. A. M. Jordan 1939
33. J. E. Buford 1940*
34. D. Adolph Williams 1941
35. L. L. McGee 1942*
36. George Tillman 1943
37. Zelia N. Breaux 1944-45
38. C. L. Cole 1946*
39. C. R. Johns 1947
40. G. W. Smith 1948
41. Henry C. Whitlow Jr. 1949
42. E. W. Tolliver 1950
43. A. M. Tompkins 1951
44. H. F. V. Wilson 1952
45. C. A. Jackson 1953
46. F. F. Alexander 1954

* *Deceased*

PLATE III

for community leadership in twelve centers of large Negro population in Oklahoma and for professional leadership exerted as conductors and instructors in early county normal institutes for teachers. Both environmental and professional challenges contributed to the nature of early organization for leadership and to the development of organizational purposes.

The early period appears predominantly to have been one of internal development, with emphasis on expansion of the membership, development of leadership, knowledge of the developing state school system, knowledge of the educational environment in Negro communities throughout the state, and improvement of professional competence through stress on the values of in-service training. Toward the end of the period, state legislation to relieve problems of financing the separate schools emerged as a predominant goal of the organization. The legislative interests and efforts of early leaders have been documented in the records of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

CHAPTER VI

LEADERSHIP AND THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE DECADE OF THE 'TWENTIES

Introduction

Recent studies of human relations, work organization, and programs of groups in action have introduced a definition of leadership as "influence upon organizational effectiveness and efficiency."[1] From this definitive standpoint, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers had, within its ranks, a number of able leaders. Among these, each who served as president of the organization could be characterized by some distinctive emphasis, either of his administration or of his career as an educator, to which the Association is thought to have contributed by affording encouragement and support, a cause, and a milieu for the development of his potential in leadership.

Analysis of activities of the Association and its leaders in the decade of the 1920's has revealed three evidences of development in the organization and its program:

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[1]Kenneth D. Benne and Grace Levit, "The Nature of Groups and Helping Groups Improve Their Operation," Review of Educational Research, XXIII (Washington: American Educational Research Association, 1953), No. 4, 292.

(1) a broadening of areas for leadership and internal development, (2) an extension of the educational program for Negro teachers in Oklahoma and for their students, and (3) a re-awakening of interests in legislative activity toward expansion of the base for financial support of the separate schools. Contributing largely to these indications of change during the 'twenties were certain precedents established by major leaders of the time. As through the years the Association developed the patterns they initiated, these leaders appeared to fulfill the function of influence upon organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

Expansion of Areas for Leadership and Internal Development

Change in Base of Administration

From the beginning, administrative organization within the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers[1] had been centralized among those educators who had come into the Territory and state with prior training and educational experience. These were men and women who furnished both the leadership and the task force for developing the early program of Negro education in Oklahoma.

The 1913-1916 lists of conductors of county normal institutes and of pioneer presidents of the Association

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[1]Sometimes referred to, in references hereafter, as OANT.

reveal in large part the names of Oklahoma's prominent Negro administrators of the first two decades of the twentieth century. These were the leaders in the most populous communities, the pioneers in improvement of legislation for the separate schools, and the vanguard of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.[1]

By 1922, however, the vanguard was gaining a new status; quietly but persistently they were acquiring that inevitable token of changing times--the title of "Old Guard" within the Association. Combined forces of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University and the county normal institutes were producing a new yield in potential educational statesmen--younger men and women anxious to enrich the Association program through exercise of their abilities in leadership. Moreover, in 1922, there were now employed in the state of Oklahoma 1,170 Negro teachers eligible, upon becoming members, to participate in regulating the affairs of the Association.[2]

It appeared that if the elder leaders were to retain control, it would be necessary to devise a method of elections different from that of nominating executive officers of the Association from the floor of the annual convention, as then practiced. The "new crowd," with such emerging leaders

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[1]Supra, pp. 71, 73.

[2]U. S. Bureau of Education, Public Education in Oklahoma (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 336.

as F. D. Moon, of Crescent, and J. T. A. West, of Tulsa, was becoming too numerous and too articulate for the "Old Guard" long to feel secure in their places as status leaders in the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.[1]

Establishment of a New Constitution

Ostensibly in the name of progress, for the method of election by nominations from the floor was admittedly cumbersome and time-consuming, the pioneers delegated a committee of five to draft a new constitution. The basic law would be revised to expedite the elections, thus increasing the time available for the professional work of the organization during its general conventions.

Fathers of the new constitution were J. Oscar Spencer, Nowata; J. Wilson Pettus, Langston University; W. H. Fort, Okmulgee; and E. M. Watson, Shawnee. D. Harriett Christburg, Oklahoma City, secretary of the Association, served as fifth member and secretary for the committee.[2] At the general convention in 1923, the proposed new laws of the Association, as drafted by the Committee of Five, were presented to the general body for their approval and adoption.

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer (charter member of OANT), Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

[2]Interview with F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary of OANT, January 2, 1960, and letter from Lena L. Henderson Russell, former secretary of OANT, Enid, December 28, 1959.

According to the draft, the time and place of the annual meeting, for many years a bone of contention, would be designated by the Executive Committee, subject to ratification by the Business Council. Membership in the Association might be granted to any person engaged in educational work in Oklahoma, the required membership fee being one dollar, payable annually.

Officers for the Association would be a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. All of these would be elected by the Executive Committee at its regular session ninety days before the annual meeting of the Association. Names of the officers elected would be presented to the Business Council (delegate assembly) for ratification at the annual meeting.

The president should perform the usual duties of his office; preside over meetings of the Executive Committee and of the Business Council; sign all contracts and other instruments approved by the Executive Committee and countersign all warrants drawn on the Association treasury. He should call all meetings of the Executive Committee when necessary and cause the secretary to give due notice of the same. Should he for any reason fail to perform this duty, meetings of the Executive Committee should be called by a majority of its members.

The vice-president should perform the usual duties of his office. The treasurer should receive and keep all

funds of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, paying them out only by warrants drawn by the secretary and countersigned by the president, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

The secretary should keep the minutes of the sessions of the Association, a roll of members, and an account of all money received and expended; should call the roll of members at the beginning of each day's sessions; should collect all fees and should gather statistics and other data which would show the educational progress of the state. For this service the secretary would receive compensation of fifty dollars. He should be the only person authorized to issue certificates of membership entitling persons to attend meetings and participate in proceedings and to receive, without cost, all publications of the Association. He should prepare uniform receipts and supply them to secretaries of the local and county divisions for use by members as credentials for entrance into annual meetings of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

The secretary should receive, within ten days after the annual meeting, reports from the secretary of each department, who should furnish a complete record of the proceedings of his department. Publication of minutes of the annual convention would be a final responsibility of the outgoing secretary.

The Executive Committee would have numerous

responsibilities in addition to the election of the president, secretary, vice-president, and treasurer of the Association:

1. They should designate the committees on amendments, resolutions, legislation, appropriations and expense, auditing, and credentials. They should approve all reports of these committees under their authority. Further, they should fill all vacancies in any of these committees which might occur by reason of death, resignation, removal, inability to serve, or other cause.

2. They should prescribe the qualifications of the secretary, fix his salary, and outline his duties in conformity with the constitution. Moreover, they should elect a treasurer who should give a surety bond, not less than double the amount of his holdings, for faithful performance of his duties and proper administration of the funds of the Association. The expense of the bond would be paid by the Association.

3. The Executive Committee should conduct, manage, and control the affairs of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and adopt rules and regulations not inconsistent with the constitution of the Association, such general policy of management and control having been ratified by the Business Council.

4. The Executive Committee should incur only such indebtedness as the Business Council might approve.

5. The Committee should keep in its minutes an accurate record of all its proceedings, which should be published in the annual report of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

6. Finally, they should fill all vacancies among officers of the Association or in the Executive Committee.

Membership on the Executive Committee would be restricted. Only persons actively engaged in school work might become eligible for such membership, and, as noted, vacancies would be filled by the Committee itself. Six members would constitute the Committee; each would serve a

term of three years. Two new members would be elected each year as two retired.

The first Executive Committee would consist of two members elected for one year; two for two years; and two for three years. That committee and those of the future would meet semi-annually, one meeting to be held at least ninety days before the regular meeting of the Association. The Association would provide expenses for two meetings each year; other special meetings called by the president would require that the Executive Committee Members bear their own expenses. The Committee should have the power of decision by mail on propositions submitted to them in writing with full explanation thereof.

The Business Council, or delegate assembly, should have charge of the business of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. This Council should consist of one delegate elected from each county association: provided, also, that each city school system or state educational institution employing not fewer than five teachers should be entitled to one additional delegate to the Business Council. Each county or local unit could be entitled to representation only if at least seventy per cent of its teachers were members of the Association. In fulfilling its responsibilities, the Business Council should:

1. Elect the Executive Committee.
2. Approve the budget of appropriations and expense.

3. Approve resolutions.

4. Approve contemplated legislation.

5. Approve the annual audit.

6. Consider other such business as might properly be brought to its attention.

7. Approve the policies of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers as presented and recommended by the Executive Committee.

The Program Committee, highly important in the planning of annual conventions, would have four ex-officio members: the president of the Association, the secretary, the treasurer, and the principal of the high school of the city wherein the annual meeting should be held.

To amend the constitution, an involved and lengthy procedure would be provided. Any proposed amendment must be presented first to the Committee on Amendments; after their consideration, it should pass to the Executive Committee. If the Executive Committee approved the proposed amendment, it should be presented by them to the Business Council, who, if they approved it, would present it to the State Association for ratification. The proposed amendment should be published, however, at least one month prior to the meeting of the Association.

The method of procedure in all meetings of business assemblies of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers should be based on Roberts' Rules of Order.

As the draft of the proposed new constitution was

being read before the convention of the state association in 1923, several younger members, including F. D. Moon of Crescent, noticed what appeared to be proposals for an inordinate centralization of control in the Executive Committee of the future. It appeared, as the duties of that governing body were outlined, that control even of amendments to the constitution would lie in the hands of that group of six out of more than a thousand members of the Association.

Recognizing in this new plan practically the same concentration of responsibilities among a chosen few as before, Moon obtained the floor to propose at least an alternative method of amending the constitution, one more democratic, he believed, than that profferred in the new draft. His idea was that of allowing an amending proposal, if supported by one-fifth of the general body, to be presented and approved during the general convention, thus obviating the necessity for that long and cumbersome procedure outlined in the new draft. This method also would reduce the imminent absolute control about to be handed to the Executive Committee, by whom the Committee on Amendments would be appointed.

The president, however, promptly ruled the twenty-six year old Crescent school principal out of order, and consideration of the new basic law, as drafted by the elders, continued without much further interruption from the neophytes. The proposed new constitution, with few changes,

was adopted by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers during their annual convention in Oklahoma City in 1924, Guthrie principal D. G. Horton, presiding. (See Appendix I.)

With the establishment of the new constitution had come a new statement of organizational purposes:

> We, the Teachers of the State of Oklahoma, in order to make more effectual the efforts of the schools of our State, to develop a higher type of citizenship and create a deeper interest in education, have organized ourselves under the following Constitution. . . .[1]

Elder leaders of the Association, in bringing about a revision and readoption of the constitution in 1924, had established a basis for harmonious and orderly procedure that increased immensely the time for development of phases of the organizational program other than the purely administrative. The groundwork for progress and expansion had been laid and each remaining year of the decade saw new developments of the Association program initiated under each new administration.

Establishment of New Media of Communications

Elected president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, in 1924, was Thomas W. Grissom, Bristow separate school principal and founder of the Jeanes Teachers Department of the Association. In the year of the Grissom administration, publication of first issues of the

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[1] Constitution of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers (1924-1927).

Teachers' Journal constituted a major emphasis by leaders of the organization. Establishment of the periodical, official organ of the Association, 1924-1928, was the first of four efforts by these leaders to provide a medium for continuous statewide communication among the Negro teachers of Oklahoma and to develop a method for continual advancement of the organization and its educational program.

In 1925, the Association delegated to the Executive Committee the responsibility of promoting and publishing the Teachers' Journal and of serving as an editorial board for the periodical.[1] S. L. Hargrove, newly elected president of the Association and member of the faculty at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, was named business manager for the publication that year.[2] Opportunities were thus expanded for this group to exert educational leadership and professional influence through the selection of materials in statewide communications.

Promotion of Structural Expansion

An effort at structural development within the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was made, in 1925,

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[1]Five school principals, one classroom teacher, and one director of college extension services were members of the editorial board for the Teachers' Journal in 1925. The school principals were E. W. Woods, Tulsa, chairman; F. D. Moon, Crescent; L. Lena Sawner, Chandler; N. J. Caesar, Shawnee; and R. E. Tippins, Grayson. The classroom teacher was Nellie Weaver Greene, Muskogee, and the college extension director was J. Wilson Pettus, Langston.

when the Executive Committee presented this complaint in the Teachers' Journal[1] before issuing a plan which had been submitted to them for organization of districts throughout the state:

> We cannot discredit or indict the idea of a district association. It seems to be logical to have the state districted for convenience, economy, and an increased professional contact. But it is everything else if we are to have one district that attempts to cover the entire state and even more. . . .
>
> It appears that the one supposed district, viz., North East District . . . has no boundaries. Last year, its president was a principal that has charge of a school in Seminole County.
>
> We favor the district idea, but one that is fair and scientifically and judiciously arranged and systematized.
>
> A splendid suggestion for Oklahoma districts has been worked out and carefully submitted to us which suggestion we hereby publish for the teachers' consideration. It has been done with a view of communities in each district that can care for the conventions and teachers who can keep all districts alive.[2]

The plan proposed in 1925 called for the organization of five districts, each including a number of specified counties.

Beginnings of Southern District Organization

Whether or not in response to the proposal to create additional districts, at least one new unit--the Southern Oklahoma Teachers' Association, forerunner of the Southern District of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers--was organized in 1925 to join the Northeast District Association

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[1]OANT, Teachers' Journal (October, 1925), p. 1.

[2]"That Northeast District Association," Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 13.

in executing programs of wider scope than those of the numerous county associations. The historian for this group reported:

> The Southern Oklahoma Teachers' Association was organized December 21, 1925 after a call from J. W. Sanford, C. R. Buford, M. A. Guest, and W. R. White, who met to make plans for organizing an association in the Lincoln School, Berwyn, Oklahoma.[1]

Honored as "Father of the SOTA"[2] was J. W. Sanford, later a president of Langston University and of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. The purpose of the new organization, as reported by its historian, was "to further professional growth and development of teachers in southern Oklahoma and to establish and maintain friendly relationships between fellow teachers."[3] The scope of the Southern Oklahoma Teachers Association was originally from the Canadian River to Texas and from Altus to Arkansas.[4]

Promotion of County and Departmental Associations

The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers utilized the facilities of its Teachers' Journal and its general convention, in 1925, to promote the organizational programs of four of its other affiliates: county associations of Negro teachers in Creek and Okmulgee counties, the Oklahoma

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[1]OANT, Official Program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers (October, 1952), p. 22.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

Association of Negro School Principals, and the Oklahoma Interscholastic Athletic Association.

Time, during the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Association, held in Oklahoma City in February, 1925, was allotted for the first annual meeting of the Oklahoma Interscholastic Athletic Association, which had been organized during the general convention in 1924 "in an effort to lift Oklahoma interscholastic athletics from an unorganized chaotic state to a plane of systematized control."[1] School principals, athletic coaches, and others who comprised this group used their allotted time in developing an association "born out of urgent need for a purification of high school athletics."[2] Prominent among participants in this first annual meeting were the founders of the state athletic association: Lucius L. McGee and H. A. Berry, Oklahoma City; Seymour E. Williams and C. D. Tate, Tulsa; W. H. Fort, Okmulgee; John Buford, Sand Springs; D. Adolph Williams, Fort Gibson; E. E. Weaver, McAlester; and E. W. Tolliver. Also figuring prominently in discussions within this group was Horace S. Hughes, Tulsa member of the Board of Control and major spokesman for the organization in its early years. These were leaders credited with enlisting the aid of school men who believed "that wholesome athletics can be made an

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[1]Horace S. Hughes, "The State Athletic Association," The Journal, Official Organ of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers (March, 1935), p. 11.

[2]Ibid.

important factor in the education of youth,"[1] an activity destined to constitute an outstanding contribution to the history of Negro education in Oklahoma.

Space was devoted, in the November, 1925 issue of the Teachers' Journal, to complete presentations of agenda for programs of the other named affiliates of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, all scheduled to meet during that month. Thus, teachers of Oklahoma were apprised of the work of the Teachers' Institute sponsored by the Creek County Association of Negro Teachers, which would hold discussions centered about "The Formation of School Improvement Leagues," the "Need for Compulsory Attendance," and "Model Schools and How to Develop Them."[2] They were informed, further, of programs concerning "school advancement and development,"[3] which would take place during meetings of the Okmulgee County Association of Negro Teachers. Finally, all persons who were heads of schools with as few as one assistant each, according to the Teachers' Journal, were invited to attend the meeting of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Principals to be held in Nowata, where J. Oscar Spencer would serve as host principal and where the entire city was "determined to give the visiting principals a royal reception."[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 27.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 28.

It is of interest to note some portions of the agenda prepared for the meeting of school principals scheduled in November, 1925.[1] The program included discussions of (1) interscholastic athletics, led by Horace S. Hughes, Tulsa; (2) the program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, led by S. L. Hargrove, president of the Association, Langston University; and (3) offerings of state educational institutions for Negroes in Oklahoma, led by their respective presidents--I. W. Young, Langston University; J. R. Johnson, Deaf, Blind, and Orphans Institute, Taft; and J. M. Lilly, State Reform School, Boley.

Scheduled to bring messages from the State Department of Education were M. A. Nash, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; E. E. Brown, Department of High School Inspection; E. A. Duke, Department of Rural School Supervision; and a representative from the State Board of Vocational Education.[2] The scope of the programs planned for teachers meeting with these county and departmental associations indicated, to some extent, the nature of professional leadership exerted by the heads of these organizations, who were also major leaders in the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Extension of the Educational Program for Negro Teachers and Scholars

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[1]"Official Program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Principals," The Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 28.

[2]Ibid.

Stimulation of Professional Interest through the Medium of the Journal, 1924-1925

The editorial policy of the Teachers' Journal was both to stimulate the teachers professionally and to keep them informed of local, state, and national developments in education. The editors scouted both state and nation for articles suited to these purposes and contributed, moreover, their own journalistic talents and those of other Association members in incorporating into the periodical wide coverage of interests and activities of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. Issues in 1925 contained current writings of nationally renowned Negro educators, as well as local editorials and stories of the district and county units, rural and accredited schools, activities of the State Department of Education, parent-teachers' associations, developments in school legislation, and other themes.

Interesting examples of the manner in which, through the Teachers' Journal, the attention of Negro teachers in Oklahoma was directed to problems of education and to national problems of the Negro in the United States are provided in this exposition of the thinking of Kelly Miller, Howard University, who advocated federal aid to education and national responsibility for the education of the Negro, saying:

> There still survives a statesmanlike duty of the nation to meet its moral obligation to the least of its citizens.
>
> It was unfair to the southern states to require them, unaided, to prepare the Negro for duties of citizenship at the time of his enfranchisement. The nation as a whole was responsible for the condition of the Negro. The fact that slavery became a localized institution was not due to the innate goodness of the North. Slavery was a national institution and became localized under the operation of climactic and economic law. It is equally unfair today, to require the South to bear the heavy burden alone. The Negro problem is the nation's problem; the remedy should be as comprehensive as the need.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The problems growing out of the contact, attrition, and adjustment of the races involve issues which are as intricate as any that have ever taxed human wisdom for solution. If, then, the white man who stands in the high place of authority and leadership among his race, fortified as he is by superior social environment, needs to qualify for his high calling by thoro and sound educational training, surely the Negro needs a no less thorough general education to qualify him to serve as philosopher, guide, and friend of ten million unfortunate human beings.
>
> The federal government should make some provision for those who are to stand in the high places of intellect and moral authority. . . .[1]

In another vein the teachers read, from the Harvard educated Negro race leader, author, journalist, and teacher, W. E. Burghardt DuBois:

> A teacher's career is apt to taste like sawdust because continually he is limited to the repetition of uninteresting facts and formulae. But if he will remember one thing he can make a certain spiritual escape; and that thing is this:
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> Above and beyond the every day toil which he must repeat and emphasize there goes a body of information

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[1]Kelly Miller, "National Responsibility for the Education of the Negro," Paper read before the Department of Superintendence at Atlantic City, New Jersey (OANT, The Teachers' Journal, October, 1925), p. 3.

> and a certain amount of inspiration which can easily be the greatest thing which the child receives. For instance any child between six and sixteen must learn not simply to read and write and count, but from the beginning it must get a vague but true conception of what this world is and why it is worth reading about and telling about and measuring. Unless this bigger message is continually insisted upon and insinuated through and with the lessons in all sorts of interesting and intriguing ways, the soul of the teacher is gone.
>
> This means, of course, that the teacher himself must know the world. He must either be liberally educated or in the process of liberal self-education. . . .[1]

Thus the critical analyses and conclusions of broad-scale thinkers, impressive to editors of the Teachers' Journal, were made available to readers of publications of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in the 1920's.

Professional Contributions of Oklahoma Negro Educators

Editorials and articles by Oklahoma educators included in issues of the Teachers' Journal served to stimulate interest in numerous areas of professional interest.[2] Contributors included not only the editors, Hargrove and the Executive Committee, but also the president of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston, school principals and classroom teachers throughout the state, Jeanes supervisors for county separate schools and district agents for agricultural extension work, university faculty members at Langston, and leaders in the State Association of

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[1] W. E. Burghardt DuBois, "Outside the Curriculum," The Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 3.

[2] For a view of statewide interests of the Association and its members as presented in writings in the Journal (1925-1956), see Appendix III.

Negro Parents and Teachers.

The variety of topics presented in the journal reflected the insight of the editors into the nature and scope of the program of Negro education throughout the state, as well as the nature of interests among the Negro teachers. Through the journal, thus, Oklahoma educators were afforded the opportunity to communicate their educational ideas and, thereby, to contribute to their own professional growth and that of their readers.

Promotion of College Extension Services, Adult Education, and Scholarships, 1925-1926

Among contributions of S. L. Hargrove, Langston University, as president of the Association during the years 1925-1926, was his presentation of the historic figure, William E. Burghardt DuBois, as speaker for the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Association. DuBois delivered an address on comparative education, "Some Educational Systems I Have Seen," describing educational situations in France, Germany, and other countries as he spoke during one of the general sessions held in Tulsa at Convention Hall, February, 1926. The unprecedented amount of two hundred and fifty dollars was paid by the Association for their convention speaker that year.[1] For this, alone, Hargrove would be

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[1]Interview with F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Oklahoma City, January 16, 1960.

remembered through the years by pioneer members of the Association.

Further characterizing the administration of Hargrove, however, both as president and as business manager for the Teachers' Journal, was his promotion of the college extension program of Langston University,[1] the program of adult education in the state, and an Association program of scholarships for higher education of Negro youth in the state. Through their publication the teachers were urged, in 1925, to improve their professional training through use of the extension services recently established at Langston by President I. W. Young. Director of the extension services, at the time, was former OANT president J. Wilson Pettus.

"The Extension and Correspondence Service," reported one of the editors of the journal, "is of untold good to teachers who are unable to give up teaching in order to further improve themselves."[2] There could be no reasonable excuse, he said, for teachers to continue with meager understanding and preparation in the face of such advantages. The teachers were reminded that the last state legislature had passed a bill, later vetoed by the governor, providing for the elimination of county certificates:

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[1]The institution then was interchangeably called Colored Agricultural and Normal University and Langston University.

[2]The Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 21.

> Even though the governor prevented this from becoming a law, the same spirit exists in the minds of the legislators and the people of the great Commonwealth and when such is attempted again, there will probably not be a sympathetic schoolmaster in the Governor's chair but one who has a radical stripe that will lash every teacher from his lair who is unable to present state credentials. A hint to the wise is sufficient.[1]

When State Superintendent of Public Instruction M. A. Nash issued an appeal for teachers to conduct night schools opening on November 2, 1925, for adults throughout the state, the compensation offered was thirty-six dollars for thirty-six hours of work (six weeks at two hours per night, three nights per week). The Executive Committee of the Association, editorial committee for the Teachers' Journal, was so favorably impressed with the effort of the Commission on Adult Education, headed by Nash, to eradicate illiteracy that it thereby offered to pay thirty-six dollars for teachers' services in the district that enrolled the highest number of illiterates and reported the fact to the Journal by a specified date. Only districts not able to pay the thirty-six dollars might apply, they added.[2]

The first statewide scholarship contests sponsored by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers were held on July 4, 1925, at Langston University.[3] The Association, headed

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[1]Ibid.

[2]The Teachers' Journal (October, 1925), p. 11.

[3]W. H. Fort, "Report of the Statewide Scholarship Contest," The Teachers' Journal (October, 1925), p. 9.

by Hargrove,[1] allocated $187.50 to be spread over four years for the education, at Langston University, of a young Oklahoma Negro high school graduate.[2] Through the subsequent work of the Langston University Alumni Association, this program became a motivating force toward scholastic achievement by thousands of high school students in the state of Oklahoma.

The Business Council of OANT had voted, in 1924, to establish a competitive scholarship which would enable the winner to attend Langston University with assistance from the Association for four years. The contest was to be statewide--"the first time," according to contest chairman W. H. Fort, principal of Dunbar High School, Okmulgee, "that a contest of academic rank has ever been conducted among our youth."[3] The grant to the winner would provide one hundred dollars the first year, fifty dollars the second year, twenty-five dollars the third year, and twelve dollars and fifty cents in the fourth year of college. Requirements were that the winner must attend Langston fully thirty-six weeks and make a yearly scholastic average of "eighty per cent."

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[1]Fellow OANT officers with S. L. Hargrove were J. W. Hughes, Tulsa, vice-president; J. Oscar Spencer, Nowata, treasurer; and Miss D. Harriett Christburgh, Oklahoma City, secretary.

[2]Ibid., p. 9.

[3]W. H. Fort, "Report of the State-Wide Scholarship Contest," The Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 9.

Contest examinations, prepared and sent under seal by the State High School Inspection Board, were to be conducted by an examination committee headed by contest chairman W. H. Fort and assisted by executive committee chairman E. W. Woods, principal of Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa.

The first contest in 1925, according to plan, attracted many students. Entries were reported from Boley High School, Boley; Douglass High School, Chandler; Washington High School, Luther; Faver High School, Guthrie; and the University High School, Langston. Other representatives from Atoka and Shawnee, arrived too late to participate.

It appears that the first winner may have been matriculating at the Langston University High School, since the school of his home town, Earlsboro, was not listed among the entries. Second place in the 1925 scholarship contest went to a student from Guthrie. "The contestants were very enthusiastic," Fort reported. "Each was confident that he would win."[1] He added:

> Here is hoping that the high school graduates of Oklahoma will look forward to this annual event with as much interest as this nation does to a world series of baseball for world championship.
>
> It is indeed a worthy stroke and a forward step in the direction of raising the standard of the high schools of the state. It cannot and must not go down as so many worthy beginnings have done in the past. This

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

> is a creation of the State Teachers and must be kept on a strict business basis which will keep it out of the mushroom class and give to the scholarship idea an institutional rating.[1]

Expansion of Professional Affiliations, 1926-1927

President of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, in 1926-1927, was J. W. Hughes, Principal of Dunbar Elementary School, Tulsa. Affiliation of Oklahoma's Negro educators with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools was a major professional emphasis of the Hughes administration, which attempted to correct a situation humorously described in 1925:

> Oklahoma refused to pay the quota assessed by the committee of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. . . . Her chief reason is that the national association has the same set of officers that it had almost in the very beginning and that they have been retained until the organization is just about as lifeless as Lot's wife after she was transformed into a pillar of salt. A further charge is . . . that the association is manned by ringrule. Both charges seem a bit groundless to us.[2]

Reminding the teachers that the same two charges had been brought against the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers for fourteen years past, while critics conceded, at the same time, that the superior knowledge, experience, and constructive ideas of their leaders had enabled them to manage the state affairs in an admirable way, this writer had urged that Oklahoma keep up her membership in the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Teachers' Journal (October, 1925), p. 19.

national organization, attend the meetings in a representative manner, and help to change the organization into a democratic and institutional body.[1]

Under leadership of J. W. Hughes in 1926, the Business Council of the Association voted to renew their affiliation with the national organization. The Council established a policy providing that the outgoing president of the Association, each year should become a delegate to the annual meeting of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. Expense of the trip would be paid by the Association. The Council voted, also to donate one hundred dollars annually to the national association.[2]

Making his report, in 1928, as delegate to the national convention, Hughes told the Oklahoma teachers that "the National Association was helping Negro boys and girls in the south in a large way,"[3] and urged the Oklahoma organization to make a larger financial contribution. Thus the interests and professional program of the Association were broadened to include active participation in educational organization on a national scale.

Sharing of Resources with the Oklahoma Education Association, 1928

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

[2] OANT, Official Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Session (February, 1928), p. 16.

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

At the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Oklahoma City, February, 1928, Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University served as a guest speaker by courtesy of the Oklahoma Education Association. "His message was full of hope for our group," recorded OANT Secretary O. D. Hutton.[1]

Walter G. Sneed, Oklahoma City, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers that year, had set a record in the presentation of outstanding convention speakers, some of whom he secured through professional contact with leaders of the Oklahoma Education Association. Other guests, in 1928, included James Dillard of Virginia, coordinator of the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation and the Slater Fund, from which some Oklahoma schools were receiving assistance; R. W. Selvedge, of the University of Missouri; Gilbert Jones and Felton G. Clark, presidents of Wilberforce College and Southern University, respectively; John W. Vaughan, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and Haskell Pruitt, Oklahoma State Department of Education.

