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ROSCOE DUNJEE ON EDUCATION: THE IMPROVEMENT OF BLACK EDUCATION IN OKLAHOMA, 1930 - 1955

The University of Oklahoma ED.D. 1981

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

ROSCOE DUNJEE ON EDUCATION: THE IMPROVEMENT OF BLACK EDUCATION IN OKLAHOMA 1930 - 1955

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

BY

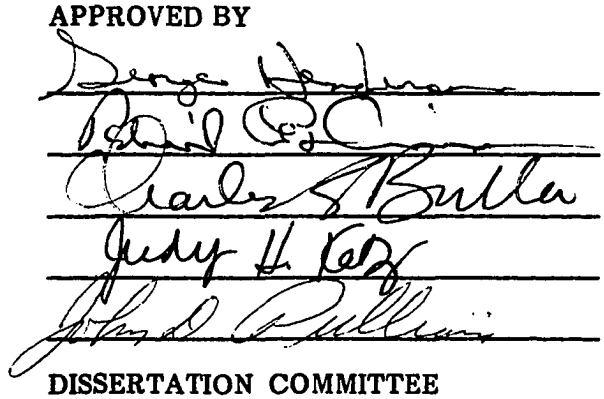
WORTH J. HADLEY

Norman, Oklahoma

1981

ROSCOE DUNJEE ON EDUCATION: THE IMPROVEMENT
OF BLACK EDUCATION IN OKLAHOMA
1930 - 1955

APPROVED BY



DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation on Roscoe Dunjee was inspired by Dr. John Pulliam, who with his colleague, Dr. Clint Allison, convinced me that the subject was valid for investigation. Dr. Pulliam was instrumental in shaping my interest and perspective on the subject of educational history.

The study was written under the supervision of Dr. George Henderson, a very patient scholar who smiled when he delivered his scathing criticism and skillfully kept me to the task. His greatest contribution was his desire for this effort to be a scholarly presentation. Dr. Charles Butler was the stabalizing factor to whom I turned when all was lost and who somehow managed to see the merit in what I thought was unworthy. Dr. Robert Bibens was the challenger whose penetrating questions made me rethink my position and finally realize where we were headed. Thanks to Dr. Judy Katz who graciously became the fifth member of the committee.

I am indebted to all of the members of my committee who labored long and hard with me over these past few years when it appeared that all was for naught. Thank you for your patience, comments and suggestions for the improvement of this dissertation.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to all of those people who provided not only assistance in the preparation of this manuscript, but also gave encouragement enabling me to finish the task. Specifically to Ross N. Lillard, Clerk of the State Supreme Court and Court of Criminal Appeals; Cherry Williams, church secretary of East Sixth Street Christian church; Jimmie Stewart, Member of the National board of Directors of the NAACP and a friend and advisor; Mary Moran and Elli Landon, Newspaper department of the Oklahoma State Historical Society; the Oklahoma County library system for access to the splendid materials; and to those who kindly consented to be interviewed and to provide information not otherwise accessible.

Thanks to my wife, Dolla, who stood steadfast, even when I faltered. To my sons, Tony and Shaun, who kept track of things for me, thank you both. Last but not least, this effort is dedicated to the memory of my late mother, Minnie L. Hadley, to whom I promised on her death bed that I would undertake this task. Tis done.

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ROSCOE DUNJEE ON EDUCATION: THE IMPROVEMENT OF BLACK EDUCATION IN OKLAHOMA, 1930 - 1955

CHAPTER I

Introduction

This study will examine the life work of Roscoe Dunjee, founder, editor and publisher of the Black Dispatch newspaper of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Dunjee's activities which related to education at all levels in Oklahoma were reviewed in order to assess his impact as an educational change agent. The study is not intended as a biography of Roscoe Dunjee, although biographical material is included. Instead, his accomplishments are extrapolated from his editorials in the Black Dispatch and his interactions with peers, subordinates, and others with whom he met.

The central focus is on an analysis of alienation between Black and White Oklahomans and Dunjee's efforts to develop Black education in Oklahoma. Relatedly, the major thrust of the study is an analysis and evaluation of Dunjee's editorials on issues pertaining to Black education. No attempt is made to write a history of Black education in Oklahoma. However, many of Dunjee's deeds made history in Oklahoma. Thus, this is of necessity a study of historical events and an historical person. The time span covered is from January 1930, when Oklahoma was a rigidly segregated state, to 1955, when some of the legal barriers to Black education had been removed.

Sources

Primary sources utilized in this study are the editorials of Roscoe Dunjee during the period cited. In his editorials, Dunjee dealt with several alienations issues: housing, health, employment, voting rights, public accommodations, politics, and education. Only those editorials related to education in Oklahoma are included in this study. The data is supplemented by interviews with living contemporaries, associates, and relatives of Dunjee. The interview technique generally followed guidelines set forth for oral interviews as described in Willa K. Baum's Oral History for the Local Historical Society (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1971). A series of interview questions were developed for this purpose and are included in the Appendixes. Each respondent was informed of the general purpose of the interview. The interviewees were for the most part known personally to this researcher and rapport and cooperation was readily established. Documents such as letters, photographs, legislative proceedings, newspapers and minutes of meetings were used to verify oral history data.

Secondary sources included books, periodicals, and scholarly journals devoted to the Black press and Black education during the period of the study. In addition, news stories appearing in other newspapers also were used.

Related Literature

Educational leaders have long recognized that there is alienation between the Black community and the public schools. Sarane S. Boocock commented on the interface of the community and the school board and noted that there was no empirical evidence that a high level of activity by a broad range of groups in a school's external environment have harmful effects on the climate and performance within the school. Boocock further stated that while

this was a cautious interpretation, her measures of involvement were based on the views of respondents with personal stakes in positive school-community relations.[1]

Examining community power structures and education, Barbara A. Sizemore defined "community" as a social system with a geographical base and economic interdependence. She defined the Black Community as a continuim of Black relationships starting with one Black family and ending with all Black people in a geographical area.[2] She traced Black community power from the periods of nonviolent civil disobedience to Black Nationalism and, finally, to Black Power. From her perspective, community control of education is a power concept which necessarily involves political activities. The major task of the Black community, according to Sizemore, is to mobilize and use the power dormant in its masses for the redistribution of educational resources belonging to the entire community.[3] Dunjee undertook this task years before it became politically practical. Sizemore described two approaches for the mobilization of "people power": the issues approach and the ideology approach. Black people outside the White establishment must confront the establishment through specific issues and demand relevant changes.[4]

Warner Bloomberg and John Kincaid observed that the institutional isolationism of most public school systems, coupled with the exclusion of most

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[1]Sarane S. Boocock, An Introduction to the Sociology of Learning (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972), p. 264.

[2]Barbara A. Sizemore, "Community Power and Education," in Education for an Open Society, ed., Delmo Della-Dora and James E. House (Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1974), pp. 110-111.

[3]Ibid., p. 112.

[4]Ibid., p. 113.

Black citizens from meaningful roles in school decision making, have contributed to the development of substantial hostility toward school systems. The civil rights movement was a significant factor in forcing the public schools in general and professional educators in particular to focus increased attention on problems characterizing ghetto schools. It seems to be a truism that urban school systems have little tendency to change in the absence of outside pressures. Bloomberg and Kincaid concluded that the continued presence of forceful resident groups may be necessary to sustain and accelerate change in ghetto schools and also to force university intellectuals to translate their growing stockpile of research results and pilot projects into programs of significant action.[1]

In Social Foundations of Urban Education, Harry L. Miller and Roger R. Wooch, offer the idea that a desegregated school provides Black children their first meaningful experience with social equality and their first experience as first class citizens. These children can enjoy the stimulating effect of competition with White children and can use the encounters as realistic yardsticks for measuring their own self worth. Numerous studies have documented the academic and vocational successes that can come from well-designed desegregation experiences. Under these circumstances, educational achievement no longer seems pointless for Black students and the

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[1]Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and John Kincaid, "Parent Participation: Practical Policy or a Panacea," Edsel L. Erickson, Clifford E. Bryan and Lewis Walker, in Social Change, Conflict, and Education. (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1972) pp. 76-77.

aspirations for higher occupational status in the world culture take on more substance.[1]

In Quality Education for All Americans, William F. Brazziel put forth an education agenda for the Black community. Briefly, the agenda centers on the development of Black business, more Black graduates of professional schools, and additional research on the mental processes of White racists. Brazziel indicated that the agenda might well begin with the guarantee of Black student access to quality education. Incidentally, this goal has been sought for years. Brazziel noted changes in Black demography and commented that schools should serve and not rule the people.[2] Again, this theme was part of Dunjee's agenda.

There is much literature to be found on the history of public schools in Oklahoma, but to date few attempts have been made to identify and analyze the influence of prominent Oklahoma Black educators. Allen A. Saxe examined the desegregation of Oklahoma City in his study entitled "Protest and Reform: The Desegregation of Oklahoma City." He has pointed out that Blacks were separated from the mainstream of community living, and that separation was maintained and supported by Whites and Blacks. Saxe further defined Oklahoma as a southern state and described the processes and techniques of control over

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[1]Harry L. Miller and Roger R. Woock, Social Foundations of Urban Education (Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press Inc., 1970), p. 196. Dunjee voiced a similar view.

[2]William F. Brazziel, Quality Education for all Americans, (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1974), pp. 165-183.

the Black population of Oklahoma City.[1] Saxe concluded that the desegregation process was orderly, without violence and within the framework of pragmatic American political style. He credited this transition to the efforts of Black leaders, and his study dealt only inferentially with the contributions of leaders such as Roscoe Dunjee.[2]

The only extensive study of a Black educator in Oklahoma was conducted by Mary C. Moon. Her study of F. D. Moon clearly defines the roles Blacks had to assume in changing public education in Oklahoma.[3]

Ollie Hatcher identified a number of studies dealing with desegregation in his examination of legal controls in Oklahoma public schools.[4] Hatcher did not examine the efforts of Black leaders in combating legal segregation in the public schools. Both Saxe and Hatcher provide evidence that the State of Oklahoma had traditionally recognized race distinction as a basis for segregation in public schools since statehood.[5] There is also evidence that the pattern actually began prior to statehood.[6]

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[1]Allen A. Saxe, "Protest and Reform: The Desegregation of Oklahoma City" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1969), p. 14.

[2]Ibid., p. 16.

[3]Mary C. Moon, "Frederick Douglas Moon: A Study of Black Education in Oklahoma" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1978).

[4]Ollie Everett Hatcher, "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma 1865-1952" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1954), p. 2.

[5]Saxe presented evidence that pertained only to Oklahoma City, (p. 2), while Hatcher had as his primary subject this very same fact distinction.

[6]Kay M. Teall, Black History in Oklahoma - A Resource Book (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), p. 263.

In The Negro Press in the United States, Frederick G. Detweiler traced the history of the Black press in America and examined its predominate themes, volume and influence as they related to civil rights for Black Americans.[1] Detweiler's study is significant for two reasons: (1) it was written during the period just preceeding the time frame of this dissertation and (2) it addresses issues appearing in Black newspapers across the nation. These issues were the focus of Roscoe Dunjee's writings in Oklahoma.

Early History of Education in Oklahoma

Blacks have played an integral part in the history and the development of Oklahoma from the time of its earliest exploration to the present day. Oklahoma is a land of contrast and extremes—it contains prairies, mountains, and plains; it consists of about seventy thousand square miles or forty-five million acres.[2] The recorded history of Oklahoma began when Spanish explorers traveled through the region in 1541 and wrote of their observations and adventures.[3] Two of the most important explorations by the Spanish were the expeditions of Coronado and De Soto. Coronado was authorized by the Spanish Viceroy to search for the Seven Cities of Cibola and the Gran Quivira. His expedition passed through western Oklahoma enroute to Quivira on the Arkansas River in central Kansas. Members of the expedition later spent

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[1]Frederick G. Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), pp. 1-164.

[2]Victor E. Harlow, Harlow's Oklahoma History (Norman: Harlow Publishing Company, 1967), p. 3.

[3]Ibid., p. 9.

several months, perhaps even years in Oklahoma, and in a sense may be regarded as the first European settlers in Oklahoma.[1]

De Soto's expedition, beginning in 1539, did not include present day Oklahoma, but it did influence Oklahoma history. De Soto's three year search for the fabled Cale resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi River and exploration of the Arkansas River as far west as present day Little Rock, Arkansas. By claiming the people and their land, De Soto established a Spanish claim to the lower Mississippi Valley and thus brought Oklahoma firmly into the Spanish empire.[2]

Shortly before 1700 the French entered the Mississippi Valley and challenged Spanish rule by carving out a new province from the neglected northern frontiers of New Spain.[3] This province was called Louisiana and linked the destiny of Oklahoma with the fortunes of France.[4] During the French and Indian War, which ended in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, France and Spain were defeated. Spain demanded territorial indemnity from France for the loss of Florida to England, and France, under the terms of the Family Compact, ceded Louisiana, including the future Oklahoma, to Spain.[5].

In 1803, American commissioners completed negotiations with French officials for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States.[6] With this purchase, Oklahoma became a part of the territory of the United States.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 16-19.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 23.

[6] Ibid., p. 24.

After the end of the War of 1812, which definitely insured the independence of the United States, attention turned to the new lands in the heart of the continent.[1] The desire for these lands led to plans for the removal of the eastern Indians to western lands. The Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830.[2] This act called for the relocation of the various tribes to what is now a part of Oklahoma. The tribes involved were the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles; they are generally referred to as the Five Civilized Tribes.[3] Indian removal had begun informally before 1800, prior to the removal act. It began formally in 1817.[4] Most of the Indian tribe removals were completed in 1842. The Indian nations were re-established, their governments reorganized and territorial boundaries established.

There were a number of Black slaves removed to the Indian Territory by the Indian emigrants. These slaves suffered the same hardships and posed special problems for the commissioners in taking the census of Indians. They were concerned about the status of Black slaves and mixed or half-blood offspring of the Indians and Blacks.[5]

The Civil War, or War of Secession began in 1861. This was caused by: (1) the conflict between the North and South on the question of slavery; (2) the state rights controversy, involving the right of secession; and (3) the lack of

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[1]Edwin C. McReynolds, Alice Marriott and Estelle Faulconer, Oklahoma: The Story of Its Past and Present, Rev. Ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), p. 61.

[2]Ibid., pp. 63-86.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 89.

[5]Teall, p. 29.

understanding between the North and South, due to differences of economic development.[1]

The Civil War ended in 1865 and resulted in abolishment of slavery within the United States, preservation of the Union, and establishment of the supremacy of the Federal government over the states.[2] The war was not without its impact on the Indian Territory. Both the Union and the Confederacy wanted the Indians as allies, and saw the Indian Territory as a source of men and materials. The Choctaws and Chickasaws united with the South. The other tribes were split, some of each going with the South, some with the Union. In general, the full-bloods went with the Union and most of those who had a large percentage of White relatives in their ancestry went with the Confederacy. Many of those whose sympathies lay with the Union were forced to flee to the North and this, of course, included a large number of Blacks.[3]

After the war, the Indian tribes attempted to organize by forming an Indian confederation to promote peace and friendship among the tribes and to preserve the once powerful Indian race.[4] They hoped to gain sufficient strength to command respect and assert and maintain Indian rights.[5]

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[1] Lincoln Library of Essential Information, 33rd ed., p. 374.

[2] Ibid., p. 375.

[3] Teall, p. 54.

[4] Edward Everett Dale and Gene Aldrich, History of Oklahoma (Edmond: Thompson Book and Supply Company, 1964), p. 179.

[5] Dale and Aldrich, p. 179.

United States Government officials notified the tribes to send representatives to arrange treaties of peace.[1] The meeting was held at Fort Smith, Arkansas.[2]

The federal government decided that the tribes who had allied themselves with the Confederacy nullified all previous treaties with the United States. The terms of peace had been agreed on long before the council of Fort Smith. The Indians were told: (1) they must make peace with the United States and with each other, (2) all slaves were to be freed and slavery or involuntary servitude abolished, (3) former slaves must be adopted into the tribes or suitable provisions made for them, and (4) the tribes were to surrender part of their lands to provide homes for other Indians residing outside of the limits of Indian Territory.[3] It was agreed that the formal treaties would be signed in Washington in 1866. Slavery continued in Indian Territory until the treaties were signed in 1866.[4] The treaties of 1866 constitute a landmark in the history of Oklahoma, dividing the Indian Territory into what later became Oklahoma Territory.[5]

Pressures began to build for White settlement soon after the treaties of 1866 were signed. Provisions in the treaties gave rights of way to railroads that might be built across the Territory. Leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes were the strongest force opposed to White settlement. The railroads were

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[1] Ibid., p. 181.

[2] Ibid., p. 182.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Arthur Lincoln Tolson, "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory 1889-1907: A Study in Racial Discrimination" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1966), p. 1.