Through the convention program, in 1928, a pattern for sharing convention resources of the Oklahoma Education Association was established. The precedent, often followed in later years, greatly broadened the professional contact of Negro teachers in Oklahoma.

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[1]OANT, Proceedings, Twentieth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, 1928), pp. 7-10.

Expansion of Professional Membership

In 1907, when the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was organized, approximately 67 teachers constituted the original state group. By 1928, records of the secretary showed that 1,106 teachers had become financial members of the Association. They had paid $1,106 in annual dues for the year 1928 and had a balance of $1,150.29 in the Association treasury.[1] "We have been able," commented Secretary O. D. Hutton during the twentieth annual session, Oklahoma City, 1928, "to bring you a report which shows that the Association has made marked progress, educationally, numerically and systematically."[2] Seven hundred and nine members had enrolled before the Association convened, he said, leaving only 397 to enroll upon arrival.

Several factors had contributed to this growth in membership of the Association: (1) political events of the first fifteen years of statehood, permanently bearing on the teachers and of the separate schools, had pointed up a need for cooperation with the state educational organization of Negro teachers; (2) alert and progressive early leaders of the Association, maintaining close contact with the steadily growing body of Negro teachers, had contributed to

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[1]The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, February 9-11, 1928), pp. 17-18.

[2]Ibid.

the development of their interests in county, district, and state organization which, they recognized, would serve real needs both social and professional; and (3) the Association itself had promoted the expansion of its membership through the execution of a number of interesting projects.

The Executive Committee in 1924 had established a medium of communication, financing it partly through advertising and partly through annual two-dollar subscriptions and circulating it, not only among the members, but also among others holding interest in the program of the schools. In 1925, the Executive Committee, describing their journal to the teachers, called it "a journal like yours that covers the state like April showers and enjoys a paid up circulation with exchanges of over 1,000 copies."[1] They advocated:

> One thousand copies of Teachers' Journal will equal 10 times that number of the ordinary journal for the reason that pupils, parents, school officials and the general public like to know what the teachers are doing.[2]

The Teachers' Journal had captivated the interest of the professional-minded, utilizing such effective devices as:

1. Publishing complete rosters of the membership.
2. Publishing complete rosters of the subscribers.
3. Conducting surveys showing the interest of the Association in educational conditions of the schools and communities and in the professional welfare of the teachers.

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[1] The Teachers' Journal (November, 1925), p. 30.

[2] Ibid.

4. Suggesting ways of improving the programs of the schools and enlisting cooperation of the communities.

5. Giving notice of opportunities for in-service training through extension studies, county institutes, and other professional workshops.

6. Printing articles by widely-known and respected Negro educators.

7. Circulating information from the State Department of Education.[1]

In 1925, also, the Association had inaugurated a statewide scholarship program open only to students of schools affiliated with the state organization of Negro teachers.[2]

The indefatigable work of Secretary O. D. Hutton and other leaders between 1927 and 1928 added numbers of teachers to the membership. These leaders utilized such methods as:

1. Mailing to all Negro teachers of the state, members and non-members, "railroad certificates" for reduction of transportation expenses in attending the annual conventions.

2. Mailing, to teachers who paid their dues, programs of the convention along with receipts, membership cards, identification certificates, and--after the conventions--copies of the published proceedings.[3]

3. Enlisting the cooperation of county superintendents and principals in urging 100% enrollment of Negro teachers in the state association.[4]

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[1]OANT, The Teachers' Journal, II (1925), Nos. 2 and 3.

[2]Fort, op. cit., p. 9.

[3]The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, February 9-11, 1928), p. 17

[4]Letter from Lena Lois Henderson Russell, Enid, December 28, 1959.

In this connection Secretary O. D. Hutton reported in 1928:

> Special mention is due some of our progressive educators for their activity in helping the Secretary to make the meeting the largest in attendance and profitableness in the history of the Association.[1]

Contributing to the continual growth of the Association was the careful choice of leadership, thoughtful programming at the annual conventions, and community interest in the progress of the Association, as indicated in the following report of the Committee on Resolutions, February 11, 1928:

> Mr. President and Members of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers:
>
> We, your Committee on Resolutions, have made the following observations:
>
> That the sessions of this Association have been peaceful, harmonious and instructive from beginning to end, due largely to the executive ability, dignity, and fairness of our president in his rulings and decisions;
>
> That the Executive Committee has used unusual foresight and judgment in arranging such a splendid program, the rendition of which has brought to us some of the best thought obtainable along the line of school work;
>
> That special efforts have been made by the teachers, business league, Knights of Pythias and citizens generally of Oklahoma City, to provide entertainment for the Association and to add to our pleasure while here:
>
> That the churches have cooperated to the fullest extent to make our meeting a success from every viewpoint;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> By reason of the facts stated above, be it resolved that all contributing agencies to the peace, harmony, instruction and entertainment of this Association receive our highest gratitude.
>
> Be it further resolved that the incoming presidents each be made one of the principal speakers on each annual program.

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[1] Ibid.

Be it further resolved that Negro history be emphasized in our schools.

Be it further resolved that we express our highest appreciation to O. E. A. for sending to us come of their best and most inspirational speakers, whose addresses have thrilled us with new thought.

Respectfully submitted,
J. I. Jones, chairman
J. H. Porter
Mrs. P. S. McLaurin
S. C. Coulter[1]

The spread of the organization in 1928, as shown in Appendix III, included teachers representing 140 local school systems located in 52 counties of Oklahoma.[2]

Expansion of Departmental Organization

Departmental organization within their state Association provided increasing opportunities for the professional growth of Negro teachers of Oklahoma as, during each annual convention, they came together in special groups, presenting programs to exchange ideas and information and to profit from discussions and demonstrations by outstanding leaders in their professional fields. In these meetings, too, many departmental activities beyond the programs of the conventions were planned.

Internal development of the Association through expansion of its departmental organization is traced in Appendix IV, which lists the 39 departments ultimately organized within the Association in order of their first

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

[2] Infra, p. 266.

appearance in Proceedings, Journals, and Programs of the annual conventions, 1928-1951. Chairmen and secretaries named, as it appears from the record, were first to serve as chosen or voluntary leaders in each of these departments.

Promotion of Curriculum Expansion, 1929

W. C. Jones, Claremore, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in 1929 strengthened another precedent set in 1928 when he delivered the "President's Annual Address" which gave opportunity for the head of the Association to review his theme for the year.

Choosing the topic "Is There A New Education?" he referred to past limitations of curriculum interest to the three R's and pointed out a new emphasis on vocational and technical education brought on by the Industrial Revolution. Nursery schools, adult education, music, art, and literature all were described as contributors to the "new education."[1]

Reflecting the Jones platform of an expanded curriculum was an unprecedented growth in departmentalization during the Twenty-First Annual Convention in Oklahoma City. Reports of eleven departmental meetings, six more than 1928 records had shown, were listed in the minutes later published by Association Secretary O. D. Hutton. Joining the departments of High School, Junior High and Grammar School, English and Foreign Languages, Jeanes Teachers, and

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[1]OANT, Proceedings, Twenty-First Annual Session (Oklahoma City, 1929), pp. 8-9.

Kindergarten-Primary, in 1929, were the departments of Music, Hi-Y Sponsors, Manual and Industrial Arts, Home Economics, Athletics, and Parent-Teachers' Association. Twenty-eight other departments, organized in later years, expanded the number organized to thirty-nine, reflecting tremendous actual expansion of the curriculum of the separate schools.

Broadening of the Extra-Curriculum through Sponsorship of State-Wide Interscholastic Musical Activities

Probably, from the standpoint of student participation, the most spectacular and far-reaching of all educational programs sponsored by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers for Negro youth of the state was a departmental program initiated in 1929 by the vocal music teachers under leadership of their state chairman, Carrie Booker Person, Tulsa. Meeting in Oklahoma City during the Twenty-First Annual Convention, 1929, these teachers planned a state festival chorus which, materializing the next year with about 120 voices, ultimately expanded to include 1,500 high school singers from 50 schools.[1]

Director of vocal music in the Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa, Carrie Person, in 1929, had been chairman of the Department of Music of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers for several years. A dedicated musician and teacher, she had experimented with the festival idea in

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[1]Souvenir Journal of the 26th Annual State Choral Music Festival (Langston University, April 13, 1956), p. 25.

1928, conducting the first such program with singers from two schools--Dunbar High School, Okmulgee, and Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa.[1] Two forces had combined to make the result inevitable: the spiritual quality of music, itself, and the forceful and inspiring personality of the festival conductor. Both the young singers and their sponsoring communities hoped that the festival could be continued.

Reporting the meeting during which the music teachers organized the state festival in 1929, the departmental secretary, Luella V. Hardin, Okmulgee, wrote:

> Mrs. Person asked Prof. Fort of Okmulgee to give the conference an idea of the Music Festival they had last year between Okmulgee and Tulsa as we are hoping to make it statewide this year. This he did.
>
> He began with the program formation, told how the advertising was done, the admission fee, the program itself, and above all the high type of social contact it gave the pupils and the cultural development it allowed. The plan was adopted by the conference and will be followed at the State Festival in April at Langston.[2]

The report continued: "The President appointed a committee to arrange a program for the State Music Festival . . . Miss L. V. Hardin, Okmulgee, Chairman; Mrs. Zelia N. Breaux, Oklahoma City; and Mr. Alonzo Lewis, Enid."[3]

The first of ten state music festivals, thus sponsored by the Music Department of the Oklahoma Association

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[1] OANT, Official Proceedings, Twenty-First Annual Session (Oklahoma City, February 7-9, 1929), p. 19.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 20.

of Negro Teachers, was held according to plan on April 17, 1930, at Langston University.

Thus, the program of statewide interscholastic activities for Negro youth, inaugurated in 1925 by the Association in the form of statewide interscholastic competitions held annually at Langston University, gradually expanded to include a number of events sponsored by departments of the Association. Each of these activities provided opportunity, through the years, for expansion of the educational and social experiences of hundreds of Negro youth in Oklahoma.

Stirring of Interests in State Legislation to Broaden the Base for Financial Support of Negro Education, 1929

The final year in the decade of the 1920's saw the emergence of leadership destined for prominent contribution to Oklahoma educational history, for, in that year, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers elected, as head of their organization, F. D. Moon, thirty-two-year-old principal of the separate school in Crescent, Oklahoma. First native-born Oklahoman to become president of the Association and second graduate of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University to be so chosen,[1] Moon was almost completely a product of the separate school system of the state: he held

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[1]The first Langston graduate to head the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was N. J. Caesar, president of the organization in 1912-13.

knowledge of and interests in the system which dated from territorial days.

The decade of the 'twenties had seen the steady rise of F. D. Moon to positions of leadership among Negro teachers in Oklahoma. He had completed the normal training course at Langston only three years before the report of a survey of public education in the state made this statement concerning teacher training facilities at Langston:

> The facilities for the training of Negro teachers are not adequate. There are six State normal schools for white people. Many teachers are secured by the white schools from the State University and from the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater. There are a number of private or denominational colleges that train teachers for the white schools--for instance Tulsa University, and Phillips University. At present, the facilities for training Negro teachers at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University, at Langston, are entirely insufficient. There are, on the average 60 white high schools in the State each year that give normal training. The school at Langston should be provided with dormitories and teaching force, such that enough teachers can be trained each year to meet the needs of Oklahoma's Negro public schools.[1]

As a student at Langston, Moon had observed the deleterious effects of early state politics on the educational program at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University: frequent changes of administration and consequent retardation in development of curricula and facilities, over-emphasis on non-academic courses of study, and frequent turn-over of poorly paid educational personnel. At the

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[1] U. S. Bureau of Education, Public Education in Oklahoma (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 348.

time the report of the survey was issued, 1922, he was in his first year as principal of the separate school in Crescent, a position in which he had opportunity also to develop practical acquaintance with the problems of financing separate schools in Oklahoma.

The separate schools, Moon learned, were supported by county-wide levies of two mills or less, from which came all money for building, equipping, and maintaining such schools.[1] State laws had made no provision for counties to issue bonds for building separate schools, generally attended by Negro children, as districts were legally permitted to do for majority schools, generally attended by white children.[2] As principal at Crescent, moreover, Moon had experienced the difficulties of overcoming some of the defects common among rural separate schools which enrolled most of the Negro children of the state: inadequate facilities, as exhibited in poorly lighted, badly ventilated, and ill-equipped school buildings; necessity for use of church buildings, at times, to house the Negro school children;[3] insufficient funds for development of well-qualified teaching staffs and curricula; and lack of supervisory personnel for these rural schools.

By 1924 F. D. Moon had begun to emerge as a leader in the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. In 1925, he had

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[1] Ibid., pp. 332-33.

[2] Oklahoma, Constitution, Art. 10, secs. 26-27.

[3] Cf. U. S. Bureau of Education, op. cit., p. 346.

been elected to membership on the executive committee of the Association and on the editorial board of the Teachers' Journal, official organ of the Association. By 1926, Moon had been elected president of the Langston University Alumni Association, an organization composed largely of teachers. Concerned over the complicated problems of state financing of the separate school system and of higher education for Negroes at Langston, where he had studied to receive the bachelor of science degree in 1928, Moon had developed an intense interest in the subject of educational legislation and in the actual study of law.

By 1929, Moon had become president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, which enrolled, that year, 1,049 members.[1] Then in his third year as president of the Langston University Alumni Association, his personal influence was considerable and as president of both these organizations, which together included more than one-thousand teachers employed throughout the state, his contact was broad.

The beginnings of his career in major leadership among Negro teachers of Oklahoma, as they developed programs within these two organizations toward improvement of educational conditions and facilities for Negroes in Oklahoma, are seen in the fact that, when he addressed more than one-thousand teachers gathered in the Twenty-First Annual

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[1]OANT, Official Proceedings, Twenty-First Annual Session (Oklahoma City, February 7-9, 1929), p. 24.

Convention of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Oklahoma City, February 9, 1929, practically every point covered in his speech was reflected, at the end of the session, in resolutions of the teachers for action towards legislation for the Negro schools.[1]

The recommendations of F. D. Moon, as president-elect of the Association in 1929, included action to raise the salaries of teachers at Langston University; to change Oklahoma statutes to provide that bonds might be voted by counties to provide funds for building the separate schools, as districts long had been permitted to do for majority schools; and to increase the availability of supervision for rural separate schools through the employment of Negro county supervisors. "The pedagogue," he stated "cannot divorce himself from the common problems of life."[2]

In the minutes of the Business Council that followed Moon's forceful presentation, OANT Secretary O. D. Hutton reported: "His program . . . was heartily endorsed by the Business Council."[3] Former president Thomas W. Grissom of Bristow commented on the non-functioning of the legislative committee. Former president W. H. Fort of Okmulgee pointed to needs in finance for the legislative program of the Association. J. E. Rose of Luther advocated work toward

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[1] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Ibid., p. 22.

an agricultural and mechanical technical school for Negro youth of Oklahoma. The Business Council endorsed a movement to remove Langston University from the jurisdiction of its Board of Regents and to place it under the Regents who served the University of Oklahoma in order to curtail political domination of the school.

The Business Council further authorized Moon to call a meeting to outline plans for immediate legislative action on proposals to change the Board of Regents for Langston University to one whose terms of office would not be co-terminous with that of the state governor. This, it was thought, would curtail political domination of the school in the matter of choice of faculty and development of administrative policies and would lay the groundwork for such improvement as might eventually result in accreditation of the University by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

F. D. Moon and his committee, including a member of the OANT legislative committee and one representative each from the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Principals and the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, were to plan also what action might be taken to secure legislation which would permit counties to finance the building of separate schools through county-wide bond issues, as the building of majority schools was financed through bond issues by districts. The executive committee of the Association was

authorized to pay the expenses involved in the work of this committee.[1] Out of these precedents, set by F. D. Moon and fellow-leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in 1929, developed programs for state educational legislation which engaged the intensive interests and efforts of the organization in decades of the 'thirties and the 'forties.

Summary

The need for an expansion of opportunities in leadership and self-expression, experienced by many among the 1,170 Negro teachers in Oklahoma about the year 1922, coupled with the desire of elder leaders to retain the long-held reins of professional power, led to the adoption of a new constitution by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in 1924. By this action, an improvement in the basis for organizational and administrative procedure was achieved and a series of developments in other phases of the organizational program was initiated.

Among these developments could be noted the establishment of new media of communications; the beginnings of structural expansion through establishment of new district and departmental organizations; an expansion of the statewide educational program for Negro teachers, their students, and their communities; the emergence of leadership destined to play a major role in developing the future program of the

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[1] Ibid.

Association; and the arousal of interests in state legislation to improve facilities for Negro education in Oklahoma. In the decade of the 1920's were shaped the patterns of educational and legislative activities developed by the Association throughout the decades of the 1930's and 1940's.

CHAPTER VII

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE DECADE OF THE 'THIRTIES

Introduction

During the years 1930-1939, there could be noted, within the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, interesting concentration of leadership among graduates, alumni, and administrators of Langston University. Prior to the election of F. D. Moon as president in 1929-1930, only one Langston graduate, N. J. Caesar of Shawnee, had served as head of the organization. In the decade of the 'thirties, all presidents except two were chosen from the ranks of Langston men.[1] Further, the majority of members of the Executive Committee were alumni of the state institution for higher education of Negroes in Oklahoma.[2]

However the historian may account for this development, it is of interest to note that certain interests and activities of the Association, during these years, centered

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[1]The two exceptions were W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee, president in 1936, and J. T. A. West, Tulsa, president in 1937.

[2]Augusta Mann, "Tulsa Chapter Speaks," The Alumni Bulletin (Langston University Alumni Association, November 5, 1938), p. 1.

about Langston University and about the program of higher education for Negroes in the state. Since these interests were developed largely in cooperation with the program of the Langston University Alumni Association, under leadership of its president, F. D. Moon, any emphasis on activities in areas of higher education will be observed largely in reference to the work of the combined associations.

In the 'thirties, conditions challenging to Negro educational leadership in Oklahoma had long been specified in legislation for the higher education and professional training of Negroes in the state. These included (1) attendance by Negro and white teachers and their students at separate institutions which, according to the statutes, should be provided with equal facilities and staffed by personnel of their own race;[1] (2) legislative control of finances for securing such facilities and personnel; and (3) investment of administrative control of the Negro college in a separate board of regents whose terms of office were co-terminous with that of the governor by whom they were appointed. Out of each of these conditions developed situations that motivated leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers to project problem-solving activities which constituted a part of the organizational program in the decade of the 'thirties.

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[1]Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1907-1908, c. 77, Art. 7, sec. 11.

As documented in references listed throughout this chapter, the teachers expressed their interest in these situations through numerous programs. In 1935, they petitioned Governor E. W. Marland for a program to rid the state college for Negroes, along with other similar institutions, of what they called an "abominable system of petty politics and political patronage."[1] In that same year, they secured legislation which broadened their own opportunities and those of their students for graduate and professional training not available at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston.[2] The Association also re-established media of communications, in 1935, that further broadened the resources of its members for professional growth through in-service training.[3] In 1937, the teachers secured legislation to remove their state institution from management of its political board and place it under the same board of regents as that of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater.[4] Further, they promoted a constitutional amendment which sought, in 1937, to designate a "constitutional" board of regents for the

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[1]OANT, The Journal, (March, 1935), p. 4.

[2]F. D. Moon, "Legislation," The Alumni Bulletin (Langston University Alumni Association, February 7, 1938), p. 4.

[3]OANT, The Journal, March 1935.

[4]Senate Bill No. 104, Sixteenth State Legislature, 1937, The Alumni Bulletin (Langston University Alumni Association, February 7, 1938), p. 8.

Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater and for the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston.[1] Association leaders pressed the legislatures, each biennium, for appropriations more adequate to provide the facilities needed for Langston University to achieve the rating of an accredited institution of higher learning.[2] Particularly outstanding, in these matters, were the activities of those leaders who were also members of legislative committees of the Association, the Langston University Alumni Association and the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Principals.

Administrative Emphases of the 1930's

Emphasis on the Program of Higher Education

In 1930, when Zachary Taylor Hubert, president of Langston University, accepted from F. D. Moon the presidential gavel of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, the executive chair was turned over, for the first time since 1908, to an administrator in higher education. As a vice-president and member of the executive committee of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, Hubert placed emphasis on the program of the national organization. He urged support, as well, for the Interscholastic Meet at Langston University, a project established by OANT in 1925.

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[1]The Alumni Bulletin (Langston University Alumni Association, February 7, 1938), p. 1.

[2]F. D. Moon, "Legislation," The Alumni Bulletin (June 10, 1939), p. 4.

During the Twenty-Third Annual Convention, held in Tulsa in 1931 at Convention Hall, Hubert presiding, a new precedent was established. One general session was devoted entirely to the program of higher education at Langston. The University choir appeared in concert and OANT members were afforded the thrill of seeing former students represent the level of higher education and the dignity of academic achievement. Hubert addressed the assembly on problems and achievements of the college during the year. The tradition followed each year thereafter, contributed much to the interest of both teachers and the public in the continual growth and development of Langston University.[1]

Expansion of Opportunities for Social Participation

Jesting about the numerous innovations which J. W. Sanford, as president of the Association in 1933, had introduced into the Twenty-Fifth Annual Session, J. Oscar Spencer--described as "the slender, astute and militant ex-president from Nowata--"[2] gave Sanford an interesting introduction to the teachers of Oklahoma. Spencer pointed out that Sanford was first to take advantage of the occasion to sponsor a "President's Breakfast," to which every teacher was invited. He was first also to introduce a "presentation-

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[1]Interview with F. D. Moon (Executive Secretary of OANT), Oklahoma City, April 28, 1960.

[2]OANT, Proceedings, Twenty-Fifth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, February 2-4, 1933), p. 9.

of-the-speaker-of-the-evening feature."[1] The value of this device was that it gave more principals and teachers opportunity to appear on programs by scheduling them to introduce the main speakers. An incidental result, however, was an increase of opportunity for personal contact with educational leaders of the nation. It is conceivable that this contact contributed greatly both to personal pride and professional growth among the Negro teachers. It was inevitable that most co-workers with the person so honored would share vicariously the thrill of his experience in introducing a noted educator to an audience of over a thousand people. The spiritual uplift might carry over into the classroom for days.

An interesting public relations move was made by Sanford during the 1933 convention. Following the adoption of a resolution, suggested by I. W. Young of Langston, that the Association endorse Governor William H. Murray's program for "passage of a sales tax levy,"[2] Sanford appointed a committee of four, including Young; Association Secretary Lena Lois Henderson, Nowata; Shawnee principal E. M. Watson; and himself, to draw up the resolution and present it in person to Governor Murray.

Maintaining contact with state officials had been a policy of the Association for many years. It had helped

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

more than once in securing financial improvements for the public schools and for Langston University. In light of the fact that, two years later, Sanford was appointed to succeed Young as president of Langston University, it may be surmised that the maintenance of such contacts with officials in state government bore direct relationship to the continuing turn of events at the state institution of higher learning for Negroes in Oklahoma.

Intensification of Opposition to Political Influence in Higher Education

In 1934, year of the election of E. W. Marland as governor of Oklahoma,[1] the Executive Committee nominated, for president of the Association, I. W. Young, president of Langston University. His political involvements were strong and, sometime after his nomination by the Executive Committee, leaders of the Association began to realize that his election to the presidency of their organization of more than 1,500 teachers might be subject to a number of misleading interpretations. In this year of a gubernatorial election, the election of Young to head the Association might be thought to constitute an endorsement both of his program at the University during a time when they felt a change in policies was needed at the institution and of his reported attempt "to turn the Association into a political

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[1]In 1934, W. A. Dobson, Lima, was president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

organization."[1] In one of the two most embattled sessions of its history, the Business Council refused to confirm the election of the Langston president, then ordered and approved the nomination of another candidate by the Executive Committee.

It is of interest to note the account of Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City editor of the Black Dispatch newspaper, describing leadership in the "acrimonious battle of words and parliamentary maneuvers"[2] connected with this 1934 episode in the administrative history of the Association. The action took place in Muskogee during the twenty-sixth annual session, February 14-16, 1934. Association leaders had held a caucus, planning how to prevent supporters of Young from securing confirmation of his election through ratification by the Business Council.

> In the caucus in the Dunjee suite at the People's Hotel, J. Oscar Spencer was named as floor leader, while F. D. Moon, J. W. Sanford, William Frazier, Calvin Johns, and Maurice Davis were to join in the active support of the Spencer strategy. The overwhelming support of these floor leaders, coupled with others who pinch hit during the fray, completely swept . . . three floor leaders for the candidate during the meeting of the Business Council out of the picture. . . . Other strong men who were in the caucus at the People's were George Tilmon, E. W. Tolliver, W. E. Anderson, and Roscoe Dunjee.
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> . . . . . .
>
> Spencer Starts Fight
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> The fight started when J. Oscar Spencer, Nowata, moved to adopt the report of the Executive Committee by

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[1] Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City) February 17, 1934, pp. 1-4.

[2] Ibid., p. 2

items.

W. H. Fort attempted to apply the political lash by stating that young men leading this fight . . . were unwittingly coming to the end of their careers by doing so. It was then that F. D. Moon, president of the Langston alumni took the floor and began a speech which showed plainly where he stood. . . .

Moon Unafraid

"Let my end come," declared Moon, "and I'll meet it with a clear conscience realizing that I have fought for the interests of the university and have tried to remove it from politics."

Applause

Moon went on to picture the conditions at the university and was applauded at almost every pause. What the business council was going to do was quite evident from the start of the Moon talk, who in a quiet voice faced the council and hurled his convincing logic.

Spencer Unrelenting

Spencer, persistent and unrelenting with his motions, was backed by a ten to one vote every time a vote was taken. . . . It was during the many parliamentary snarls developed during the battle that Prof. W. E. Anderson emerged as a great fellow. Anderson was always able to smooth out everything that looked like it could not be handled. J. T. A. West of Tulsa also loomed as a hard fighter with his many points of order which completely routed the university gang.[1]

This was an unusual and spectacular session of the Business Council in executing its responsibility of confirming the selection of leadership within the Association. It was the beginning, also, of a period of intensive activity towards improvement of the program of higher education for Negroes in Oklahoma, co-sponsored, as noted, with the Langston University Alumni Association.

Agitation for Reform; Establishment of New Media for In-Service Training

The feeling of restlessness and dissatisfaction with

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[1]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

conditions in the schools, at Langston University, within the Association, and elsewhere was rising when Clarence R. Buford Berwyn, became president of OANT in 1934. By 1935 this feeling was crystallized in resolutions sent to Governor E. W. Marland, declaring that the Association opposed and condemned policies of petty politics and political patronage in administration of the affairs of Langston University.[1] Elsewhere, the Legislative Committee was cooperating with the Langston University Alumni Association in efforts to secure state legislation to increase the availability of higher education to Oklahoma Negroes by providing out-of-state tuition costs for students obliged to go to other states to secure graduate and professional training not available at Langston University.[2] Other movements, discussed below in the chapter on legislative activities, were under development.

Nevertheless, another professional precedent was set in 1935. The Association sponsored its first workshop on Fundamentals in Negro Education, covering a wide range of topics: home life, health, ethical and moral relations, citizenship, leisure time and recreation, vocations, adult education, and administration and supervision. This workshop, added to convention departmental meetings and county association workshops, provided a third Association-

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[1]OANT, The Journal (March, 1935), p. 4.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

sponsored activity for in-service training of teachers in Oklahoma.

Re-Establishment of The Journal; Clarification of Needs in School Legislation

In 1935 W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee, became both OANT president and editor of the Journal of the Association.[1] In the year of his administration five issues of the Journal were published, each filled to capacity with articles and editorials pointing out the many needs of the schools for legislation to improve conditions. This was the first time that OANT, as a whole, had been given such opportunity to reflect at length on legislative needs as presented in authoritative studies by the OANT president and others.

Subjects treated in 1935 included (1) the need for reorganization of school districts and more equitable distribution of school finance, discussed by John W. Vaughan, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; (2) provisions for enrichment through state aid as outlined in House Bill 212 of the legislature in 1935, discussed by Editor W. E. Anderson; (3) needs for teacher tenure, presented by school principal Robert H. Wilkerson, of OANT; (4) federal support for public education, discussed by the editor; and (5) equal suffrage, in which Anderson raised strong protest against a clause which, he said, was contained in each bill pertaining

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[1]The Teachers' Journal had been supplanted, from 1928 to 1934, by the publication of Official Proceedings of each annual convention of the Association.

to reorganization of the common schools of the state. The clause read:

> All qualified electors residing in the district, both male and female shall be permitted to vote, regardless of whether or not they are registered voters; provided that only members of the majority race may vote.[1]

Militant President W. E. Anderson released this information to the voters "with a view of arousing indignation on their part so that they might inform their representatives and senators that they would be unwilling to accept this type of discrimination."[2]

Citing a constitutional provision that the state should never enact any law restricting or abridging the right of suffrage on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude,[3] Anderson urged:

> In the light of the foregoing, it is our opinion that whatever redress that Negroes will be able to achieve must now come from the courts, and it is to that end that we are recommending action on the part of the legislative committee of our Association.[4]

The problem raised by Anderson was a question of the practice, then current, of withholding from Negroes in some of the independent districts of Oklahoma the privilege of voting for members of the school board.[5]

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[1]W. E. Anderson, "Equal Suffrage," The Journal (Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, March, 1935), pp. 2-3.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]Oklahoma, Constitution, Art. 1, sec. 6.

[4]Anderson, op. cit., p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 2.

Redefinition of Functions of the Association

In 1936, one issue of the Association Journal carried an article, "The Functions of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers," report of a survey by J. T. A. West, Tulsa, then president of the state-wide organization. The chief executive had invited statements of opinion from eighteen leaders located, somewhat generally, over the state. Finding the answers both interesting and instructive, West published some of the letters returned in the survey.

Mrs. J. A. Johnson, one-time president of the Tulsa Teachers' Forum, responded:

> The Association has a Herculean task . . . to find some method of developing a greater number of real men and women . . . to discriminate between worthwhile activities and those that are not . . . to foster legislative plans that are of vital importance to the profession.[1]

W. E. Anderson, principal of Dunbar High School, Okmulgee, and editor of the Journal from 1935 to 1943, answered:

> I think that the Teachers association should sponsor a definite legislative program to the extent of both cooperating with the O.E.A. and drawing up and presenting to the governor or to such a committee as may be designated by the governor, legislation covering the problems facing the separate schools.
>
> The second thing is, I think that the association should sponsor some activity that will be of interest to the youth who are now in the public schools of the state.[2]

Horace S. Hughes, one-time editor of the Tulsa Eagle,

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[1]OANT, The Journal (November, 1936), p. 5.

[2]Ibid., p. 6.

executive secretary of the Oklahoma Interscholastic Athletic Association and long-time head of the Department of English at Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa, stated in his letter:

> Any organization or association that limits its membership to one definite professional or vocational field must select as its first objective the professional advancement of those members if it is to survive. Therefore, I believe that the purpose of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers is not only to improve the teaching technique of the profession but to contribute immeasurably to the adjustment of every teacher to the changing social, political, and economic conditions about him.[1]

Oklahoma City school principal Lucius L. McGee, veteran national leader in Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, expressed as his view of purposes of the teachers' association in 1936:

> I believe that the association should provide for more opportunities for authorities to bring to us the benefit of recent research in our professional field. More specifically, I think we should spend more money bringing professors in the various fields to our meetings to give us something tangible rather than several orators.
>
> Let us invite and pay university professors of research renown to bring us something in our academic and professional fields. I mean scholars, and I don't care if they are--most of them will be, for the time being--white university professors.[2]

Thomas P. Scott, Bartlesville school principal and future head of the state institution for Negro handicapped children at Taft, said:

> Aside from the theme as embodied in the preamble of

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

> our constitution I recognize few functions not already definitely challenged in that instrument. However, I would commend the platform of the National Education Association which "believes," as our organization should, "that education is the inalienable right of every American; preservation of democratic ideals. Therefore, the association declares its convictions and challenges its members to leadership in obtaining the objectives of this covenant." The above quotation, Mr. President, is an extract from the platform which . . . accurately covers my conviction of what I think should be the function of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.[1]

Calvin R. Johns, Seminole school principal, reported that he submitted a list of questions to Seminole teachers in order to get a diversity of opinions concerning the function of the Association. The outcomes emphasized the purposes of teacher recognition through program participation balanced between larger and smaller schools, in the departmental meetings, and in other programs of the annual conventions. "You would be surprised," he said, "at the fine talent that we have in this state among even small schools and sometimes in the rural sections."[2] He continued: "I have never been able to find out just how some schools can get so many on the program when we have so much other good talent over the state. . . ."[3]

West, who later received national recognition for his work in bringing about an expansion of economic opportunities for Negroes in the area of the city of Tulsa,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Oklahoma,[1] summarized these statements of outstanding educators concerning functions of the state teachers' organization in 1936, writing:

> All of the opinions given are worthwhile and are worthy of our serious consideration. However, there are two which I think should be made our first objectives. They are: Co-operating with the O. E. A. in sponsoring legislation that will cure some of the ills afflicting the separate schools and sponsoring a program for the Negro youth.[2]

The year 1936 was about the half-way mark of the active life of the state organization of Negro teachers. As already noted, the revised constitution of the Association, adopted in 1924, stated the general purposes of the organization. Before 1924 and after 1936, variations in specific purposes of the Association could be noted, generally those demanded by the characteristics of the environment and of the changing times.

Interests and Efforts Directed at Securing the Progress of Langston University toward Accreditation

It has been noted that as early as 1929, F. D. Moon, as president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, was stirring the Negro teachers toward resolution for legislative action in two directions--improvement of conditions at Langston University and improvement of legislative provisions for financing the building of schools for the Negro

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[1]OANT, The Journal (February, 1938), p. 6.

[2]Ibid., November, 1936, p. 6.

children.[1] Eight years later, in 1937, Moon was fulfilling leadership responsibilities in three organizational capacities wherein he was still promoting these purposes. He was serving, now, his eleventh year as president of the Langston University Alumni Association. On the executive committee of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, he was serving the third year of his second term. On the legislative committee of this same organization, he was serving the first year of his second term. He was also a long-time member of the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Principals.

Concerning developments at Langston University, Moon wrote:

> For many years the alumni have advocated a board of regents whose term of office is not co-terminous with that of the governor of the state. . . . For years the alumni have contended that Langston had no policy. . . . There were practically no standards in the selection of the summer faculty. The situation was deplorable. Men who have not attended summer school in ten or twenty years had the choice teaching positions on the summer faculty. In one bold stroke this has been stopped, and the educational level of our entire state will be raised in consequence.
>
> The Langston University Alumni Association was almost a lone, unpopular voice in the wilderness crying that Langston must be accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Today, the volume of the voice has increased until it includes the Governor of the commonwealth of Oklahoma.[2]

The "bold stroke" referred to by F. D. Moon in this passage was Senate Bill 104, adopted by the Sixteenth State

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[1] Supra, p. 121.

[2] F. D. Moon, "Legislation," The Alumni Bulletin (June 10, 1939), p. 4.

Legislature in 1937, which read:

> An act transferring management of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University of Oklahoma to the Board of Regents for the Agricultural and Mechanical Schools and Colleges of Oklahoma, and its successors in office; repealing section 7305, Oklahoma statutes 1931, and all laws in conflict herewith. . . .[1]

Senate Bill 104, 1937, had been introduced by Senator Louis Ritzhaupt and Representative Allen, both of Guthrie. It had been endorsed by Governor Leon C. Phillips and by legislative committees of the three Negro state educational associations: the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, W. E. Anderson, chairman; the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, W. E. Anderson, chairman; the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Principals, E. W. Woods, chairman; and the Langston Alumni Association, Mrs. Susie Haywood, chairman.

Leaders of these three committees, who had written a letter dated March 10, 1937, to the House of Representatives, unanimously endorsing the bill, were all leaders in the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. They included, besides committee chairmen already named: F. D. Moon, Wewoka; C. O. Rogers, Oklahoma City; Letchen A. Hill, Boley; J. W. Sanford, president of Langston University; Alphonso Jordan, Ponca City; William W. Frazier, Wewoka; and L. V. Glenn, Okmulgee.[2]

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[1]The Alumni Bulletin (February 7, 1938), p. 8.

[2]The Alumni Bulletin (February 7, 1938), pp. 4-5.

Also supporting the move to change the board of regents for the Colored Agricultural and Normal University in 1937 was the Committee on Resolutions of the Alumni Association, members of which, without exception, were also leaders in the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. These persons included William W. Frazier, Wewoka, acting chairman; W. A. Dobson, Lima, chairman; E. R. Roper, Geary; L. W. Presley, Eufaula; C. R. Buford, Berwyn; James J. West, Jr., Luther; and Mrs. Myrtle Ollison, Shawnee.

F. D. Moon, "in the effort to secure greater permanency of administration and personnel at Langston University,"[1] was then advocating that the Negro educators within the three associations support a constitutional amendment initiated by the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater, "to create a separate board of regents whose term of office will not be co-terminous with that of the governor and thus will add stability to efficient administration."[2]

The support of the teachers was documented in resolutions of November 13, 1937:

> WHEREAS:
> The C. A. & N. University has been under the supervision of a Board of Regents for a period of forty years without having been accredited by any standard accrediting agency;
> AND WHEREAS:
> The administration of the C. A. & N. University, along with other affiliated personnel, have been frequently changed and disturbed with the incoming of

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[1] Ibid., p. 5.

[2] Ibid.

a new governor;
AND WHEREAS:
The Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater, having suffered similar administrative changes, is initiating a constitutional amendment to create a separate board of regents whose term of office will not be co-terminous with that of the governor of the state and thus add stability to efficient administration;
THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:
That the Langston University Alumni Association endorse the proposed amendment of the A. & M. College Board of Regents.
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:
That we request that the C. A. & N. University be included within the provisions of the proposed amendment, thus creating a Board of Regents for C. A. & N. University which offers greater promise of stability for the administrative personnel and higher rating for the University.[1]

"To have Langston University accredited by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges at an early date," was the ultimate objective cited by F. D. Moon in promoting these activities.[2]

Comments from Ira D. Hall, of Colbert--in 1938 a member both of the executive committee of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and of the Alumni Board of Directors--further clarified the accreditation objective:

> The standardization of the applied sciences (agricultural and home economics), mechanical, industrial and manual arts, teacher training schools (kindergarten, primary grades and high school) as well as the natural sciences, social sciences and arts should be of the utmost concern to every alumnus that these requirements come up to par with the NORTH CENTRAL ACCREDITING AGENCY. . . .
> Our cause is . . . a procedure of setting up

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[1] Ibid., p. 5.

[2] "Alumni Objectives," The Alumni Bulletin (November 5, 1938), p. 1.

> standards and following certain outlines and definite policies that cannot be altered by senators, representatives, governors, nor administrators, because this program is designed and constructed by agencies whose opinions are not shadowed by our Oklahoma political racket, which has chosen Langston University as the political gold mine. I know some will say . . . "that's in all state schools." But not to the extent that the schools cannot get the RECOGNITION of an accepted accrediting agency. Some one else will say that's not the trouble--it's financial and purely financial. To me either horn of the dilemma is the same. You call it finance; I call it politics. Suppose we compromise and call it partly both. The fact is, conditions as a whole are unsatisfactory and have always been so, and will remain until the school is accredited by ONE STANDARD ACCREDITING AGENCY.[1]

The proposed constitutional amendment designating for the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater and for the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston boards of regents whose terms of office would not be co-terminous with those of state governors was not adopted by the people of the state in 1938. It appears, however, that in 1939 Moon was happy to write concerning developments at Langston with its new board of regents provided under terms of Senate Bill 104 in 1937:

> The present law is not just what we have advocated, but it is the nearest thing to what we have advocated, and is better by a great deal than the old political board that we have had. The wisdom of our contention for such a board has already been justified in the recent ruling of the Board of Regents which requires a Master's degree to teach at Langston University.
>
> This board is devising other policies for Langston University which will go far toward accrediting the institution.[2]

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[1]Ira D. Hall, "Calling the Langston University Alumni," The Alumni Bulletin (November 5, 1938), p. 1.

[2]F. D. Moon, "Legislation," The Alumni Bulletin (June 10, 1939), p. 4.

In 1940, Moon wrote a statement commending the Board of Regents of Oklahoma Colleges for further raising standards at Langston University:

> Criticism has been widespread that the president of the University should have higher academic qualifications; the Board of Regents has given us President (G. L.) Harrison with an earned Doctor of Philosophy degree from one of our outstanding universities. Verily, we are marching onward. Three cheers for the Board of Regents on this needed work.[1]

Elsewhere other leaders documented both the need and values of such interests by Negro teachers in Langston University:

> The Colored Agricultural and Norman University located in the little Negro town of Langston, eleven miles east of Guthrie and one and one-half miles west of Coyle, is recognized today as the cultural center for Negroes in Oklahoma. There is no other institution in the state to serve the 200,000 Negro citizens.[2]
>
> The growth of the university in the last ten years has been phenomenal. Since 1935 the enrollment has doubled itself, jumping from less than 500 in that year to more than 1100 in 1938.[3]

"It is up to the president of the institution and the alumni to extend our facilities so we can take care of the increased enrollment,"[4] Langston President J. W. Sanford told a group of the educational leaders in 1938. Sanford

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[1]F. D. Moon, "A Good Word for the Regents," The Alumni Bulletin (February 15, 1940), p. 4.

[2]Gladys Tillman, "Langston University, A Cultural Center for Negroes," The Alumni Bulletin (November 5, 1938), p. 2.

[3]Ibid.

[4]The Alumni Bulletin (November 5, 1938), p. 2.

had been a former president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and chairman of its committee on state legislation in 1935. The president continued:

> Langston University's equipment and facilities are inadequate in science, art, and the fine arts, to mention only a few. It also stands in need of dormitories for both boys and girls. At present, there are from four to seven students in a room, a condition detrimental to health, comfort, and study.
>
> It is within the power of the alumni to plan an effective and constructive program for a bigger and better Langston.[1]

Other writers charted the progress of Langston University from 1935 through 1939:

> The history of Langston University is checkered with a long list of "ups" and "downs." For many years its needs have been overlooked by those who dominated state government. But today it has bright prospects of progress.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Two new dormitories have been constructed since 1935 at the cost of $225,000. Faculty salaries have been increased by 33 1/2 to 50%, raising the salary schedule to compare favorably with that of any other Negro land grant college in the nation. Faculty turnover has been almost nil during the last four years.[2]

During these years, there was developed by the teachers throughout the state a continuous public relations program as part of which F. D. Moon, in numerous addresses to high school graduates, pointed out to the young Oklahoma Negroes the large percentage of their teachers who were graduates of Langston University and the large number of leaders within the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Alumni Bulletin (June 10, 1939), p. 6.

who were Langston alumni.[1] Under his leadership as president of the alumni association, Negro teachers and school principals who held simultaneous memberships in both this organization and the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers were promoting throughout Oklahoma, the growth and progress of the state institution for higher education of Negroes. It appeared that an early prediction by Governor Cassius M. Barnes was well founded--that the institution was, in fact, "destined to become an important factor in the uplift and advance of the colored race in Oklahoma."[2]

Summary

A variety of developmental activities was projected by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in the decade 1930-1939. Very significant, among these, were those activities cooperatively sponsored by the Association and the Langston University Alumni Association, under leadership of F. D. Moon. One of these resulted in the passage of state legislation that broadened, for the teachers and others, opportunities in higher education through provision of tuition to out-of-state colleges and universities, 1935-1954, a remedial measure needed until Negroes were admitted, in 1948, to schools providing graduate and professional

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[1]"Tulsa Chapter Speaks," The Alumni Bulletin (November 5, 1938), p. 2.

[2]Oklahoma, Report of the Governor, 1900

training in Oklahoma. Another significant development was the re-establishment, in 1935, of The Journal, official organ of the Association, edited by W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPACT OF WARTIME DEVELOPMENTS ON THE THINKING OF OANT LEADERS: LEGISLATIVE MOVEMENTS OF THE 'FORTIES

Political, Social, and Educational Developments as Backgrounds for Legislative Movements of the 'Forties

International political movements during World War II, attended by a national movement to improve aspects of The American social scene by alleviating some problems of social and economic discrimination among its majority and minority groups, carried great impact on organized life in America between the years 1940 and 1960. Effects of these movements, political and social, could be observed in review both of group processes of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and of activities among its leaders throughout these two decades

As may later be noted, the general unrest by which the period was characterized was reflected in expressions of the thinking of OANT leaders and in their resolutions for action to improve educational conditions for Negro children.

Creation of a Setting for Social Change

Practices in providing "separate but equal" public facilities for people of the white and Negro races in parts of the United States for many years found legal sanction in a historic Supreme Court decision issued in 1896.

Judicial ruling in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson[1] paved the way, in 1896, for states and municipalities to enact laws requiring public facilities for the two races--transportation, education, and recreation--to be provided and maintained on a separate but equal basis. Early interpretation of these laws, in the South, quickly extended the bounds of segregation to virtually all areas of public life--economic, political, social, and religious. Separation of the races was achieved in all areas of public facilities--transportation, housing, employment, recreation, education, churches, and merchandising; and of public services--health, medical, social, and many governmental services. Thus, from 1893 to 1955, when the United States Supreme Court ruled that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place,"[2] territorial and state associations of Negro teachers in Oklahoma functioned for sixty-two years as major organizations within the framework of a legally separate society.

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[1]163 U. S. 537 (1896).

[2]Brown et al. v. Board of Education et al., 349 U. S. 294 (1955).

The turn of the century, however, saw powerful forces set in motion to free the Negro people from the bonds of legalized segregation. The Niagara Movement of the early 1900's and the subsequent movements of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, American Council on Human Rights, and other more or less independent local efforts contributed greatly, within the nation in the first half of the twentieth century, to social and political developments that were to affect educational developments during the latter half of the century. "First class citizenship" became the goal of twentieth-century American Negroes, and they sought to earn it, not only with the help of brilliant Negro attorneys who continuously kept their cause before high courts of the land, but also through all other available media, including education and the press.

Factors Causing Change During World War II

"Coming events cast their shadows"[1] as, during World War II, the nation saw the beginnings of a change in pace in the breakdown of the "separate but equal" doctrine sanctioned in 1896 by the Supreme Court. National defense needs of the country, plus a shortage in manpower, impelled national leaders to call for full utilization of the human resources of the nation and for the adequate development of

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[1]Thomas Campbell, "Lochiel's Warning," John Bartlett, Familiar Quotations, ed. Christopher Morley and Louella D. Everett (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p. 327.

these through improvement in educational, political, and economic opportunities among its people, including those of the Negro race.

With these War years came unprecedented mingling of the masses and of white and Negro leaders united in this mutual enterprise--national defense. As the American people moved about, north mingling with south and east meeting west and points abroad, common social understandings developed and helped lay the groundwork for socio-political, economic, and educational changes that were to sweep the country during the war and post-war decades of the 1940's and 1950's.

Legal forces--statutory enactments, judicial interpretations of the national Constitution, and Executive Orders of the Presidents--constituted a strong factor in facilitating changes in specific areas affecting national and local programs of education, including that of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Forces and Areas of Change

Employment in Defense Industries and in Government

On June 25, 1941, United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued his famous Executive Order 8802, declaring:

> I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color,

or national origin, . . .[1]

Civil Rights

On December 5, 1946, United States President Harry S. Truman issued his Executive Order 9808, creating a President's Committee on Civil Rights--an interracial 14-member commission authorized by the Chief Executive to inquire into and determine "in what respect Federal, state, and local governmental law-enforcement measures . . . authority . . . and means" might be "strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people"[2]

Armed Services

On July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman decreed in Executive Order 9981:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.[3]

Therein, also, the President authorized a seven-member advisory committee to confer and advise with the Secretary of Defense and Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and "to make such recommendations to the President

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[1]Selective Service System, Special Groups, Monograph No. 10 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953), II, 3.

[2]To Secure These Rights (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. viii-ix.

[3]Freedom to Serve (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. xi.

and to said Secretaries as in the judgment of the Committee" would "effectuate the policy" of equality of treatment and opportunity.[1]

Voting Practices

The Supreme Court ruled, in 1944[2] and 1953,[3] that any action barring citizens from voting in primary or other elections on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude was an abridgement of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Interstate Transportation

The Supreme Court ruled as unconstitutional, in 1950, several practices involving violations of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act, 1887, which denied any right of railroads engaged in interstate commerce "to subject any particular person, . . . to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."[4]

Housing Practices

The Supreme Court ruled in 1948 that "among the civil rights intended to be protected from discriminatory state action by the Fourteenth Amendment are the rights to

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[1]Ibid., pp. xi-xii.

[2]Smith v. Allwright, 321 U. S. 649 (1944).

[3]Terry et al. v. Adams et al., 345 U. S. 461 (1953)

[4]Henderson v. United States, 339 U. S. 816 (1950).

acquire, enjoy, own and dispose of property."[1]

> We hold that in granting judicial enforcement of the restrictive agreements 'covenants restricting the use of residential properties by people of various racial or ethnic groups', the states have denied petitioners the equal protection of the laws and that, therefore, the action of the state courts cannot stand. . . .[2]

Fair Employment Practices

Meanwhile, fifteen states and many cities had passed ordinances for "fair employment practices." First to do so had been the state of New York, which declared:

> The opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin is hereby recognized and declared to be a civil right. . . .[3]

> It shall be an unlawful practice . . . for an employer, because of the race, creed, color, or national origin of any individual, to refuse to hire or employ or to bar or to discharge from employment such individual or to discriminate against such individual in . . . privileges of employment.[4]

Nature of Change

In the areas cited above, the Federal Government set what Howard Hale Long has called "the pattern for integration."[5]

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[1] Shelley v. Kramer, 334 U. S. 1 (1948).

[2] Ibid.

[3] State of New York, Executive Department, State Commission Against Discrimination, Compilation of Laws Against Discrimination because of Race, Creed, Color or National Origin (New York, 1948), pp. 1-A-1-H.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Howard Hale Long, "Some Questions and Problems Relating to the Segregation Cases," The Journal (Oklahoma City: The Association, October, 1954), p. 13.

Long, a professor of law at Howard University, has suggested the significance of such change:

> In the Army, in the Navy, in the Air Force, and in civil employment, the Federal government has pointed the way. The Executive Orders providing equal opportunities in the Armed services and in Federal employment initiated, under controlled conditions, the greatest experiment in human relations that the world has known.[1]

To explore the tremendous effects of attitudinal changes brought about in consequence of these experiments is outside the scope of this paper. It is worthwhile to note, however, that all developments were widely and carefully observed. In effect, the moral atmosphere and climate of world public opinion grew favorable for the initiation of such steps as the nation took to begin the elimination of segregation in education at the end of the War.

At the same time, the direction of some changes set leaders of both races, in localities of the South, thinking, perhaps for different reasons, toward steps to improve educational conditions for Negroes in those areas.

In Oklahoma, trends were such that the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was able to achieve, with effort, some very desirable changes in both the state constitution and the statutes--changes by which millions of dollars were made available for the building and equipment of modern schools in Oklahoma and for the purchase of

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[1] Ibid.

facilities that would go far to enrich and improve the quality of educational programs in the separate schools.

Impact of Wartime Developments on the Thinking of OANT Leaders

Leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers took opportunity to express their views on vital issues through the medium of the Journal, a project financed and continued by the Association throughout the war years, and after, to keep lines of communication open between teachers of the state. The thinking of these leaders concerning issues which called forth judicial decisions and Executive Orders of the Presidents, issues important to the welfare of the nation during the decades of the 1940's and 1950's, was reflected in their writings read each year from the Journal by the more than 1,500 Negro teachers of the state.

In the same year, 1941, that President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, reaffirming the policy of non-discrimination in employment of workers in defense industries and government, OANT President John E. Buford, Sand Springs, wrote to the teachers:

> As we enter 1941, we can realize how tortuous has been the road to education; how we as teachers must face the future with a greater determination to prepare our children to move forward with ability, in order to preserve our democratic way of life.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> It is up to you and me to assist the thinking people of all groups in removing the shackles that are binding and hindering the minority group of which you and I are members. We must make many complaints against that kind of treatment which causes human beings to be discriminated against in the schools, in instructional

> apparatus, in methods and means of transportation, and in salary differentiation.
>
> To educate the majority group in . . . recognizing and eliminating these prevalent inequalities, we must set our own house in order. To do so, we must be fair with each other; let us refrain from selling the rights of our people for petty political jobs; let us work for the interests of our brothers and sisters; and finally let us not be intermediaries for the majority group to enslave the minority group.
>
> We must bind our hearts in one and steadfastly resolve to support all efforts made to provide equal educational opportunities for all human beings. . . .
>
> If we keep these thoughts in mind, we will soon reach that goal we all cherish most--Equal Citizenship.[1]

Physical education teacher William D. Combs, of Tulsa, expressed his reaction to changes in the times, writing in 1941:

> The ability to interpret today's events in the light of future consequences is the test of one's ability to realize the changes taking place in our dynamic society. These changes are typical of any society that has a definite goal for which it is striving. . . . We have, in America, set democracy as our goal. To my mind, the realization of democracy is characterized by change. Not changes in the fundamental processes of life but in reevaluating and redefining principles.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Our educational philosophy must be one that will speed up adjustments of those who compose our nation.
>
> If America is to stand the test of the ages, if the American way of life is to survive, and if civilization must run the gauntlet of time, there must be a broader interpretation and a fuller appreciation of cooperation, responsibility, and sportsmanship on the part of the people of America. These are the very fundamentals of social adaptation and adjustment. . . . Such fundamentals are not taught with lip service and not learned by reading pages of literature and history but are made a reality by placing the individual in situations that provoke actions and deeds.
>
> It seems to me that world events today present a direct challenge to those who must alleviate conditions.

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[1]John E. Buford, "Forward," The Journal (The Association, February, 1941), p. 2.

> It seems to me that the economic stress and political strain on individuals should make us more conscious of our living together. Out of this challenge and this consciousness of our living together should grow the principle, I Am My Brother's Keeper.[1]

In 1942 OANT President D. Adolph Williams, Sapulpa, issued a stirring challenge to the teachers during the war-time year of his administration:

> America today is experiencing the most dramatic period in our history. The Japanese are invading the Phillipine Islands, trying to conquer them quickly. There are many fronts which must be watched. "All-Out-for-Defense" is more than a motto. . . . The paramount issue in this country is the preservation of the "American way of life."
>
> It is an indisputable fact that this war will be won behind the lines and not at the front. What we, who assume the sacred responsibility of bending the twig as it would incline the giant oak of a few generations hence, do is as important as the service rendered by the men who wear the uniforms. For, after all, when the war clouds have drifted away, there will be A NEW AMERICA with an interpretation of the term Americanism far different from that of the last half century.[2]

Continuing, Williams declared:

> We hold in our hands the future of the Negro in the years to come. Peculiar indeed is our position in that we deal with youngsters who were bred in post-war prosperity and nurtured on the milk of depression. The youth with which we have to deal is as blind toward the possibilities of the years ahead as he is bitter toward the persecution of the years past.
>
> The Negro teacher must see beyond the present. He must see beyond the caravan of unskilled workers who make their way to and from defense plants. He must vision the day that will eventually come when no man

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[1]William D. Combs, "Living Together In A Democracy," The Journal (Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, February, 1941), p. 2.

[2]D. Adolph Williams, "Our Challenge," The Journal (Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, February, 1942) p. 3.

> will be blamed for the slant of his eyes or the color of his skin. And he must dedicate himself to the sacred task of preparing little black boys that they may play their parts well in the day when "Americanism" shall be reinterpreted to mean "America for all Americans."[1]

"The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers," pointed out Williams, "convenes at a time that demands strong, well-balanced minds to chart the way for the next generations yet unborn."[2] He concluded:

> The challenge is ours. Better to have been unborn than to have failed the Negro youth in this crisis. Come what may, let us pray to God for strength that we may play our part in the defense of Americanism, in the reinterpretation of American ideals, and in the battle of Right and against Wrong.[3]

President Lucius L. McGee, Oklahoma City, urged teachers to attend, in 1943, the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers which, he said, "convenes this year amid the unprecedented restrictions and rationing of what is perhaps our country's most bitter war."[4] He continued:

> Normalcy is so remote from our times that it is doubtful whether that word ever will find a place in the description of American life again. Certainly, if it is ever used again, it will have far different connotations.[5]

"But in spite of this and more," wrote McGee, "we . . .

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] OANT, The Journal (January, 1943), p. 5.

[5] Ibid.

should meet this year because our future is not so well assured as a group;"[1] and "while many other things are in the process of being changed, it benefits us to seek our future well-being in these changing situations."[2]

"We must remember," warned McGee,

> . . . that liberty, freedom, and equality are never conferred upon a group nor do they come from the hand of Santa Claus. These are things which one contends for and refuses to be satisfied with less. As teachers we want the same things other teachers get--better salaries, better buildings, better courses, better teachers, better principals, better tenure, better retirement.[3]
>
> We want better places for our youth in the defense and production centers of this, every American's war. We want better places in the combat units, better representation on the various boards and bureaus. If America is going all out for bureaucracy, we want to be bureaucrats also.[4]

"Let us," he urged, "no longer be lulled by that minority group anasthesia which tells us to wait--this is no time to talk about that now."[5]

> Yes, now is the time to let every other American know for what this group of Americans are striving. Yes, we will buy bonds, pay heavy income and victory taxes, fight on foreign soil and defend "Old Glory" on the seven seas, but we shall insist that the "four freedoms" shall apply to every American underneath the "Stars and Stripes" as well as to peoples in the war torn countries of the Eastern Hemisphere.[6]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] OANT, The Journal (January, 1943), p. 5.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

President George W. Tilmon, Boley, anticipated, in 1944, the need for post-war planning, recommending:

> That a commission be established to implement the post-war planning developed in the current session of this Association, provided further that the commission shall be mindful of all phases and processes of education from the nursery school to the university inclusive.[1]

"I believe," Tilmon stated, "that we should not discuss education for a post-war period without doing something about it and doing it now."[2] His conclusion expressed conviction:

> I believe it is our obligation: That we form a committee of some sort in making ways to improve both our way of life in preparing these citizens, young and old, for participation in the rebuilding and reorganization of the post-war society. . . . We can only be ready for tomorrow by doing something about it today. We can tell what tomorrow will be like if we plan it today; but if we sit by and not try to determine what the post-war period will be like, we are up for a disappointment.[3]

The last of the presidents during the years of total war, Zelia N. Breaux of Oklahoma City, urged, in 1946:

> Since participation is the fundamental principle upon which democracy depends, the representation of each and every member should reach beyond the realm of merely helping to finance the Association into a broader sphere--that of aiding in the shaping, moulding, and developing of a vocal, influential, and dynamic force for the social welfare of the people of Oklahoma.[4]

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[1] OANT, The Journal (September, 1944), p. 15.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 5.

[4] Ibid.