[5] Dale and Aldrich, p. 187.

influential in pressing for opening the Territory. By 1879, people had begun to cross the borders of Oklahoma Territory to gain property in the new lands. The President sent troops to repel the settlers, who by now had been characterized as "boomers." During the next five years there were many invasions of the Indian country by would be settlers.[1]

As boomer agitation built up, ideas of colonizing other Indian tribes and freedmen into Oklahoma diminished.[2] This led Blacks in surrounding states to attempt to have the Oklahoma District set aside for Black settlement.[3] One of the leaders of the movement for Black settlement in Oklahoma was Edwin P. McCabe. McCabe had been state auditor of Kansas and came to Oklahoma in 1889.[4] He helped to found Langston City, which he described as "the only distinctively Negro City in America." McCabe published The Langston City Herald and it was distributed throughout the South in an effort to encourage Blacks to come to Oklahoma. He met with President Benjamin Harrison in 1890, giving rise to rumors that he would be appointed territorial governor. He was, in fact, appointed deputy territorial auditor and served, except for a brief period, until the day prior to statehood.[5]

Efforts at Black colonization had their roots within the years 1865-1889.[6] At first, the two territories—Oklahoma and Indian—were separate. The movement to make Oklahoma Territory a Black state was paralleled by one to

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[1] Ibid., pp. 238-239.

[2] Tolson, p. 2.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Teall, p. 150.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 132.

make Indian Territory an Indian state. These efforts failed, but the movements had a lasting effect on Black Oklahomans. During this period, Blacks were more politically conscious than ever before; they took active roles in politics and attempted through political means to achieve their goals.[1]

Blacks formed immigration companies in their efforts to colonize Blacks in Oklahoma. There was much controversy over the relative success or failure of their efforts. Reports in out-of-state newspapers, The Kansas City Times, Topeka Daily Capital, New York Times, and others, indicated that the efforts were achieving some success.[2] Newspapers within the state, on the other hand, such as the Guthrie Daily Leader and the Edmond Sun-Democrat, painted a somewhat different picture. There were accounts of Blacks being ordered out of various counties and of the great suffering that existed among poor Black families as a result of the duplicity of McCabe and others.[3]

The colonization efforts led to the establishment of Black towns and the subsequent founding of a number of Black newspapers. These newspapers carried the propaganda and rhetoric of the colonization movement of Blacks across the United States.

The conflict between Whites and Blacks helped to spur growth of the all-Black communities. The all-Black towns of Oklahoma have been the subject of several studies by scholars. Some writers characterized these communities

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[1] Ibid., p. 138.

[2] Ibid., pp. 151-158.

[3] Ibid., p. 161.

as "escape" societies.[1] Arthur Lincoln Tolson identified all-Black towns and discussed their origins and early histories.[2]

The Black newspapers were an important force in the early fight for racial equality in Oklahoma. Most of these newspapers were integral parts of the Black communities they served. Their editors were blunt, outspoken men who told the truth as they saw it without regard for the consequences.[3] This journalistic style set precedent and provided a pattern for those who would follow.

The freedmen, as emancipated Indian slaves in Oklahoma were called, suffered from lack of educational facilities, uncertainty of their right to vote, and unclear title to land.[4] It is important to note that the Creeks and Seminole nations admitted their freedmen into the tribes in accordance with the Treaty of 1866. The Cherokee and Choctaw freedmen had problems in gaining their share of monies from land sales. As a result of these problems, some of them retained legal counsel and went to court. Cherokee freedmen were represented by Moses Whitmore who charged that the Cherokee Nation had denied them right, title, and interest in and to the Cherokee Reservation and Cherokee Outlet. The freedmen won their case but on appeal a compromise was worked out which resulted in a lesser amount of money than originally sought.[5]

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[1]Teall, p. 167.

[2]Arthur Lincoln Tolson, "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory, 1889-1907: A Study in Racial Discrimination" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1966), p. 2.

[3]Teall, p. 172.

[4]Ibid., p. 143.

[5]Ibid., p. 139.

Choctaw freedmen had similar problems which were presented to the Dawes Commission. They charged that the Choctaws denied Blacks school privileges, excluded them from tribal monies, and generally treated them poorly. They also combined with the Chickasaw freedmen and hired attorneys in an attempt to get their names on tribal rolls in order to insure their sharing in allotment of monies by the Federal government. Congress did not take action until 1890 when a law was passed removing the legal restrictions imposed on freedmen, mixed bloods, and inter-married whites.[1]

Prior to the Civil War, the leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes established schools, some of which because famous as centers of learning among the tribes.[2] There was no effort to provide for the education of slaves, although a few were permitted to attend tribal schools. The granting of citizenship under the provisions of the Treaty of 1866 theoretically made it possible for freedmen to receive the same education afforded Indians. The Creeks maintained five schools for Blacks in 1873.[3] Blacks also attended Indian schools. The Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations failed to provide for the education of their freedmen and as a result they appealed to the Federal government for assistance. In 1882, Congress voted $10,000 for the support of schools for Black children in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations.[4]

As a result of pressures building up from the railroads, business interests, and settlers, President Harrison issued a proclamation setting the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Gene Aldrich, Black Heritage of Oklahoma (Edmond: Thompson Book and Supply Company, 1973), p. 34.

[3] Ibid., p. 34.

[4] Teall, p. 90.

time and date of the opening of Oklahoma lands to settlement. The date was set for high noon on April 22, 1889.[1] The areas opened as a result of the President's action were the present day Logan, Kingfisher, Canadian, Oklahoma and Cleveland counties.[2]

The Organic Act of 1890 provided for organized government in Oklahoma Territory; it also made provisions for funds to support common school education. During the first official year in 1891, four hundred school districts were organized.[3] The Organic Act also set aside sections 16 and 36 of each township for the benefit of schools. The first Territorial legislature gave counties the right to decide whether they would provide mixed or separate schools for Black children.[4]

A majority of the counties decided to have separate schools, thus setting the early pattern of segregation in Oklahoma public schools.[5] The first Territorial governor, George W. Steele, as one of his first duties took a survey

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[1] Dale and Aldrich, p. 246.

[2] McReynolds and Faulconer, p. 157.

[3] Dale and Aldrich, p. 492.

[4] Aldrich, p. 35.

[5] Ibid., p. 35.

or census as basis for apportionment of the legislature.[1]. The population of counties at the time of the first election was as follows:

COUNTY	POPULATION
Logan	14, 254
Oklahoma	12,794
Cleveland	7,011
Canadian	7,703
Kingfisher	8,837
Payne	6,836
Beaver	2,982
Total	60,417

The chief interests of the first legislature was location of the capital and territorial schools.[2] The University of Oklahoma at Norman was established in 1890, and shortly thereafter the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater and the normal school at Edmond were established.[3]

Governor Steele reported in 1891 that there were 20,085 White and 1,252 Black children in school. It was during the territorial period of Oklahoma that the famous Plessy v. Ferguson case, which stated that separate but equal facilities for the races were constitutional, was decided by the United States Supreme Court. The barriers erected by this decision were not reversed until Brown v Board of Education in 1954.[4]

School funds for education were not sufficient and consequently school terms for White students were often short and little education beyond the

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[1]Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma A History of the Sooner State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 293.

[2]Ibid., p. 294.

[3]Ibid., p. 296.

[4]Aldrich, p. 35.

eighth grade was given. Most Blacks were denied even this limited education. The first Black school was opened in Oklahoma City at California and Harvey Streets in 1891; its term was four months.[1] This term was extended to seven months for the second year. The only teacher in the school was J. D. Randolph, who later became principal. The school was relocated and expanded several times before it finally acquired its own building and was renamed Douglas in 1894.

In Indian Territory the situation was somewhat different. There were a number of schools for Blacks that had been in operation since preterritorial days. Others were built during the 1890's and some became well known: Tallahassee School and Pecan Creek Mission School in the Creek Nation, and Tahlequah High School in the Cherokee Nation.[2]

There was considerable anti-Black sentiment in the Choctaw Nation and schools were a special problem.[3] After insistent demands by the freedmen, a school was opened at Boggy Depot in 1874.[4] It was financed by the Choctaws and run by the Baptist Mission Board. Opposition to education for Blacks created a great deal of conflict over the school and it was eventually burned. The freedmen again petitioned the Choctaw Nation and the Federal government. Several schools were established as a result of this action but they were not well supported.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Teall, p. 186.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 187.

Blacks were not satisfied with educational opportunities available to them in either the Indian or the Oklahoma territories. This problem attracted more attention as statehood approached. Democrats campaigned actively for segregation, in schools and elsewhere; Repubicans, on the other hand, were split on the issue.[1]

In 1906, Black parents in Pauls Valley filed and won a mandamus suit in district court which ordered the Pauls Valley School Board to admit Black children to the free public schools or to provide such schools for those children. This court decision added new fuel to the political controversy then in progress.[2] The separation of Blacks and Whites became a definite part of the Democratic platform and plans were made to make segregation laws a part of the Oklahoma Constitution.[3]

Oklahoma, along with other Southern states, adopted Jim Crow laws which resulted in the disenfranchisement and resegregation of Blacks. A few Blacks had taken an active part in public and political life prior to these laws but it was short lived as their gains disappeared.[4] The resultant position established for Blacks by law soon took on the appearance of second class citizenship. It was in this environment that Black education developed in the State of Oklahoma and in which Roscoe Dunjee worked.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] C. Vann Woodward, Capitulation to Racism, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 2nd ed. revised (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 97-109.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF THE BLACK PRESS

The Black press has traditionally addressed the problem of racial discrimination. This advocacy has dated from Freedom's Journal (1827) to present day newspapers. An examination of the Black press is necessary for an understanding of the editorial advocacy of Roscoe Dunjee. It will help in our effort to evaluate the growth and development of Dunjee's style in comparison with the historical activities of the Black press.

The Black press has been alternately described by historians as (1) radical, (2) the voice for Blacks, and (3) the leader in addressing the problems facing Blacks in America. George P. Marks observed that over the years the Black press has made stinging rebukes of United States foreign policy.[1] I. Garland Penn traced the history of the Black press from 1847 to 1871 and concluded that it worked for the benefit of Black people and expressed their thoughts on issues affecting their material, moral, religious, social, civil, and political rights.[2] James Williams commented that from the earliest days of

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[1]George P. Marks III, ed., The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900) (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1972).

[2]I. Garland Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969).

America as a nation, the concept of a free press was meaningless to at least one group of Americans—Blacks.[1]

Louie Robinson, on the other hand, pointed out that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Black America was in need of a modern messiah, which it found in the Black press.[2]

History of the Black Press

America was a young nation when the Black press was born. The first Black newspaper, Freedom's Journal, was founded on March 16, 1827 by free Blacks Samuel Cornish and John Russworm. Russworm was one of the first Black college graduates in America, graduating from Bowdoin College with honors in 1826. Cornish was a militant Presbyterian minister respected by whites for his intelligence. Through their fledgling newspaper, they launched a multi-pronged attack on slavery and it's effects on Blacks.[3]

It is interesting to note that the first issue of Freedom's Journal distributed in New York City on March 16, 1827 addressed the issue of education as follows:

> . . . Education being an object of the highest importance to the welfare of society, we shall endeavor to present just and adequate views of it, and to urge upon our brethren the necessity and expediency of training their children, while young, to habits of industry, and thus forming them for becoming useful members

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[1] James D. Williams, "Certain Unalienable Rights, The Black Press and The First Amendment." Black Dispatch, Urban League News Supplement, February 6, 1976.

[2] Louis Robinson, "The Black Press: Voice of Freedom," Ebony Magazine, August 1975, p. 52.

[3] Ibid.

> of society. It is surely time that we should awake from this lethargy of years, and make a concentrated effort for the education of our youth.[1]

Freedom's Journal was a weekly newspaper, and sought to address the two most pressing problems facing Black people at that time: slavery and civil rights.[2] The paper was short lived. Cornish and Russworm disagreed on the issue of Black colonization and after six months of publication, Cornish resigned his editorial position and became a promotion agent for the paper. Russworm remained as sole editor. At its height the Journal was read in twenty-four states and employed almost fifty agents. Russworm continued to publish the Journal until sometime between 1829 and 1830, when he immigrated to Liberia.[3]

In 1837 Cornish began publishing another newspaper, The Weekly Advocate. It lasted for five years and is considered by many historians to be the second Black newspaper. After two months of publication, The Advocate was renamed The Colored American. This new name was thought to represent the outcome of debate that had been ongoing in the annual National Negro Conventions. Reportedly, convention members agreed on the term "colored" to describe themselves. The Colored American crusaded for better living conditions for Blacks, but also emphasized political activism.[4]

Four years after the inception of Freedom's Journal in 1827, William Lloyd Garrison founded The Liberator, the most famous abolitionist newspaper

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[1]Harry A. Ploski and Warren Marr, ed. The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on The Afro American (New York: The Beliwether Company, 1976), 3rd edition, pp. 98-99.

[2]Martin E. Dann, The Black Press: 1827-1890 (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1971), pp. 35-36.

[3]Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[4]Ibid.

in the United States. It was published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts from 1831 to 1865. Most of its subscribers were Blacks, although Garrison was White. The Liberator succeeded in shifting the sentiment of much of the nation away from the notion of gradual emancipation and more toward that of total abolition.[1]

Blacks began forming anti-slavery societies during the 1840's and the question of slavery became the focal point of the Black Press. As the Civil War approached, Blacks found a point of unification in anti-slavery views. The subject of slavery thus enjoyed wide coverage in the Black Press.

Frederick Douglas founded his newspaper, The North Star, on December 3, 1847 in Rochester, New York.[2] Douglas stated that he would plead the Black cause above all else, but did not exclude the possibility that several other major topics might also occupy the editorial spotlight from time to time.[3]

> We shall be the advocates of learning, from the very want of it, and shall most readily yield the deference due to men of education among us; but shall always bear in mind to accord most merit to those who have labored hardest, and overcome most, in the praiseworthy pursuit of knowledge, remembering that the whole need not a physician but they that are sick, and that the strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.[4]

Douglas had written and lectured on anti-slavery topics in the Black press prior to establishing The North Star.

A most significant publication of the post slavery era was the New Orleans Tribune, founded in July, 1864 by Dr. Louis Roudanez, a Paris trained

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[1] Ploski and Marr, p. 100.

[2] Ibid., p. 101.

[3] Ibid. p. 102.

[4] Ibid., p. 103

physician. The paper was edited by Paul Trevigne, a multi-lingual teacher. Early in its first year of publication, the Tribune was publishing daily except Mondays, and was the official organ of the Republican party of Louisiana.[1] It grew rapidly in influence and was sent to each member of Congress; carrying demands for the payment of weekly wages to ex-slaves, rejection or dismissal of Southern representatives in Washington, the assertion that freedmen would never be safe without the ballot, and the prophesy that persecution of Blacks would begin with the withdrawal of Federal troops from Louisiana. Although the Tribune was a journalistic success, it failed financially and publication was suspended in 1868.[2]

Douglas published the New National Era in Washington after the Civil War, and Phillip A. Bell and W. J. Powell started the Elevator in San Francisco. These beginnings of race oriented journalism during Reconstruction were accompanied by an increase in pamphlet literature. This paralleled journalistic patterns of seventeenth century England, and continued during the French and American Revolutions.[3] During the 1880's, the Black newspaper appeared in several American cities, including papers such as The Washington Bee (1879); Indianapolis World (1880); Cleveland Gazette (1883); Philadelphia Tribune (1884); Savannah Tribune (1885); Richmond Planet (1885); New York Age (1887); and The Freeman of Indianapolis (1889).[4]

Black newspapers addressed the problem of mixed and segregated schools. This was especially true in Ohio, where the chief educational issue was

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[1] Robinson, p. 53.

[2] Ibid., p. 54

[3] Detweiler, pp. 46-47.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

that integration was usually at the expense of Black teachers, who were not employed in the mixed systems. Another argument for segregated schools was that Black children would be taught better by Black teachers and would be protected from White insults.[1]

Calvin Chase of the Washington Bee denounced advocates of mixed schools for lacking confidence in teachers of their own race. He claimed that segregated schools would be necessary until Blacks were accorded their full rights. The Cleveland Gazette, on the other hand, accused Cincinnati high school principal, Peter H. Clark, of defending segregated schools for his own private advantage.[2]

In 1886 the public schools in Ohio were desegregated when the mixed school bill became law, this resulted in the dismissal of principal Peter Clark.[3] Despite the victory in Ohio, many Black educators and churches supported the concept of separate schools.

Francis L. Cardoza, high school principal, former secretary of state and state treasurer in South Carolina, and fourth auditor of the United States Treasury, denied that separate schools would perpetuate color distinctions. He felt that by giving an incentive to study, employment of Black teachers, and decent treatment to students, separate schools would elevate the race. He advocated separate schools and churches only as a means to an end; but until Blacks could enter White institutions on terms of complete equality, he thought

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[1]August Meir, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969), pp. 48-49.

[2]Ibid., p. 48.