"The present conflict in which the world finds itself engaged," declared Zelia N. Breaux, "presents a challenge to us. It awakens us to the need for action today." She continued:

> No task must be put off until tomorrow. There is a deep realization of the tremendous responsibility we have as teachers and leaders. The Association is an integral part of each community in Oklahoma and the least classroom teacher should have the right and privilege to make a contribution in the realm of education for good citizenship.[1]

Mrs. Breaux concluded: "Only with this idea in mind and a sense of humility can we embark on a program of joint action for educational and social improvement in the State of Oklahoma."[2]

In 1946, the year of President Harry S. Truman's Executive Order 9808, creating a President's Committee on Civil Rights, President Clyde L. Cole recommended that the Association cooperate with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the "Ada Lois Sipuel case."[3]

This case, which, because of its significance in opening the doors of professional education to Negro students in the South, had been carried through two Supreme Court decisions by 1948,[4] had attracted attention. It originated

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Committee," April 13, 1946.

[4] Sipuel v. Oklahoma, 332 U. S. 631. Fisher v. Hurst, 333 U. S. 147.

in a movement begun in 1940 by the NAACP to open the doors of Oklahoma's state-supported graduate and professional schools to Negro students. At the time, Negro teachers and other students of the professions, in Oklahoma, were required to seek their graduate and professional training in the educational institutions of other states. Until 1935, when, through the initiative of the Langston University Alumni Association and intensive promotional effort of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, legislation was enacted to provide "out-of-state tuition,"[1] no provision had been made for the education of Oklahoma's Negro students at graduate and professional levels not available at Langston University.

In 1940, the NAACP had determined that the "out-of-state tuition" provision was unsatisfactory. Their representative, appearing before a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, had stated that the NAACP "considered the separate school law unfair," and "that they would attempt to get . . . equality of educational facilities of the state,"[2] including graduate and professional schools. In considering the request of the NAACP that the Negro teachers should support the effort of its organization to secure equality of facilities for educational training in Oklahoma, Legislative Committee Chairman W. E.

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[1]Oklahoma, Session Laws of 1935, c. 34, Art. 1.

[2]OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Committee," May 10, 1940.

Anderson, of Okmulgee, urged that "this was very definitely a teachers' fight since we are all in the equation for more education."[1]

As it appears, however, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers centered its financial support during the next few years on its own legislative efforts to secure more adequate provisions for financing the public separate schools provisions for counties to vote bonds for building schools for the Negro children, as districts were authorized to do for children of the majority group (1941); to secure equalization of salaries for the Negro teachers (1943); to secure passage of the "Better Schools Amendments" co-operatively sponsored with the Oklahoma Education Association (1944-1946); and to secure extra financial support for the separate schools through passage of constitutional amendments in 1946 and 1948.

In 1947-1948, the Association voiced both patriotic and racial hopes as, under leadership of President Calvin R. Johns, Seminole, they centered programs about the theme "Freedom Through Education." Unusual concentration on this theme could be noted at the general convention held in Oklahoma City, February 12-14, 1948. Here, teachers in the department of home economics heard discussions of "Education for Democracy," by Mrs. Waldo Stephens, Executive Secretary, Oklahoma City Foreign Policy Association; and "Food for

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[1] Ibid.

Freedom," by Dr. John W. Raley, President, Oklahoma Baptist University. Teachers in the department of rural education were addressed on subjects of "4-H Club's Contribution to Freedom," "P. T. A.'s Contribution to Freedom," "Church's Contribution to Freedom," "Home's Contribution to Freedom," "School's Contribution to Freedom," and "Freedom Train," by Mrs. Rosa Parker House, Mr. F. D. McFall, the Reverend Mr. A. M. Garrett, Mrs. W. Poston Johnson, Mr. J. R. Bizzell, and Miss Thelma J. Chatman, respectively. In the trade and industrial section, with Mrs. Nellie B. Dillon of Langston University, presiding, teachers pursued the idea of "Economic Freedom Through Better State Trade and Industrial Education Programs." Other aspects of the "freedom" theme were noted in the sub-theme of the departmental program of vocational agriculture teachers--"Planning and Training for Freedom"[1]

By 1949, such progress had been made in opening the doors of graduate and professional education to Negroes in Oklahoma that the Executive Committee, after hearing Executive Secretary F. D. Moon, Oklahoma City, give a brief summary of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the field of education, voted that $500 be allowed the NAACP "to help carry on its work of extending greater opportunities to all the children and adults of America through the courts of the land."[2]

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[1]OANT, The Journal (February, 1948), pp. 5-7.

[2]OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Committee," February 19, 1949.

In this year, members of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers read, in the Journal, several excerpts from communications, addresses, reports, and "messages" of United States President Harry S. Truman, including one from his "Message Transmitting Recommendations for Civil Rights Program, February 2, 1948":

> We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for education, for health, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.[1]

Rather appropriately summing up a prevailing concept of essentials for progress within the Association, during the decade of the 1940's, President Henry C. Whitlow, Tulsa, wrote, in 1949:

> The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, with a constituency of more than 1500 members, is a progressive, professional organization that has grown phenomenally in numbers and in academic preparation of its individual members. It legislative program has benefited pupils and teachers of the separate schools throughout the state. The continuous moving forward of this organization is largely due to the fact that its leaders and members have not been afraid of CHANGE. . . .[2]

Thus, basic philosophies underlying the work of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers during the most tangibly fruitful era of its history, the decade of the 1940's, were documented in the writings of its leaders. Subsequent action apparently based on the expression of these philosophies was to arouse public interest, among the

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[1]OANT, The Journal (February, 1949), pp. 16-17.

[2]Ibid., October, 1949, p. 2.

Negro people and others, in the financial welfare of separate schools.

Broadening of the Base for Financial Support of Oklahoma Separate Schools: Legislative Movements of the 'Forties

It was during this period of World War II that the Association, under leadership of its legislative committee, organized and carried through to completion plans and activities that were to advance tremendously the interests of Negro youth in Oklahoma in moving toward a goal they shared in common with others, "equality of educational opportunity." These activities of Negro educational leaders were to arouse tremendous public interest in the welfare of the schools.

The Association directed its most intensive work, during this period, toward securing revisions of constitutional and statutory laws of the state in order to broaden the base for financial support of public education in Oklahoma.

Outcomes of this work included (1) the passage of a state law in 1941 to provide that counties might vote bonds to build the separate schools stipulated for the Negro children; (2) the adoption of a constitutional amendment in 1946 which raised the potential ad valorem support of the separate schools, through county-wide levies, from two to three mills and provided that the additional mill be used to aid the separate schools in purchasing needed school sites, buildings, furnishings, and equipment; and (3) the adoption, in 1948, of another constitutional amendment which raised

the potential support of separate schools, by county-wide levy, from three mills to four mills. This last measure provided an "unrestricted" mill which, in use, brought about the equalization of the salaries of Negro teachers with those of other teachers and made possible an enrichment of the program of the separate schools through the purchase of needed materials and equipment. The Association participated, also, in work which led to the adoption of the "Better Schools Amendments" in 1946, a project which, in 1944, it had joined the Oklahoma Education Association in sponsoring, toward improvement of provisions for free textbooks, state-aid, financial support of the majority schools, and financial support of the separate schools.

As a result of the passage of legislation in 1941, permitting county-wide bond issues for building the separate schools,[1] a total of $9,709,960 ultimately was expended by counties for this purpose.[2] A number of such schools thereby built and equipped made available to the Negro children educational facilities materially comparable to those provided for many other children of the state.

As a result of the adoption of constitutional amendments in 1946 and 1948, raising the ceiling for county-wide ad valorem tax levies in support of separate schools

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[1]Oklahoma, Session Laws, 1941, Title 70, C. 25a, sec. 1-7.

[2]See Appendix V for accounting.

from two to four mills,[1] a total of more than $19,000,000 beyond the amount possible under the former two-mill levy was expended by counties for the purpose of providing more adequate facilities for the education of Oklahoma's Negro children, 1946-1953.[2]

Thus, the financial gain to the state in the financing of its separate school system through county-wide bond issues and county-wide ad valorem tax levies increased up to four mills, each year, ultimately amounted to nearly $29,000,000 through the years 1945-1954.

It is interesting to note that three of the four mills which might be levied, after 1948, by counties on their taxable property for support of the separate schools had been secured through legislation initiated by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers--one mill in 1921, and the other two, as cited, in 1946 and 1948.

The work of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in initiating and promoting these remunerative changes in the laws of the state constitutes a chapter in their history parallelled in interest only by that of the final chapter, which recounts their historic reaction to social change as exhibited in movements toward desegregation

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[1]State Question No. 319, Legislative Referendum No. 91, adopted July 2, 1946 and State Question No. 327, Legislative Referendum No. 92, adopted July 6, 1948.

[2]See Appendix VI for accounting.

of schools and integration of the school systems of the state during the decade of the 1950's.

Motivating Philosophies Underlying Legislative Work of OANT in the Decade of World War II

Quite expressive of the reasoning on which leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers based their actions in spearheading movements to secure greater financial support of the separate schools during World War II were the writings of William Ewart Anderson, editor of the Journal and chairman of the OANT Legislative Committee, 1936-1943. In 1940, some months prior to Pearl Harbor, Legislative Committee Chairman Anderson declared:

> The greatest enemy of democracy is ignorance, which has been and must continue to be the function of the public schools to eradicate.[2]

Elsewhere he reasoned that those who counselled minimizing the demands for eager support of schools and educational improvement during war time were advocating a myopic policy:

> The schools constitute the very foundation of our social, political, and economic system. Any efforts which would tend to impair their usefulness either through inadequate support or by inefficient administration should be regarded as subversive activities.[3]

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[1]Interview with F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and Chairman of the Legislative Committee, 1944-1956.

[2]OANT, "Report of the Legislative Committee, 1939-40" (in the files of the Executive Secretary).

[3]W. E. Anderson, "Some Basic Issues in our Association Activities," The Journal (September, 1944), p. 7.

In another editorial, Anderson pointed out: "The use of the theme: Education for the Common Defense made the American people conscious of two things fundamental in thought and action--national defense and implementation of democracy." He continued:

> Education has a vital concern in both of them. It is important that a democracy possess vast material resources which it must utilize for defense purposes; it is, however, infinitely more important that the human resources which must be mobilized for the utilization of its material elements possess the requisite qualities of intelligence, understanding, and courage.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Theoretically, the control of education is vested in the public. All too frequently certain pressure groups which have a highly developed technique of establishing their views in important places subserve the public will, and thereby deprive the public of the things which it rightfully deserves. This is very much the case in education. The costs of education have been magnified to the extent that school support is the "big bad wolf" of taxation. On the other hand the values of education have been so minimized that one who advocates more for education is likely to have his patriotism questioned. Yet education has been the leaven of democracy. It has provided the source of enterprise, initiative, and pioneering that has made America the foremost nation of the earth. It is upon this achievement that the public school merits the support, interest, and continued devotion of the American people.[1]

"Today, as never before," declared Anderson, "the solution of democracy means the utilization of the processes of education. They are one and inseparable."[2]

> Wherever government is controlled by a single individual, education is the tool of government and by consequence the agency for the dictator's propaganda.

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[1] W. E. Anderson, "Education for the Common Defense," in "A Bulletin, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers" (May, 1941), p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

> Individual liberty, independent institutions, and free governments rest upon the intelligence, loyalty, and understanding of the people. Those who would hamper and make ineffective free universal public education are, whether either purposely or inadvertently, the real enemies of democracy and the foremost forces in the destruction of democratic institutions.[1]

His forceful and touching conclusion followed:

> If America is to remain forever democratic America, if it is to continue "the land of the free and the home of the brave," if it is to perdure as the land of hope and eternal peace; then tolerance must displace bigotry, insidious competition must yield to mutual cooperation, and insipid prejudice must become the harbinger of universal brotherhood.[2]

Growing specific about problems of the separate schools in Oklahoma, Anderson pointed out, in 1941, that recent decisions of the federal courts had outlawed salary differentials of white and Negro teachers and had established that differences in provisions for education of the white and Negro races based upon racial distinctions were contrary to the constitution of the United States. He commented:

> Although some of these decisions were made nearly two years ago . . . the Negroes of this state have not received any benefits therefrom. Certainly these decisions carry the clear and incontrovertible conclusions that the same type of educational facilities provided for Whites must be made available to Negroes. The implementation of the declarations of the courts must be made by the Negro citizens themselves. Shall it not be done now?[3]

In this same year, 1941, D. Adolph Williams, Sapulpa, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers wrote:

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[1] Ibid., p. 5.

[2] Ibid.

[3] W. E. Anderson, "Lest We Forget," in "A Bulletin, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers" (May, 1941), p. 8.

> Oklahoma is the only state in the Union with a dual setup [financial system] for white and colored schools. Article X, Section 183 of the Oklahoma statutes provides that the "public schools of the state of Oklahoma shall be organized and maintained upon a complete plan of separation between white and colored races, with impartial facilities for both races." And yet, under the laws of this state, Negro schools must operate within the limit of a two-mill county-wide levy without the privilege of voting an additional levy, while white schools may receive as high as fifteen mills according to the will of the voters.[1]

"However well Negro schools may have fared when there were few separate schools and the cost of education was comparatively small," pointed out President D. Adolph Williams, "the plight of our schools in this state today is sad."[2]

> With a very few exceptions, the two-mill levy does not provide enough revenue for the maintenance of the schools. Under the present law there is no source of funds for much needed improvements like remodeling or the erection of new buildings. Under the present laws, Negro teachers may as well reconcile themselves to their present salary schedules. And, as our population increases, unless the laws are changed, we may expect to see nine-month's Negro school the exception rather than the rule.
>
> The program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers this year [1941-1942] will be a program of enlightenment on matters pertaining to the maintenance of the separate schools. We shall focus our attention on the problem of existence. In our fight to secure changes necessary to maintain the standards which Negro public schools in this state have set, every Negro teacher is a soldier. The fight is the teachers' fight, not for the mere sake of his position, but for the sake of thousands of young ideas entrusted into our care year.[3]

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[1] D. Adolph Williams, "Statement of Aims," in "A Bulletin, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers" (May, 1941), p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Eight years later, F. D. Moon, of Oklahoma City, under whose indefatigable leadership the needed legislative changes were to be achieved by the Association, was to instill pride in the hearts of his co-workers as they read:

> WHAT HAS THE STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION DONE?
>
> The question of achievement of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers is appropriate. As a state organization we began with statehood, so we are forty-nine years old. In fact, we had a territorial teachers' association.
>
> The association has wrought well. The early day leaders, such as J. H. A. Brazelton, Dr. Inman E. Page, C. B. Bryant, George Carry, E. H. Hall, John Lampton, William Sulcer, W. E. Day, laid the foundation well and secure. Late stalwarts like Caesar, Watson, Fort, Spencer, Pettus, Hargrove, Weaver, Woods, Hughes, and Grissom bore the lighted torch higher by securing or making possible the millions of dollars that have come to Negro schools through the passage of a one mill levy [in 1921]. These same unsung heroes obliged the State of Oklahoma to share the gross production tax with the separate schools, thus adding other millions enjoyed in the past and accruing to our benefit even today.[1]

"Educational leaders," commented F. D. Moon, "have been criticized unjustly, for the facts show that they have ever stood in the vanguard in fighting for better schools and more adequate finance. . . ."[2]

F. D. Moon called attention to recent happenings. "Let the facts speak," he said. "What has the Association done during the period from 1940 to 1949?"

> Prior to this decade bonds could not be voted for separate schools. The Legislative Committee of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers sponsored the enactment of legislation which would permit the voting

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[1]F. D. Moon, "What Has the State Teachers' Association Done?" The Journal (Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, February, 1949), p. 3.

[2]Ibid.

> of bonds for separate schools. The first bonds were voted for separate schools in Tulsa County, November of 1945, in the sum of $1,000,000. On December the fourth, 1945, Oklahoma County became the second county of the state to vote bonds for separate schools, when an issue of $700,000 passed. Since then, the following bond issues have brought money to finance Negro education: Seminole County, $250,000; Okmulgee County, $400,000; Hughes County, $250,000; Muskogee County, $1,250,000; Tulsa County, another $1,000,000. This is a total of $5,740,000.[1]

Nor was this all, Moon pointed out. On July 2, 1946, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers had secured the passage of an additional mill for building purposes, "thus helping to relieve a situation in Negro schools which had sorely plagued us for a quarter of a century." He continued:

> All of us remember how we tried to carry on current expenses and build buildings out of the money deriving from the two mill levy. We had to "rob Peter to pay Paul." If we built a school in one section of the county, frequently we had to shorten school terms or cut teachers' salaries in other Negro schools of the particular county. Separate schools of Oklahoma County alone have received approximately $500,000 from this source during the three years of 1946, 1947, and 1948. The total from the one mill amendment sponsored by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers for a building fund has passed the million dollar mark in three years.[2]

Reviewing events of 1948, Moon pointed out that the Association, through its Legislative Committee, had sponsored a constitutional amendment which was adopted on July 6, 1948, providing an additional mill which had no restrictions. He explained:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

> The money accumulating under this provision may be spent in any legal manner. Under this amendment a check of eight counties at the State Board of Equalization reveals that Oklahoma, Tulsa, Muskogee, Seminole, Comanche, Carter, Logan, and Creek counties received for the year 1948-49 the combined sum of $489,329. With almost a half million dollars going to these eight counties alone, it is conservative to estimate that in one year about $750,000 came to Negro schools as a result of the passage of the one mill amendment.
>
> IT WAS THE PASSAGE OF THIS AMENDMENT WHICH ACCOMPLISHED THE EQUALIZATION OF TEACHERS' SALARIES IN OKLAHOMA CITY.
>
> From 1946 to 1948, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers increased the potential ad valorem support of separate schools from TWO mills to FOUR MILLS![1]

Thus, through the writings of their leaders, the general organization of Negro teachers shared convictions of the need and values of effort to secure legal changes which would improve financial support of the schools for Negro children.

Summary

Basic philosophies underlying the work of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers during the most tangibly fruitful era of its history, the decade of the 1940's, are to be found among the writings of its leaders. During this period of World War II, the Association directed its most intensive work toward securing revisions of constitutional and statutory laws of the state in order to broaden the base for financial support of public education in Oklahoma.

In consequence of special efforts of the Oklahoma

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[1] Ibid.

Association of Negro Teachers to help achieve solutions to some of the problems in financing separate schools for the Negro children, two legislative referendums--one on July 2, 1946 and one on July 6, 1948--were adopted by the people of Oklahoma in special elections ordered by the state legislatures and Governors Robert S. Kerr and Roy J. Turner. The two constitutional amendments thus achieved were means through which more than eighteen million dollars were brought to the separate schools between 1946 and 1954, year of the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the public schools.

A third constitutional amendment--adopted when, on November 5, 1946, the people voted to approve four "Better Schools Amendments" jointly sponsored by the Oklahoma Education Association and the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers--was secured through initiative petition. This amendment brought additional financial support to the separate schools of Oklahoma through levies, by counties, of the "Moon mill," popularly so-named by the Negro people in honor of F. D. Moon, who had secured its inclusion as one of the "Better Schools Amendments" in 1944 and who had provided leadership in the drive both to secure voters' signatures for the four initiative petitions and to secure public support necessary for the petitions to be adopted. Thus the Association utilized its facilities to secure more adequate financial support of the public schools.

CHAPTER IX

IMPACT OF THE DESEGREGATION MOVEMENT ON THE PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATION IN THE DECADE OF THE 'FIFTIES

Introduction

Signs of the times, from 1948 to 1955, pointed to relatively swift eradication of legal sanctions of racial discrimination in American public education. Patterns, in the education of white and Negro students in graduate and professional schools of the South, were changing. It was anticipated that the change soon would extend to the levels of elementary and secondary education. Patterns of teacher employment, however, well entrenched during the past half-century, held questionable promise of any rapid amalgamation of Negro teachers among those of the majority group in states newly faced with the idea of integrating their dual school systems.

Wide-awake leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers realized a need to plan for coming crises which were inevitable in outcomes of such a social movement. Giving careful attention, therefore, to developments in the

progressing struggle for equality of educational opportunity in those states which required or permitted racial segregation in the schools, they planned what the Association might contribute to the solution of imminent problems.

Leaders of OANT noted the outcomes of cases carried from Oklahoma to the Supreme Court of the United States, Sipuel v. Oklahoma[1] and McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents,[2] which required admission of Negro students to Oklahoma schools of higher education on the same bases as other students were admitted. Cases from other states, namely Texas, Kansas, Delaware, Arkansas, Alabama, and Virginia, were studied and discussed as the desegregation movement gathered momentum. The impact of these developments on the program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers could be noted in programming of the general conventions and in communications from OANT leaders to the general organization and to other interested persons. OANT leaders conceived that financial resources of the Association should be developed as a first and basic step in preparing for change. Under leadership of H. F. V. Wilson, Ardmore, a continuous campaign was conducted until the Association amended its constitution, in 1952, to provide for higher membership fees. The reserve built up became tremendously important in promoting the interests of the Negro teachers during the crucial period

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[1]199 Okla. 36, 586; 180 Pac. 135.

[2]399 U. S. 637 (1950).

of 1955-1959. A drive to expand the membership of Negro teachers in the National Education Association was intensified. OANT leaders anticipated a need for facts to help the public become better informed concerning qualifications of Negro teachers. Executive Secretary F. D. Moon sought to fill this need through research and the Association published several of his findings.

When the crisis came for the Negro teachers in 1955-1957, 304 of these teachers became the first to lose their jobs as communities in the state began to effectuate a transition to a racially non-discriminatory school system, in accord with the decision of the Supreme Court in 1955. OANT leaders redoubled their efforts to provide the public with information concerning reasonable methods of securing the interests of all school personnel during the period of transition.

This concluding chapter outlines in detail some final aspects of history thus presented as the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers moved toward the end of sixty-five years of activity as a separate educational organization.

Developments in the Movement for Desegregation of the Public Schools

Legal Developments

Leaders of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers followed with intense interest those legal developments which,

after World War II, seemed to point to the swift elimination of practices in racial segregation in education.

Holding particular significance, in this direction, was a ruling by the United States Supreme Court in 1948 that separate facilities provided, that year, for the study of law by Negro students in the state of Oklahoma,[1] were not in fact equal with those afforded for the training of other law students in the state. The Court decision set forth that the state should provide for the the petitioner, Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, a legal education at the University of Oklahoma as soon as it did for applicants of any other race.[2]

This judicial ruling by the Court was followed by two others handed down on May 17, 1954[3] and May 31, 1955,[4] the combined impact of which set off a social chain reaction which, throughout the decade of the 1950's, was to be observed throughout the world. In light of these three Supreme Court decisions, the facilities of public education at every level were held to be legally accessible to all children of the state on an equal basis, regardless of national origin, race, or color.

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[1] Langston University Bulletin. Issue of the School of Law, January 26, 1948, p. 4.

[2] Fisher v. Hurst, 333 U. S. 147 (1948).

[3] Brown v. Board of Education, Briggs v. Elliott, Davis v. County School Board, Gebhart v. Belton, 347 U. S. 483 (May 17, 1954).

[4] Brown et al. v. Board of Education et al., 349 U. S. 294 (May 31, 1955).

The Court held, on May 17, 1954, that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[1] Substantiating this decision, the Court cited findings in the case of Sweatt v. Painter, "that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities."[2] The Judiciary referred further to a precedent established in the case of McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents[3] wherein

> . . . the Court, in requiring that a Negro be admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students again resorted to intangible considerations: . . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students and, in general, to learn his profession. Such considerations apply with equal force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.[4]

On May 31, 1955, the United States Supreme Court clarified its opinion of May 17, 1954 "declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional" and that "all provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle."[5] School authorities were deemed by the Court to "have the primary

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[1] Idem, 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

[2] 339 U. S. 629 (1950).

[3] 339 U. S. 637 (1950).

[4] Brown et al. v. Board of Education et al., 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

[5] 349 U. S. 294 (1955).

responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving . . . problems" attendant on "full implementation of these constitutional principles."[1] "Courts" would "have to consider whether the action of school authorities constituted good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles."[2]

The impact of these decisions brought the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers to the point of deciding whether the need still existed to maintain its organization.[3] By constitutional amendment on April 5, 1955, the state had altered its system of financing the public schools. The county-wide levy for separate schools, which the Association had succeeded in getting raised to four mills,[4] now was to be apportioned among all schools of the seventy-seven counties.[5] Finally, the Oklahoma Education Association had opened its doors of membership to the Negro teachers, but had not expressed its attitude concerning problems OANT leaders had envisioned. Nor was it clear to what extent current goals of the Oklahoma Association of

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[1]Brown et al. v. Board of Education et al., 349 U. S. 294 (May 31, 1955).

[2]Ibid.

[3]Minutes, Joint Planning Session of OANT Committees and Representatives, Oklahoma City, October 26, 1955 (in the files of the Association).

[4]Supra, chap. viii.

[5]State Question 368, Legislative Referendum No. 109 (1955).

Negro Teachers, listed below, could be merged with those of OEA.[1]

OANT Goals in a Crucial Period as Expressed by OANT Leaders, 1950-1956

Themes for the years 1950-1956 reflected goals and central interests of the Association. These themes, and the presidents who chose them were:

"Improved Leadership for Democracy's Road to Freedom," 1950, E. W. Tolliver, Ardmore.

"Integration--Challenges and Problems of Achievement," 1951, A. M. Tompkins, Choctaw.

"Education for Citizenship in a Democratic Society," 1952, H. F. V. Wilson, Ardmore.

"Greater Goals for Professional Organization," 1953, C. A. Jackson, Okmulgee.

"Education for First Class Citizenship," 1954, Floyd F. Alexander, Nowata.

"Integration in Progress," 1955, Joseph Johnson, Cushing.

"The First Freedom for Teachers--Freedom to Teach," 1956, Willa A. Strong, McAlester.[2]

The predominance of such goals as first class citizenship, democratic freedom, integration in educational programs, leadership in pursuit of the democratic ideal, and freedom to teach are noted in these themes developed by the leaders in their writings and agenda for conventions.

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[1]Interview with F. D. Moon (Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers), Oklahoma City, April 17, 1960.

[2]OANT, The Journal, 1950-1956.

Improved Leadership

In 1950, R. Goodwin Parrish, principal of the Lincoln high school, Chickasha, called attention to the problem of "unsettled questions":

> These forces centered around unsettled questions focus attention upon world leadership. . . . These unsettled questions . . . will continue to shake our confidence until educational leadership accepts them as a challenge to find adequate solutions and to resolve the conflicts. . . .[1]

In that same year, 1950, E. W. Tolliver, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, stated:

> We have selected for our Association theme: "Improving Leadership for Democracy's Road to Freedom." One point of improvement in our professional leadership, I am convinced, should be along the lines of professional ethics.
>
> To prevent repeating the same mistake that was made during World War II . . . of allowing our schools to become so depleted of competent, trained, professional men and women . . . I recommend that the Association go on record as recommending that competent young people be encouraged to enter the teaching service.[2]

In order that the Association should recognize, in their midst, a leader whom he called "a great oak in the educational forest of the nation,"[3] Tolliver made a final recommendation:

> I recommend that a committee be appointed, whose duty shall be to work out and formulate plans for the

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[1]R. Goodwin Parrish, "Improved Leadership for Democracy's Road to Freedom," The Program, Forty-Second Annual Session (Oklahoma City, The Association, November, 1950), pp. 1-2.

[2]E. W. Tolliver, "President's Recommendations," in "Minutes of the Business Council, OANT," November 13-14, 1950 (in the files of the Association.

[3]Ibid.

> proper recognition for the unselfish, Herculean service in educational development for the OANT rendered by Mr. F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary of the OANT.[1]

Curriculum Adjustment to Meet Challenges of Integration

The need to broaden the curriculum of the separate schools in preparing Negro youth to meet the opportunities newly afforded by the integration movement was pointed out, in 1951, by A. M. Tompkins, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers. Choosing for the Association program the theme "Integration--Its Challenges and Its Problems of Adjustment," he advised:

> Integration is presenting enlarged opportunities for Negro youth, and we must be alert to enlarge and expand the training base of the children in our care, in order that each child, following its natural bent, can rely with confidence upon the enlightenment and training he received in the separate schools.[2]

Education for Democratic Citizenship

Writing, in 1952, on the theme "Education for Citizenship in a Democratic Society," H. F. V. Wilson, president, observed:

> I believe that the classroom teacher and his or her principal are able to so present subject matter and social behavior to Negro youth that they will achieve definite, realizable, and satisfying goals in "Education for Citizenship in a Democratic Society."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> What are these goals of which I speak?
> 1) Industry. 2) Honesty. 3) Cooperation. 4) Trustworthiness,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] A. M. Tompkins, "Integration--Its Challenge and Its Problems of Adjustment," The Program, Forty-Third Annual Session (The Association, October, 1951), pp. 1-2.

5) Familiarity with the use of the tools of expression, And 6) Gracious good manners. With these none of us can have any lasting quarrel.[1]

Breadth of Professional Affiliation

Executive Secretary Moon, in 1952, began a campaign to broaden the professional affiliations of Negro teachers of Oklahoma, pointing out "there are many reasons why EACH member of the O.A.N.T. should be a member of the National Education Association."[2] He cited several reasons:

> The N.E.A. has made it a part of its constitution that any state maintaining two state associations, one for Negroes and the other for whites, will have both racial groups represented in the Delegate Assembly of the National Education Association in proportion to the total number of members that each association bears to the total from that state in the N.E.A. Under this rule Negro and white members meet on a basis of equality in the N.E.A.
>
> In these days of wild hysteria, the N.E.A. helps protect the schools against attack. Through the power of almost 500,000 members, it champions the cause of education and exposes the selfish motives of vested interests whose leaders seek to undermine the confidence of the public in its schools. . . .[3]

Greater Professional Goals

In 1953, C. A. Jackson, president, cited five goals of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers:

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[1]H. F. V. Wilson, "Education for Citizenship in a Democratic Society," The Program, Forty-Fourth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, The Association, October, 1952), pp. 3-4.