[3]Ibid.

it preferable to maintain segregated schools.[1] These philosophies of separate institutions and economic chauvinism were part of a larger complex of ideas involving self-help, race pride, and group solidarity. Such ideas were usually regarded as being a tactic in the struggle for ultimate citizenship rights.[2] By 1890, five hundred and seventy-five Black newspapers had come into existence. Many of these were regular newspapers; while others were political organs, church papers or publications designed to serve some specific interest group.[3]

The Compromise of 1877 removed the federal presence from the South and former slavemasters were free to do to Blacks as they pleased. White sentiment in America at that time did not support Black militancy.[4] One editor who tried and failed was Ida B. Wells, a teacher and publisher of the Memphis Free Speech. In 1892, her printing plant was wrecked because she had published an article suggesting that White capitalists had encouraged the murder of three black businessmen. She continued her militancy with the help of T. Thomas Fortune and Jerome B. Peterson, owners and editors of The New York Age, who added her to their staff.[5]

In 1895, Booker T. Washington authored the famous "Atlanta Compromise," which was to set the pattern for Black-White relationships over several decades. In a speech delivered at the Cotton Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, on September 18, 1895, he told White America what it wanted to hear

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[1] Ibid., p. 48.

[2] Ibid., p. 50.

[3] Williams, p. 13.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Alfreda M. Duster, ed., The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 61-62.

and was prepared to accept. He admonished Blacks to "cast down your bucket where you are and cultivate friendly relations with White men." He advocated earning the respect of Whites, remaining separate socially yet working together for mutual progress.[1] This philosophy was to be the source of bitter debate for years to come.

With the turn of the century a new era was born. William Monroe Trotter, Harvard University Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude graduate, began the editorship of the Guardian in Boston in November, 1901. Trotter attacked Washington editorially and when the two men finally met in 1903, the event was recorded historically as "The Boston Riot." Washington had been invited to speak at Boston's Columbus Avenue African Methodist Episcopal Church by the National Negro Business League. When Trotter and his supporters attempted to ask questions from the floor, they were arrested. The crowd of 2,000 exploded and scuffles and fist fights ensued. Trotter was fined $25.00 and sentenced to 30 days in jail, which he served.[2]

This event was the subject of stories in newspapers all across the nation. The actions were considered deplorable by the White press. Editorials apeared in the Boston Transcript, St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the New York Times, all were critical of Blacks who disagreed with Washington. This incident represented the first nationwide debate on Black strategies for achieving equality. According to his critics, Washington controlled a good portion of the Black press through dispensation of money and favors.[3] This allegation

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[1] Williams, p. 14.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

surfaced repeatedly over the years, but no evidence was ever presented to substantiate the charge.[1] The Black newspapers were almost universally uncritical of Washington. A few notable exceptions were The Guardian; The Washington Bee; The Chicago Broad Axe; and The Crisis Magazine, (under the editorship of W. E. B. DuBois).

Trotter and his followers were considered radicals in the area of race relations because of their criticisms of Washington's philosophies which enjoyed alost total acceptance in the White community. The Boston Riot was the final nudge that brought forth the radical and considerable talents of W. E. Burghardt DuBois.[2] Trotter and DuBois had been classmates at Harvard University where Dubois was a doctoral candidate and Trotter was a member of the freshman class.[3] When the "Boston Riot" occurred in 1903, Dubois was lecturing at Tuskegee Institute's summer school. His wife and daughter were staying with the Trotter family in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and DuBois was indignant when Trotter was imprisoned. In later years, DuBois described this incident as the jolt that prompted him to organize the Niagara Movement which was the forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (NAACP).[4]

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[1] In his biography of Trotter, Fox describes in detail the efforts of Washington to discredit Trotter and of his control and manipulation of the Black Press. See, Stephen R. Fox, The Guardian of Boston-William Monroe Trotter (New York: Atheneum Press, 1970).

[2] Stephen R. Fox, The Guardian of Boston—William Monroe Trotter (New York: Atheneum Press, 1970), p. 58.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 60

William Monroe Trotter had begun publishing The Guardian in 1901, Robert S. Abbott inaugurated The Chicago Defender in 1905, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized in 1910 with it's publication, The Crisis. These publications set the tone of the Black newspapers.

Many writers believe that modern Black journalism began with the founding of the Chicago Defender. Robert S. Abbott has been described as "the greatest single voice in the Black press."[1] He brought sensationalism to Black journalism; including headlines and stories of crime and scandal. Concurrently, his paper campaigned against prostitution, supported the United States in World War I, and campaigned for the rights of Blacks.[2] Robert S. Abbott demonstrated the economic viability of the Black press. Until the advent of the Chicago Defender, few Black papers were financially successful.[3] Abbott proved Black newspapers could make money while maintaining constant crusades against segregation and discrimination. More than any one individual, he was responsible for the massive migration of Blacks from the South to the North during World War I.

Black journalism became more aggressive after World War I. Illiteracy among Blacks had decreased from 70 per cent in 1880 to 30.4 in 1910.[4] Two conditions, rising literacy and increased economic power as a result of the war, set the stage for a new breed of Black newspaper writers.

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[1]Williams, p. 14.

[2]Robinson, p. 56.

[3]Williams, p. 14.

[4]Detweiler, p. 61.

The combined results of Black achievements during World War I was an increase in racial consciousness and a desire for self-assertion.[1] White America felt the sting of increased Black awareness through the Black press. Black newspapers expressed loyalty and self-restraint, while at the same time insisting on the rights of Black servicemen. They also advocated better training for Black officers, proper provision for the needs of the Black troops, and the abolishment of racial discrimination.[2]

The Black press grained grass roots support in its role as champion of the common people and in its aggressive advocacy of the rights of Blacks.[3] Long accustomed as it was to hearing only muted Black voices, America found these new strident tones somewhat difficult to adjust to. World War I served as the initial testing ground for a new Black militancy.[4]

The Black press raised the issue of America participating in an overseas war to save democracy while at the same time Blacks were subjected to intolerable treatment at home. When this contradiction was raised publicly in the Black press there were many congressional leaders who viewed such pronouncements as being sedition or treason.[5]

The militancy of the Black press was such that the government responded by issuing a report, Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes, As

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[1] Ibid., p. 61.

[2] Ibid., p. 68.

[3] Ibid., p. 66.

[4] Williams, p. 15.

[5] Ibid.

Reflected in their Publications. The report was prepared by J. Edgar Hoover, later to become head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.[1]

Circulation and influence

Evidence shows that 492 Black newspapers existed in 1921.[2] The existence of such a press was virtually unknown to Whites until the advent of World War I.

The circulation of Black newspapers was established at more than one million in 1921, but it is an unsubstantiated hunch that the papers reached many more people than those subscribing.[3] The actual number of readers was estimated to be about a million and a quarter.[4]

Although the Black press was concentrated in Northern urban areas, it enjoyed wide circulation in the South. The Chicago Defender, as previously mentioned, was partially responsible for the migration of Blacks from the South to the North during and after World War I. The Defender also formed travel clubs that took advantage of railroad group travel rates, especially from the South to the North. The paper was widely circulated in the South, sometimes clandestinely because in many places authorities sought to have it suppressed.[5]

Black papers of this period typically employed local traveling agents or field agents in the widely dispersed communities they served.[6] At the same

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Detweiler, p. 1.

[3] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[4] Ibid., p. 12.

[5] Williams, p. 14.

[6] Detweiler, p. 17.

time, news stories from these communities were solicited either through an agent or a local correspondent. In this way items of interest were carried that generated sales in the local area. The out-of-town localities represented by a sampling of out-of-town articles appearing in Black newspapers was taken in 1921 and showed the following:[1]

Newspaper	Localities
Pike County (Alabama) News	5
Royal Messenger (Helena)	6
Savannah Tribune	8
Guardian (Boston)	12
Norfolk Journal and Guide	13
St. Louis Argus	13
Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City)	14
New York Age	15
Philadelphia Tribune	26
Baltimore Afro-American	27
Dallas Express	28
Chicago Defender	71

The attitude of direct hostility sometimes exhibited toward Black newspapers spoke impressively of the influence attritbuted to them by antagonized Whites.[2] Some towns prohibited the buying, selling, or circulating of Black newspapers.[3] The Black press exploited this hostility by printing letters and news items which exhibited this behavior. The South's basically negative attitude toward Black newspapers from the North and the fact that Blacks were still under the domination of Whites resulted in less militant editorials of Black newspapers published in the South.[4]

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[1] Ibid. p. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Ibid., p. 20.

[4] Williams, p. 15.

There was one notable exception to this rule in the South. The Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, under the leadership of Roscoe Dunjee was in the vanguard of Oklahoma Black militancy.

Perhaps the best overview of the background of the Black press was made by Roscoe Dunjee in an address delivered to a journalism class at Oklahoma City University on February 27, 1928. The text of the address was printed in The Black Dispatch and is included in the Appendices.[1] It demonstrates Dunjee's grasp of the important role of Black newspapers in raising the consciousness of Black people and increasing the social awareness of other groups. He defined the Black newspaper as an interpreter of Black thought.

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Negro Journalism Discussed," March 1, 1928, Vol. 13, No. 14, p. 2. (This same speech was reprinted in The Black Dispatch on March 4, 1944, sixteen years later on the anniversary of the Black Press). See Appendix A.

CHAPTER III

BIOGRAPHY OF ROSCOE DUNJEE

Many of the reported details of Roscoe Dunjee's early years must be accepted more as an account of personal veracity than as a result of documented evidence.[1] Although most of it comes from Dunjee himself, the information reflects middle and old age when respondents' memory of events were colored by events long since interpreted by historians and civil rights activists.[2]

His Father's Influence

Roscoe Dunjee was born at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, in one of the dormitories of Storer College on June 21, 1883. He was the son of John William and Lydia Ann Dunjee. The elder Dunjee was a Baptist minister and at that time that time was publishing a newspaper at Harper's Ferry known as the Harper's Ferry Messenger. He also was the financial agent for Storer College.[3]

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[1]A similar declaration was made by Ronald W. Clark, in his biography of Albert Einstein (World Publishing Company, New York 1971), p. 9. It is equally applicable to Mr. Dunjee.

[2]Some of Dunjee's editorials have conflicting accounts of the same events.

[3]Obsequies of Roscoe Dunjee, March 6, 1965, New Hope Baptist Church, see Appendix G.

Reverend Dunjee named his son after Roscoe P. Conklin, a prominent Republican congressman in West Virginia. Mrs. Dunjee was a small quiet woman, while Reverend Dunjee was very talkative.

Reverend Dunjee was born a slave in New Kent County, Virginina, but escaped to Canada by way of the Underground Railroad at the age of 27. He was owned by the Ferrell heirs, five children who had moved from Virginia to Alabama, and who hired Dunjee to the family of ex-Governor Gregory in Virginia. The Ferrells had owned large numbers of slaves, but had decided to sell them. They notified Dunjee and Governor Gregory that he was to be taken to Alabama. This announcement prompted Dunjee to plan an escape. He asked for permission to visit his mother who lived a great distance away. His request was granted and he was given a pass and five dollars for the journey. This began his escape. Dunjee traveled to Philadelphia as a stowaway on the steamer Pennsylvania. From this stopover he proceeded to Brantford, Canada, where he lived for four years. He returned after the emancipation of Black Americans to visit relatives and to see how Blacks and their former oppressors interacted as peers.[1]

The elder Dunjee resolved to get an educaton and go back to Virginia to help teach Blacks. He attended Oberlin College and was a good student, respected for his deportment and studious habits. After advancing rapidly at Oberlin, he attended school in Lewiston, Maine. With the help of friends, he prepared himself for the ministry. These friends had plans to start a college at Harper's Ferry, especially for the benefit of the freedmen. Before he

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[1]William Still, The Underground Railroad (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 566-572.

graduated, Dunjee was solicited to be an agent for Storer College and subsequently to begin a mission under the auspices of the Free-Will Baptists, in Martinsburg, Virginia.[1]

Although the original spelling of the Dunjee name was "Dungy," some members of the family spelled it "Dungee." Reverend Dunjee inserted the "j" into the family name after his return from Canada.[2]

John William Dunjee and Frederick Douglas were both runaway slaves whose irrepressible spirits drove them to champion freedom and finally into the newspaper profession.[3] Douglas launched The North Star in 1847, while Dunjee, the younger man, launched The Harper's Ferry Messenger in 1871. Both men escaped from slavery by use of the Underground Railroad, and became fast friends during the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. The two men sat in the first civil rights convention held by Blacks in Washington, D. C., presided over by P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana. Douglas was a delegate from New York, while Dunjee was a delegate from Rhode Island. In the early eighties, Douglas delivered the dedicatory address in Augusta, Georgia, when Reverend Dunjee opened the New Union Baptist Church for worship; and he was Dunjee's houseguest when the Republican National Convention convened in Minneapolis in 1888.[4]

Following the Civil War and emancipation, Dunjee returned to his native state of Virginia, where he met and married Lydia Taylor at Winchester,

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[1] Ibid. p. 569.

[2] Personal interview with John Dungee, nephew of Roscoe Dunjee, November 22, 1976.

[3] Black Dispatch, March 4, 1944, Vol. 29, No. 12, p. 1.

[4] Ibid.

Virginia. They moved to Harper's Ferry and it was during the early years of reconstruction that he was employed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. He served as a missionary for more than forty years.[1]

Reverend Dunjee built churches during his various pastorates in many states of the union: Georgia, Virginia, Rhode Island, Minnesota, and Oklahoma. In April 1889, he founded Bethesda Baptist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The church started with ten members, but had grown to 200 when the Dunjee's left to come to Oklahoma.[2]

The Dunjee family came to Oklahoma Territory in 1892 from Minneapolis on a warm day in May. The family arrived in Oklahoma City via the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company line from El Reno. The line later became a part of the Rock Island system but at the time ran only the thirty miles between El Reno and Oklahoma City. The family secured rooms at the S. L. Jones rooming house, a little frame shack on the southern corner of Santa Fe and California Streets. Their first purchase was made in the Herskowitz Clothing Store where they bought clothing for the Oklahoma weather. Edwin Thompson came to town the next day in a big wagon, loaded the Dunjee's and began the long trek to the farm owned by Reverend Dunjee's brother, Robert. Robert had come to Oklahoma Territory at the opening of the land.[3]

Dunjee remembered his impressions of his first days in Oklahoma as an eight year old boy by recalling the old North Canadian river bottom with its

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[1] Black Dispatch, April 14, 1934, Vol. 19, No. 19, p. 1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Oklahoma Forty Years Ago," April 23, 1931, Vol. 16, No. 21, p. 1.

deep and seemingly endless sand. He described his first impression of his uncle's farm:

> I remember that first evening when I climbed on the fence to watch Bud and Nat, my two cousins, milk the cows. They milked three, but I couldn't understand why they did not milk the other four. The big laugh came off when they answered my query about the strange procedure. We don't milk and can't milk steers, they jeered at me. The town boy had tried to get his country cousins to milk the oxen.[1]

Life on his uncle's farm went smoothly and soon young Roscoe felt he had learned all he needed to know about the country. One evening he heard his cousin Addie scream just west of their log cabin and down by the dugout. He rushed to the spot to find his sister, Blanche, along with cousin Addie excitedly telling about the snake they had found. Filled with chivalry, Roscoe attacked the snake with a long pole, and beat it for perhaps thirty minutes before discovering that the snake was already dead when he arrived and his cousin was enjoying a joke at his expense.

During early territorial days, nearly everyone lived in two-room dugouts. Reverend Dunjee, however, was considered rich by both Black and White standards; he was the only man in the neighborhood who had a salary. He received $200.00 per year from the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. He had several hundred dollars when he arrived and soon bought homestead rights from a settler. He was able to build what, compared with the homes of those who lived in dugouts, young Roscoe described as a palatial mansion.[2]

The Dunjee home was erected by farmers from all parts of the neighborhood and directed by Nat Watson, whose sister married Reverend Dunjee's brother. The house was a box shed with the roof high in the front and

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[1] Ibid., p. 2

[2] Ibid.

graduated to a low level in the rear. Later, Dunjee's father installed a library, which consisted of more than 1,000 volumes collected during his forty years of life. The Dunjee farm was located directly north of Nicoma Park on what is now Northeast 23rd Street and northwest of what is now Choctaw, Oklahoma.[1]

Reverend Dunjee became active in organizing churches in the Territory. Before roads were built or railroads established, Reverend Dunjee and Reverend L. J. Dyke, a White minister, rode on horseback over the area and established Baptist churches in many hamlets. Reverend Dunjee established Tabernacle Baptist Church in Oklahoma City, one of the oldest and largest Black churches in Oklahoma City.[2]

The elder Dunjee was involved in the establishment of Langston University, originally called the Colored Agricultural Mechanical and Normal School, and headed the agriculture department for a year. Roscoe was one of the first students in the elementary school. He attended Langston for about one year. There were no dormitories for boys. They lived in the town of Langston, while the girls occupied the dormatories. Dunjee also attended a one-room school on the Anderson farm, which was named after his father.[3] Dunjee's formal education stopped at the fourth grade.

His father made him read history books, the Baptist Home Mission Monthly, and the Town Journal, a newspaper published in Chicago. He also read the Bible. When Reverend Dunjee died in 1902, ten years after coming to Oklahoma, Roscoe at the young age of 19 became responsible for his mother,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, April 14, 1934, Vol. 19, No. 19, p. 1.

[3] Personal papers of Roscoe Dunjee. (Currently on file at Harding Middle School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma).

Lydia, sister, Drucilla, and brother, Irving. He also became responsible for the family farm and its mortgage of $1,100. His father left him one priceless treasure: a collection of more the 1,500 volumes of books. It was from this collection that Dunjee expanded his education.[1]

Until he was 32 years of age, Dunjee raised and sold vegetables to earn a living. At this point, he saw an opportunity to purchase a job printing plant from Oliva J. Abby, an instructor in the Oklahoma City public schools, who was forced to give up the plant due to her husband's illness.[2] Prior to this time Dunjee had been writing for various newspapers in Oklahoma City and had thereby gained some experience in the field of journalism. He learned to set type cases during his tenure as a student at Langston University by working after hours in the print shop of The Langston Herald, a small paper published in the Langston community.[3]

The Black Dispatch, then located at 228 Northeast 2nd Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, was launched November 5, 1915, as a five column folio.[4] After two years, publication of the paper was turned over to the Western Newspaper Union in Oklahoma City, but in 1937 the paper purchased modern equipment, including a rotary press, stereotyping equipment, mat making devices and an engraving plant.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, May 26, 1977, Vol. 62, No. 49, Section A, p. 8.

[3] Personal papers of Roscoe Dunjee.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

The first civil rights protest movements by Blacks in Oklahoma City were heralded in the Black Dispatch.[1] This provided the first means of direct publicity by the Black community and affiliated national organizations in an effort to awaken both Black and White citizens to racial discrimination.[2] Dunjee soon began to editorialize in the tradition of Black newspapers across the nation. The stated purpose of the paper, according to Dunjee, was to supplement the metropolitan papers and to print the Black issues White papers covered up deftly, adroitly, and subtly.[3]

"The Black Dispatch actually had its beginning in 1914," according to Dunjee, "when politicians first rammed their selfish, sordid fingers into affairs at Langston University."[4] C. N. Moran, editor of the Gazette of Oklahoma City, put out an extra edition to answer charges made in the Tribune of Oklahoma City against Inman E. Page, president of Langston University. Dunjee wrote the rebuttal issue of the Gazette. He had planned for sometime to enter the newspaper field. The decision was made to proceed after the

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[1]Roy P. Stewart, Born Grown-An Oklahoma City History (Oklahoma City Fidelity Bank National Association, 1974), pp. 196-197.

[2]Ibid., p. 197.

[3]Pat Luster, Analytical History of the Black Dispatch, unpublished term paper, University of Oklahoma School of Journalism, 1950, p. 1. (Included in Dunjee's personal papers).

[4]Black Dispatch, "A Seventeen Year Old Battle Line," December 5, 1931, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 4. (Note: This is an interesting observation by editor Dunjee, he ascribes the beginning of his paper to the year 1914. All other sources indicate a starting date of November 5, 1915. Perhaps Dunjee made a definite commitment to start the paper at that time. The situations described were verified through interviews with Mr. Jimmy Stewart, a lifelong friend and protege of Roscoe Dunjee).

Gazette article was printed. In Dunjee's words, "From that day on we have been fighting for Langston University."[1]

During the early years, Dunjee also served as the editor of the Bookertee Searchlight, whose masthead proclaimed it as the official organ of the Knights of Pythias.[2] Records available at the Oklahoma Historical Society, show that the Searchlight was first published in January 1919.[3] Dunjee's activities with the Searchlight complimented those associated with the Black Dispatch. His sister, Drusilla Dunjee Houston, served as the contributing editor and I. L. Leathers was the general manager.[4]

Bookertee, located on the St. Louis and Santa Fe Railway line in Okfuskee county about twenty miles northwest of Weleetka, Oklahoma, was one of the early all-Black towns of Oklahoma.[5] The town was named for Booker T. Washington.[6] In the Searchlight, Dunjee reported that a delegation of Oklahoma Black citizens met with Governor J. B. A. Robertson on February 6, 1919 to present a review of race conditions in Oklahoma[7] The review covered the topics of education, lynching, and voting privilege.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Bookertee Searchlight, January 24, 1919, p. 1.

[3] Only a limited number of copies of this paper were available and this researcher was unable to establish definite time parameters for Dunjee's involvement with the paper.

[4] Bookertee Searchlight, January 24, 1910, p. 1.

[5] Arthur L. Tolson, The Black Oklahomans, A History: 1541-1972 (New Orleans: Edwards Printing Company, 1974), p. 103.

[6] Ibid., p. 103.

[7] Bookertee Searchlight, February 14, 1919, p. 1.

The section pertaining to education asked that Black schools be removed from the control of "cheap politicians" and placed under the leadership of well educated people. The major example in this case was Langston University. In regard to separate schools, Dunjee complained about Blacks having to bear the burden of bond issues floated to build White schools in which they derived no education. The maintenance of separate schools by the county and supervision by the city was another example Dunjee cited as a hindrance to Black education. This situation, he noted, often led to little accountability in the handling of Black educational matters. The length of the school term highlighted the differences in the separate schools. In many instances, Black schools had their terms shortened by the county commissioners to school years of less than nine months. This, Dunjee commented, was manifestly unfair when White children were given the full nine months of schooling.[1]

The education statement was concluded with a plea for the establishment of a secondary school for Black boys and girls at Langston University or somewhere in the state, making Langston University a school for higher training with the secondary school a feeder for Langston.[2]

In a nonracial educational area, Dunjee criticized a proposal to combine the Deaf, Dumb and Orphan School at Taft, Oklahoma with the training school for incorrigable youths at Taft, Oklahoma.[3] Such an action,

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[1] Bookertee Searchlight, February 14, 1919, p. 1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 4. (The citation in the Searchlight indicated McAlester as the site of the school, however, personal interviews and further research indicated the actual site to be Taft, Oklahoma).

according to Dunjee, "would not be in keeping with the spirit of humanity and brotherly care that should be extant in these years of light."[1]

Lynching was described as a crime against the lyncher as well as the lynched and which bestilized the lyncher and transmits his blood to his progeny to eventually produce a race of blood-thirsty, Bolsheviki, anarchists and scorners of law and order.[2] The section on voting contained an attack on Oklahoma's registration laws of 1916 which effectively prevented Blacks who were not registered in 1914 from voting.

The review was signed by Roscoe Dunjee, Dr. A. Baxter Whitby, president of the Oklahoma City branch of the NAACP; Reverend E. W. Perry, pastor of Tabernacle Baptist Church; I. W. Young, president of the colored branch of the YMCA of Oklahoma City; attorney Robert L. Fortune, chairman colored branch Grady County Council of Defense; and Harriett P. Jacobson, chairman of the Legislative Committee, Oklahoma State Federation of Negro Womens Clubs.[3] The petition was partially effective since the consolidation of the schools did not occur and Black secondary education was established in Oklahoma.

From the meager beginnings of his journalistic career, Dunjee exhibited a strength of character, integrity and courage which caused him to refuse advertising that would influence the editorial policy of the Black

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Dispatch. In an editorial during the early years of publication Dunjee commented:

> . . . The truth is that we count enforced independent effort as one of the main assets of the Black Dispatch, for just as surely, if we had gone into the beggar business, when we started out, we would now be without our good name and would be responsible to other than our conscience, and while we are on this subject, we want to say this here and now, lots of people try to buy the influence of Negro journals, and they are not all black faced purchasers either: we have been offered on many occasions, since our existance, the chance to "GET INTO BIG MONEY" but of one thing we are thankful, it was so easy to turn those influences down, to face about from them: it is so easy to do such a thing provided you purchase your happiness in life with other things than dollars.[1]

Dunjee launched a multi-pronged attack on poverty, political disenfranchisement, Jim Crowism and other forms of segregation.[2] Believing that political action could bring about position changes, he editorialized to encourage Blacks to vote and to eliminate voting restrictions.

Civil Rights Leader

The 1935 case of Oklahoma County v Sidney Hawkins in the Oklahoma State Supreme Court brought the first decision ever won in a southern court against the right of municipal government to pass a residential restrictive convenant ordinance.[3] Many Blacks felt that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Black Dispatch were too radical when residential racial segregation was challenged at the corner of Second and Central Streets in Oklahoma City in 1923. After William Floyd, a Black, purchased a home he was arrested each time he entered it. Dunjee and

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[1] Black Dispatch, January 2, 1920, Vol. 5, No. 7., p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Allen v. Oklahoma City, 52P.2d 1054 (1935). (There were actually three cases in litigation, Onnie Allen, No. 26152, W. D. Lee, No. 26596, and Sidney Hawkins, No. 26597).

Dr. A. P. Bethel, a member of the executive committee of the NAACP, arranged for Floyd's bond after each arrest, and encouraged him to return to his property.[1] The issue was settled by a ruling in favor of Floyd in Federal Court.

Encouraged by this victory, Blacks began moving two blocks north to Northeast Fourth and Byers Streets. Bombings became commonplace and only a few Blacks were willing to carry on the fight. Because law enforcement agencies made no obvious attempts to locate the bombers, a committee of Black vigilanties provided armed watchment at houses of block busting Blacks.[2] One home was guarded for more than two months. The bombers did not return.

At this point, a White organization known as the Eastside Civic League resorted to the use of restrictive covenants and was successful in passing an ordinance similar to the one in operation when Floyd was arrested. This new ordinance was supposed to cure the faults of the old one. To bolster the ordinance, Governor William H. Murray was consulted. The governor declared martial law in the area in question and called a committee of Blacks to the capital. He warned them that anyone who violated the city ordinance would be arrested by state troopers.[3]

Blacks filed an injunction to prevent enforcement of the ordinance but Judge George Giddings, after listening to the evidence, declared the decision would be held under advisement. For the next two years, Blacks were arrested, fined, and moved from the area while Judge Giddings refused to render a decision on the constitutionality of the ordinance. Finally, one morning Sidney

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[1] Black Dispatch, February 16, 1952, Vol. 38, No. 5, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Hawkins came to the office of the Black Dispatch and informed editor Roscoe Dunjee that police had come to his home and demanded that he move.[1] Hawkins asked Dunjee for advice.

Dunjee told Hawkins that if he would follow his suggestions in the matter, he would not only pay his attorney fees but also would assume all financial obligations involved in the plan. Dunjee then advised Hawkins to remain on the property, refuse to pay any fine and to go to jail. Up to this point, no Black had gone to jail; in each instance they were warned and either moved to avoid arrest, or if fined when they did not move, paid their fines.[2]

Two days later, Hawkins got word to Dunjee that he had been arrested and was on his way to jail. Dunjee, with the assistance of Attorney Clarence Page, was able to free Hawkins on a writ of habeas corpus. Three days later, Judge Giddings, who had refused to rule on the ordinance, called Hawkins into court and remanded him to jail, delivering an oral opinion that the city segregation ordinance was constitutional.[3]

Dunjee's strategy had been to force Giddings to rule on the legality of the ordinance so that litigation could begin.[4] The case was appealed to the state supreme court and the first decision ever won in a southern court against the right of the municipal government to pass restrictive covenant ordinances was made.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

Dunjee, the principal witness for Hawkins, was qualified as an expert witness and remained on the stand for five and one-half hours.[1] During the interrogation, assistant city attorney Ralph May, who was aware that Dunjee had for many years taken positive stands on controversial questions of race, sought to question him on the theory that if he related his previous positions he would injure himself with the judges on the supreme court. On the other hand, if Dunjee vacated his position he would lose face with his own group. Dunjee was questioned about his views on separate schools, Jim Crow travel, disenfranchisement, and intermarriage of the races.

During the testimony, Dunjee indicated that he was opposed to the Jim Crow law in the State of Oklahoma and that within the next one hundred years there would be no distinction between Whites and Blacks.[2] Furthermore, he denounced segregation in public places on the grounds that equal fees should provide equal accommodations.[3] On the issue of separate schools, he had this to say:

> I am opposed to separate schools on the ground that it is basic in the educational systems that one race is inferior to the other. And secondarily, the Negroes, under separate school systems, do not get the same equal opportunity in educational facilities. In a recent survey it shows that the State of Oklahoma, in higher education brackets is paying fifty-five times more for instruction and equipment for White children than for Negro children; that it is paying six-hundred and thirty-three times more to teachers salaries for whites than Negroes. We should have a common reserve where

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Transcript of testimony and oral proceedings before Marion J. Northcutt, Referee of the Supreme Court: Habeas Corpus of Sidney Hawkins, No. 26,597, pp. 256-299, November 26, 1935.

[3] Ibid.

> our boys and girls can get the same chance that White boys and girls get. My idea in getting the same educational opportunities in the same institutions would largely be based on the theory that the two races instead of getting apart would come to a more common ground of understanding rather than the danger suggested by you. I also want this in the record: our association in this state has not since statehood nor up to this time attacked the separate school laws on the theory that we desired to do away with the law, but we have attacked it on the theory that we want equal educational opportunities and a chance that we cannot get under the separate school laws. We are not now and haven't been fighting the special and separate school laws for any other reason. But, the Negroes in Oklahoma are laying the groundwork for laws which will do away with the separate schools and place Whites and Negroes on an equal basis.[1]

Following the Hawkins case, Dunjee was sought after and became a part of many movements in and out of the State of Oklahoma. Nationally, he was a member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the National Negro Business League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He served two terms as national president of the Negro Business League, was a director of the national board of the NAACP and organized the Oklahoma Conference of Branches of the NAACP, serving as its president for sixteen years. This was the first state conference of the NAACP organized in the United States.[2]

On state and local levels, editor Dunjee was one of the organizers of the Oklahoma Commission for Interracial Cooperation in 1921. He also was a regional director of the Mid-west Association of the Elks Oratorical Scholarship Awards Program. In addition, he organized the Oklahoma State Negro Business League in 1922 and remained as its president for five years. Dunjee was a

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[1]Ibid., pp. 288-289.

[2]Black Dispatch, May 26, 1977, Sec. A, p. 4.

charter member of the Eastside YMCA, contributed liberally to its fund raising and served on its committee of management until his retirement.[1] He was widely sought throughout the nation as a platform orator and consultant on human relations. He was also one of America's top authorities on Black History.[2]

Dunjee's efforts and editorials were a clarion voice for freedom and justice in the mid-southwest for twenty years. He challenged bigotry and race prejudice without fear for his personal safety or regard for his own financial well being. He challenged draft boards and private citizens who mistreated Black servicemen in World Wars I and II. Dunjee's efforts were vigorous in the fight for voting rights of Blacks. In fact, Blacks did not vote in Oklahoma when Dunjee began his crusade. When he was threatened on one occasion, he called the county sheriff and was escorted to the polls.[3] He led by example. Dunjee was so involved in human affairs that he once remarked to an attorney friend, "If you want to hide something from me, put it in the Black Dispatch.[4]

Blacks in the South, if not throughout the country, owe the right of jury service to Dunjee. It was in the Jess Hollins case—one of several initiated by Dunjee—that a judge ruled the "Negroes had been systematically excluded from jury service in this country, therefore, due process cannot be obtained."

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Personal Interview with H. McKinley Rowan, attorney at law and long time associate of Roscoe Dunjee, January 31, 1981.

The reasoning was that over fifty years had passed, yet no Black had been called for jury service.[1] As a result of this ruling Blacks in Oklahoma and the south were afforded the privilege of jury service.[2]

Although Dunjee was never able to get into court on a separate coach (segregation in transportation) case, he resisted all forms of racial segregation all of his adult life. Dunjee seldom voluntarily attended public segregated social or sports events.[3] The Black Dispatch, under Dunjee, never made much money, for he valued his independence and refused to be compromised.[4]

Dunjee officially retired, after forty years of service, from the Black Dispatch on November 18, 1955. Friends and associates honored him with a testimonial banquet at which attorney Thurgood Marshall delivered the principal address. Dunjee's friends presented him with an all-expense paid trip to Africa.[5]

In retirement Dunjee spent his time in meditation, reading and writing.[6] Ill health forced him to curtail his activities and in 1959, he resigned as a national director of the NAACP, recommending his long time friend and protege, Jimmy Stewart, to take his place.[7] Roscoe Dunjee died on Monday,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, May 26, 1977, Sec. A., p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Personal Interview with Cora McQuarter Price, 35 year employee of Roscoe Dunjee at the Black Dispatch, January 15, 1981.

[5] "Obsequies of Roscoe Dunjee," March 6, 1955. (See Appendix E).

[6] Ibid.