[2]F. D. Moon, "Why Members of the O.A.N.T. Should Belong to the National Education Association," The Program, Forty-Fifth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, The Association, October, 1953), p. 9.

[3]Ibid.

> First . . . equal educational opportunities for all children regardless of color or circumstances; second, interested, qualified and well paid teachers; third, good buildings and adequate facilities; fourth, a curriculum to meet the various needs of each individual; fifth, cooperation of school and community.[1]

Education for First Class Citizenship

Writing on his chosen theme, in 1954, Floyd F. Alexander, president, pointed out:

> This is perhaps one of our most critical periods in education, critical from the point of view that we have more children to teach and more problems to solve in broadening our school programs.
>
> In most cases, the major problem is finance to provide the many services in meeting the needs of our children.[2]

At the time, the OANT Legislative Committee was cooperating with the Legislative Committee of the Oklahoma Education Association and the State Legislative Council in studies leading toward the passage, on April 5, 1955, of a constitutional amendment which would revise the system of financing the public schools of the state.

Integration in Progress

"Meeting the Challenges and Demands of an Integrated Society" was the theme chosen by Joe S. Johnson, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in 1955. This was the eventful year in which the Oklahoma Association of Negro

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[1]C. A. Jackson, "Greater Goals for our Professional Organization," The Journal, April, 1954, p. 11.

[2]Floyd F. Alexander, "Thanks for Your Cooperation," The Journal, July, 1955, p. 1.

Teachers made the decision whether to maintain its sixty-two-year old organization.

"Yes," declared President Joe S. Johnson, "integration is upon us and with it comes a challenge which will expose us to a competition we have never known."[1]

> There will be no more top positions labeled "Negro." Our children won't be on the debating teams, in the chorus, hold offices, play on the athletic teams, represent their schools just for the asking. To be recognized, we must work . . . a little harder and a little longer than the other fellow. . . . A man's worth or greatness is measured in terms of his achievements.
>
> Let us pray that this inevitable transition will not be so hectic that we find ourselves confused and wandering aimlessly in the wilderness of hopelessness and frustration. Be vigilant that we lost not our identity as a capable and ingenious race nor lose a single phase of our cultural heritage.[2]

The First Freedom for Teachers--Freedom to Teach

The practice of dismissing Negro teachers from school systems, as communities throughout Oklahoma began desegregating their schools, was developing alarming momentum when, in 1956, Willa A. Strong, principal of L'Ouverture High School at McAlester, assumed the responsibilities of president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Executive Secretary Moon reported, early in 1956, that 127 Negro teachers, out of a total of 1,536, had lost their jobs and only five Negro teachers had been employed in

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[1]Joe S. Johnson, "The Challenge," The Journal (Oklahoma City, The Association, July, 1955), p. 1

[2]Ibid.

integrated schools.[1] It appeared that the 1955 prediction of OANT leaders, that these teachers needed to keep a basis for fighting their battles,[2] was well founded. It appeared, too that conviction was growing, among these leaders, that the resources of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers should be maintained and utilized to protect the professional welfare and security of the teachers in this transition to a racially non-discriminatory school system. Reflecting this goal in her choice of a theme, Miss Strong wrote to the membership:

> As to the O.A.N.T., don't sell it short in this crucial period. Its history is a glorious heritage worthy of preservation and acclaim. Its program of action is a ladder on whose rounds Negro teachers have made tremendous strides. It is now a firm foundation on which the Negro teacher may erect a stable structure of professional integration.
>
> The individual teacher is the most significant factor in the quest for professional integration. What each teacher does in his or her peculiar situation is important.[3]

Pointing out that some political ideologies thrive on the sacrifice of the individual to the goals of the state, President Strong continued:

> Democracy cherishes the worth of every individual . . . The Negro teacher is not expendable in Democracy's forward march. The aims of democratic education will best be served by the full utilization of the nation's

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[1]F. D. Moon, "Summary of Address Made Before the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Group Meeting, Chicago, 1956" (in the files of the Association).

[2]"Minutes, Joint Planning Session of OANT Committees and Representatives, Oklahoma City, October 26, 1955" (in the files of the Association).

[3]Letter from Willa A. Strong to the membership of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, January 23, 1956.

resources in teaching personnel.[1]

Thus were the goals and central interests of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers reflected, during the years 1950-1956, in their leaders' presentation of yearly program themes and in their communications to the membership.

Planning to Participate in Facilitating Implementation of Decisions of the Supreme Court

Recognizing, in 1953, that the Supreme Court might hold that segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers geared themselves to assume a share of responsibility in planning for what would occur in the coming period of transition.

Committee on Integration

As early as 1953, a group of school principals, headed by Henry C. Whitlow, principal of Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa, was appointed to study problems which might arise during a period of transition and to plan activities which the Association might execute toward helping the state find solutions for these problems before they occurred. Representatives from all areas of the state were selected to comprise the Committee on Integration.

These leaders included: Henry C. Whitlow, principal, Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa, chairman; L. R. Kirkpatrick, Manual Training High School, Muskogee; O. M.

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[1] Ibid.

McDaniel, Booker T. Washington High School, Idabel; J. R. Sadberry, Douglass High School, Lawton; Alphonso M. Jordan, Douglass High School, Wewoka; Clarence R. Buford, Napier School, Ada; F. D. Moon, Douglass High School, Oklahoma City; C. A. Jackson, Dunbar High School, Okmulgee; J. J. West, Attucks High School, Ponca City; D. Adolph Williams, Booker T. Washington High School, Sapulpa; Booker Brown, Dunbar Elementary School, Tulsa; Joe S. Johnson, Booker T. Washington High School, Cushing; H. F. V. Wilson, Douglass High School, Ardmore; and Ira D. Hall, Assistant Inspector of Negro High Schools, State Department of Education.

In March, 1954, the Committee on Integration made its first report, which received wide publicity in the public press during the week of March 19.[1] The complete text of this report showed an analysis of the organizational structure of the public schools into five areas in which problems accompanying integration of schools might occur. Accompanying this analysis was a plan which, the Committee on Integration proposed, could help in making effective the spirit of the impending decision of the Supreme Court.

Policies Proposed by the Committee on Integration Toward Integration in the Area of Administration

Toward integration in the area of finance, the Committee first recommended that the money then accruing to separate schools in Oklahoma from county-wide levies, four

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[1]The Journal, April, 1954, p. 4.

mills, should be distributed to school districts in such a way that the money would follow the Negro pupils on a per capita basis.

The Committee recommended that the criteria to be used as bases for employment of teachers and administrators be based upon training, experience, and seniority. They recommended, further, that teachers be retained or absorbed in direct proportion to the approved pupil-teacher ratios of Negro pupils to the total enrollment of a school district.

The Committee recommended that every offering of the curriculum should be made available to every student, regardless of race, creed, color, or residence. A final proposal of the Committee was that, in order for the personality of every child to have optimum chance for growth and development, there should be no discrimination, economically, emotionally, or socially, toward any pupil because of race, creed, or color.[1]

Planning to Participate in Implementing Recommended Policies for Integration

Prior to the Supreme Court decision handed down on May 17, 1954, the OANT Committee on Integration re-studied several times and modified the statement of policies they had recommended concerning integration in the public school system of Oklahoma. The Committee met, on September 11,

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[1]OANT, The Journal, April, 1954, p. 4. See, also, The Program, October 28-29, 1954, pp. 14-15.

1954, with the Executive Committee, with presidents of the six districts of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, and with other officers of the Association to adopt and work out a plan of action toward implementation of the recommended policies.

The plan of action developed provided that a number of interesting activities be executed:[1]

(1) Integration workshops should be held in each of the six districts of OANT during September and October of that year. Teachers, in these workshops, should make suggestions to supplement, revise, or improve the plan of action developed during the September 11 meeting. Representatives from the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and from the National Education Association should be given time to participate in each of these district programs.

(2) Citizens' committees, made up of key people, should be activated on local and district levels. They should know the proposals of the OANT Committee on Integration and should plan for action on these; they should be invited, also, to report and coordinate their activities by attending the district workshops of the teachers.

(3) Legal counsel should be employed to represent members of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in legal action, should this become necessary as the law was applied and interpreted.

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[1]OANT, The Program, Forty-Sixth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, October 28-29, 1954), p. 15.

(4) Legislative lobbies in the interests of Negro teachers should be planned and conducted by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

(5) Earmarked funds from the budget of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers should be allocated for support of legal action, should this become necessary.

(6) Extra assessments on the Negro teachers of the state should be provided, should additional finance be needed.

(7) Meetings of the Committee on Integration with superintendents of schools should be planned in order that the course of action in integration might be directed to meet the needs and interests of all the people.

(8) Conferences of the OANT Executive Secretary with committees and officers of the Oklahoma Education Association and other interested groups should be executed in order that the proposals concerning integration might be disseminated and acted upon.

(9) Examples of successful experiences in integration of teachers, as well as of students, should be brought before the people by means of radio, television, press, information supplied to community organizations, and other media of communications and public relations.

(10) Best interests of both children and employed personnel of all the schools should be considered as communities and teachers cooperated in finding ways to facilitate

implementation of constitutional principles as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its decision of May 17, 1954.[1]

Executing Plans to Facilitate the Process of Transition

For all of their planning, Negro teachers of Oklahoma could not escape the "sword of Damocles" which fell as the nation received the decision of the Supreme Court on May 31, 1955.[2] By 1957, 304 of these teachers had been cut off the payrolls of local school systems throughout the state[3] and many more were slated to follow.

The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers held to each of its previous plans. Some of the activities projected to facilitate the process of change, as Oklahoma entered the period of transition, are here listed, not always chronologically, but as nearly so as a description of plans submitted by the Committee on Integration, will allow.

Communication of Educational Information

The National Association of Secondary School Principals, meeting in Chicago early in 1956, invited Executive Secretary F. D. Moon to address one of its groups with a report of progress toward integration of schools in Oklahoma.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Brown et al. v. Board of Education et al., 349 U. S. 294 (May 31, 1955).

[3] F. D. Moon, "Summary of Address Made Before The National Association of Secondary School Principals, Chicago, 1956" (in the files of the Association).

Excerpts from his address, later published in full in the April, 1956 issue of the Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, described beginnings in the process of transition:

> Oklahoma public schools took no action toward desegregation in the first year following the decision on May 17, 1954. To be sure, there were many meetings held and some planning done; but everywhere there was the attitude of waiting until "the Supreme Court tells what to do." Only the Catholic schools started to desegregate.
>
> Following the May 31, 1955 decision, Oklahoma, still exercising considerable caution and fear, began gradual implementation. The governor of Oklahoma stated publicly that Oklahoma would obey the law of the land as set forth by the Supreme Court, but indicated that in "Little Dixie" (the southern counties of Oklahoma) considerable time might be needed to secure compliance.[1]

Citing figures to describe the extent of integration in Oklahoma schools at the time, February, 1956, Moon stated: "At the elementary level, about 36 per cent of the school districts having Negro children as residents had enrolled the Negro and white children in the same schools.[2] At the secondary level, he said, about 50 per cent of the school districts had enrolled both Negro and white students in the same high schools. In total Negro and white children had become classmates in 273 schools of Oklahoma.

Summarizing other changes in the educational program within the state during the year 1955-1956, Moon listed:

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[1]F. D. Moon, "Summary of Address Made Before The National Association of Secondary School Principals, Chicago, 1956" (in the files of the Association).

[2]Ibid.

The acceptance into the Oklahoma High School Athletic Association of 65 Negro high schools.

The admittance of all-Negro high schools as members of the State Forensic League, previously all-white.

The opening of membership of the Oklahoma Education Association to Negro members at the annual meeting in October, 1955, without segregation being practiced in any hotel where group meetings were held.

The opening of the Oklahoma institutions of higher learning to Negroes at the undergraduate level.

The enrollment of white students in two previously all-Negro elementary schools of Oklahoma City.[1]

Studies of Teachers' Qualifications in Oklahoma

Anticipating the reluctance of some school boards to employ Negro teachers in schools attended by both white and Negro children, Moon conducted a study to determine the relative extent to which Negro teachers of Oklahoma were professionally qualified for such employment. The findings of his research later were published in the Journal of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.[2] Many superintendents of schools throughout the state of Oklahoma were sent copies of the report and one issue of the Daily Oklahoman, having statewide circulation, carried an article based on the study. Copies of the report were made available to all Negro school principals of the state and to others who might be interested in helping the Association with its

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[1] Ibid.

[2] F. D. Moon, "Negro and White Teachers in Oklahoma--A Comparison of Qualifications," The Journal (Oklahoma City, The Association, July, 1955), pp. 2-3.

program of providing information which might facilitate the retention of Negro teachers.

The following is an excerpt from the introduction to the study by Moon, comparing qualifications of Negro and white teachers in Oklahoma for the year 1953-1954.

> It has been the usual practice in determining qualifications of teachers to include training and experience as basic standards. Our leading cities and states usually take this into account in determining the salary of a teacher. . . . How do white and Negro teachers in Oklahoma compare in relation to these accepted standards? In 1953-54, Oklahoma employed 20,640 teachers--19,104 white teachers and 1,536 Negro teachers. Ninety-two and six-tenths per cent of the teachers were white; 7.4 per cent of the teachers were Negro. Twenty-five and eight-tenths per cent of all white teachers held master's degrees. Twenty-four and seven-tenths per cent of all the Negro teachers held master's degrees. Seventy out of every 100 white teachers held bachelor's degrees. Seventy-three out of every 100 Negro teachers held bachelor's degrees.[1]

Pointing out that only in the case of the master's degree did white teachers in Oklahoma slightly exceed Negroes in qualifications--the margin was 1.1 per cent--Moon wrote:

> When one takes into account the recency of admission of Negroes to graduate training in the higher institutions of learning in Oklahoma (the year 1948), it is remarkable that the Negro teachers compare so favorably with white teachers in the matter of master's degrees.[2]

Moon had established in an earlier study that the largest number of persons holding the master's degree secured these degrees within their own home states.[3] "Of course," he said,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] F. D. Moon, "Accredited Secondary Schools for Negroes in Oklahoma" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Education, University of Chicago, 1938).

"it is well known that Negroes at that time had to go outside the state to secure advanced degrees."[1] He concluded that "to have such a slight difference in professional training is a compliment to the Negro teachers and shows unusual interest in professional growth." The study of teachers' qualifications in Oklahoma revealed also that Negro teachers usually had longer tenure than the white teachers. Moon commented:

> Even though this situation prevails because of limited job opportunities in other desirable categories, the fact still remains that Negro teachers possess the accumulated knowledge in teaching which comes from greater experience.[2]

"In light of the national and critical shortage of teachers," Moon concluded, "teachers should be accepted by boards of education on bases of qualifications. They ask no more or no less.[3]

Portrayal of Examples of Desegregation

A picture in possession of the Executive Secretary, taken on the campus of the University of Oklahoma, was used as the cover page for the first issue of the Journal in 1954. Under the caption "Integration at Work," the picture appeared in the April, 1954 issue of the Journal, portraying a group of Negro and white undergraduate students at the University

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[1]Moon, "Negro and White Teachers in Oklahoma, A Comparison of Qualifications," op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

pleasantly chatting on matters of mutual interest.

"Do you remember all of the dire predictions of what would happen if Negroes were admitted to the University of Oklahoma?"[1] asked the writer of the accompanying article. "This picture . . . is the answer to what happens,"[2] he said, pointing out that three members of the University Band were Negro students who recently had flown, along with other members of the band, to Miami, Florida to play in the Orange Bowl during a football game between the University of Oklahoma and Maryland.

Legislative Activities during Change in Statewide Methods of Financing Schools

Describing his research to provide information showing what changes would take place in the financing of separate school districts under a proposed constitutional amendment of April 5, 1955,[3] Moon reported:

> The Executive Secretary made an exhaustive study of the financial structure of the State of Oklahoma. In this study we found the valuation of each of the seventy-seven counties, the amount of money raised for separate schools under the law prevailing prior to the adoption of the amendment on April 5, 1955, and the amount of money which would accrue to school districts under the new amendment.[4]

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[1]OANT, The Journal, April, 1954, p. 9.

[2]Ibid.

[3]State Question 368, Legislative Referendum No. 109, adopted April 5, 1955.

[4]"Report of F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, October 28, 1955" (in the files of the Association).

It is interesting to note that the constitutional amendment, as finally passed by the Legislature and adopted by the people on April 5, 1955, repealed the county-wide ad valorem tax levy of four mills which, since 1948, had been used for the support of separate schools, substituting, instead a county-wide ad valorem tax levy of four mills to be used for the support of all schools, both white and Negro. Since two of the four mills previously used for financial support of the separate schools had been secured by constitutional amendments in 1946 and 1948, each of which had been initiated by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and referred to the people by the Legislature, the Association could point with pride to millions of dollars that would accrue to all the schools of Oklahoma as a direct result of the contribution of their state organization.

Other Activities in Communication of Information on Desegregation

Four studies of desegregation in Oklahoma and in St. Louis, Missouri, by Executive Secretary Moon, were published in the July, 1955 issue of the Journal which, that month, was devoted to the theme "Integration in Progress." The Executive Secretary had visited Soldan-Blewett High School and Harris Teachers' College in St. Louis. He reported:

> What has happened here? Not mere desegregation but integration is rapidly at work. About one-third of the enrollment at Harris is composed of a little more than 300 Negroes. There are 66 teachers on the

> faculty and 22 of the 66 are Negroes. . . . There are two librarians--one white and one Negro. As the Dean put it, "Harris Teachers College is integrated from the administration staff down to the custodial force."[1]

"Everywhere, we hear the same reports," commented Moon, "that integration will work where given a chance and where the leaders have courage."[2]

> What happens in Oklahoma then will depend upon the same principles of courage and willingness to let integration have a chance. It will work, and this means integration for both the Negro child and the Negro teacher.[3]

Another of the Moon studies published in the July, 1955 issue of the Journal dealt with a summary called "The St. Louis Story--the Integration of a Public School System," based on another publication. The summary narrated in detail the story of the process of integration in the public schools of St. Louis, in which the writer concluded:

> It is a story of evolving democracy, of close knit community cooperation, of professional vision on the part of teachers and principals, of wisdom and intelligent planning on the part of the Board of Education, and of a long-term program of educating boys and girls in wholesome human relations. We believe that it will eventuate in St. Louis' becoming a greater and more democratic American community and in its public school system's becoming a more truly efficient servant of such a community. . . . And we are thoroughly convinced that from the economic point of view, the community will receive greater value from its tax dollar because of the elimination of unnecessary duplication of facilities.[4]

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[1]F. D. Moon, "Integration Will Work Where Given A Chance," The Journal (Oklahoma City, The Association, July, 1955), pp. 1-2.

[2]Ibid., p. 1.

[3]Ibid.

[4]F. D. Moon, "The St. Louis Story--The Integration of a Public School System," The Journal, July, 1955, pp. 4-6.

A. L. Morgan, Tulsa, president of the Northeast District of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, delivered a speech in a panel discussion held at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College under sponsorship of Phi Delta Kappa Fraternity in the summer of 1954. In July, 1955, the Journal reprinted the address, "Implications of the Supreme Court Ruling on Segregation," in which the speaker concluded with a brief summation:

> As I see it, Oklahoma can abide by the ruling of the Court on the following conditions: 1. Laws must permit it. 2. Community leaders must push for it. 3. Negroes must speak out in its favor. 4. The reward is well worth the effort. 5. The effort can overcome even the most obstinate barriers. Let us keep in mind that inter-racial education will not put out the fires of prejudice. . . . Inter-racial education will help children overcome the handicap of race prejudice. Our state will need more experimentation, more research, more study, but most of all more soul-searching before this cancerous problem can be eradicated; I think Oklahoma will recognize the fact that the path has been trod already by other border states successfully. Co-education of the races is too close at hand to be obstructed by out-of-step measures--local, state, or national.[1]

A report of Executive Secretary Moon to the Business Council of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers revealed numerous activities which he had executed in the area of communications. These included arranging meetings, attending district conferences, keeping contact with the National Education Association, answering questions of information relative to legislation, preparing newspaper

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[1]A. L. Morgan, "Implications of the Supreme Court Ruling on Segregation," The Journal (Oklahoma City, The Association, July, 1955), pp. 7-9.

articles designed to improve the status of Negro teachers, and addressing numerous meetings in which, he said, "we always attempt to drive home qualifications of Negro teachers so as to provide their acceptance in the desegregated school systems now emerging in Oklahoma."[1] Further, he had filled out numerous questionnaires coming from other states; the National Education Association. For the Southern School News he had been the source of many references to and reports of activities of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.[2]

First Steps in Legal Action

Trying to find legal means of protecting the jobs of Negro teachers, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, in 1955, directed its Committee on Integration to survey the nature and extent of dismissals due to integration in 116 school districts of Oklahoma. Three methods of securing the data were utilized: questionnaires, personal interviews with teachers and administrators in the 116 districts, and studies of news reports.[3] Through these means, the Associaton learned that, by October 28, 1955, 127 teachers had "lost their jobs through desegregation."[4] Only seven Negro teachers,

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[1]OANT, "Report of the Executive Secretary," October 28, 1955 (in the files of the Association).

[2]Ibid.

[3]OANT, "Report of the Integration Committee," October 28, 1955 (in the files of the Association).

[4]Ibid.

at the time, were teaching white and Negro pupils in the integrated schools. The 264 school districts of Oklahoma which then had mixed classes constituted less than half the number of districts having separate schools. The Committee reported:

> This means that if integration becomes completed in the state, as the present state administration would have it so, in 1956 more teachers will lose their jobs than in 1955. For this reason, the Committee is anxious that our attorney file a suit to delay the loss of jobs for teachers.[1]

On August 8, 1955, members of the Committee on Integration met with their legal counselor, Attorney Amos T. Hall, Tulsa, and Attorney Thurgood Marshall, National Advisory Staff, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "to discuss the plight of the Negro teacher and means of protecting their jobs."[2] The Committee reported:

> Attorney Thurgood Marshall took the school codes for Oklahoma for the years 1953 and 1955 and said his staff was studying the question of retaining jobs for Negro teachers in Oklahoma, and that he thought that Oklahoma had the best chance of winning the suit. He stated that they would not file a suit until his legal staff thought they had an opportunity to win.[3]

On October 28, 1955, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers authorized the NAACP, through their legal counsel, Attorney Amos T. Hall, "to take whatever legal action is available to protect Negro teachers where dismissals

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[1] Ibid.

[2] OANT, "Report of the Integration Committee," October 28, 1955 (in the files of the Association).

[3] Ibid.

are on the basis of race only."[1] Principles of the Fourteenth Amendment of the national Constitution, it had been said, were involved in situations of such dismissals.[2] On January 13, 1956, the Association set aside $2800 for the legal defense of Negro teachers reported as displaced, on account of race, from their jobs as communities of the state desegregated their schools.[3]

Surveys of Dismissed Negro Teachers

To ascertain the true nature of cases among 304 displaced teachers, as well as to secure information potentially helpful in aiding these teachers to secure other employment, Moon prepared a questionnaire, "Survey of Dismissed Negro Teachers." The questionnaire sought information concerning the teachers' qualifications and experience, reasons for their dismissal, other fields and areas of employment in which they might be interested, and their willingness to enter suit to determine whether they could legally be dismissed and replaced by other teachers because of race.

In the process of this survey--and of others previously conducted by the Executive Secretary and by the Committee on Integration, Henry C. Whitlow, Tulsa, chairman, assisted

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[1]OANT, "Newsletter," February 7, 1956 (in the files of the Association).

[2]OANT, "Minutes, Planning Workshop for Six District Workshops," September 3, 1955, p. 4.

[3]OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Committee," January 13, 1956.

by Wayne C. Chandler, Oklahoma City--Moon made several visits to school superintendents in behalf of the Negro teachers in certain communities. Also representing the Association, Chandler visited 24 towns and cities, traveling the distance of 2,337 miles to secure first-hand information which might be helpful to the teachers.

Findings of the survey were presented to Governor Raymond Gary, in a conference with representatives of the Association and others of a State Committee on Teacher Welfare meeting on March 29, 1956. Later, a list of the names of 72 of the displaced teachers, including their permanent addresses and information concerning their qualifications and experience, was sent to more than 100 school superintendents throughout the state and to other potential employers throughout the country. It is of interest to note some of the findings of one of these surveys, as reported by Moon:

> Many of these teachers are in excellent position to serve their local communities because of their extended experience in a particular school system. Thirteen of them have had from 5 to 20 years experience in the school systems from which they are being discharged. In several instances they are being replaced by white teachers who bring little or no experience into these particular school systems.
>
> The study reveals that each of twenty-five teachers has an earned Bachelor's degree and nine of them have earned Master's degrees.
>
> A distribution of their teaching fields shows the following teaching fields: Twelve in science; six in mathematics; eighteen in elementary education; seven in social studies; four in history; five in English; three in agriculture; three in industrial arts; three in home economics; two in music; two in commerce; and two in physical education. Sixteen of these teachers state

> that racial discrimination was practiced in the case of their dismissal, and eleven of them say that additional white teachers are being added in their respective school systems to replace them.[1]

A considerable number of the teachers, Moon pointed out in the report of another survey, were reasonably near thirty years of teaching experience, which would qualify them for retirement. Since these teachers had spent years meeting all state requirements, he said, in many instances going beyond the state requirements to equip themselves to be better teachers, it seemed to be a responsibility of the state to make some specific provision for including these teachers in the benefits of the Teacher Retirement System of Oklahoma. He concluded:

> With the great demand for teachers in the fields of science and mathematics, it seems that it is a terrible waste of human resources to discharge eighteen teachers who have had teaching experience in those much needed areas of teaching.[2]

Moon commented on the "acute shortage of teachers . . . so well known that it would be trite to give arguments in support of such a statement."[3] Many vacancies would be filled, he said, with

> . . . teachers of little or no experience, teachers with emergency certificates, or with persons using the profession as a stepping stone rather than as a career

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[1]F. D. Moon, "Summary of Findings Involving Twenty-Five Displaced Negro Teachers" (mimeographed statement including statistical table, in the files of the Association).

[2]F. D. Moon, "Shall Our Children Get the Best Available Teachers?" (mimeographed report, in the files of OANT).

[3]Ibid.

> of dedicated service to youth. All the while this is going on there is a great reservoir of well trained, experienced, and capable teachers who have already dedicated their lives to the profession of teaching. . . .[1]

In concluding, Moon included two poignant questions:

> By accident of birth, the teachers from this reservoir of qualified, experienced, dedicated instructors of youth happen to be Negro Americans! Could there be greater mockery of the outmoded doctrine of separate but equal if, now with segregation outlawed, we in our great state of Oklahoma refuse to use certain teachers as qualified to teach all children when we have used them and asserted their high qualifications to teach Negro children for more than half a century?
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> . . . . . .
>
> Should integration in Oklahoma include children only or should it include the acceptance of well-qualified teachers no matter what their color may be?[2]

As matters developed concerning legal action to test the constitutionality of discrimination against Negro teachers in employment, as exhibited in the mass dismissals of 1955-1956, $1,075 was expended by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers for legal fees in the year 1955-1956.[3]

President Joe S. Johnson, Cushing, greeting the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers on October 28, 1955, told them:

> This has been an eventful year for your President and Association. We are thankful that we have come through almost a year of continuous meetings with lawyers, parents, the press, investigators, all types of organizations--some of which were pressure groups and some friendly, some wishing to be helpful and

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] OANT, "Annual Report of the Treasurer," October 12, 1956, pp. 2-3 (in the files of the Association).

others with less constructive purposes.

. . . . . .

Your Executive and Integration Committees have worked tirelessly, earnestly and with a clear vision of the problem of integration. As yet the solution to the problem of integrating the teacher as well as the pupil has not been found. We know, however, that there is a solution to this problem and by the help of God it shall be found.[1]

Merger with the Oklahoma Education Association

The crisis in the matter of dismissals of Negro teachers, as communities in Oklahoma desegregated their schools, was developing but had not reached its peak when, on October 28, 1955, the teachers voted to join the Oklahoma Education Association. Since many Negro teachers had already paid membership fees for the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers that year, the mandate was

. . . to merge with the Oklahoma Education Association as soon as feasible, leaving the final determination of the date of such merger to the officers, the Executive Committee, the Legislative Committee, the Committee on Integration, the Presidents of the District Associations, the Chairmen of the Departments of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, and the Members of the Business Council.[2]

In a meeting of the Executive Committee with other committees, held in Oklahoma City on December 10, 1955, participants discussed the formulation of a policy for merger of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers with the

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[1]OANT, The Program, Forty-Seventh Annual Session, October 27, 28, 1955, p. 7.

[2]"Ballot" for voting by Members of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, October 28, 1955. See "Minutes of the Business Council," October 27-28, 1955.

Oklahoma Education Association. The Committee adopted a policy to be recommended to O.E.A.:

> A program of action to work for complete and unrestricted equality of local, state, and national citizens should be agreed upon . . . as a basic commitment of the merged organization.
>
> A policy should be agreed upon and implemented in all working areas of organizational effort to the end that the employment of teaching personnel at all levels of work in the public school system of the state will be offered to those persons who, by virtue of training, experience, and excellence of character, meet the professional qualifications set by the state and the organized profession in the order of preference which can be determined by objective evaluation of these three major factors. All standing and regular working committees traditional in each separate association should be continued and reorganized as joint committees of the merging organization.[1]

An answer to some of the requests presented by O.A.N.T. to O.E.A. came by letter from Ferman Phillips, Oklahoma City:

> Dear Professor Moon:
>
> Some time ago, the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Education Association, as you well know, directed me to make a survey among the units of our Association to determine the possible reception that will be given members of the O.A.N.T., should the membership of that Association join the OEA.
>
> We have made the survey and in each of our districts we find that our district associations will be most happy to accept Negro teachers upon their presentation of a current OEA membership card. Invariably, the answer has come to the O.E.A. office that Negro teachers who are members of OEA will be accepted in all school facilities and the unit meetings. We have as yet not received answers from all of our local units, but from reading the answers that we have received, we contemplate no difficulty in the handling of this situation on a local level so far as unit or teacher local activity is concerned.
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> So far as the recognition of Negro teachers in the selection of them as committee members and as officers for associations, that will, of course, be a problem that

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[1]OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Committee," December 10, 1955 (in the files of the Association).

will be decided by teachers of both the districts and local units. There is nothing in our organizational structure which will prevent them from serving in any capacity to which they are selected or elected by their co-workers.

You will recall that we of OEA have repeatedly told you and the members of your association that OEA is not interested in destroying the OANT. The position of OEA is, we hope, very clear on the subject of admission of Negro teachers to OEA membership. They will be admitted upon their application for membership and the payment of their annual dues.

We of OEA recognize an imperative need of all people interested in public education working together for the improvement and strengthening of educational facilities and opportunities for the children of our state and nation. We shall always be grateful for the splendid cooperation given by OANT in the promotion of these ideas and programs.[1]

Final Year of Activity by the General Organization

Decisions of the Final Convention

The last general meeting of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was held in Oklahoma City on October 26-27, 1956, Willa A. Strong, McAlester, presiding. Prior to this meeting, the Executive Committee had met in Oklahoma City on June 8, 1956, and, after hearing reports of mounting problems in the matter of dismissals of Negro teachers from school systems integrating their schools, had voted to retain the Association under the changed name of the Oklahoma Association of Teachers.

During the general convention, on October 27, 1956,

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[1]Letter from Ferman Phillips, Executive Secretary, OEA, to F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary, OANT, February 28, 1956 (in the files of the Association).

[2]OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Council," June 8, 1955, pp. 1-2.

the Business Council confirmed this decision, voting by ballot to retain the Association until leaders previously designated should consider it feasible to discontinue the work of the organization. Work yet remaining should be continued by the Executive Committee, the Committee on Integration, a committee on the history of the Association, and district, departmental, and newly elected state officers of the Association. Finances remaining after allocations for specific expenditures were made were to be deposited in the First National Bank in Enid--$3,000 in a savings account and the balance in a checking account to be utilized in expenditures to be determined by the Executive Committee.[1]

Newly elected in 1956 and, as matters developed, remaining as officers throughout the duration of Association activities were George O. Word, Shawnee, president, and Roosevelt Gracey, Oklahoma City, vice-president, Ella Lee Clement, Oklahoma City, and Luther W. Elliott, Enid, were re-elected as secretary and treasurer, respectively. F. D. Moon continued in office as Executive Secretary.

Summary of Organizational Activities in 1956

The president of the Association, Willa A. Strong, in reporting to the teachers during this last convention of their state organization, listed, among activities of the Association that year, the following in communications:

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[1]OANT, The Program, Forty-Seventh Annual Session, October 27, 28, 1955, p. 7.

1. A presentation of the objectives, program and history of the OANT by the Executive Committee, in joint session with the OEA, toward the goal of the eventual merging of the two professional organizations.
2. A state conference with Governor Gary and state officials on employment problems of the Negro teacher.
3. Continuous research and publication of data, by the Executive Secretary, on employment problems of the Negro teacher in Oklahoma. Some releases from this office were: "Shall Our Children Get the Best Available Teachers?" "Survey of Dismissed Negro Teachers," and "A Summary of Findings Involving Twenty-Five Displaced Negro Teachers."
4. Conferences with legal counsel, concerning dismissed teachers, and visits made to communities by the Executive Secretary and legal counsel in the interests of teacher welfare.
5. Meetings of the president and executive committee, in fair weather and foul, deliberating on next steps for the professional future of Negro teachers.[1]

"As we conclude another year of OANT," commented Miss Strong, "we may ask what's the score? No victories won; no spectacular events; no suit based on displacement of Negro teachers in desegregated schools."[2] Her encouraging conclusion was:

> Great gains in human rights have always been long and hard fought battles. Steps forward have been made and perhaps in the most effective and enduring way. The least publicized victories are often the most fruitful. Teacher morale has been strengthened. Employment opportunities have been broadened both within and without the school systems. EVERY TEACHER MUST BEAR IN MIND--"THE RACE IS NOT TO THE SWIFTEST BUT TO THOSE WHO ENDURE TO THE END."[3]

Activities in the Interests of Displaced Teachers

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[1]Willa A. Strong, "A Report from Our President," The Program, Forty-Eighth Annual Session (Oklahoma City, October 26-27, 1956), pp. 11-13.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

The Lieberman Proposal

In the interests of enlisting the support of the National Education Association in action "to protect the civil and professional rights of teachers and to throw its full weight into effort to protect competent teachers, regardless of race,"[1] Myron Lieberman, of the University of Oklahoma, drafted in 1956 this resolution to be presented to the NEA at its convention in Portland, Oregon on July 1-6, 1956:

> The NEA condemns as unethical and unprofessional the practice of employing teachers on a racial basis. The Association declares it to be an unethical practice knowlingly to offer, or to accept, any position pending the outcome of a controversy to determine whether or not the position has been created or made available as a result of racial discrimination against other members of the profession. The Association further condemns as unethical, and as highly dangerous to the principles of academic freedom long supported by the Association, any attempt to require teachers to support racial segregation or to require them to disaffiliate with any organization seeking to eliminate racial segregation, as a condition of employment.
>
> Be it further resolved that it is a paramount obligation of all professional personnel to support racially non-discriminatory personnel policies, and that this obligation extends especially to those persons who would benefit from the application of racially discriminatory personnel policies.[2]

Subsequently, the cooperation of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in securing from Negro state

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[1]Letter from F. D. Moon to officials of teachers' organizations in other states, June 6, 1956 (in the files of the Association).

[2]Copy of resolution to be presented at the NEA convention in Portland, Oregon, July 1-6, 1956 (in the files of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers).

teachers' organizations, "plus other democratically minded associations and educators from all over the United States."[1] their approval and co-sponsorship of the resolution was enlisted for Lieberman through the efforts of Executive Secretary Moon, who wrote to many of these organizations in other states:

> The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers is striving to protect the civil and professional rights of its members. We know that you and your organization are engaged in a similar struggle, and believe that united action is essential at this time.[2]

Presenting the suggestion that these associations co-sponsor certain resolutions and motions at the NEA convention in Portland, Oregon, July 1-6, Moon pointed out:

> The Negro state teachers' organizations alone have more than 50,000 NEA members; the NEA cannot lightly ignore a request from such a large group, especially when it will have a great deal of support outside the South.[3]

Expressing the belief that the time had come for the National Education Association to "take some positive action to protect the civil and professional rights of teachers and to throw its full weight into effort to protect competent teachers, regardless of race,"[4] Moon asked:

> May we have your reactions, criticisms, and suggestions so that united action may be taken at the Convention? Copies of this resolution and of this

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[1]Moon, op. cit.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

> motion (the Lieberman Proposal) have gone to every Negro state teachers' organization; if a number of them indicate that they will support these actions, we will then take steps to secure co-sponsors from prominent liberal educators all over the United States.[1]

With this appeal, Moon also urged representatives from teachers' associations in other states to attend the "Southern Regional Conference on Human Relations Education at the University of Oklahoma," June 14-16, 1956. He wrote:

> Leading educators from all over the South will be present at this Conference to discuss the problems of integration. The Conference will provide us with an excellent opportunity to confer on mutual problems and perhaps to develop a unified national program to protect the civil and professional rights of all teachers, regardless of race.[2]

The Lieberman Proposal was presented to the Committee on Resolutions of the National Education Association and to others at the convention in Portland, 1956. Much interest, Moon reported, was created by the resolution and considerable support was obtained but the proposal was not adopted.[3]

Enlistment of the Cooperation of Citizens' Committees

That statewide community interest was engendered in the problem of cities and towns losing educational leaders as Negro teachers lost employment is indicated in the organization of two statewide citizens' groups to support the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] OANT, "Minutes of the Executive Committee," September 15, 1956 (in the files of the Association).

Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in dealing with the problem. On call of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, a "State Committee on Teacher Welfare," including 34 community leaders from all parts of the state, gathered in Oklahoma City on March 29, 1956, to meet with Governor Raymond Gary, officials of the State Department, and state representatives of Negro organizations and "to plan a campaign for employment of displaced Negro teachers in schools and in other areas of employment.[1] Serving as a steering committee for the citizens' group were F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers; Ira D. Hall, president of the Oklahoma Coordinating Council; Cernoria D. Johnson, Executive Secretary of the Urban League of Oklahoma City; Attorney Amos T. Hall, legal counselor for the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers; Reverend E. W. Perry, pastor of Tabernacle Baptist Church, Oklahoma City; and James E. Stewart, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Oklahoma City Branch.

General objectives of the conference were to present a clear-cut picture of the economic effect of wholesale discharge of teachers, as schools were integrated, and to plan ways by which the displaced teachers might be re-employed in schools, in industry, and in government. During the conference held at the State Capitol in the Blue Room, on

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[1]State Committee on Teacher Welfare, "Agenda," Oklahoma City, March 29, 1956 (in the files of OANT).

March 29, 1956, a very striking statement of facts was presented by Cernoria D. Johnson:

> On the homefront in Oklahoma we are confronted with the loss of earning power or productivity of an estimated 250-300 Negro teachers who have already lost or will lose their jobs by September, 1956. Our great concern is expressed for the individual teacher, who through no personal failure, finds wholesale dismissal his lot. Should we compute this loss in dollars and cents, using the beginning teacher's salary in Oklahoma City of $3,000 as a base, it means an annual loss of near one million dollars to Oklahoma.[1]

Answering the question "How can we meet this problem?" Mrs. Johnson enumerated three ways:

> 1. Retain and absorb Negro teachers on the faculties throughout Oklahoma on the basis of merit and not on racial identification.
> 2. Open new doors of opportunity to them through employment by state departments of government and private industry.
> 3. Develop a general campaign of enlightenment and education which employs mass communication media. State government has a responsibility in this respect. No channel should be ignored.[2]

Among others who took the floor to speak during the meeting with Governor Raymond Gary, state officials, and representatives from industry, March 29, 1956, were F. D. Moon and Ira D. Hall, Oklahoma City; Attorney Amos T. Hall, Tulsa; Willa A. Strong, McAlester; and Dr. H. W. Williamston, Idabel. Organizations represented in the conference included the State Congress of Negro Parents and

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[1]Cernoria D. Johnson, Executive Director, Urban League of Oklahoma City, "Statement to the Governor, State Department officials, and the State Committee on Teacher Welfare," March 29, 1956 (in the files of the Association).

[2]Ibid.

Teachers, the Oklahoma City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the State Department of Trade and Industrial Education, the Oklahoma Jeanes Teachers' Association, the State Co-ordinating Council; Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; Oklahoma Baptist State Convention; Urban League of Oklahoma City; Urban League of Tulsa; Universal Life Insurance Company; the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Administrators; and the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Community organizations and key leaders in Oklahoma City, records indicate, were outstanding in their efforts to help the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers advance towards their goal of securing equal opportunity in employment for Negro teachers. Describing the nature of the work accomplished by the Association with the help of citizens' groups in Oklahoma City, Moon wrote:

> A few of our many activities include securing the endorsement of integration of Negro teachers by the powerful Oklahoma City Council of Churches, with a membership of sixty-two churches--all white except four or five; the Council of Oklahoma City Church Women; the Oklahoma City Advertiser, Mrs. Freda Ameringer, editor; the Citizens' Action Committee; and the Negro Chamber of Commerce. All of these groups, and more either appeared before the Oklahoma City Board of Education or sent letters of endorsement, or had a conference with the Oklahoma City Superintendent of Schools. Some of them did all three.
>
> After two meetings, consisting of all Negroes, we enlarged our committee to include white people supporting our cause. Some of these included Mrs. Walter Gray, chairman of the Oklahoma City Library Board and an outstanding civic leader; Attorney Martin Bulla; Reverend Frank Holmes, pastor of the Unitarian Church; Rabbi Joseph Levenson, an outstanding Jewish leader; Mrs. Vivian Reno, Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma City Council of Churches; Dr. W. McFerrin Stowe, pastor of St. Luke Methodist Church; and Attorney Ben Head,

chairman of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations.[1]

Editorial opposition to possible outcomes of these efforts in Oklahoma City, published in the North Star on July 25, 1957, suggests the scope and nature of problems faced by those who worked in hope that Oklahoma City might provide the "key to wide-spread teacher integration in Oklahoma, being the capitol and leading city of the state":[2]

> We are not about to accept Negro teachers for white children in the public schools of Oklahoma City without a protest.
>
> We wish to advise . . . that they will make a grave mistake if they listen to the pressure of the Urban League and the do-gooders who seek to push beyond what public opinion is ready for.
>
> Do you not know that a migration is on from the east side now against the danger and that you will precipitate trouble that would not be solved by a change in school board membership if you pursue the program? If the school board wishes to sound public sentiment on this question, let the board assign a Negro teacher to John Marshall, Britton Elementary or Woodrow Wilson. If it is right to assign Negro teachers authority over a few whites in a poor school, it is sound to appoint a Negro teacher to direct a class of all whites in a school attended by the children of the well-to-do.
>
> Yes, I know all about Ralph Bunche, and I wouldn't mind sitting at dinner with him. I admire and visit man-to-man with F. D. Moon and Roscoe Dunjee. I am not ready to accept mine run white and Negro teachers on a parity and I think the people of this city are at least a decade distance from acceptance of such progress.[3]

The Black Dispatch, in August, 1957, reported:

> Although all signs seemed to point to the beginning of teacher integration in the Oklahoma City schools, the

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[1]F. D. Moon, "Report of the Executive Secretary," October 25, 1958 (in the files of the Association).

[2]Ibid.

[3]The North Star (Oklahoma City, July 25, 1957).

> local board of education last Friday afternoon voted not to permit Negro and white teachers to integrate at Walnut Grove and Riverside elementary schools for the school year 1957-58. The majority of the Oklahoma City board of education took this action, although Superintendent M. W. Barnes earlier in the summer had stated that the Negro teachers were qualified.[1]

Speculating on the effect adverse publicity of the North Star might have had as the school board formulated its decision, the Black Dispatch reviewed the work of citizens' committees cooperating with the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers in attempting to cope with the problem of rejection of Negro teachers:

> Prior to the recent action of the Oklahoma City board of education, the Education Committee of the Citizens' Action Committee (representatives of thirty-six organizations make up the Citizens' Action Committee) had appeared before the board of education and the superintendent of schools and furnished information relative to the progress of faculty integration in other places.[2]

Information provided through the surveys conducted by Executive Secretary Moon and the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, concerning integration of teachers in school systems of other cities, was presented by the Black Dispatch to its readers:

> A copy of the material furnished the Oklahoma City Board of Education reveals that Baltimore has increased from five Negro teachers, serving on racially mixed faculties two years ago, to 464 Negro teachers on such faculties this past school year, serving in 29 Baltimore schools. There were 253 Negro teachers on integrated staffs in the state of West Virginia. Schools in Joplin, Kansas City, Springfield, St. Louis and many other points in Missouri have integrated teachers. There are more

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[1] The Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City, August, 1957).

[2] Ibid.

than 500 white and Negro teachers working together on faculties in St. Louis alone.

Even the smaller communities of Oklahoma have Negro teachers serving on racially mixed faculties. To name a few, there is now, or has been, one each at Dover, Faye, Wellston, Sulphur, Perry, Kingfisher, Nowata, Luther and Crescent. Other cities with integrated staffs include three at Ponca City, two at Arcadia, two at Boynton, and two at Slick. Integrated coaches include one each at Cushing, Beggs, Wewoka, and a Catholic school in Oklahoma City.[1]

Despite the apparent set-back experienced in 1957 by the Association in realizing its hope that the state capitol might provide the key to wide-spread teacher integration in Oklahoma, Executive Secretary Moon reviewed, in 1958, the cooperative work of community agencies in this direction, pointing out encouraging steps taken by the Oklahoma City Public Schools, under guidance of the Board of Education and Melvin W. Barnes, Superintendent:

1. A full-time counselor (Negro) was working with the faculty of integrated Webster Junior High School.
2. Among the regular teachers working in the educational television system of Oklahoma City Public Schools was a Negro science teacher.
3. The office of Lelia Lovejoy, one of the supervisors of elementary education, was located, as were all others, in the central building occupied by the Board of Education.
4. A Negro librarian was working in the library of the central office building.
5. Negro carpenters, painters, and electricians had been integrated in the maintenance department.
6. Cafeteria personnel were widely integrated.
7. Three white principals had requested permission to employ Negro teachers in their schools.[2]

Thus the Association enlisted the support of the community

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Moon, "Report of the Executive Secretary," op. cit.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Moon, "Report of the Executive Secretary," op. cit.

in its efforts to protect the welfare of the Negro teachers.

Communications to Superintendents of Schools

About 200 superintendents of schools in Oklahoma, attending their Camp Redlands conference held in Stillwater on June 13, 1958, heard "a very plain, straight-forward, strong talk for integration of teachers, in fact all personnel"[1] by OANT Executive Secretary Moon as he presented the findings of his research study entitled "Policy and Status of Teacher Integration in Certain Border States and Cities." An invitation to present to the superintendents "the issues affecting Negro teachers growing out of integration"[2] had been extended the Executive Secretary by G. T. Stubbs, Director of Public School Services of the Oklahoma State University College of Education. Also invited to attend the conference, by request of the Ponca City superintendent of schools, J. Win Payne, were representatives of the OANT Committee on Integration, Henry C. Whitlow, Tulsa, Chairman; and J. J. West, Ponca City, president of the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Administrators.[3]

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[1]Letter from OANT Executive Secretary F. D. Moon to officers and the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, June 19, 1958 (in the files of the Association).

[2]Letter from F. D. Moon to G. T. Stubbs, Director of Public School Services, Oklahoma State University, April 9, 1958 (in the files of the Association).

[3]Letters from F. D. Moon to J. Win Payne, Superintendent of Schools, Ponca City, and J. J. West, President of the Oklahoma Association of Negro School Administrators, Ponca City, November 3, 1958.

The topic discussed, teacher-integration in border states including Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, and Oklahoma, as well as in Virginia, Delaware, and Washington, D. C., had been the subject of an exhaustive research study by the Executive Secretary. The study dealt "with certain states and cities having similar backgrounds in customs of race, laws, and segregation patterns"[1] and attempted "to show in broad terms how these particular states and certain cities have dealt with qualified Negro teachers on a racially integrated basis."[2]

Data had been gathered to answer interesting and significant questions:

> "Are Negro teachers qualified?"
>
> "Will white parents, white teachers and white students accept Negro teachers?"
>
> "Have boards of education been removed and superintendents been fired as a result of racial integration of faculties and other personnel?"[3]

The study called attention, also, to the national teacher shortage and to the growing demand, in the interest of national security, "that full utilization be made of all manpower, including minority resources, without regard to race, religion, or national origin."[4]

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[1]F. D. Moon, "Policy and Status of Teacher Integration in Certain Border States and Cities," p. i (mimeographed report, in the files of the Association).

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

During the conference at Camp Redlands, each superintendent of schools received a copy of the study of teacher-integration in the border states. It is of interest to note some of the striking facts thus disseminated:

> Many Negro teachers of Oklahoma, displaced because of integration, were "teaching beyond the borders of their home state in Alaska, the Virgin Islands, border states and states of the deep south and the North."[1]

Concerning these teachers, Moon commented: "They were reared in Oklahoma, educated there, their friends and relatives are in Oklahoma, AND THEY WANT TO LIVE AND WORK THERE."[2] His report contained other findings:

> Approximately 1800 Negro and white teachers were working together on integrated faculties in Maryland; 1662 of these were in Baltimore.
>
> Approximately 1000 teachers were serving on integrated faculties in Missouri, including St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, Joplin, and other Missouri cities.
>
> Two-hundred and fifty-three Negro teachers were on racially integrated faculties in West Virginia.
>
> The principal of a Negro high school in Wilmington, Delaware reported that he was "having difficulty keeping his good teachers because white principals are luring them away."
>
> Parents were "more reluctant to accept Negro teachers than students and white teachers." However, F. D. Moon pointed out, "a good Negro teacher, backed by a superintendent and board of education, soon changes the opposition from parents, such a change often being brought within a single year or less time." The study presented examples of such changes brought about in parental attitudes.
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> No instance was found, during the study of dismissal of a superintendent or removal of a board because of teacher integration.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. ii.

[3] Ibid.

"Oklahoma," commented Moon, "has succeeded quite well in pupil integration. The black mark, so far . . . is what it has done to its qualified Negro teachers."[1] He continued:

> The policy is developing in Oklahoma that Negro teachers are used only in cases where there is an all-Negro faculty. It is somewhat hopeful to know that we now have approximately 20 Negro teachers in Oklahoma who are successfully serving on integrated faculties. The score is entirely too low.[2]

A final statement from the study read:

> If Oklahoma continues its present practice of keeping Negro teachers only in cases when there is an all-Negro school and dismissing them whenever schools are desegregated, the state faces another major problem each time faculty integration takes place.[3]

Agencies in Placement of Negro Teachers

The work of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers during the years 1955-1958, extended to the relocation of displaced teachers in school systems throughout the country. The wide professional contact of Executive Secretary F. D. Moon coupled with the scope of publicity given the situation of the Negro teachers by the Southern School News and other periodicals, brought numerous requests for teachers in fields in which the national shortage had been felt most keenly. The National Education Association, the Oklahoma State Department of Education, school superintendents in Oklahoma and throughout the country, colleges for professional

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 14

[3] Ibid., p. i.

and business training, the Urban League of Oklahoma City and other organizations for social welfare, were among agencies which brought assistance to the Association as the Executive Secretary undertook this responsibility for the provessional welfare of the displaced teachers.

Thus, through the maintenance of its resources during the hectic beginnings of a period of rapid social change, the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was able to render final service to teachers and to the profession of education in the state of Oklahoma.

Summary

The impact of social change, accelerated during the period of World War II and facilitated by Supreme Court decisions in 1954 and 1955, could be noted in activities of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and in the writings of its leaders during the decade of the 'fifties. Development of the organizational program was conditioned by the need to prepare for the period of transition to integration of school systems and to protect the welfare of Negro teachers. The Association planned and executed a series of activities geared to these purposes; most notable among these were the development of research studies and communications designed to accomplish the retention of the Negro teachers in desegregated school systems. On October 28, 1955, the Association made the decision to merge with the

Oklahoma Education Association, leaving the final date of the complete merger to leaders of the organization. Thereafter, through 1958, activities in behalf of teachers displaced in the process of desegregation of schools were carried on by leaders to whom this responsibility was delegated. By 1958, deactivation of the Association appeared to be virtually complete.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

Introduction

Presented in this study are the outcomes of research designed to trace the historical development of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, of its leadership, and of its program within its actual setting of social change. Underlying the manner of investigation has been a basic point of view, one expressed in the writings of Herbert Spencer, who instructed:

> An entire history of anything must include its appearance out of the imperceptible and its disappearance into the imperceptible, for our theory of things is imperfect as long as any portion of their sensible existence is unexplained[1]

The study has proceeded, from this standpoint, with an investigation of three developmental periods assumed to lie within the scope of the inquiry: (1) the period during which developmental backgrounds of the Association were formed; (2) the period during which organization and early development of the Association occurred; and (3) the period

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[1]Herbert Spencer, "First Principles," Outline of Great Books, ed. Sir J. A. Hammerton (New York: Wise and Co., 1937), p. 353.

during which the Association expanded, then deactivated, its program. The findings of the study are thus organized.

Summary of Findings Concerning Organizational Backgrounds

The organization of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, in December, 1907, was an outcome of social movement, of which developmental backgrounds could be traced in records of events dating back to 1619, when the first Negroes came to America. Social forces which shaped these events also had bearing on the development of ethological and educational characteristics of the leaders who organized and developed the Association and of the members who comprised its ranks. These forces included the ideologies and practices of people who participated in shaping the environmental backgrounds of early Negro leaders; they were embodied in the many agencies whose work affected the development of philosophical and educational backgrounds of these leaders.

Territorial backgrounds of the Association included the immigration of Negro pioneers into Oklahoma Territory, beginning in 1889; early legislation for separation of the races in the public schools, occurring in 1890, 1893, and 1897; the development of separate schools in accordance with such legislation; and the employment of Negro teachers with ability in political, social, and educational leadership. They included, also, the establishment, in 1891, of facilities for the separate training of Negro teachers in Oklahoma

Territory. These were the county normal institutes of 1891-1892, wherein leaders developed personal interactions and mutual interests that materialized in the formation of a territorial association of Negro teachers in 1893.

The Ida M. Wells Teacher Association was organized, in 1893, by leaders among participants in the Oklahoma County Normal Institute for Negro Teachers, held in Oklahoma City. The call for organization was issued by J. D. Randolph, Oklahoma City, who was elected first president of the Association. Among others who participated in the organization and early development of the Association were William Sulcer and Druscilla Dunjee, close associates of Randolph who developed into leaders outstanding in Negro education throughout territorial and early statehood days. Four presidents headed the territorial organization. Under their leadership, the Association engaged in activities aimed at (1) improvement of facilities of the separate schools; (2) development of opportunities in higher education for Negro teachers; (3) improvement of school attendance among Negro children; and (4) professional and social growth of the Negro teachers.

Summary of Findings Concerning Early Organization and Early Leadership of the Association

The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was an outgrowth of the Ida M. Wells Teachers' Association, which reorganized at Langston University in December, 1907,

shortly after Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were merged in statehood. Sixty-seven teachers constituted the original membership. The stated purpose of the Association, as developed during the organizational meeting, was "to raise the standards of Negro education in Oklahoma."[1]

Under leadership of sixteen presidents elected--one each year, except 1919, until 1924--by nomination from the floor, this organization engaged in activities apparently designed to provide opportunities for self-expression, professional companionship, and professional growth of the Negro teachers, as well as to improve facilities for Negro education in the state. They are credited, in records of the Association, with having secured legislation, in 1921, which expanded the basis for financial support of separate schools in Oklahoma from county-wide levies of one mill or less to two mills. They are credited, also, with sponsoring efforts which culminated in decisions of the state Supreme Court that made available to the separate schools, along with majority schools, the proceeds of gross production taxes.

Factors of educational training, personal drive, community leadership, and opportunity for contact with teachers attending county normal institutes apparently contributed to the selection of school principals as leaders

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[1]Interview with William Sulcer, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 12, 1960.

of the Association in early years. Eleven of the sixteen presidents, 1907-1924, were conductors or instructors in the county normal institutes, 1913-1916. Each of the sixteen, except one, was included in the category of school principals.

Summary of Findings Concerning Expansion and Deactivation of the Association and Its Organizational Program

Analysis of the program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, throughout the period 1924-1958, revealed four lines of development traceable through recorded accounts of activities of the Association and its leaders during this period: (1) internal development of the organization; (2) expansion of the educational program for Negro teachers, students, and communities; (3) development of legislation to broaden financial support of Negro education in Oklahoma; and (4) development of programs for protection of the welfare of Negro personnel during the period of transition toward integration of the state school system.

Expansion of opportunities for leadership and for organizational development occurred within the Association throughout the years 1924-1956. Factors contributing to and facilitating the process included adoption of a new constitution in 1924 and revision of the same in 1927, 1940, 1956, and 1952. Each revision established new and broader bases for choice of leadership and program. Expansion of the organizational structure, under terms of the constitution,

afforded opportunities for wider exercise of professional leadership by teachers as they executed the programs of numerous committees, departments, districts, and other organs of the Association. During the period 1924-1956, the membership expanded from 1109 teachers, counted in 1928, to 1541 teachers, counted in 1953. The number of departmental organizations grew from 6 to 39, while the number of districts increased from 1 to 6. Average financial income rose from approximately $1,000-$1,500 annually, 1928-1948, to approximately $15,000 by 1955. All these forms of change indicated growth in professional interest and activity by Negro teachers in Oklahoma during the second quarter-century of statehood.

Thirty-two presidents and one executive secretary, all school principals except two, served as leaders elected to head the organization during this period. Almost every one of these could be characterized by some distinctive emphasis, either of his administration or of his career as an educator, to which the Association is thought to have contributed by affording encouragement and support and a field for development of his potential in leadership.

Chronological Analysis of Program Development by Decades

In the decade of the 'twenties, development of the educational program of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers included a broadening of the scope of communications

within the organization through the establishment of a Teachers' Journal in 1924. Other developmental emphases which became noticeable included: (1) promotion of in-service training of the Negro teachers through encouragement of the use of facilities established by Langston University for extension and correspondence services; (2) expansion of professional affiliation and contribution through cooperation with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; (3) participation in programs for adult education, sponsored by the State Board of Education; (4) promotion of structural development through encouragement of county, district, and departmental organization; (5) curriculum expansion through the promotion of interscholastic competitions, scholarships, and departmental projects for Negro youth of Oklahoma; (6) broadening of opportunities for professional growth of teachers through careful programming at the general conventions and through sharing convention resources of the Oklahoma Education Association; and (7) reawakening of legislative interests towards improvement of financial provisions for the separate schools and of facilities for higher education.