[7] Letter from Dunjee to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Chairman Board of Directors of the NAACP, June 25, 1959. (See Appendix E).

March 1, 1965.[1] In retrospect, his ideas had been ahead of the times. His critics described him as a radical, a communist and a fool.[2] In spite of the epithets, he was one of the most respected Black men in the nation. Former Governor William H. Murray described him as being fifty years ahead of his time.[3]

Perhaps Dunjee best summarized his own outlook in an editorial published just prior to his seventieth birthday:

> It may well be we will not reach our seventieth birthday which is only a few days away, but if we go tomorrow into another world, we will leave this message. The fruit we have already tasted from the tree of victory fully justifies the battles that have been fought in the past forty years, such as the white primary, the mob,[4] segregation, separate cars and waiting rooms, police brutality.

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[1] Obsequies of Roscoe Dunjee, March 6, 1965.

[2] Black Dispatch, April 9, 1965, p. 5.

[3] Taped interview, Joe Ferguson, long time Republican, former state senator and a candidate for governor in 1950, on the radio program "Speaking of Everything," WKY Radio, November 1, 1970. (Courtesy of Living Legends Library, Oklahoma Christian College, Tape #164).

[4] Black Dispatch, Vol. 39, No. 21, June 20, 1953, p. 4.

CHAPTER IV

DUNJEE'S EDITORIALS

During his journalistic career, Dunjee covered a wide range of issues through his editorials. There are, however, in the area of education, a number of frequent themes that recurred over the years. His policy was to refer to similar issues under similar headings. When reviewed in this context, the editorials trace the progress of integration of public education in Oklahoma. The subject of education for Blacks was one of the most important issues to Dunjee and he seldom missed an opportunity to voice his opinion about schools. Editorials on education had begun to appear soon after the Black Dispatch began publishing in 1915. By 1930, Dunjee had established the educational issues that would continue to be the subject of editorials throughout his career. Generally the subjects he covered were (1) separate school laws, (2) politics in education, (3) higher education, and (4) changing educational patterns.

Separate School Laws

As early as 1921, Dunjee had taken exception to what he described as "Oklahoma's rotten education laws."[1] The most exasperating thing about laws in Oklahoma related to the Blacks (according to Dunjee) was their adaptability

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Oklahoma's Rotten Education Law," Vol. 6, No. 6, January 14, 1921, p. 4.

to many and varied interpretations.[1] Citing examples from the separate school laws, he showed that it was the responsibility of Blacks, through taxes, to pay for bond issues to build White schools they could not attend.

Public schools in the State of Oklahoma were organized and maintained by a complete plan of separation between Caucasoid and Negroid races as dictated by school laws.[2] The plan provided for separate district schools. "Separate schools" were defined as the schools in each district comprised of the race having the fewest number of children in the district.[3] The county superintendent of public instruction of each county could designate which school or schools in each district would be the separate school and which race of children would have the privilege of attending the separate schools in the district.[4] Members of the district school board were to be of the same race as the children entitled to attend the district schools, not the separate schools.[5]

The Oklahoma Statutes further provided that "the county excise board shall annually levy a tax roll on all taxable property in their respective counties, sufficient to maintain such separate schools as are hereinafter provided."[6] The statutes stated that the excise board could levy a one mill tax for separate schools so long as the total levy did not exceed eight mills.[7]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Oklahoma Statutes, (1931), Volume I, Codes and Government, Separate Schools, Chapter 34, Article 18, Section 7033.

[3] Ibid., Sec. 7035.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., Sec. 7040.

[7] Ibid., (Lusk v. White, 68 Okla. 316, 173P. 1128).

Dunjee believed that the separate school laws were unconstitutional because they mandated taxation without representation.[1] It was from this premise that Dunjee attacked the separate school laws. In an editorial appearing in March 1930, he criticized Oklahoma State attorney general Randall S. Cobb for ruling that White schools were regarded as the majority schools in school districts and the board of education was elected primarily as a board of education of the majority schools. This ruling was made in response to a query from the county attorney of Nowata County, and it prevented Blacks from voting in the school board election of that county. Dunjee, quoting sections of the Oklahoma school law, pointed out that the law as interpreted by the attorney general was unconstitutional. His thesis was that it was unconstitutional to establish a system of taxation through the ballots of White citizens which levied a tax upon disenfranchised Black citizens.[2]

In November 1930, Muskogee County school patrons, (citing the guarantees of the 14th amendment to the United States Constitution), challenged the constitutionality of the separate school laws in federal court.[3] This suit resulted from the actions of Clarence Hunnicutt, county superintendent of schools in Muskogee County, who changed district school number seven from its status as a district school to that of a separate school.

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[1] Black Dispatch, "The Separate School Law," Vol. 15, No. 17, March 27, 1930, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Muskogee County School Patrons File Suit," Vol. 15, No. 50, November 20, 1930, p. 1.

The school had operated as a district school since statehood, with Black trustees who selected teachers and administered expenditures within the district. Hunnicutt's action, taken under Section 10569 of the Oklahoma Statutes, reduced school personnel, deprived Blacks of the right to hold offices to which they were elected, and reduced expenditures for Black education.

Dunjee did not hesitate to voice his opinion on the merits of the Muskogee litigation.[1] He pointed out that there was $380,743 of taxable property in school district number seven and that the Black board had levied a tax of eight and three-fourths mills on the property, making available $3,331.48 for the 140 Black school children or $28.16 per capita. The action of the superintendent resulted in the transfer of funds to forty White children. Dunjee called attention to the fact that Oklahoma Statutes provided for district and separate schools and that the race having the fewest number of school age children should attend the separate school. He referred to the manner in which the schools were financed: district school trustees could levy an assessment up to fifteen mills on all property within the district while the separate school derived its funds from a four mill levy placed on the taxable wealth of the entire county and apportioned to each school on a per capita basis. After quoting the legal requirements, Dunjee went on to point out that court evidence showed that only a two and three quarter levy had been made for the separate school and that few counties ever levied more than two mills unless ordered to do so by the courts. In closing, Dunjee asked his readers if similar

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[1] Black Dispatch, "The Separate School Law," Vol. 15, No. 50, November 20, 1930, p. 4.

accommodations could be provided and impartially maintained in district number seven, when the Black child got $28.16 per capita and the White child got $82.15 per capita from the taxes levied in Muskogee County.[1]

In the following year, 1931, the State Legislature proposed a change in the source of revenue for separate schools in cities as compared to county separate schools. Dunjee had these comments about the proposed change:

> While we have not seen a copy of the proposed bill, we understand that certain county officials propose to introduce a bill in the present legislature providing a change of the separate school law. The bill, we understand, would give Negro schools in cities of the first class, a different source of revenue from that of the county schools.
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> While the Black Dispatch welcomes any character of relief which is suggested to relieve the terrible inequality which exists between White and Black education in Oklahoma, we at the same time recognize this plan as but a feeble gesture at what actually should be provided. There was no excuse in the first instance in separating the source from which our educational funds are derived in Oklahoma. The proponents of the present school law intended in the first instance to deprive the Negro of his rightful share of the educational tax. Separate schools could have been provided on a simple per capita basis which would have resulted in giving the same number of dollars to Negro education as to Whites . . . . There is no question in the mind of the Black Dispatch[2] but that the separate school law of Oklahoma is unconstitutional. . .

Dunjee seized every opportunity to assail the separate school law as unconstitutional. Still later, in 1935 he took issue with a proposal by the legislative committee of the Oklahoma Education Association to change the separate school law. The proposal was to authorize a predominantly White county to transfer Black pupils to another county or to a state school for Blacks

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "The Separate School Law," Vol. 16, No. 10, February 5, 1931, p. 4.

and pay the tuition of those pupils transferred. It also was proposed that separate schools remain under the jurisdiction of the board of education and bear their pro-rata share of administrative expense. Dunjee felt that too much arbitrary power would be given under the law to close one school and to consolidate it with another. He wanted the law to be specific and definite as to when and how these changes should be made.[1]

Although he frequently attacked the constitutionality of the separate school laws, there were other aspects of the separate school system that aroused Dunjee's displeasure. In May 1937, he attacked the Muskogee school board for failing to reappoint a Black teacher, Hazel Phillips, because she refused to work without pay.[2] Dunjee pointed out that Muskogee County, along with Wagoner and Creek Counties, did not have the full nine months school term because of the discriminatory nature of the separate school law. Furthermore, White schools were provided with 5 to 15 mills for their needs, while Blacks were confined to a two mill levy. These were recurring points in Dunjee's editorials on separate schools. In closing his comments, he stated that this was not the first time Black teachers had been asked to work without pay and that the NAACP would give considerable attention to Oklahoma school laws in their upcoming conference.[3]

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Changing The Separate School Law," Vol. 20, No. 7, January 31, 1935, p. 4.

[2] Black Dispatch, "Our Rotten School System," Vol. 22, No. 20, May 13, 1937, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

In July 1937, Dunjee disagreed with claims of state officials that Oklahoma schools were "separate but equal."[1] He quoted actual expenditures in higher education and common schools to show per capita spending. The editorial was closed with the admonition that "Oklahoma ought to be ashamed," and he quoted a Biblical passage describing hypocrites: "For they are likened unto white sepulchers, which while beautiful on the outside, are within filled with dead men's bones and all uncleanness."[2]

In 1942 Dunjee commented on the subject of "White Teachers for Negro Schools."[3] The situation arose after J. B. Parkey, director of vocational training for defense workers in Stillwater, asked State Attorney General Mac Q. Williamson for a legal opinion on whether White or Negro instructors should be used for national defense vocational training. The attorney general responded that White instructors could not legally be employed to teach Negro pupils in "vocational" or other subjects in the public schools of Oklahoma. He cited as his legal reference the separate school laws.[4]

Dunjee challenged the attorney general's reasoning in the case by raising the question: "Are defense training schools, equipped and financed by the federal government, 'public schools' of this state, within the meaning of the separate school laws of Oklahoma?" He went on to define the term "public school" as described in the separate school law and to point out that Blacks

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[1] Black Dispatch, "False Claims About Separate Schools," Vol. 22, No. 30, July 22, 1937, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "White Teachers for Negro Schools," Vol. 27, No. 15, March 21, 1942, p. 4.

[4] Ibid.

should carefully examine the financing of defense training schools to determine whether they were maintained entirely by the Federal government. "If they are maintained by the Federal government," Dunjee stated, "they are not public schools within the meaning of the separate school laws of this state."[1] To prove his point, Dunjee pointed out that White teachers had been utilized by the National Youth Administration in 1941 to teach Blacks. A special class for Blacks gave them an opportunity to use the same instructional equipment as Whites. Dunjee continued with the declaration:

> We understand and know what the attorney general says on this question is merely an opinion, but in the absence of any friendly administrative authority challenging the opinion of the attorney general's office, Negroes are put to a serious disadvantage . . . If the Oklahoma City School Board were to bow its neck and ignore the ruling of the attorney general's office on this question, so that the question could be brought directly before our state supreme court for adjudication, Negroes might eventually secure some relief. But where is the White administrative authority having sufficient intestinal fortitude and moral courage . . .[2]

Dunjee then pointed out that nowhere in the separate school laws was there any specific prohibition of using White teachers to teach Black students. Dunjee believed that those who wrote the statute expressly and plainly stated and outlined every restraint they had in mind. These comments set the stage for his final argument which illustrated the ambiquity of the separate school laws. Dunjee reminded the attorney general that his notion regarding "complete separation" did not logically or legally justify White superintendents, White administrative staffs, and White supervisors directing the affairs of separate schools in all independent school districts of the State.[3] He

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

concluded by stating that discrimanatory conditions in America detracted from efforts aimed at winning the war abroad. A common sense approach to an all out effort of defense and ultimate victory, Dunjee concluded, rested in an attitude and behavior that would give to every citizen an unshackled, unhampered opportunity to develop his full fighting strength. Thus, the separate school laws should be forgotten during the emergency of World War II. Dunjee concluded that the attorney general's ruling proved the absurdity and assininity in the State mandated sanctions.[1]

The Tulsa Tribune also carried an editorial taking issue with the attorney general's ruling.[2] The Tribune felt that the law should be changed to take advantage of the thousands of willing Blacks in need of training. The Tribune editorial reasoned that the law was intended to preserve for Negroes the right to teach other Negroes, not for the State to discriminate against them. The law, according to the Tribune, was never intended to prevent Whites from teaching Negroes to be teachers.

Dunjee praised the Tribune editorial. He commented that the spirit of the editorial was correct and that the Tribune obviously felt that something should be done to promote democracy. The only fault Dunjee found with the Tribune's editorial was its historical perspective of separate schools: it indicated that separate schools were central to the idea that one human being is better than another, or to be more specific, White people felt they were better than Black people.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Tulsa Tribune, "Do It This Way," March 17, 1942.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Tulsa Tribune Attacks Separate School Law," Vol. 27, No. 15, April 4, 1942, p. 4.

In 1944 four state questions were proposed to change the operation of public schools. They were:

> STATE QUESTION 314—Amending section 9 of article 10 of the constitution of Oklahoma, relating to rates of Ad Valorem tax, to provide that the annual Ad Valorem tax rate for school purposes may be increased in any school district by an amount not exceeding fifteen (15) mills on the dollar valuation upon all property in the district, on condition that a majority of the qualified electors of such district voting at an election, vote for such increase.
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> STATE QUESTION 315—Amending Article xiii of the constitution of Oklahoma by adding a new section to be designated section 1a; providing that the legislature shall raise and appropriate funds for the annual support of the common schools of the state to the extent of forty-two ($42.00) dollars per capita based on total state-wide enrollment for the preceding school year; providing for allocation of such funds; providing that no school district shall be limited to such per captia amount; providing that determination shall be made of the amount to which each school district may be entitled and providing that such funds shall be in addition to apportionments from the permanent school fund.
>
> STATE QUESTION 316—Amending section 9 of article 10 of the constitution of Oklahoma, relating to rates of Ad Valorem tax, to provide that upon certification of the need therefore by the governing board, an additional levy of not to exceed on (1) mill shall be levied, the proceeds derived therefrom to be used for acquisition of sites and erection of buildings for separate schools for White and Negro children.
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> STATE QUESTION 318—Amending section 6 of article 13 of the constitution of Oklahoma to provide that free textbooks shall be provided by the legislature for the common schools of the state; providing a committee composed of active educators whose duty it shall be to prepare official multiple textbook lists from which selections shall be made by committees composed of active educators in the local school districts for use in the common schools.[1]

Dunjee made these state questions the subject of an editorial entitled "Revamping the School Finances."[2] He made it clear to his readers that the

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[1] Copies of these state questions were obtained from the Archives of the Secretary of State of Oklahoma.

[2] Black Dispatch, "Revamping The School Finances," Vol. 29, No. 52, December 2, 1944, p. 4.

Black Dispatch would oppose State questions 314 and 316. He pointed out that the law currently in effect allowed the White schools (district schools), to vote a levy from five to fifteen mills on the district. The separate (Black) schools were limited to a two mill county wide levy. State question 314 would allow district school (White) voters to vote levies up to 20 mills, while state question 316 would provide an additional one mill for separate schools to be levied by the excise board for building purposes, but at the discretion of the excise board. Dunjee then went on to describe with examples some of the problems Blacks had experienced with excise boards and county commissioners. He warned that the excise board could not be expected to vote an additional one mill levy when they often refused to levy the two mills already authorized.

Dunjee felt that state question 318 was sound and should be supported since it would doubtless rid the free textbook program of its previous graft and corruption. On state question 315, he wondered about the relationship between the $42.00 per child and the two mill levy authorized for separate schools. He voiced his fear that Negro children might be excluded from these additional funds. All four state questions were approved and became a part of the Oklahoma State Constitution.

Dunjee was especially prophetic in a 1948 editorial entitled "Let's Abolish Separate Schools."[1] He pointed out that the extra one mill levy for separate schools could do much to relieve their bad situatiuon and that Black teachers in every county would be able to secure salaries comparable with White teachers in their area.[2] However, he went on to describe the reluctance

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Let's Abolish Separate Schools," Vol. 33, No. 29, July 17, 1948, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

of county commissioners and excise boards to raise the salaries of Black teachers. He then reminded his readers that they could initiate court action if Black teachers in school districts throughout the state continued to be poorly and inadequately paid.

Dunjee went on to discuss the Emma Lee Freeman salary differential suit. He recommended that the suit be continued even though Oklahoma Black teachers were receiving salaries they had agreed to. Dunjee stated that to compromise and not secure a declaratory judgment would be shortsighted. He recommended that the NAACP continue its suit since recent events (the one mill levy and various county bond issues recently voted to build Black schools) were all reactions to the efforts of the NAACP to abolish separate schools in Oklahoma.[1] Dunjee asserted that Whites in authority in Oklahoma had decided that something substantial must be done if separate schools were to be continued as a pattern of education. He then concluded the editorial with this statement in regards to the Emma Lee Freeman law suit:

> We want to point this out because so many people are like the hog who eats the acorns but never thinks to look up to see from whence the acorns fall. The two cases mentioned above are going to revolutionize education in the south. The NAACP is daily proving to state government that separate schools are too expensive. The overburdened taxpayer is beginning to realize this and shows evidence of planning to do something about it. As we said in a recent issue, this publication is seeking to abolish separate schools. We are joined in a frontal attack on prejudice. Thousands of sympathetic Whites are allied in this movement and are becoming audible and active. Separate schools are formed on the theory that Negroes are inferior to White people. This social pattern harms both groups. It develops a superiority complex among Whites and an inferiority complex among Blacks.[2]

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[1]This is an interesting recommendation since at the time Dunjee was one of the most powerful men in the NAACP.

[2]Black Dispatch, "Let's Abolish Separate Schools," Vol. 33, No. 29, July 17, 1948, p. 4.

Dunjee liberally used sarcasm in his attack on separate schools. One editorial in this vein appeared in August 1948, under the heading "They Are Against Separate Schools Too."[1] The editorial was concerned with the efforts of a White teacher, Perry Carmichael, to recruit White teachers to teach in Ethiopia. Dunjee opened his editorial with these comments:

> . . . with all the worthless tripe we have been regailed with the past ninety days in Oklahoma regarding the sins of racial integration, who would have assumed 300 teachers, free, White and twenty-one, would hanker for the alluring task of teaching Africans? We did not know there were that many potential law violators in the sooner state.[2]

Politics in Education

In his attempts to secure equality for Blacks in all avenues of society, Dunjee frequently published editorials having to do with politics in education. He made a practice of finding out where the political candidates stood on issues and then comparing what they said with their records in public employment. The editorials on political issues covered a wide range of subjects, but the series to be considered in the following pages comprise only those having a relationship to education.

There was a rather special adversary relationship between Governor William H. Murray, sometimes referred to as "Alfalfa Bill," and Roscoe Dunjee. Dunjee was one of Murray's most outspoken critics. Murray had served as president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention in 1906. During the

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[1] Black Dispatch, "They Are Against Separate Schools Too," Vol. 33, No. 35, August 28, 1948, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

convention William Murray and Charles Haskell, working together, exerted extraordinary influence and control.[1] That influence was felt in almost every section of the constitution.[2] Murray's knowledge of constitutional government made his opinion the deciding factor in convention debates. His influence also came from the authority he held as president of the convention, chairman of the Committee on Rules, and ex officio member of every committee. Although O. H. Brewer, formerly the superintendent of Cherokee Nation Schools, wrote the sections of the constitution concerning education, Murray was instrumental in determining how the educational program would be organized.[3]

The primary election of 1930 was the first occasion in Oklahoma politics requiring a runoff election.[4] Murray, one of the candidates in this race, emerged as the eventual winner. His candidacy was vigorously opposed by Dunjee. In fact, Murray was the subject of a series of editorials. The first of these was entitled "Bill Murray's Record" and it appeared on May 22, 1930.[5] In this editorial Dunjee quoted Murray's remarks during his acceptance speech at the time he became president of the constitutional convention.

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[1]Victor E. Harlow, Harlow's Oklahoma History (Norman: 1967), Harlow Publishing Co., p. 259.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Harlow, p. 259.

[4]Ibid., p. 316.

[5]Black Dispatch, "Bill Murray's Record," Vol. 15, No. 25, May 22, 1930, p. 4.

> We should adopt a provision prohibiting the mixed marriages of Negroes with other races, and provide for separate schools and give the legislature power to separate them in waiting rooms and on passenger coaches, and all other institutions in the state. We have no desire to do the Negro an injustice. We shall protect him in his real rights. No one can entirely be said to educate or civilize another. We must provide the means for the advancement of the Negro race, and accept him as God gave him to us and use him for the good of society . . . As a rule they (Negroes) are failures as lawyers, doctors and in other professions. He must be taught in the line of his own sphere, as porters, bootblacks and barbers and lines of agriculture, horticulture and mechanics in which he is adept, but it is an entirely false notion that the Negro can rise to the equal of a White man in the professions or grapple with public questions. The more they are taught in the line of industry, the less will be the number of dope fiends, crap shooters, and irresponsible hordes of worthless Negroes around our cities and towns.[1]

Dunjee reminded his readers of Murray's anti-Black activities. The thrust of the editorial was to recite Murray's notions about social justice when Oklahoma was in the embryo stages of development. According to Dunjee, the purpose of the editorial was "just to keep the record straight and prevent Negroes around over Oklahoma from giving William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray a clean bill of health, in his race for the Democratic nomination for governor."[2]

In July 1930, another editorial entitled "Don't Vote for Murray or Trapp" appeared in the Black Dispatch.[3] Dunjee reiterated his position on Murray and asserted that if Murray was elected he would reinstitute the anti-Negro program adopted in 1907 by the Democratic party. He went on to point out that M. E. Trapp, another Democratic candidate, was also an enemy to

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Don't Vote for Murray or Trapp," Vol. 15, No. 33, July 24, 1930, p. 4.

Black people. Three months later an editorial on "Murray and Our State Institutions" appeared.[4] Dunjee speculated that there was a plan to remove the heads of Black schools in the state as part of Murray's vote getting efforts. He went on to state that the president of Langston University, the principal of the Boy's Training School at Boley and the superintendent at Taft Orphan school would all be removed if Murray was elected. He urged that Murray be required to express himself publicly on this subject.

Another editorial on Murray appeared a month later and in it Dunjee criticized I. W. Young, chairman of the State Negro Democratic Central Committee, for his statements in defense of Murray. The committee had stated in its platform: "We were not acquainted with the Murray of 1907, we know only the Murray of 1930."[2] Dunjee used this statement to point out that Dr. Young had inferentially averred in that statement or how else would his language be understood when he said in another statement, "Mr. Murray knew at statehood that if he left the door of opportunity open to the Negro at the ballot box, the Negro would wipe him off the map. What man or woman would not do the same thing if placed in a position similar to Mr. Murray at statehood?"[3] Dunjee again quoted Murray's statements on Negroes during the course of the constitutional convention. He advised Blacks that Murray would provide training just above that of a blooded horse or a German police pup. He closed

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Murray and Our State Institutions," Vol. 15, No. 39, September 11, 1930, p. 4.

[2] Black Dispatch, "The Murray of 1907," Vol. 15, No. 42, October 2, 1930, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

by saying that the sons and daughters of Oklahoma's porters, bootblacks and barbers would have to continue doing what the Negro Democratic platform makers said they have been doing for years--sending their children out of state for higher education--if William Murray was elected governor.

The final editorial in the series on Murray appeared in October 1930 and was entitled "The Murray of 1917." Dunjee reviewed Murray's behavior as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives. He recounted that Murray had introduced legislation designed to award votes based on citizenship, marital status, number of children, education, etc. According to Dunjee, voters under Murray's bill could have been awarded up to five votes; while at the other end of the spectrum, people who were mentally incompetent, on relief, or having debauched, vicious or licentious habits, or convicted of crimes, could be disenfrancised. Dunjee went on to quote Murray's argument in favor of the bill in which he indicated that the measure would eliminate the "Negro problem" of the South by rewarding the stable element while disposing of the liquor drinking, crap shooting, coke-eating coons of the South.[1] Dunjee concluded that "any Black man with an ounce of brains can readily see that in 1917 Murray was attempting to federalize the disenfranchisement of the Black man."[2]

Despite Dunjee's efforts, Murray was elected governor of Oklahoma in November 1930. Dunjee wasted no time in launching his campaign against Governor Murray. In January 1931, he wrote, "The Uncle Toms are busy. . .with the induction of Governor-elect Murray into office, these bandwagon riders will

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[1] Black Dispatch, "The Murray of 1917," Vol. 15, No. 46, October 23, 1930, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

launch their scramble for all of the available meat in the smoke house." "Since November," he continued, "the Uncle Toms have been running to Governor-elect Murray with every available copy of the Black Dispatch. The theory is that the governor will be inclined to be against any program to which the Black Dispatch subscribes its approval." "Behind this smoke screen," Dunjee charged, "certain leaders of our state institutions seek to peddle jobs, some being offered in the sum of $500.00."

Dunjee then added that, for the benefit of the Uncle Toms, he would send a copy of the paper to Governor Murray at the state capital. He went on to explain that for years, the Black Dispatch had been sent to state, county and city officials free of charge.[1] Dunjee then challenged Murray to understand and to know that the Black Dispatch believed that Black administrators in state institutions were capable and competent persons and that there was no need to remove them unless the incoming governor planned to make Negro institutions of the state a political football for the hungry wolves who had gathered around him. The Black Dispatch concluded "that state Negro institutions should be as far removed from politics as were the White institutions of the same character."[2]

Dunjee continued almost weekly to criticize Governor Murray on various issues: mob violence, prison conditions, his inaugural speech, etc. On June 1931 under the caption "Perfectly Ridiculous," Dunjee took Murray to task for declaring that June 19th was a holiday for Oklahoma Blacks to

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Hungry Leadership Alert," Vol. 16, No. 6, January 8, 1931, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

celebrate emancipation. Dunjee disagreed since that date was only applicable to Texas and January 1st was the day celebrated in most parts of the country. Tongue-in-cheek, he marveled at Murray's awareness that Black Americans were free: "Honest, we didn't know that Governor Murray knew that the Negroes of America were free. We thought he was in the intellectual state of the old colored lady who when told that Jesus was dead, exclaimed, 'I didn't know the po' chile was sick.'"[1] Dunjee urged Murray to issue a proclamation vitalizing and putting actual teeth in Black liberty and citizenship. Some of the other things he suggested for Murray to do were: insure that Blacks would receive the same quality of education as White citizens, franchise Black voters, and provide equality in travel accommodations.[2]

One of Murray's most active Black supporters during his election campaign had been I. W. Young of Oklahoma City. One of Murray's first actions was to replace the president of Langston University, Z. T. Hubert, with Young. In July of 1931, Young was elected president of Langston University. He had previously served in this position but had been ousted by former Governor Johnston. Murray justified his action in replacing the president of Langston by stating that Hubert was teaching the "northern brand of education" to the students.[3] Dunjee accused Murray of having a more personal reason than the

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Perfectly Ridiculous," Vol. 16, No. 28, June 11, 1931, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Yes, We Believe in Social Equality," Vol. 16, No. 37, August 13, 1931, p. 4.

curriculum for firing Hubert. He felt that his close association with Hubert was the real reason for Murray's action.[1]

The next four years of Murray's administration were characterized by many confrontations between Dunjee and Murray on a broad range of issues. Young, as president of Langston University, remained a central figure in the conflict. Dunjee labeled Young and his followers "Youngites" and referred to them in his editorials in this way. Dunjee was careful to explain that his attacks on Young were not the result of personal differences but, instead, philosophy.[2] Dunjee acknowledged that he had supported Young for the position of superintendent of the Deaf, Blind and Orphan School at Taft, Oklahoma. He further admitted that although he felt Young would make a competent head of that school, he wanted him placed there so that he could be prevented from acquiring the Langston position.[3]

Dunjee criticized Young's administration as being wholly dominated and controlled by cheap politics.[4] Young's position, on the other hand, was that there was nothing wrong with schools being involved in politics. He cited the presence of the president of Columbia University at the Republican National Convention and the president of the University of Chicago at the Democratic National Convention as proof of higher education administrator's involvement in

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "Nailing Another Lie," Vol. 16, No. 36, August 6, 1931, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Black Dispatch, "Politics in the Schools," Vol. 17, No. 32, July 9, 1932, p. 4.

politics.[1] Dunjee agreed with Young's observation but pointed out that these men were not attempting to organize and control the conventions of their parties as a machine with which to secure re-election to their respective jobs. Dunjee's major contention was that schools free from politics would foster open, free thinking and would allow educators to take stands on moral issues. He pointed out that under such a system Young would feel free to attack the Murray thesis of inferior education for Blacks. Dunjee declared that politics enslaved the Langston institution and enslaved its head.[2]

Soon Dunjee enlarged his attack on politics in the schools to include White schools as well.[3] He cited irregularities in the school land department where funds had been stolen and 150,000 acres of land had been dropped from the records. This, according to Dunjee, was a perfect example of what politics mean to a school system.

Dunjee's cause was soon taken up by the Oklahoma City Times. An editorial appeared in this paper predicting that Oklahoma would be rid of William H. Murray in a year and a half.[4] The editorial went on to say that it would take longer than that to recover from the damage Murray had done to the state's educational institutions. The writer of the editorial contended that Murray had made political patronage of college presidencies, removed able and

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Politics in a School System," Vol. 18, No. 5, December 29, 1932, p. 4.

[4] Oklahoma City Times, "Murray Damages State Schools," Vol. 19, No. 65, July 31, 1933, p. 16.

experienced men for political reasons, and made Oklahoma a laughing stock among eminent educators of the nation.[1] Dunjee quoted this editorial in the in the Black Dispatch as part of an attack on Young's efforts at Langston to force students to purchase meals, books and to live in campus housing.[2] Dunjee accused the Youngites of being more interested in selling school books and peddling meals than in the educational development of their students.[3]

In subsequent years Dunjee continued his focus on the issue of politics in education. He frequently highlighted situations caused by political corruption and related them to the treatment of Blacks in Oklahoma and the rest of the nation. One such occasion occurred in 1945. The state legislature had attempted to impeach A. L. Croble, state superintendent of public instruction, for graft in the purchase of school books. However, the only charge they made involved incompetency in office. Dunjee remarked in an editorial that the situation reminded him of a Mississippi sheriff attempting to identify members of a mob. "The sheriff could actually look at pictures of the mob in the daily newspapers," related Dunjee, "but never identify members of the mob." Dunjee declared that Blacks were always killed by "unidentified parties, high in state government, connected with the school book graft but who were not identified."[4]

Dunjee firmly believed that the schools, both White and Black, should not be subjected to political control. He believed that school administrators

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "It Won't Be Long Now," Vol. 18, No. 35, August 3, 1933, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Black Dispatch, "Locating The School Book Grafters," Vol. 30, No. 9, February 17, 1945, p. 4.

should be able to express their best judgment without fear of political repercussions. He always expressed his views, often putting Governor Murray on the spot. Murray periodically visited Dunjee in an effort to change his views when issues became too heated.[1]

Higher Education

Dunjee attacked discrimination in higher education. Frequently he employed the same tactics as those used with separate school issues on the secondary level. He criticized per capita spending, maintenance and upkeep, and financing. An early editorial in this vein appeared on February 12, 1931 under the title "Oklahoma's Shame."[2] Dunjee opened with enrollment figures for the University of Oklahoma and the A & M College at Stillwater. He pointed out that the combined enrollments for these two schools was 11,816, while Langston University's enrollment was 1,174. He went on to explain that the 1930 appropriation for the two White institutions totaled $1,894,000 and the appropriation for Langston University was $94,000. When calculated on a per capita basis, the State of Oklahoma spent $160.00 per White student but only $80.00 per Black student. Tongue-in-cheek, he concluded:

> It is hardly logical to assume the White superiority would believe that the White youth of this state is twice as dumb as the Negro youth. Such reasoning would, of course, account for the slash in half of the educational tax, when the state turns toward the Negro child, but we are loathe to believe that the controlling powers in White life are following any such line of reasoning when they contemplate upon the administration and distribution of the educational tax.[3]

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[1]Personal interview with State Representative Freddye Williams, long time Black Dispatch employee, civil rights activist and protege of Roscoe Dunjee, February 28, 1981.

[2]Black Dispatch, "Oklahoma's Shame," Vol. 16, No. 8, February 12, 1931, p. 4.

[3]Ibid.

The editorial went on to indicate that if state officials followed the letter and spirit of the educational statues, they would have made Negro schools equal from the standpoint of physical plant and maintenance. According to Dunjee, equality in funding on a per capita basis would have changed the Langston appropriation from $94,000 to $216,701. Based on an average for students in all colleges in the state, Langston would have been entitled to $347,967. He then went on to point out that this failure to impartially maintain the separate school had resulted in a bill, sponsored by those interested in Negro education, which would provide state aid for Black students to enroll in certain curricula outside the state, if they were not provided in state institutions. Dunjee endorsed the bill.[1] It is interesting to note that although Dunjee endorsed this legislation at its inception, he later became a critic of the process of sending Black students out of Oklahoma to secure training that was offered in local White colleges and universities.

An editorial which demonstrates Dunjee's opposition to the practice of sending Blacks out of state to secure their education appeared June 6, 1935 under the heading "For A Greater L. U.."[2] The editorial took up the subject of accreditation for Langston University along with criticism of the practice of Blacks leaving the state to secure their education. According to Dunjee, 59% of Black college students were leaving the state for higher education and this resulted in Blacks being penalized by having to pay for education twice: as in-state and out-of-state residents.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "For A Greater L. U.," Vol. 20, No. 27, June 27, 1935, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

At times Dunjee elected to focus on the types of training provided in higher education. One such editorial appeared in July 1935. He stated that Langston and all other Southern land grant colleges were no more than gestures at agricultural and mechanical training.[1] He then criticized the inadequacy of classical education courses, teacher training and liberal arts courses at Langston. In this and other editorials, Dunjee attacked the disparities in funding of Black education by continually pointing out that Blacks constituted one-seventh of the population of the State of Oklahoma and only received one-fifty sixth of the money expended in higher education.