The decade of the 'thirties brought an emphasis on expansion of opportunities in higher education. In this area, the Association cooperated with the Langston University Alumni Association, led by F. D. Moon, in securing three legislative provisions for the graduate and professional

education of Negro teachers and other scholars at out-of-state colleges and universities. Another legislative measure, also cooperatively sponsored by the two Associations, provided for a transfer of the management of Langston University to the Board of Regents for Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, in 1937. This project was aimed at removing the institution from political influence and at securing such improvements as would eventually result in its accreditation, namely, improvement in choice of faculty, expansion of curriculum, and development of institutional facilities. During this decade, also, the Association re-established its Journal, under editorship of W. E. Anderson, thus increasing opportunities for statewide-exchange of educational ideas.

An acceleration of social change, during the decade of the 'forties, became noticeable as the nation sought full utilization of its resources to resolve international conflicts during World War II. The impact of political and social movements on leadership and the program of the Association, during this period, was documented in the writings of its leaders, who utilized the Journal to promote the interests of both national defense and Negro education in Oklahoma. The Association, through its legislative committee, headed by F. D. Moon, sponsored legislation to secure improvement of facilities in buildings and equipment for the separate schools. Specific projects, during this

movement, accomplished legislation in 1941 which provided that counties might issue bonds for capital improvement of separate school facilities, as well as constitutional amendments in 1946 and 1948 that added two additional mills to the permissible county-wide levy for building and operating the separate schools. The ceiling for such levies, thus, was raised to four mills. Between 1948 and 1954, the proceeds from such levies amounted to more than $18,000,000 beyond possible returns from the former two-mill levy. The results of these legislative efforts could be seen in the building and equipment of new and modern schools for Negroes throughout the state, as well as in the expansion of curricula and in increases of salaries for the Negro teachers. Other measures were promoted, in the 'forties, in cooperation with the Oklahoma Education Association. These included promotion of the "Better Schools Amendments," 1944-1946, to secure improvements in provisions for free textbooks, increases in financial support of the majority schools, and increases in state apportionment of basic aid for all schools, as well as the benefits of a teacher retirement system.

The decade of the 'fifties was marked by still greater acceleration of social change as it affected the field of education. The program of the Association and the writings of its leaders, during this period, reflected the impact of Supreme Court decisions by which legal sanction of

racial segregation in the public schools was removed. Development of the program was centered about plans by which the Association might participate in facilitating the work of the state in effectuating a transition to a racially non-discriminate school system. These plans were developed by a Committee on Integration, comprised of school principals appointed by the Association in 1953, in cooperation with the Executive Committee. Together, the two groups outlined the activities which were executed by the Association throughout the years 1953-1958.

One such activity was statewide communication of information, based on research by the Executive Secretary, F. D. Moon, and the Committee on Integration, concerning (1) the progress of integration in Oklahoma and in other bordering states and (2) the need of local school systems to retain Negro teachers during their processes of executing the mandates of the United States Supreme Court. Despite these activities, 127 of the Negro teachers had been dismissed from their jobs by September 3, 1955, as school districts desegregated their schools. By 1957, the number of displaced teachers had increased to 304. Consequently, another activity by the Association was the initiation of legal action in the interests of these displaced teachers. More than $2,000 was expended by the Association during the years 1955-1958, in efforts to secure the professional welfare of Negro teachers in Oklahoma. A third activity

centered about placement of the displaced teachers in other school systems throughout the country. A fourth operation involved the participation of Association leaders in the work of state legislative councils which developed a constitutional amendment, adopted on April 5, 1955, providing that finances secured through county-wide levies, formerly designated for support of the separate schools, should be apportioned to all schools in the 77 counties of the state. Thus the work of the Association, in raising the ceiling for such levies from two mills to four mills, accrued to the benefit of all schools in the state.

Deactivation of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers was initiated with a decision made by the teachers on October 28, 1955. The concensus of the Association was that the larger interests of the state, in its efforts to comply with the Supreme Court ruling to effectuate a transition to a racially non-discriminate school system, could best be served by the merging of their professional and financial resources with those of the Oklahoma Education Association, as soon as delegated leaders should consider this feasible. A final convention of the statewide Association was held in Oklahoma City in 1956. By 1957, membership of the Negro teachers in the Oklahoma Education Association had approached the mark of one-hundred per cent. By 1958, deactivation of the organization was virtually complete. The actual work of the Association thus covered

a period of sixty-five years.

Concluding Statement

Historical study of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers reveals that the organization was an agency which actively promoted the advancement of education in Oklahoma throughout the first half-century of statehood. In executing its program, the Association initiated activities which (1) contributed immeasurably to the professional growth of the Negro teachers who constituted its membership; (2) broadened the educational base for Negro youth whose educational development was a major responsibility of these teachers; (3) afforded an environment for the exercise of leadership by Negro educators; (4) broadened the base for financial support of public schools in Oklahoma; and (5) sought to protect the welfare of Negro teachers during beginning stages of the transition to racially non-discriminate school systems in the state.

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APPENDIX I

CONSTITUTION

of the

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Adopted February 1924

Amended February 1927

PREAMBLE

We, the teachers of the State of Oklahoma, in order to make more effectual the efforts of the schools of our State, to develop a higher type of citizenship, and to create a deeper interest in education, have organized ourselves under the following Constitution:

ARTICLE--NAME

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS.

ARTICLE II--ANNUAL MEETING

Section 1. The time and place of the annual meeting shall be designated by the Executive Committee, subject to ratification by the Business Council.

ARTICLE III--MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any person engaged in educational work in Oklahoma may become a member of this Association by paying the membership fee of one dollar, and may continue such membership thereafter by the payment of his annual dues.

ARTICLE IV--OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of this Association shall be: a president, a secretary, a vice-president, and a treasurer, all of whom shall be elected by the Executive Committee at its regular session ninety days before the Annual Meeting of the Association, and their names presented to the Business Council for ratification at the Annual Meeting. They shall take office at the end of the Annual Session.

Section 2. The officers shall be elected by the Executive Committee and remain in office until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 3. The president, the secretary, the treasurer, and the principal of the high school of the city wherein the Annual Meeting is held, shall be ex-officio members of the Program Committee.

ARTICLE V--DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The president, vice-president, and treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such offices and such other duties as are prescribed by this Constitution.

Section 2. The president shall also preside over meetings of the Executive Committee and of the Business Council. In his absence the vice president shall preside.

Section 3. He shall sign all contracts and other instruments approved by the Executive Committee and countersign all warrants.

Section 4. He shall call all meetings of the Executive Committee when necessary and cause the secretary to give due notice of the same; provided, that should he for any reason fail to perform this duty said meetings shall be called by the majority of the members of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive and keep all funds of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, paying them out only by warrants drawn by the secretary and countersigned by the president, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

Section 6. The secretary shall keep the minutes of the sessions of the Association, a roll of members and an account of all moneys received and expended; shall call the roll of members at the beginning of each day's sessions, collect all fees, and shall gather statistics and other data which will show the educational progress of the State, and for this service shall receive compensation of fifty dollars.

The outgoing secretary shall be responsible for the publication of the minutes of the session, and shall have the same published within ninety days after the adjournment of the Association.

ARTICLE VI--COMMITTEES

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall designate the following committees:

Amendments, Resolutions, Legislative, Appropriations and Expense, Auditing, and Credentials.

Section 2. The president shall appoint at the first general session, for the duration of the Association only, a Committee on Necrology.

Section 3. Vacancies in any of the above committees, through death, resignation, removal, inability to serve, or other causes, may be filled by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII--BUSINESS COUNCIL

Section 1. There shall be constituted a Business Council having charge of the business of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

Section 2. The Business Council shall consist of one delegate elected from each county association; provided, that any city school system or state educational institution employing not fewer than five teachers shall be entitled to one additional delegate to the Business Council.

Provided further, that before a county or other local unit shall be entitled to representation, it shall have at least seventy per cent of its teachers members of the Association.

Section 3. The duties of the Business Council shall be:

1. The election of an Executive Committee.
2. The approval of the budget of appropriations and expenses.
3. The approval of resolutions.
4. The approval of contemplated legislation.
5. The approval of the audit.
6. The consideration of such other business as may be properly brought to its attention, as well as the approval of the policies of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers as presented and recommended by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII--EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers shall be composed of six members, elected for a period of three years, one-third of whom shall be elected annually; provided, that at the first election under this Constitution, two shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and three for three years. Thereafter, two to be elected annually for three years.

No member of the Executive Committee may be chosen to become president of the State Association during the term for which he is elected a member of the Committee.

No member of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers shall be eligible for election as a member of the Executive Committee who is not actively engaged in school work, and when a member of the Executive Committee ceases to be actively engaged in school work for a term in excess of one year, his position as a member of said Committee is automatically vacated.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet semi-annually, one meeting to be held at least ninety days before the regular meeting of the Association. Special meetings may be called by the president; provided, however, that the Executive Committee shall not draw expenses for more than two meetings. They shall likewise have the power of decision by mail on propositions submitted to them in writing with full explanations thereof.

Section 3. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to elect, in addition to the above, (1) a secretary, prescribe his qualifications, fix his salary, and outline his duties in conformity with this Constitution; (2) a treasurer, who shall give a surety bond of not less than double the amount of his holdings, for the faithful performance of his duties, the proper administration of the funds of the Association, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Association.

All money of said Association shall be deposited in a bank in the name of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, by the secretary and president until such time as the treasurer shall qualify for this bond.

(3) To designate the committees as provided for in the Constitution.

(4) To conduct, manage and control the affairs of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, and to adopt rules and regulations not inconsistent with the Constitution of this

Association, the general policy of management and control having been ratified by the Business Council.

(5) To incur only such indebtedness as the Council may approve.

(6) To keep an accurate record of all its proceedings, the minutes of which shall be published in the annual report of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers.

(7) To approve reports of committees under its authority under this Constitution.

(8) To fill vacancies in the Executive Committee or among the officers of the Association.

(9) To provide the time and place of meeting of the Business Council.

ARTICLE IX--AMENDMENTS

Section 1. All proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be presented first to the Committee on Amendments for consideration; the Executive Committee shall present the same to the Business Council, who shall present the proposed amendment to the State Association for ratification; provided, however, the proposed amendment shall be published at least one month prior to the meeting of the Association.

ARTICLE X--WHEN EFFECTIVE

Section 1. This Constitution shall go into effect immediately after its adoption by the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers; provided, that the first set of officers elected under this Constitution shall be elected and installed immediately at the close of the next session.

ARTICLE XI--DUES AND APPORTIONMENT

Section 1. The secretary of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers shall be the only authorized person to issue certificates of membership. This certificate shall entitle a person to attend all meetings of the State Association, take part in the proceedings and receive all publications of the Association without further cost, such publications to be provided for by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I--REPORTS

Section 1. Within ten days after the annual meeting, the secretary of each department shall furnish the secretary of the Association with a complete record of the proceedings of his department.

ARTICLE II--UNIFORM RECEIPTS

Uniform receipts shall be prepared by the secretary of the Association and supplied by him to the secretary of the local and county divisions, and shall be used by them as the official receipt of membership for entrance into the annual meetings of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers during the calendar year the receipt is in force.

ARTICLE III--PROCEDURE

The method of procedure of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers shall be based on "Robert's Rules of Order."

APPENDIX II

OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS: ANNUAL CONVENTIONS AND ELECTED OFFICERS, 1925-1961

1925	Oklahoma City	
	Thomas W. Grissom, President	Bristow
1926	Tulsa	
	S. L. Hargrove, President	Langston
	Miss D. Harriett Christburgh, Secretary	Oklahoma City
	J. Oscar Spencer, Treasurer	Nowata
	J. W. Hughes, Vice-President	Tulsa
1927	Muskogee	
	J. W. Hughes, President	Tulsa
1928	Oklahoma City	
	Walter G. Sneed, President	Oklahoma City
	Clarence R. Buford, Vice-President	Berwyn
	O. D. Hutton, Secretary	Bristow
	J. Oscar Spencer, Treasurer	Nowata
1929	Oklahoma City	
	W. C. Jones, President	Claremore
	D. M. Lewis, Vice-President	Muskogee
	O. D. Hutton, Secretary	Bristow
	J. T. A. West, Treasurer	Tulsa
1930	Oklahoma City	
	F. D. Moon, President	Crescent
	Mrs. Nellie W. Greene, Vice-President	Muskogee
	O. D. Hutton, Secretary	Bristow
	J. T. A. West, Treasurer	Tulsa
1931	Tulsa	
	Z. T. Hubert, President	Langston

1932	Oklahoma City	
	R. Goodwin Parrish, President	Chickasha
	W. E. Anderson, Vice-President	Okmulgee
	Miss Lena Lois Henderson, Secretary	Nowata
	J. T. A. West, Treasurer	Tulsa
1933	Oklahoma City	
	J. W. Sanford, President	Ardmore
	G. A. Kenyon, Vice-President	Cushing
	Miss Lena Lois Henderson, Secretary	Nowata
	B. F. Lee, Treasurer	Langston
1934	Muskogee	
	W. A. Dobson, President	Lima
	Mrs. Zelia N. Breaux, Vice-President	Oklahoma City
	Miss Lena Lois Henderson, Secretary	Nowata
	B. F. Lee, Treasurer	Langston
1935	Tulsa	
	Clarence R. Buford, President	Berwyn
	N. J. Tucker, Vice-President	Haskell
	Miss Lena Lois Henderson, Secretary	Nowata
	William W. Frazier, Treasurer	Wewoka
1936	Oklahoma City	
	W. E. Anderson, President	Okmulgee
	Ira O. Garcia, Vice-President	Bartlesville
	Miss Carrie Britton, Secretary	Luther
	William W. Frazier, Treasurer	Wewoka
1937	Tulsa	
	J. T. A. West, President	Tulsa
	Mrs. D. Adolph Williams, Vice-President	Nowata
	Miss Carrie Britton, Secretary	Luther
	William W. Frazier, Treasurer	Wewoka
1938	Muskogee	
	Letchen A. Hill, President	Boley
	Mrs. Susie Haywood, Vice-President	Oklahoma City
	Miss Carrie Britton, Secretary	Luther
	William W. Frazier, Treasurer	Wewoka
1939	Oklahoma City	
	T. P. Scott, President	Bartlesville
	J. I. Wallace, Vice-President	Henryetta
	Miss Carrie Britton, Secretary	Luther
	William W. Frazier, Treasurer	Wewoka

1940	Tulsa	
	Alphonso M. Jordan, President	Ponca City
	H. V. Gear, Vice-President	Oklahoma City
	Miss Carrie Britton, Secretary	Luther
	William W. Frazier, Treasurer	Wewoka
1941	Oklahoma City	
	John E. Buford, President	Sand Springs
	Jesse R. Lucas, Vice-President	Antlers
	Miss Carrie Britton, Secretary	Choctaw
	C. D. Batchlor, Treasurer	Langston
1942	Oklahoma City	
	D. Adolph Williams, President	Sapulpa
	L. G. Ashley, Vice-President	Boley
	Mrs. Carrie B. Clardy, Secretary	Choctaw
	C. D. Batchlor, Treasurer	Langston
1943	Oklahoma City	
	Lucius L. McGee, President	Oklahoma City
	Calvin R. Johns, Vice-President	Seminole
	Mrs. Carrie B. Clardy, Secretary	Choctaw
	C. D. Batchlor, Treasurer	Langston
1944	Tulsa	
	George Tilmon, President	Boley
	Mrs. Zemula Williams, Vice-President	Sapulpa
	Mrs. Carrie B. Clardy, Secretary	Choctaw
	C. D. Batchlor, Treasurer	Langston
1945	No meeting	
1946	Oklahoma City	
	Mrs. Zelia N. Breaux, President	Oklahoma City
	Mrs. Mary E. Napier, Vice-President	Tulsa
	Mrs. Carrie B. Clardy, Secretary	Choctaw
	C. D. Batchlor, Treasurer	Langston
1947	Tulsa	
	Clyde L. Cole, President	Tulsa
1948	Oklahoma City	
	Calvin R. Johns, President	Seminole
	Mrs. Lucy Winslett, Vice-President	Oklahoma City
	Mrs. Carrie B. Clardy, Secretary	Oklahoma City
	E. W. Woods, Treasurer	Tulsa
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City

1949	Tulsa	
	G. W. Smith, President	Bristow
	Miss Luella D. Lawson, Vice-President	Oklahoma City
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Seminole
	Henry C. Whitlow, Acting Treasurer	Tulsa
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1949	Oklahoma City	
	Henry C. Whitlow, Jr., President	Tulsa
	James J. West, Vice-President	Ponca City
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Treasurer	Seminole
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1950	Oklahoma City	
	E. W. Tolliver, President	Ardmore
	Mrs. Exetta Gorman, Vice-President	Wewoka
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Seminole
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1951	Oklahoma City	
	A. M. Tompkins, President	Choctaw
	Miss Willa Strong, Vice-President	McAlester
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Seminole
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1952	Oklahoma City	
	H. F. V. Wilson, President	Ardmore
	C. N. Arnsby, Vice-President	Antlers
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Seminole
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1953	Oklahoma City	
	C. A. Jackson, President	Okmulgee
	G. O. Word, Vice-President	Shawnee
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Seminole
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1954	Oklahoma City	
	Floyd F. Alexander, President	Nowata
	K. O. Tucker, Vice-President	Checotah
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Seminole
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City

1955	Oklahoma City	
	Joe S. Johnson, President	Cushing
	Mrs. Velma D. Ashley, Vice-President	Boley
	Miss Ella L. Clement, Secretary	Oklahoma City
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1956	Oklahoma City	
	Willa A. Strong, President	McAlester
	A. C. Haston, Vice-President	Ardmore
	Miss Ella Lee Clement, Secretary	Oklahoma City
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City
1957	No Convention	
	George O. Word, President	Shawnee
	Roosevelt Gracey, Vice-President	Oklahoma City
	Miss Ella Lee Clement, Secretary	Oklahoma City
	Luther W. Elliott, Treasurer	Enid
	F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary	Oklahoma City

APPENDIX III

COUNTIES AND LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS REPRESENTED IN THE ROSTER OF MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS, 1928

County	Number of Teachers Holding Membership in OANT, 1928	City or Town	Number of Members of OANT, 1928
Atoka	9	Atoka	8
		Stringtown	1
Blaine	14	Geary	2
		Hitchcock	1
		Watonga	11
Bryan	11	Bokchito	1
		Colbert	10
Caddo	14	Anadarko	8
		Binger	4
		Bridgeport	1
		Fort Cobb	1
Canadian	11	Calumet	1
		El Reno	10
Carter	39	Ardmore	30
		Berwyn	3
		Springer	1
		Tatums	5
Cherokee	3	Hulbert	3
Choctaw	12	Boswell	4
		Ft. Towson	1
		Hugo	7

County	Number of Teachers Holding Membership in OANT, 1928	City or Town	Number of Members of OANT, 1928
Coal	2	Coalgate	2
Comanche	5	Lawton	5
Cotton	1	Temple	1
Craig	6	Estella	1
		Vinita	5
Creek	71	Bristow	13
		Depew	2
		Drumright	4
		Edna	1
		Kellyville	1
		Oilton	1
		Sapulpa	47
		Slick	2
Custer	1	Weatherford	1
Dewey	1	Fay	1
Garfield	12	Enid	10
		Bison	2
Garvin	7	Elmore City	2
		Pauls Valley	1
		Stratford	1
		Wynnewood	3
Grady	2	Chickasha	1
		Rush Springs	1
Haskell	1	Kinta	1
Hughes	7	Holdenville	6
		Wetumka	1
Jackson	1	Altus	1
Jefferson	1	Waurika	1
Johnston	5	Fillmore	1
		Tishomingo	4
Kay	3	Ponca City	3

County	Number of Teachers Holding Membership in OANT, 1928	City or Town	Number of Members of OANT, 1928
Kingfisher	27	Dover	9
		Hennessey	9
		Kingfisher	9
Kiowa	6	Hobart	4
		Roosevelt	2
LeFlore	2	Spiro	2
Lincoln	45	Chandler	37
		Stroud	1
		Wellston	7
Logan	96	Coyle	2
		Crescent	5
		Guthrie	37
		Langston	49
		Seward	3
McClain	6	Purcell	3
		Washington	1
		Byars	1
		Rosedale	1
McCurtain	13	Broken Bow	1
		Idabel	10
		Valliant	2
McIntosh	33	Checotah	6
		Eufaula	8
		Fame	1
		Pierce	2
		Rentiesville	11
		Vernon	5
Murray	1	Sulphur	1
Muskogee	138	Boynton	6
		Fort Gibson	7
		Haskell	11
		Muskogee	98
		Oktaha	9
		Summitt	1
		Taft	3
		Warner	2
		Webbers Falls	1

County	Number of Teachers Holding Membership in OANT, 1928	City or Town	Number of Members of OANT, 1928
Noble	9	Orlando	2
		Perry	7
Nowata	9	Nowata	9
Okfuskee	68	Boley	49
		Castle	3
		Clearview	9
		Weleetka	7
Oklahoma City	121	Jones	4
		Luther	22
		Oklahoma City	89
		Arcadia	6
Okmulgee	85	Beggs	16
		Dighton	1
		Henryetta	4
		Hoffman	4
		Okmulgee	56
		Preston	2
		Nuyaka	2
Osage	6	Hominy	1
		Pawhuska	5
Pawnee	3	Cleveland	2
		Pawnee	1
Payne	11	Cushing	6
		Perkins	1
		Stillwater	3
		Yale	1
Pittsburg	23	Carbon	1
		Hartshorne	3
		McAlester	19
Pontotoc	1	Ada	1
Pottawattomie	20	Brooksville	6
		McCloud	1
		Shawnee	9
		Tecumseh	4

County	Number of Teachers Holding Membership in OANT, 1928	City or Town	Number of Members of OANT, 1928
Pushmataha	2	Antlers	2
Rogers	9	Chelsea	2
		Claremore	6
		Inola	1
Seminole	48	Seminole	7
		Wewoka (including Lima)	41
Sequoyah	1	Sallisaw	1
Tulsa	74	Bixby	2
		Sand Springs	9
		Tulsa	63
Wagoner	31	Coweta	3
		Porter	8
		Red Bird	8
		Tallahassee	2
		Wagoner	10
Washington	7	Bartlesville	7

APPENDIX IV

DEPARTMENTS OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS LISTED IN ORDER OF THEIR FIRST APPEARANCE IN RECORDS OF THE ANNUAL CONVENTIONS, 1928-1951[a]

Year	Department	Chairman and Secretary
1928	High School Department	F. P. L. Kennerson, Lawton Chairman Myrtle Williams, Wellston Secretary
	Junior High and Grammar School Department	William A. Armstrong, Jones Chairman Izella McAlpin, Haskell Secretary
	English and Foreign Language Department	Henry A. Berry, Oklahoma City Chairman C. A. R. Grantt, McAlester Secretary
	Jeanes Teachers Department	Thomas W. Grissom, Bristow Chairman Mable McKenzie, Brooksville Secretary
	Kindergarten-Primary Department	Olivia J. Abbey, Oklahoma City Chairman Maud N. Caesar, Shawnee Secretary
	State Parent-Teachers Association	Nolie M. Stephens, Okmulgee President A. Vanilla Brown, Sapulpa Secretary

Year	Department	Chairman and Secretary
1929	Department of Rural Education	Tedie O. Grissom, Bristow Chairman T. A. Owens, Bristow Secretary J. E. Taylor, Langston Sponsor
	Department of Hi-Y Sponsors	Charles S. Roberts, Tulsa, Chairman
	Department of Music	Carrie Booker Person, Tulsa Chairman Luella V. Harden, Okmulgee Secretary
	Manual Arts Department	J. E. Rose, Luther Chairman A. G. Rogers, Tulsa Secretary
	Home Economics Department	Nell Brown Clardy, Oklahoma City Chairman Pollye S. Baucom, Anadarko Secretary
	Athletics Department	Lucius L. McGee, Oklahoma City Chairman C. D. Tate, Tulsa Secretary
1932	Department of Vocational Agriculture	E. D. Brown, McAlester Chairman J. B. Abram, Sand Springs Secretary
	Department of General Physical Education	C. D. Tate, Tulsa Chairman F. D. Durham, Nowata Secretary
	Department of Practical Arts	Corinne Lythcott, Tulsa Chairman Nan L. Buckner, Wewoka Secretary
	Physical Education Department	Leeoshia M. Harris, Crescent Chairman Maedella Summers, Chandler Secretary

Year	Department	Chairman and Secretary
1933	Department of Mathematics	T. P. Scott, Bartlesville Chairman Lauretta Miller, Bartlesville Secretary
	Department of Fine Arts	Eugene J. Brown, Langston Chairman Bernice Strickland, Tulsa Secretary
	Department of Administration	J. Oscar Spencer, Nowata Chairman L. Lena Sawner, Chandler Secretary
	Department of Deans of Girls	Ida M. Henry, Tulsa Chairman C. DeWitt Patterson, Langston Secretary
	Department of Social Science	Thelma E. Boyd, Ardmore Chairman
	Junior High School Department	C. D. Frederick, Coyle Chairman Exzetta A. Gorman, Wewoka Secretary
1934	Department of Band and Orchestra	P. M. Jones, Taft Chairman
	Department of Science	Leroy G. Moore, Langston Chairman
	Department of Intermediate Education	Natalie J. Watson, Oklahoma City Chairman
1935	Department of Higher Education	B. K. Armstrong, Langston Chairman
1936	Department of Commerce	G. H. Fortner, Tulsa Chairman I. M. Woods, Wewoka Secretary

Year	Department	Chairman and Secretary
1939	Dramatics and Speech	Zernona Stewart Brooks, Langston Chairman Ethel Giddings, Muskogee Secretary
	Department of Four-H Clubs and Rural Life	Anton H. Fuhr, Muskogee Chairman Rosa J. Parker, Guthrie Secretary
	Theology and Religious Education	Rev. R. A. King, Muskogee Chairman Rev. J. J. Seabrook, Langston Secretary
1940	Department of Guidance	Booker Brown, Okmulgee Chairman Paralee Williams, Lenapah Secretary
1941	Adult Education	Cernoria D. Johnson, Oklahoma City Chairman
	Nursery Education	Lorene Taylor, Stillwater Chairman
	Visual Education	W. E. Anderson, Okmulgee Chairman
1943	Department of School Secretaries	Geneva W. Johnson, Oklahoma City Chairman D. A. Wisener, Oklahoma City Secretary
1946	Department of Health Education	
1948	Department of Elementary School Principals	W. Mitchell Moore, Oklahoma City Chairman Pearl J. Scott, Oklahoma City Secretary
	Library Department	Elmyra R. Davis, Langston Chairman Helena Freeman, Langston Secretary

Year	Department	Chairman and Secretary
1951	Department of Special Education	Octavia Douglass, Oklahoma City Chairman Vestoria Haywood, Oklahoma City Secretary

[a]Data abstracted from Proceedings, Journals, and Programs of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, 1928-1951.

APPENDIX V

MAC Q. WILLIAMSON
ATTORNEY GENERAL

STATE OF OKLAHOMA
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
OKLAHOMA CITY

February 15, 1960

Mr. F. D. Moon,
Douglass High School,
900 North Eastern,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dear Mr. Moon:

In Re: Separate School Bonds

Pursuant to your request our office has checked the separate school bonds voted in the State of Oklahoma for the years 1945, up to and including October 1955.

The last separate school bond issue was filed in the office of the Attorney General on the 22nd day of March, 1954. This bond issue was the one that was appealed to the Supreme Court from Wagoner County.

The following is a list of all separate school bonds issued during that period of time, to-wit:

Case No.	County	Amount	Date approved by Attorney General
13634	Tulsa	$1,000,000.00	1-30-46
13684	Oklahoma	$700,000.00	2-27-46
13945	Seminole	$250,000.00	6-25-46
14204	Okmulgee	$425,000.00	1-6-47
14496	Hughes	$140,000.00	8-14-47
14748	Muskogee	$1,250,000.00	4-12-48
14948	Okmulgee	$179,900.00	9-15-48
14952	Tulsa	$997,500.00	9-23-48
15046	Pottawatomie	$154,000.00	1-21-49
15062	Washington	$150,000.00	2-8-49
15302	Carter	$292,500.00	11-16-49
15377	Logan	$225,000.00	3-28-50
15544	Payne	$450,000.00	7-27-50
15880	Love	$45,000.00	8-18-50
15603	Comanche	$170,000.00	9-6-50
15610	Pittsburg	$317,000.00	9-22-50

(Separate school bond issues continued - - -)

Case No.	County	Amount	Date approved by Attorney General
15679	Bryan	$142,500.00	12-21-50
15714	McIntosh	$25,560.00	2-16-51
15965½	Oklahoma	$900,000.00	1-30-52
16173	McCurtain	$150,000.00	9-10-52
16175	Tillman	$165,000.00	9-10-52
16276	Choctaw	$150,000.00	2-12-53
16570	Oklahoma	$1,000,000.00	1-30-54
16609	Wagoner	$431,000.00	4-2-54

If we can be of any further assistance to you please do not hesitate to call on us.