The basic differences in the level of funding for Oklahoma's dual educational system led to other problems which affected the type of education offered. Dunjee touched on these problems in a 1939 editorial entitled "White Education vs. Black."[2] He referred to his five and one-half hour testimony before the state supreme court in the Sidney Hawkins case wherein he expressed his views on separate schools.[3] He reiterated his opposition to separate schools and pointed out that while Blacks made up around 12% of the population, the State of Oklahoma was paying White college professors 52 times more than was being paid to Black professors. He indicated that the same differential existed for instructional equipment. To make his point, Dunjee

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Finding Trouble at Langston," Vol. 20, No. 31, July 27, 1935, p. 4.

[2] Black Dispatch, "White Education vs. Black," Vol. 24, No. 43, October 7, 1939, p. 4.

[3] The testimony referred to has been quoted in previous portions of this paper and will not be repeated.

quoted a laudatory article about University of Oklahoma courses which had appeared in The Daily Oklahoman. He then proceeded to point out that Blacks had to leave the state to get these courses, while Whites came to Oklahoma from 44 states to get the courses. Dunjee then stated his philosophy on the subject of equal education: "There might be those who would argue that Negroes do not need this branch of education. The answer is that Negroes as American citizens need the same type and character of education as any other unit of the population."[1] Dunjee cited examples of inadequacies in Langston's curriculum as well as his disapproval of the quality of training offered there. Neither condition properly prepared Black students for employment.

Dunjee's practice of expressing educational expenditures as per capita figures was soon adopted by Black educators. In 1947, G. Lamar Harrison, president of Langston University, appeared before the state legislative appropriations committee in an attempt to secure funds for Langston University. He pointed out that while Negroes represented 7.2% of the population, the current Langston University budget only represented 2.5% of total higher education funds. Harrison's appearance before the appropriations committee was the subject of two editorials; the first was entitled "A Courageous Statement."[2] In the editorial Dunjee quoted Harrison's figures and proceeded to castigate the State Regents for Higher Education for ". . .willfully

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[1] Black Dispatch, "White Education vs. Black," Vol. 24, No. 43, October 7, 1939, p. 4.

[2] Black Dispatch, "A Courageous Statement," Vol. 32, No. 12, March 15, 1947, p. 4.

and wrongfully robbing Negroes of two-thirds of the amount of money they were entitled to, if equity and fairness have anything to do with the allocations."[1] Dunjee accused the coordinating board of being calloused and totally disregarding the recommendations of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which had indicated that Langston was in dire need of improvement in physical plant, instructional equipment, and teaching staff. Speculating that conditions at Langston University would not improve significantly, he urged Blacks to enroll their children in graduate classes at the University of Oklahoma.

The second editorial on Harrison's appearance was entitled "The State of Oklahoma Should Confess Judgement."[2] Dunjee again quoted population figures as a basis for increasing appropriations for Langston University. This time he went a step further and admonished the State for withholding two-thirds of the amount due higher education of Blacks for a period of forty years. Dunjee estimated that the State of Oklahoma owed Blacks ten million dollars of monies not appropriated. He suggested that before any new biennial appropriations for higher education be allocated to Langston, the matter of the stolen ten million dollars should be dealth with. In closing, Dunjee reiterated his position on separate schools:

> Our readers will, of course, understand that in discussing this whole matter we have been arguing from the standpoint of the fellow who believes in dual educational systems. The Black Dispatch is through

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "The State of Oklahoma Should Confess Judgement," Vol. 32, No. 15, 1947, p. 4.

> with separate schools. We believe that separation is discrimination per se, but we are taking this occasion to point up our notion how the separate school proponents should arrive at something bordering on decency, if the state is going to continue maintenance of its shoddy separate school system.[1]

In January 1949, spurred by increased pressure from Blacks to enroll in state graduate schools, a plan was supported by White educators to expand the services of Langston University to include graduate work. Dunjee was quick to respond to this idea, by pointing out that any such action would have to be approved by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.[2] He went on to assert that Langston had just received undergraduate accreditation in 1948 and state officials merely wanted to add graduate training to avoid admitting Blacks to the University of Oklahoma. In typical fashion, Dunjee stressed that providing graduate training in education at Langston University would in no way quench the thirst of Oklahoma Blacks for the other seventy fields of graduate training given at the University of Oklahoma. He then gave his readers an idea of what college officials could expect:

> In the Black Dispatch office at this moment are letters coming from all over Oklahoma from students who want graduate training in medicine, engineering, botany, law, geology and many other kindred subjects. There are perhaps fifty-odd Negro students planning to apply for graduate training at Norman and Stillwater during the current month. Surely the governor could not feel he is caring for their needs by offering professional training in education at the Langston school.[3]

Dunjee closed by indicating that the unthinkable angle to the proposal was that the governor, according to news reports, only planned to ask the legislature for $25,000 to provide graduate education courses at Langston. He

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "$25,000 for Graduate Training," Vol. 34, No. 2, January 8, 1949, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

then stated that he did not believe that any graduate training that could meet the mandate of the United States Supreme Court could be funded for as little as $25,000.

The topic of graduate training was the subject of another editorial which appeared shortly after the first one.[1] Dunjee lauded state Black teachers for having taken a stand against adding graduate training at Langston when the undergraduate program was inadequate. He quoted Langston President, G. Lamar Harrison, who in a letter to the Black Dispatch stated that Langston could not be permitted to offer graduate work without the approval of the North Central Association if the institution was to remain in the association. Dunjee compared adding graduate training at Langston under those circumstances to building a chimney from the top.[2] He continued by criticizing the concept of regional colleges which had been put forth in the press as a solution to educational problems in the South. He proposed instead, that racial barriers be dropped at White colleges to allow Blacks an opportunity for graduate and professional work. Dunjee emphasized the point that G. W. McLaurin's presence at the University of Oklahoma indicated that nothing "un-to-ward" or perverse would happen if Black students entered classes at Norman. He pointed to McLaurin as "exhibit A" in the case.

It was Dunjee's contention that if the legislature would erase the penal provisions of the separate school laws related to graduate training there would

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Bravo State Teachers," Vol. 34, No. 4, January 22, 1949, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

be no problem in absorbing the small numbers of Black students into the student body at Norman. He predicted that the matter would be forgotten in two weeks and the state would have injected integrity and social decency into higher education.

According to Dunjee, it would have required at least twenty-five million dollars to make a decent token gesture of equality at Langston and such an investment would cost the state fifty times more for every Black student graduated than for White students. He continued by pointing out that if the State did not have integrity in its motives and planned only an inadequate curriculum, it could spend less money by stalling via a series of court cases as had been done by the attorney general in the Sipuel case. As was his frequent custom, Dunjee closed this editorial with a scriptural reference:

> But in the Holy writ we read: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" We might save a few paltry dollars by faking graduate training for Negroes, but in the last analysis what will the state be doing to its moral fiber, its sense of justice and conformity to ethical standards of human conduct? In the end, will not White people be doing morally more harm to White people than they will to Black? How can we conciliate such an attitude with the principles of Christianity?[1]

The subject of Blacks attending graduate courses in Oklahoma colleges and universities became a special topic to Dunjee. He took every opportunity to highlight inconsistancies in the State's official position. One such situation developed from a special report prepared for the Higher Regents by the deans of the graduate program in the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A and M

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[1] Ibid.

College. Dunjee printed the complete text of the deans' report in the Black Dispatch.[1] The report had pointed out that it would not be cost effective to add graduate courses at Langston University and recommended that the statutes be amended to admit qualified Negroes to the graduate and specialized schools maintained for Whites, limiting the enrollment to citizens of the State of Oklahoma.

In an editorial entitled "Graduate Training for Negroes," Dunjee described the special deans' report as a frank and honest survey of graduate training needs of Blacks in Oklahoma. The report was important, according to Dunjee, because it was not prepared by Blacks but, instead, by eminent White educators who at that time were in the employ of the state and were charged with the responsibility of preparing the report by the Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education. Because of these facts, Dunjee concluded that the report should not be labeled propaganda. He emphasized the fact that the White educators correctly recognized the colossal cost of maintaining a dual system of graduate training in Oklahoma, while at the same time they pointed out the great need for expansion of facilities in medical professional fields in order to graduate more Black doctors, dentists and pharmacists.[2]

Just a few months later, Dunjee proclaimed in an editorial, "The Doors of the University of Oklahoma Are Open,"[3] the Oklahoma State Senate had passed the Boatman Bill which grudgingly complied with the United States Supreme Court decision in the Sipuel case as soon as Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Deans' Report Respecting Graduate and Professional Training," Vol. 34, No. 5, January 29, 1949, p. 11.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Black Dispatch, "On To Norman and Stillwater," Vol. 34, No. 23, June 4, 1949, p. 4.

Fisher was enrolled in the Norman Law School. On the other hand, he pointed out that the NAACP would vigorously prosecute the McLaurin issue to the last degree, for in this case the question of constitutionality of segregation in college classes was raised. Dunjee went on to encourage Blacks to take advantage of the victory and the opportunity it provided to go to school at home and save the enormous expenses entailed in out of state training. He then admonished Blacks:

> It is important that the widespread interest of Negroes in securing graduate training be immediately expressed by enrollment in the summer and fall classes. It should be kept in mind that a considerable number of Negroes applying for work in the varied fields of graduate training will be the practical way in which those legislators who did not see clearly the true educational picture, will come to the realization of their absurdity in standing pat on segregation. The Negro teachers of Oklahoma should take segregation on the chin while the NAACP continues with the McLaurin case. . . .The Black Dispatch is hoping that scores of Negroes from all over the State will take advantage of this new pattern of education, and it will in a large measure be obligatory upon teachers to attend Norman or Stillwater this year, for the reason the legislature did not appropriate but $30,000 for out of state scholarships. . . .The challenge is up to the Negro teachers of the state to swamp Norman and Stillwater this summer. . . keep in mind, courts simply state what the law is; it is the individual citizen who through action must put law into effect. The Sipuel case means nothing and turns immediately to ashes if Negroes now fail to take advantage of this opportunity to secure graduate training within the confines of the state.[1]

Dunjee was not hesitant in castigating private church schools for their role in racially segregating higher education. In an article appearing in 1952, he pointed an accussing finger at Phillips University. He observed that we could see how far church brotherhood was out of step with state government by looking at Phillips University, which refused to enroll a Negro student. He

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[1] Ibid.

added that Phillips University was a religious school operated by the Christian Church. The state attorney general was chided by Dunjee for stretching his authority to almost unbelievable lengths when he gave an opinion that a religious school need not respect the request of Negroes to enter. "As a matter of just ordinary horse sense," Dunjee asked, "why would it not be reasonable to suppose it is just as legal for the two races to mix together in a religious institution as in a tax supported college?" He continued, "what's the difference in the realm of morals, ethics or just plain ordinary horse sense, and why would not the officials at this institution observe this viewpint without going to all of the red tape in having the attorney general violate the law by advising them?"[1]

It would be interesting, Dunjee mused, if some church school, following the lead of tax supported schools, enrolled Black students just for the purpose of testing the fine distinction the attorney general had made respecting private state schools. He went on to comment that perhaps officials at Phillips, realizing that other Christian colleges in Oklahoma were about to open their doors to Blacks, asked for the opinion in an effort to halt entry in any other tax supported institutions. Then, following another frequent habit, Dunjee reminded his readers that an opinion by the attorney general was not necessarily the law. He pointed out that some adventuresome college authority would have to test the opinion in court. College administrators could argue in court that the ruling was depriving them of revenues to which their school was entitled. Dunjee believed that a property right was involved which the court would uphold.

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[1]Black Dispatch, "A Little Child Shall Lead Them," Vol. 38, No. 5, February 16, 1952, p. 4.

"We wonder also just how the Negro communicants of this denomination feel," pondered Dunjee, "when they know leaders of their religious denomination are lagging behind the state in the realm of morality and human decency, and yet want to come over to their church on Sunday and preach about a questionable type of Jim Crow brotherhood."[1] Ending this editorial, Dunjee described an event which occurred when he was president of the Oklahoma Conference of Branches of the NAACP. Young Whites had organized a branch of the NAACP at Phillips University.

> . . .as this miserable exposure of hypocrisy develops in the church we think of that Biblical admonition, "A little child shall lead them." Here we have an instance where the children in the Christian Church have more respect, regard and reverence for the principles of brotherhood than their elders. "When the earth is full of the knowledge of the Lord," the elders should seriously comtemplate upon the wisdom of children if peace is ever to arrive here on earth.[2]

Changing Educational Patterns

Periodically under a heading usually entitled "Changing Educational Patterns," Dunjee would relate his assessment of current trends in Black educaiton. This series of editorials appeared during the World War II period and reflected a change in the aspirations of Black people during the war years. These editorials are included to assess Dunjee's evaluation of educational realities at the time. They provide some insight into his philosophy of Black education.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

One such editorial appeared following Dunjee's speech before the presidents of land grant colleges in Chicago in 1940.[1] He criticized what he described as "useless liberal arts courses" which rendered Black youth useless to themselves and to the world. He contended that Blacks who attend college were mis-educated for the simple reason that no attention was given to fitting them securely and effectively into the environment where they must later live. People should be taught to conquer their living environment, Dunjee stated, any other expenditure of effort is useless. He pointed out that he did not mean that Blacks were not entitled to a well rounded cultural life because they were entitled to all of the polish and refinement of civilization. His philosophy was that Blacks should not put the cart (liberal arts) in front of the horse (employment skills).[2]

Quoting George Washington Carver, Dunjee defined education as "understanding relations." He went on to advocate that Blacks must organize and develop their economy with the related factors of food, shelter and clothing in mind. He closed with the statement that everything necessary in the way of job opportunities and independent existence could be available for Blacks, but he wondered how many were willing to pay the price to find the survival and growth gold ever present in human economy.[3]

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Changing Educational Patterns," Vol. 25, No. 47, November 23, 1940, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Dunjee also used the government's defense programs as a forum for advocating changes to enhance Black education. In a later editorial, he pointed out that the Federal structure called for young Black men and women to be integrated into the nation's industrial stratum, but Black schools offering ineffective, worthless, liberal arts courses were not adequately training them.[1] He commented that Black youth skilled in metal moulding, carpentry, masonry and allied crafts were needed but only a few old Blacks, close to retirement or "with one foote in the grave," characterized this portion of the labor market. Dunjee again reemphasized his contention that fundamental economies of any racial group relate to food, shelter and clothing. He stressed that no effective human existence could be maintained until the body of a race had been skilled and trained in the indsutries related to food, clothing and shelter.[2] Completing these remarks, Dunjee asserted that in ten years of traveling over the nation, he had only found three Black high schools moving in the direction he had in mind. These schools were Phyllis Wheatly High School in San Antonio, Texas; Atkins High School in Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and Manual Training High School in Muskogee, Oklahoma.[3]

Continuing on the same subject, Dunjee editorialized on an admission by J. W. Lewis, professor at Howard University, who as a panelist in a National

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Changing Educational Patterns," Vol. 26, No. 13, March 22, 1941, p. 4.

[2] Ibid. Dunjee is describing Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Blacks were existing at the survival level, but aspiring to the self-actualizing level without having satisfied the basic requirements of food, shelter, and clothing.

[3] Black Dispatch, "Changing Educational Patterns," Vol. 26, No. 13, March 22, 1941, p. 4.