Yours very truly,

FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Lummie Clayton Spahn
Assistant Attorney General

LCS/n

APPENDIX VI

INCREASE IN FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS, 1948-1954. COUNTY VALUATIONS OF PROPERTY, NUMBER OF MILLS LEVIED BY COUNTY EXCISE BOARDS FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS, AND AMOUNT OF INCREASE IN REVENUE BEYOND RETURNS POSSIBLE UNDER TWO-MILL CEILING IN EFFECT PRIOR TO AMENDMENTS OF CONSTITUTION IN 1946, 1948[a]

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills[b]
Atoka	1948[d]			
	1949	$ 6,918,257	3.00	$ 6,918.25
	1950	6,139,935	3.10	6,753.93
	1951	6,501,315	4.00	13,002.63
	1952	6,501,315	4.00	13,440.90
	1953	6,720,451	4.00	13,440.90
	1954	6,519,681	3.00	6,519.68
Beckham	1948	12,929,295	1.23	-
	1949	13,523,478	1.90	-
	1950	14,794,521	3.76	26,038.35
	1951	17,473,766	2.20	3,494.75
	1952	17,474,766	3.74	50,404.37
	1953	17,954,002	3.61	28,905.94
	1954	17,712,271	3.00	17,712.27
Blaine	1948	13,548,518	3.650	22,355.05
	1949	13,864,418	3.750	24,262.73
	1950	14,273,618	3.750	24,978.83
	1951	15,136,031	3.84	27,850.29
	1952	15,136,691	3.70	25,732.37
	1953	15,224,601	3.60	24,359.36
	1954	15,281,848	3.00	15,281.84
Bryan	1948	11,368,661	1.75	-
	1949	12,162,195	3.00	12,162.19
	1950	12,009,248	4.00	24,018.49
	1951	13,049,980	2.64	8,351.98

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
	1952	$ 13,649,966	2.25	$ 3,412.49
	1953	13,153,631	3.37	18,020.47
	1954	13,114,892	3.00	13,114.89
Caddo	1948	18,209,312	2.80	14,567.44
	1949	18,842,802	3.00	18,842.80
	1950	19,278,327	3.00	19,278.32
	1951	20,796,978	3.00	20,796.97
	1952	29,796,978	3.00	29,796.97
	1953	23,487,926	3.00	23,487.92
	1954	24,223,305	3.00	24,223.30
Canadian	1948			
	1949	19,052,568	3.00	19,052.56
	1950	24,081,209	3.00	24,081.20
	1951	29,802,256	2.91	27,120.05
	1952	29,822.236	3.00	29,822.23
	1953	29,950,189	3.00	29,950.18
	1954	30,271,084	3.00	30,271.08
Carter	1948	17,944,128	4.00	35,888.25
	1949	18,393,244	4.00	36,786.48
	1950	20,135,900	4.00	40,271.80
	1951	21,234,155	4.00	42,468.31
	1952	21,234,153	4.00	42,468.30
	1953	22,476,620	4.00	44,953.24
	1954	25,121,115	4.00	50,242.53
Cherokee	1948	3,995,587	2.00	-
	1949	4,311,183	2.25	1,077.79
	1950	4,319,366	2.25	1,079.84
	1951	4,892,758	2.50	2,446.37
	1952	4,892,798	2.25	1,223.19
	1953	5,328,701	2.25	1,332.17
	1954	5,391,262	2.45	2,426.06
Choctaw	1948	7,531,228	3.00	7,531.23
	1949	5,929,241	4.00	11,858.48
	1950	5,929,659	4.00	11,850.31
	1951	6,128,004	4.00	24,512.01
	1952	6,188,694	4.00	12,377.38
	1953	6,226,888	4.00	12,453.77
	1954	6,212,714	4.00	12,425.42
Cleveland	1948	13,884,336	.554	-
	1949	15,144,384	.515	-

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
	1950	$ 16,335,162	.537	-
	1951	17,816,147	.643	-
	1952	17,816,147	.554	-
	1953	18,687,286	.582	-
	1954	19,614,733	.549	-
Coal	1948	4,115,139	2.00	-
	1949	4,073,006	2.75	$ 3,054.75
	1950	4,033,792	4.00	8,067.58
	1951	4,532,886	3.00	4,532.88
	1952	4,532,906	3.25	5,666.13
	1953	4,661,064	3.00	4,661.06
	1954	4,570,701	3.00	4,570.70
Comanche	1948	17,235,718	4.00	34,471.43
	1949	17,787,426	4.00	35,574.85
	1950	17,946,089	4.00	25,892.17
	1951	25,367,733	4.00	50,735.46
	1952	25,367,733	4.00	50,735.46
	1953	28,191,965	4.00	56,383.93
	1954	28,277,760	4.00	56,555.52
Cotton	1948	6,085,002	-	-
	1949	6,254,648	1.50	-
	1950	6,837,041	1.62	-
	1951	6,909,884	1.50	-
	1952	6,909,884	2.18	1,243.77
	1953	6,998,982	2.4	2,799.59
	1954	6,747,660	3.00	6,747.66
Craig	1948	12,334,523	2.13	1,603.48
	1949	12,763,469	2.10	1,276.34
	1950	12,936,723	2.50	6,468.36
	1951	13,737,459	3.18	16,210.20
	1952		4.00	
	1953	13,369,863	3.00	13,369.86
Creek	1948	23,012,310	3.406	32,355.07
	1949	23,745,600	3.530	36,330.76
	1950	24,007,330	3.653	39,684.11
	1951	27,560,735	3.00	27,560.73
	1952	27,560,735	3.50	41,341.10
	1953	28,433,452	4.00	56,866.90
	1954	29,422,913	3.00	29,422.91
Custer	1948	14,882,606	3.787	26,595.21

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
	1949	$ 15,405,336	3.982	$ 30,533.37
	1950	16,064,470	3.520	24,417.99
	1951	16,958,415	3.60	27,133.46
	1952	16,958,415	3.60	27,133.46
	1953	17,480.538	4.00	34,961.07
	1954	17,351,411	3.44	24,986.03
Dewey	1948	7,060,226	.0103	-
	1949	7,514,527	.229	-
	1950	7,747,358	.345	-
	1951	8,258,934	.360	-
	1952	8,258,934	.40	-
	1953	8,043,526	.38	-
	1954	7,892,041	.37	-
Garfield	1948			
	1949	50,321,022	3.00	50,321.02
	1950	52,101,239	2.61	31,781.75
	1951	57,146,142	1.91	-
	1952	57,146,142	1.20	-
	1953	58,643,018	1.45	-
	1954	60,061,077	1.62	-
Garvin	1948	17,066,881	3.00	17,066.88
	1949	20,415,630	3.00	20,415.63
	1950	21,248,891	3.00	21,248.89
	1951	23,080,183	3.00	23,080.18
	1952	23,050,183	3.00	23,050.18
	1953	23,666,097	3.00	23,666.09
	1954	24,584,109	3.00	24,584.10
Grady	1948	21,926,363	2.50	10,963.18
	1949	23,195,366	2.67	15,540.89
	1950	24,077,056	2.70	16,853.93
	1951	25,852,576	2.75	19,389.43
	1952	25,892.576	3.00	25,892.57
	1953	26,286,903	2.75	19,715.17
	1954	26,796,952	3.00	26,796.95
Greer	1948	7,019,634	1.89	-
	1949	7,352,690	2.02	147.05
	1950	7,596,365	3.49	11,318.58
	1951	7,911,661	4.00	15,823.32
	1952	7,811,661	3.00	7,911.66
	1953	8,049,209	3.00	8,049.20
	1954	7,900,763	3.00	7,900.76

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Harmon	1948	$ 5,060,568	1.46	
	1949	5,277,589	2.30	$ 1,583.27
	1950	5,365,029	2.00	
	1951	5,536,251	2.00	
	1952	5,536,251	3.00	5,536.25
	1953	5,640,208	4.00	11,280.41
	1954	5,649,493	3.00	5,649.49
Haskell	1948			
	1949	4,279,750	2.25	1,069.93
	1950	4,060,762	3.00	4,060.76
	1951	4,478,693	3.00	4,478.69
	1952	4,472,693	3.00	4,472.69
	1953	4,541,347	3.00	4,541.34
	1954	5,161,902	3.00	5,161.90
Hughes	1948	10,856,490	3.674	18,173.76
	1949	10,826,142	3.800	19,487.05
	1950	10,630,100	4.00	21,260.20
	1951	11,270,123	2.45	5,071.55
	1952	11,270,123	4.00	22,540.24
	1953	11,686,204	4.00	23,372.40
	1954	11,686,204	3.00	11,686.20
Jackson	1948	12,445,271	2.90	11,200.74
	1949	12,872,730	3.20	25,447.27
	1950	13,009,296	3.00	13,009.29
	1951	13,574,986	2.90	12,217.48
	1952	13,574,586	2.25	3,393.64
	1953	14,051,336	3.00	14,051.33
	1954	14,051,336	3.00	14,051.33
Johnston	1948	6,006,149	2.91	5,465.59
	1949	5,435,669	3.00	5,435.66
	1950	5,707,270	3.00	5,707.27
	1951	5,882,824	3.78	10,471.42
	1952	5,883,824	4.00	11,767.64
	1953	5,684,658	4.00	11,369.31
	1954	5,684,658	3.50	7,674.28
Kay	1948	48,531,266	1.21	
	1949	52,635,732	1.25	
	1950	54,537,239	1.18	
	1951	60,632,907	1.307	
	1952	60,632,907	1.364	
	1953	63,148,780	1.464	
	1954	63,148,760		

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Kingfisher	1949	$ 17,967,049	3.00	$ 17,967.04
	1950	19,570,815	3.00	19,570.81
	1951	20,396,397	3.00	20,396.39
	1952	20,396,397	3.00	20,396.39
	1953	20,561,299	3.16	23,851.10
	1954	20,561,299	3.00	20,561.29
Kiowa	1948	15,619,630	2.80	12,495.70
	1949	16,170,014	3.00	16,170.01
	1950	16,330,908	3.00	16,330.90
	1951	17,287,962	3.00	17,287.96
	1952	17,287,962	3.75	30,253.93
	1953	17,340,069	4.00	34,680.13
	1954	17,340,069	4.00	34,680.13
Latimer	1948	4,001,554	3.00	4,001.55
	1949	4,099,919	4.00	8,199.83
	1950	4,016,686	2.00	4,016.68
	1951	4,154,472	2.50	2,077.23
	1952	4,154,472	1.81	
	1953	4,401,186	3.50	6,601.77
	1954	4,401,186	3.00	4,401.18
LeFlore	1948	11,917,090	2.00	
	1949	12,139,729	3.00	12,139.73
	1950	12,269,240	4.00	24,538.48
	1951	12,652,799	3.00	12,652.79
	1952	12,652,799	4.00	25,305.59
	1953	12,776,359	4.00	25,552.71
	1954	12,776,359	3.00	12,776.35
Lincoln	1948	16,256,384	3.84	30,074.31
	1949	16,792,026	3.95	33,095.45
	1950	17,616,479	2.95	16,735.65
	1951	19,179,668	3.97	37,783.94
	1952	19,179,668	2.97	18,604.27
	1953	20,656,821	3.97	40,693.93
	1954	20,656,821	3.67	34,496.89
Logan	1948	17,340,958	3.781	30,884.24
	1949	18,004,053	4.00	36,008.10
	1950	18,498,516	4.00	36,997.03
	1951	19,995,522	3.00	19,995.52
	1952	19,995,582	3.00	19,995.58
	1953	20,049,971	3.00	20,059.97
	1954	20,059,971	4.00	40,119.94

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Love	1948	$ 4,413,995	3.00	$ 4,414.00
	1949	4,614,126	3.00	4,614.12
	1950	4,736,343	3.00	4,736.34
	1951	4,958,853	2.95	4,710.91
	1952	4,948,893	3.00	4,958.89
	1953	5,122,221	3.00	5,122.22
	1954	5,122,221	3.00	5,122.22
Marshall	1948	4,424,513	2.03	132.73
	1949	4,609,669	3.00	4,609.66
	1950	4,779,848	1.95	
	1951	5,184,944	2.08	414.79
	1952	5,184,944	1.88	
	1953	5,046,961	2.51	2,573.95
	1954	5,046,961	2.90	4,542.26
Mayes	1948	8,464,498	1.50	
	1949	8,835,205	1.50	
	1950	9,107,025	1.59	
	1951	10,192,672	1.81	
	1952	10,192,672	1.31	
	1953	11,334,200	1.77	
	1954	11,334,200	1.95	
McClain	1948			
	1949	8,801,768	4.00	17,603.43
	1950	9,198,623	3.00	9,198.62
	1951	9,656,983	3.00	9,656.98
	1952	9,696,923	3.00	9,696.92
	1953	10,120,857	3.00	10,120.85
	1954	10,120,857	3.00	10,120.85
McCurtain	1948	6,961,066	3.00	6,961.06
	1949	7,873,282	3.97	7,637.08
	1950	7,772,070	4.00	15,544.14
	1951	8,533,548	4.00	17,067.29
	1952	8,533,645	3.932	16,487.00
	1953	10,073,024	4.00	20,146.04
	1954	10,073,024	3.52	15,310.99
McIntosh	1948	6,843,056	3.902	13,015.49
	1949	6,884,487	4.00	13,768.97
	1950	7,053,257	4.00	14,106.51
	1951	7,502,674	4.00	15,005.34
	1952	7,962,674	4.00	15,925.34
	1953	7,525,324	4.00	15,050.64
	1954	7,525,324	3.00	7,525.32

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Murray	1948	$ 6,944,240	3.49	$ 10,346.91
	1949	6,624,750	3.00	6,624.75
	1950	7,690,524	3.00	7,690.52
	1951	7,690,524	3.00	7,690.52
	1952	11,262,184	3.00	11,262.18
	1953	7,690,524	3.00	7,690.52
	1954	11,262,184	2.72	8,108.77
Muskogee	1948	34,272,847	3.001	34,307.11
	1949	35,398,550	3.000	35,398.55
	1950	36,300,777	3.000	36,300.77
	1951	38,354,461	3.000	38,354.46
	1952	38,394,456	4.000	76,788.91
	1953	39,923,336	3.500	59,885.00
	1954	39,923,336	3.000	39,923.33
Noble	1948	16,930,113	2.00	
	1949	16,489,399	2.56	9,234.06
	1950	16,652,545	3.00	16,652.54
	1951	17,329,120	2.90	15,596.20
	1952	17,329,120	2.90	15,596.20
	1953	17,786,888	2.86	15,296.72
	1954	17,786,888	2.80	14,229.51
Nowata	1948	3,929,081	3.00	3,921.00
	1949	4,021,423	3.00	4,021.42
	1950	9,075,187	3.00	9,075.18
	1951	9,961,574	3.00	9,961.57
	1952	9,961,574	3.00	9,961.57
	1953	10,396,522	3.00	10,396.52
	1954	10,396,522	3.00	10,396.52
Okfuskee	1948	9,858,768	2.389	3,385.06
	1949	10,200,834	3.000	10,200.83
	1950	11,107,527	2.95	10,552.15
	1951	11,570,433	3.00	11,570.43
	1952	11,972,433	1.99	
	1953	11,657,438	3.00	11,657.43
	1954	11,657,438	3.45	16,903.28
Oklahoma	1948	189,170,851	2.933	176,496.40
	1949	202,704,287	4.000	405,408.56
	1950	220,029,362	4.00	440,058.72
	1951	262,550,826	4.00	525,101.64
	1952	262,970,856	4.00	525,941.70
	1953	290,244,046	4.00	580,488.08
	1954	290,244,046	4.00	580,488.08

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Okmulgee	1948	$ 20,462,017	4.00	$ 40,924.03
	1949	21,614,346	4.00	43,228.68
	1950	22,354,332	4.00	44,708.68
	1951	23,469,552	4.00	46,939.10
	1952	23,469,392	4.00	46,938.78
	1953	24,168,438	4.00	48,336.87
	1954	24,168,438	4.00	48,336.87
Osage	1948	35,478,673	1.127	26,549.50
	1950	37,111,704	1.533	
	1951	40,387,907	1.4728	
	1952	40,387,907	2.216	8,723.78
	1953	39,612,036	1.93	
	1954	39,612,036	2.02	79.22
Pawnee	1948	9,834,667	2.75	7,376.00
	1949	10,047,308	3.00	10,047.30
	1950	10,131,680	3.00	10,131.68
	1951	10,674,408	4.00	21,348.81
	1952	10,674,408	3.00	10,674.40
	1953	10,512,387	3.00	10,512.38
	1954	10,512,387	3.00	10,512.38
Payne	1948	24,372,608	3.51	36,802.63
	1949	31,915,659	4.00	63,831.31
	1950	27,619,880	2.32	8,838.36
	1951	31,503,195	3.00	31,503.19
	1952	31,503,195	3.00	31,503.19
	1953	32,789,825	3.00	32,789.82
	1954	32,789,825	3.00	32,789.82
Pittsburg	1948	15,221,162	3.415	21,537.94
	1949	16,162,289	3.864	30,127.25
	1950	16,503,132	3.00	16,503.13
	1951	17,539,200	3.00	17,539.20
	1952	17,539,200	3.00	17,539.20
	1953	17,614,620	3.00	17,614.62
	1954	17,614,628	3.00	17,614.62
Pontotoc	1948	15,967,848	2.683	10,906.04
	1949	16,650,182	3.451	5,677.71
	1950	16,352,418	3.086	3,041.55
	1951	17,693,497	3.00	17,693.49
	1952	17,693,497	3.00	17,693.49
	1953	18,314,045	2.19	3,479.66
	1954	18,314,045	2.23	4,212.23

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Pottawatomie	1948	$ 21,550,973	2.190	$ 4,094.68
	1949	22,030,685	3.500	33,046.02
	1950	22,015,548	3.30	28,620.21
	1951	22,600,985	3.025	23,166.00
	1952	22,600,985	4.00	33,600.98
	1953	24,106,014	4.00	48,212.02
	1954	24,106,014	3.00	24,106.01
Pushmataha	1948			
	1949	5,070,057	2.50	2,535.02
	1950	5,503,254	3.00	5,503.25
	1951	5,843,072	3.00	5,843.07
	1952	5,843,072	4.00	11,686.14
	1953	5,942,259	4.00	11,884.51
	1954	5,942,259	3.75	10,398.95
Roger Mills	1948	6,052,276	.215	
	1949	4,986,033	.31	
	1950	6,435,591	3.00	6,435.59
	1951	7,048,210	.27	
	1952	7,048,210	0.00	
	1953	6,753,337	0.00	
	1954	6,753,337	0.00	
Rogers	1948		2.00	
	1949	12,892,624	3.00	12,892.62
	1950	13,568,907		
	1951	14,924,953	2.35	5,223.73
	1952	14,924,953	2.13	1,940.24
	1953	15,341,688	2.36	5,523.00
	1954	15,341,688	2.42	6,443.50
Seminole	1948	20,199,666	3.70	34,339.43
	1949	19,902,975	3.865	37,119.04
	1950	19,377,399	3.80	34,879.31
	1951	19,704,232	4.00	39,408.46
	1952	19,704,232	4.00	39,408.46
	1953	20,088,069	3.817	16,411.95
	1954	20,088,069	3.00	20,088.06
Sequoyah	1949	5,989,539	4.00	11,979.07
	1950	5,798,017	4.00	11,596.03
	1951	6,165,877	3.100	6,782.46
	1952	6,163,877	4.00	12,327.75
	1953	6,974,233	4.00	13,948.46
	1954	6,974,233	3.80	12,553.61

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
Stephens	1948	$ 15,696,406	1.37	
	1949	18,740,684	3.50	$ 28,111.02
	1950	18,944,365	1.3	
	1951	22,440,199	1.45	
	1952	22,440199	1.64	
	1953	25,042,356	1.72	
	1954	25,042,356	1.90	
Tillman	1948	14,793,126	2.75	11,094.84
	1949	13,985,623	3.25	17,482.02
	1950	15,490,247	3.17	18,123.58
	1951	16,464,658	3.78	29,307.10
	1952	16,462,179	3.00	16,462.17
	1954	16,474,233	3.00	16,474.23
Tulsa	1948	176,356,638	3.477	260,478.74
	1949	194,938,913	3.00	194,938.91
	1950	202,342,401	3.85	374,333.44
	1951	237,287,273	4.00	474,574.54
	1952	237,287,273	4.00	474,574.54
	1953	276,068,049	4.00	552,136.08
	1954	290,065,285	3.00	290,065.28
Wagoner	1948			
	1949	8,232,492	3.25	10,290.61
	1950	8,926,673	4.00	17,853.34
	1951	9,433,885	4.00	18,867.77
	1952	9,433,885	4.00	18,867.77
	1953	9,388,343	4.00	18,776.68
	1954	9,624,242	3.75	16,842.42
Washington	1948	22,262,719	3.00	22,262.72
	1949	23,865,324	3.00	23,865.32
	1950	25,889,581	2.88	22,782.83
	1951	31,152,911	3.00	31,152.91
	1952	31,152,911	3.00	31,152.91
	1953	32,335,285	3.00	32,335.28
	1954	34,946,048	3.00	34,946.04
Washita	1948	13,447,225	0.0281	
	1949	12,988,442	0.511	
	1950	14,603,608	0.418	
	1951	15,123,601	0.290	

County	Year	Property Valuations	Mills Levied	Amount of Increase Beyond Returns From Two Mills
	1952	$ 15,123,601	0.300	
	1953	14,966,881	0.340	
	1954	14,991,939	0.370	

[a]Supra, chap. viii. Data collected from files of Oklahoma State Department of Education, Division of School Finance, by F. D. Moon, Executive Secretary, Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers (in the files of the Association).

[b]The total increase for all counties, 1948-1954, amounted to more than $18,000,000.

[c]Table excludes all counties having no separate schools, 1948-1954.

[d]Figures not available.

APPENDIX VII

STATEWIDE INTERESTS AND PROGRAMS OF THE OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS AS DISCUSSED BY WRITERS IN THE JOURNAL 1924-1956[a]

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
May, 1924	
Financial Support of Schools	J. Wilson Pettus
October, 1925	
Moral and Spiritual Values	I. W. Young
Rural Education	Leora Matthews and Othelia Brown
Agricultural Extension Work	James E. Taylor
Interscholastic Activities	W. H. Fort
Eradication of Illiteracy	M. A. Nash and Editor
Accreditation of Schools	M. A. Nash
Negroes in National Defense	Editor
Schools for Handicapped Children	Editor
Curriculum and Courses of Study	Horace Mann Bond and Editor
Parent-Teachers' Clubs	Editor
Professional Training of Teachers	Editor
November, 1925	
Curriculum	W. E. B. DuBois and Editor
Vocational Rehabilitation	Editor
Rural Education	Oliver H. Akin
District and County Associations	Editors
Audio-Visual Teaching Aids	Editors
Americanization	Editors
Vocational Guidance	Horace Mann Bond
Professional Training of Teachers	Editors
Model Schools	Editors
Parent-Teacher Communications	Editors
School Surveys	Editors

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
March, 1935	
Equal Suffrage	W. E. Anderson
Educational Objectives	W. E. Anderson
Educational Conferences	W. E. Anderson
Outlook for Negro Education	Ambrose Caliver
Methods, Organization and Problems of Association	Clarence R. Buford
State Educational Organization	John W. Vaughan
School Activities	Editor
Interscholastic-Athletics	Horace S. Hughes
Curriculum	Moxye M. Weaver and M. E. Burke
February, 1936	
School Financial Legislation, House Bill 212	W. E. Anderson
Homestead Exemption	Reprint, Oklahoma Teacher
Interscholastic Athletics	John E. Buford
Student Government	E. W. Woods
Parent-Teachers' Association	W. E. Day
Curriculum	Theola M. Phillips and Katherine Haygood
School Activities	Geneva Harrison
November, 1936	
Curriculum and Extra-Curriculum	Clyde L. Cole
Association Functions	J. T. A. West
Activity Programs, Elementary School	Lucy C. Winslett
Teacher Tenure	Robert H. Wilkerson, Jr.
Federal and State Support for Schools	W. E. Anderson
Interscholastic Activities	E. R. Roper Theola M. Phillips
State Parent-Teachers' Association	Tedie O. Grissom
National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools	William W. Sanders
Survey, Salaries and Teaching Loads	E. W. Tolliver
Problems of Negro Education	Horace Mann Bond
Interscholastic Athletics	W. E. Anderson
Annual Convention	Editors
May, 1937	
School Legislation--Out-of-State Tuition for Negro Students	W. E. Anderson
Social, Economic, and Educational Problems of the Negro	J. T. A. West

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
State Survey, School Classification and Promotion Practices	W. E. Anderson
State Parent-Teachers' Association	Eula M. Dobson
Guidance Programs	Letchen A. Hill
Activities of the Schools	Helen M. Stephens
Teacher Tenure, State Survey	W. E. Anderson
Annual Convention	Editor and Departmental Secretaries
February, 1938	
Trends in Modern Education	A. L. Crable
Progress of Langston University	Nick Aaron Ford
American Teachers Association	William W. Sanders
Responsibilities of Teachers	Gladys A. Tillman
Association Functions and Problems	Letchen A. Hill
Teacher Retirement	W. E. Anderson
School Policies	Educational Policies Commission, NEA
Vocational Guidance	Al Inman Rouce
Annual Convention	Editor and Departmental Recorders
February, 1941	
Association Functions and Objectives	John W. Buford
State Parent-Teachers Association	Velma D. Ashley
Physical Education	W. D. Combs
Activities of the Schools	Cecille V. Evans
Educational Thought and Practice	A. L. Rivers
Annual Convention, Program	Editor
February, 1942	
National Defense	D. Adolph Williams
Progress of Langston University	G. L. Harrison
Insurance for Teachers	H. F. V. Wilson
Teacher Retirement	W. E. Anderson
Parent-Child Relationships	Sadie G. Washington
School Organization	D. Adolph Williams and W. Mitchell Moore
Interscholastic Athletics	W. E. Anderson
Annual Convention, Program	Editor
May, 1941 (Mimeographed Bulletin)	
Aims of the Association	D. Adolph Williams
Education and National Defense	W. E. Anderson
Oklahoma School Law	W. E. Anderson
Federal Aid to Education	W. E. Anderson

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
School Financial Legislation	W. E. Anderson and Susie Haywood
Legislative Committee Activities	Ione T. Corbett
May, 1942	
Activities of the Schools	Edna V. Dean
Vocational Guidance	Ezelle H. Hancox
The Annual Convention	Editor and Recorders
January, 1943	
The Association Program: The Annual Convention; Teacher Retirement Plan; Equalization of Teachers' Salaries; Accreditation of Langston University; Equal Opportunity in Defense Employment	W. E. Anderson and Lucius L. McGee
Wartime Activities of the Schools	W. E. Anderson
State Parent-Teachers' Association	Cecille V. Evans
September, 1944	
Functioning Participation of Teachers in the Association Program	Zelia N. Breaux
Association Organization, Constitution	Committee on Constitution
Basic Issues in Association Activities	W. E. Anderson
Activities of the Schools	Editor
February, 1948	
Achievements of the Association: Legislative Provisions for Bond Issues, Separate Schools Constitutional Amendment for Financing Separate Schools, 1946	F. D. Moon
State Survey, Educational Problems and Program Planning	F. D. Moon
February, 1949	
Achievements of the Association: Constitutional Amendment for Financing Separate Schools, 1948	F. D. Moon

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
District Associations	Jean Alexander and Reporter, Southern District
Truman's View on Education	Reprints, Messages of the President
Association Program: Convention and Constitution	Editor
November, 1950 (Program)	
Problems of Educational Leadership	R. Goodwin Parrish
Annual Convention, Program	F. D. Moon
National Developments in Education:	F. D. Moon
Desegregation of Schools	
Tax Deductions for Professional Training	
Proposals, Regional Education	
Professional Relations	
Professional Acceptance of Negroes	
Curriculum	
Teaching Methods and Problems	
Guidance	
Student Activities	
Physical Education and Health	
Audio-Visual Teaching	
Vocational-Industrial Education	
Adult Education	
School Finance	
Holding Power of Schools	
Job Satisfaction for Teachers	Reprint, Senior Scholastic (October 11, 1950)
Teacher Qualifications	Reprint, Educational Summary (September 5, 1950)
Tests and Measurements	Exzetta Gorman
October, 1949 (Program)	
Achievements of the Association	F. D. Moon
Association Program	Henry C. Whitlow, Jr.
Teacher Retirement Plan	F. D. Moon
Association Organization, Constitution	Committee on Constitution
Annual Convention, Program	Editor
October, 1951 (Program)	
The School Integration Movement:	A. M. Tompkins

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
Problems and Challenges	
Social Change	Willa A. Strong
Teaching Methods and Problems	F. D. Moon
The Annual Convention, Program	Editor
October, 1953 (Program)	
National Education Association, Affiliation	F. D. Moon
National Educational News:	F. D. Moon
Science Achievement Awards	
Foreign Teaching Opportunities	
Science Teachers Awards	
National Education Association, Convention	C. A. Jackson
The Annual Convention	C. A. Jackson and Editor
Association Organization, Constitution	Committee on Constitution
April, 1954	
The School Integration Movement, Developments and Proposals	Floyd F. Alexander and the Committee on Integration
	F. D. Moon
	Dr. Charles Thompson
School Public Relations	Mrs. G. L. Harrison
Association Goals	C. A. Jackson
Legislative Goals of OANT and OEA	Editor
Guidance and Juvenile Delinquency	Editor
School Management	Arthur Franzer, Reprint
Teacher Retirement System	Editor
October, 1954 (Program)	
Special Education Curriculum	Rubye H. Hall
The School Integration Movement, Developments and Proposals	Officers
	Executive Committee
	Integration Committee
	District Presidents
	Editor
National Educational Developments:	F. D. Moon
Projections of Enrollment, Schools	
Curriculum	
Educational Problems	
Physical Education, Standards For Athletics	
Teaching Opportunities Abroad	
Internal Revenue Code, 1954	

Date of Issue and General Topic	Contributor
July, 1955	
The School Integration Movement, Challenges and Interpretations	Joe S. Johnson and A. L. Morgan
State Surveys of Teacher Qualifications	F. D. Moon and J. Rupert Picott
Interscholastic Athletics	J. M. Jenkins
Mental Health in the School Program	Alphonso M. Jordan
October, 1955	
The School Integration Movement, Studies and Surveys	F. D. Moon
Challenges and Interpretations	Joe S. Johnson and A. L. Morgan
October, 1956 (Program)	
The School Integration Movement, Problems and Progress	Willa A. Strong and F. D. Moon

[a]Data abstracted from issues of The Journal and The Program (Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, 1924-1956).