Business League discussion admitted that there was no first class business course taught in any Black college.[1] Dunjee emphasized that too many Black educators believe that youth should be developed solely within the fields of present known employment opportunities. He stated that a panelist had asked the question, "why should we educate Negro youth in fields where there is no chance for them to secure work?"[2] Dunjee's response to this question constituted the body of the editorial. He responded that if Black schools were organized objectively to control the basic economy of Blacks, instead of having the superficial view that Blacks should be condemned to menial labor tasks, Black schools would be giving stimulus and training to every talent and latent ability found in Black students.[3] He went on to point out that the major difficulty in Black life comes from the fact that the Black American is still emerging from a slave economy. Black colleges and secondary schools, according to Dunjee, should have been patterned so as to direct the organization of Black spending power. If this happens, there would be no need to ask Whites to give Blacks employment. Dunjee lamented the fact that because of their socially disorganized condition, everyone except Black people seemed to have knowledge of the collective strength of Blacks.[4] He indicated that although Blacks suffered from unemployment and destitution, within the Black community there is an untapped economy similar to that which Whites

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[1] Black Dispatch, "Changing Educational Patterns," Vol. 26, No. 37, September 6, 1941, p. 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

have developed. Indeed, some Whites exploit this potential for their own profit. Dunjee had these recommendations for Black educational institutions and educators:

> Not until our schools and colleges become research institutes and experiment stations where the latent strength of Negroes can be organized and exploited by Negroes will the Black man find his rightful place and economic position in American life. . . . The Negro school must organize programs and ways to control and make effective all of our (Blacks) latent powers . . . .Education is not an end within itself; education is a means to an end. . . .The horizon of opportunity is only limited by the mind. It is the mind--not the hands of Negroes which will finally organize the basic economy of Black folk.[1]

In 1942, Dunjee analyzed employment statistics compiled by the United States Department of Commerce to show that 64.7% of the Black labor force was employed in the areas of agriculture and domestic service. These were areas he described as, "fields where there is no bottom in the wage scale, nor limit on the hours employed for the pittance paid, and where social security laws do not reach."[2] These figures, according to Dunjee, indicated the important task facing Blacks in the United States. He pointed out that Blacks were living in a cruel mechanical world and the war effort had exposed Black schools turning out boys and girls without sufficient training in the mechanical arts to be employed in defense industry. "Is this the fault of White industrialists or do these statistics expose a grievous fault in Black life?" he asked.

Dunjee indicated that he could see no more important task before the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers than the implementation of an

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "Changing Educational Patterns," Vol. 27, No. 8, February 14, 1942, p. 4.

educational program that would integrate Black youth into the industrial opportunities of the day. He scoffed at the idea that Black youth should be trained to enter only fields where there were obvious employment opportunities. They should be trained, he said, to do anything any other young American could do and leave it up to the individual's resourcefulness to find employment for their skill and training. Dunjee then suggested that a campaign be launched to establish a school where Black boys and girls coud be trained to successfully compete in the industrial world in which they live.[1]

Shortly thereafter, influenced by an address made by William H. Bell, president of Talladega College, before the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, Dunjee addressed the subject of educational trends.[2] He praised Bell's advocacy of changes in educational training along the lines previously suggested by Dunjee. Dunjee urged state teachers to call a conference for the purpose of developing an industrial program and indicated that the Black Dispatch endorsed the proposed meeting.[3]

As with all of the causes Dunjee advocated, he brought with him all of his available resources. He spoke out in favor of changes in the pattern of Black education at every opportunity. On one such occasion he spoke at New Hope Baptist Church in Dallas, Texas.[4] This speech was significant in that

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Black Dispatch, "Changing Educational Patterns," Vol. 27, No. 9, February 21, 1942, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Black Dispatch, "Editor Dunjee Discusses Educational Changes," Vol. 26, No. 7, February 8, 1942, pp. 1-2.

Dunjee acknowledged the long standing rift that existed between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois over the type of education Blacks in America should secure. He cited this long standing debate as proof that the intellectuals of the Black race had never been sure as to the type and character of educational patterns. He indicated that neither of the extreme positions taken by Washington and Dubois offered the true concept of education. Dunjee divided education into two parts. First, Blacks must be taught how to effect their basic life economy. That is, all must learn how to feed, clothe and shelter themselves. Second, they should learn the fine art of living.[1] Dunjee closed with the statement that Dubois had hold of the top of what he was talking about and that Booker T. Washington had hold of the bottom.[2]

This statement perhaps explains the fact that Dunjee maintained cordial relationships with both of the opposing factions in the Washington-DuBois controversy. He was a board member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History along with DuBois, as well as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which DuBois helped to found. In addition to these relationships with DuBois, he was a national board member of the Negro Business League, which was founded by Booker T. Washington. He was the state leader for both organizations for a number of years.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The details of Dunjee's involvement with these two organizations was briefly referred to in the chapter dealing with Dunjee's life.

Dunjee's life clearly incorporated the flexibility and tenacity that was to characterize numerous Black educators in Oklahoma. However, few men or women have been as forceful and courageous as Roscoe Dunjee. It is not amazing that he exhibited these traits. It is extremely significant that he did so during the most racist period in Oklahoma history.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Roscoe Dunjee combined fact and inference in his editorials to make intellectual and emotional appeals for action. He wrote primarily for Black audiences. He was, however, aware that his editorials were widely read by Whites who were gauging the Black community by his words. Dunjee did not always agree with Black leaders on issues related to education and he did not hesitate to publicize this fact in his newspaper. As an editor, Dunjee was an arrogant, self-centered individual who was single-minded, dedicated, fearless and unswervingly honest in his conviction that racial segregation was legally and morally wrong.

Although Dunjee was an intellectual by temperment, he was practical in his views on education as they related to Black people. He felt that education should prepare students for earning a livelihood. Dunjee continuously pointed out what he felt was good and bad about educational systems. He did not attempt to side step or minimize issues. He criticized Black as well as White educators. According to Dunjee, education should fit Blacks into the environment where they must live. They should be taught to conquer their living environment. He took every opportunity to give this message to Black educators, politicians and lay citizens.

Dunjee's position on Black education was such that he was comfortable with the opposing positions of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. He

actively supported the positions of both men. Dunjee felt that the extreme positions taken by these two men did not addres the true concept of Black education. His idea was that Blacks must control their own economy and having done this, actively pursue intellectual life. He indicated that DuBois advocated the top of his ideas and Washington advocated the bottom.[1] In an editorial entitled "Education," Dunjee gave his concept of education:

> There are two processes that go on in education; sometimes in the same school, sometimes in separate schools. One process—and the greater, the external one—is to develop the human being into the fullness of his manhood; to teach him to think; to tell him something of what human beings have learned in the past and are learning now; to make him realize his own powers and possibilities and to give him character and habit of work. This is the so-called "Classical educaiton." The other thing which is learned in schools, sometimes in the same school as the larger educational process, is the imparting of skills. The simplest of the imparting of skills is learning to read and write and count. And then beyond that, the child learns in his home or elsewhere, how to clean and cook and do the hard labor of the world; and beyond that he learns special skills; in woodworking and metal working, building and measuring, extracting and growing materials, processing raw matter into consumption goods; all which are in demand by the public and for the exercise of which the public pays a good wage. These two kinds of education must not be mixed up. We cannot simply make men carpenters, we must make carpenters men. On the other hand, if we spend all our time in developing the individual and giving him the broadest educaiton which he can master, manifestly the world's immediate and necessary work will not be done. Both things therefore, the teaching of skills and methods and the development of knowledge, reasoning and personality must be pursued. It will never be the question easily answered as to where one begins and the other ends. To a degree, both kinds of educaiton are carried on together. Then somewhere in the high school, perhaps those students of unusual ability and promise are selected for the broader and higher education.[2]

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[1]These differences were covered in earlier portions of the study.

[2]Black Dispatch, "Education," Vol. 29, No. 26, June 8, 1944, p. 4.

The passage above illustrates Dunjee's concept of education. Although it was intended for the Black community in 1944, it is appropriate for current leaders in education. The dilemma Dunjee alluded to between the types of education to be stressed in the schools has not yet been adequately resolved. Schools are still preparing teachers for jobs that do not exist and students are unable to fit into the environment where they must live.

Dunjee perceived that education in Oklahoma was as much political as it was predagogical. In this context, he actively challenged political leaders concerned with Black education to support the right of Blacks to vote and to help them secure social and economic power. This approach encompassed a wide variety of issues seemingly unrelated to education, but in the broader context they were vitally important if Blacks were to have access to the types and kinds of training available to Whites. He sought to change the superior-inferior perspective in which Whites and Blacks viewed each other in order to bring about meaningful changes in race relations. He basically felt that there were very few differences between the races other than skin color and socioeconomic conditions. These latter differences, he believed, could be resolved through the political and educational processes. When viewed in ths context, Dunjee's ideas begin to take on an element of cohesion. Sometimes the end result of what he hoped to achieve was not evident from his individual efforts in the various areas discussed. The disparate parts of his efforts are more meaningful when viewed as a whole.

One of the primary problems, and one that caused Dunjee much concern, was the separate school laws of Oklahoma. He considered these laws to be unconstitutional in that they represented a situation of taxation without

representation. Tax funds were derived from one group (Blacks) for the exclusive benefit of another (Whites) and the former group could not participate in the political process which established these taxes. One of the most prolific series of editorials that Dunjee wrote addressed the separate school issue. He was consistently critical of the separate schools while at the same time he was suggesting ways and means for coping with the situation, while it had to be endured. Dunjee was among the first critics of dual systems of education in Oklahoma, citing the inordinate expense of maintaining such an arrangement.

In 1931, he set forth four variables that he felt were critical to Black education in the South. There were: (1) source of revenue, (2) type and character of curriculum, (3) results of present methods, and (4) aims and objectives of the Black intelligensia.[1] These variables provided the subject matter for many of his editorials on education. He also pointed out that racial stereotypes in textbooks of the time tended to create the impression that Blacks were inferior.[2] He was an early advocate of Black history in the classrooms of the public school, an event which only came to pass in recent years. Dunjee felt that knowledge of the accomplishments of Blacks should be a part of the school curriculum.

According to Dunjee, education should prepare the individual to live an effective existence. Self-sufficiency was an important part of his educational

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[1] Black Education in the South, a speech delivered by Roscoe Dunjee at Pilgrim Congregational Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on March 11, 1931. (Printed in the Black Dispatch, March 26, 1938, see Appendix B).

[2] This same criticism has been leveled in recent times.

philosophy. He felt that in this context, the objectives of Blacks and Whites were identical. Dunjee was just as impatient with Black bigotry as he was with White bigotry, he truly believed in equality.[1]

The objectives of Black journalism, on the other hand, was in Dunjee's opinion, to represent the views and aspirations of Black people. In this context, the Black press was radical, and rightfully so, in Dunjee's view because of the constraints imposed on Blacks.[2]

When Dunjee retired from public life, he was honored with a testimonial dinner. His comments on that occasion provided further insights into his philosophy and character. He commented that the Black Dispatch was born fighting for Langston University and for equal educational facilities for Blacks in Oklahoma. He believed that Blacks must have the same type of education as their White peers.

Leadership and influence carried collossal responsibilities in Dunjee's view; and leaders should not seek material gain. Dunjee exemplified leadership while maintaining high ethical standards. He felt that Blacks could do anything that Whites could do if they had enough financial support, patience, courage and tenacity.

Dunjee frequently compared per capita expenditures for education in Black schools with those for White schools and used this as a basis for criticism

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[1]Personal interview with Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, Professor of History at Langston University, civil rights activist and protege of Roscoe Dunjee, February 15, 1981.

[2]Negro Journalism, a speech delivered by Roscoe Dunjee before the Journalism Class at Oklahoma City University on February 27, 1928. (Printed in the Black Dispatch on March 1, 1928). See Appendices.

of salaries and spending for physical plant and equipment. His philosophy was that the only equal education was the same education.

At the time of his death in 1956, Dunjee had lived to witness radical changes in the educational climate of Oklahoma as well as the nation. Many of these changes were the result of his activities. The separate schools laws had been declared unconstitutional, a premise that Dunjee set forth early in his career. Higher education was open to all races and graduate training was accessible to Blacks in Oklahoma colleges and universities. In more than forty years as editor of the Black Dispatch, he had spearheaded this drive towards not only educational equality but equality in all phases of human life.

The accomplishments of Roscoe Dunjee enjoy relative obsurity except for scholars who are interested in or familiar with the civil rights movement or the Black press. His achievements have been mentioned in scholarly presentations related to these subjects, but this effort represents the first attempt to view his efforts from the perspective of education. Hopefully, others will review his activities from the educational and other perspectives and he will be accorded the recognition he so richly deserves. Dunjee has contributed greatly to the area of education not only through those activities enumerated in this study but through his efforts in securing voting rights for Blacks, jury service, fair housing, employment, and access to public accommodations.

Most of what Dunjee sought to achieve has been accomplished. Whether or not he can be solely credited with achieving these objectives is questionable at best, but there can be no doubt that he was actively involved in the struggle to secure these rights for Blacks. Nor is there any doubt that his acitivities contributed to their achievement.

When recounting the accomplishments of early activists in the area of integration in education, people like Roscoe Dunjee provide a rich historical heritage for current and future educators. Many of the early problems identified with public education are still with us. Perhaps some of the early solutions would be beneficial in these enlightened times. This writer strongly recommends the study of the contributions to education and other relevant areas made by Black educational leaders in this state. Studies of this nature may provide historical insights into traditional behavior patterns and attitudes exhibited by the various ethnic groups to each other and among themselves. Knowledge of these underlying factors may provide guidelines to improving the educational process at all levels. Dunjee suggested that a knowledge of the contributions of Black people to the development of the western civilizations would then remove the stereotypes depicting non-White people in various historical accounts.

It is not surprising that Dunjee died a pauper, and that donations had to be solicited to cover his funeral expenses. He was true to his calling, never placing material gain ahead of what he felt was right. Dunjee's efforts and the vehicle he used to achieve his goals, the Black Dispatch, provide fruitful ground for research in the effects of Black newspapers on public education. How much influence do Black newspapers exert on the types and kinds of education provided through public educational facilities? This writer recommends that studies be undertaken to determine their effects on education in Oklahoma and other parts of the nation. This should not necessarily be confined to the adversary role; for newspapers frequently identify educational needs based on nonracial economic changes in social and cultural patterns. Studies of this

nature may reduce the time span between the identification of educational needs and the delivery of the necessary training by educational systems. When this happens, alienation, with its incipent conditions of meaninglessness, powerlessness and normlessness, is likely to be reduced. This quest was Dunjee's legacy to us.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DUNJEE'S SPEECH ON NEGRO JOURNALISM TO JOURNALISM CLASS AT OKLAHOMA CITY UNIVERSITY, FEBRUARY 27, 1928

An address delivered by Roscoe Dunjee before the Class in Journalism at Oklahoma City University on Monday, February 27, 1928. (Printed in the Black Dispatch, March 1, 1928).

In presenting the subject of Negro Journalism to you this morning, I think I should take up three phases of the effort. All three of which should prove interesting and illuminating to anyone having a sympathetic desire to know of the Negro's advance and progress on the American continent.

First, I want to discuss the historical background of the effort; secondly, the objective sought; third, the interesting and powerful reactions that have resulted therefrom.

On the 16th day of March of this year (1928) Negro Journalism will arrive at its one hundred and first birthday. To state this more clearly, I will say that on the 16th day of March, 1827, John B. Russwurm, a Negro born in the island of Jamaica, started the publication of "Freedom's Journal." It might be interesting to note that Mr. Russwurm was the first American Negro college graduate. He finally became interested in the colonization scheme then being promoted on the west coast of Africa. In later years he went in person to Liberia, and at his death was the governor of the Province of Monrovia in Liberia. It should be illuminating for you to know that the Black Republic, which America's first Negro editor helped to found and govern, was the first of the nations of the world to liquidate its recent world war debts and is the only spot on the African continent where Negroes who speak the English language, have self determination in fact and actuality.

The next high point in the realm of the Black man's journalistic estate drifts up to 1848, when Frederick Douglas, the slave boy, who finally arose to such might and eminence that his commanding voice was heard around the world, started the "North Star", published in Rochester, New York. These were stirring times. The North Star was published for sixteen years, covering the period of the Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, the nomination of Martin Van Buren, the fugitive slave law, the 7th of March speech of Daniel Webster, the Dred Scott decision, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas and Nebraska Act, the border warfare in Kansas and John Brown's Raid.

To give you an idea of American tolerance then, as compared with now, I might tell you that the New York Herald openly advocated in its columns that the people of Rochester, New York, cast the plant of the North Star into Lake Ontario, and the Herald also openly advocated that the editor of the North Star be likewise consigned. Enemies of Douglas finally did destroy his home and the files of his paper were lost. Harvard University had previously asked for these files to be bound and kept, and if the fire had been only a few days later, the finest interpretation of Black thought during the period when the Black man's physical shakles were loosened, would have been preserved for posterity. I might say here also, that John Brown of Harper's Ferry and Ossawatomie wrote the constitution that he expected to adopt under his proposed new government, in the home of Frederick Douglas.

I might with pardonable pride state that in 1882, forty-five years ago, the Reverend John William Dunjee, my father, started the publication of Harper's Ferry Messenger, at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. I have brought along with me today an old scrapbook which carries many articles, at that time published in the Harpers Ferry Messenger, as well as other interesting data, compiled by my father. I shall leave this with you a few days as a means by

which you may get a glimpse of what the Negro was thinking and doing during this period. The Messenger lived and had its being during the years of Reconstruction. There has been so much said adversely about the character and intelligence of the Negro, and his reaction to citizenship and governmental forms during the Reconstruction, that I believe a careful persual of this old scrapbook will entirely upset the commonly accepted idea, (the result of false propaganda), that the Negro did not have intelligent leadership, and that he occupied a venal and debasing position in his new found place within the social fabric.

The perusal of this scrapbook will unfold the story of the period when the Civil Rights Bill was passed by the Congress of the United States, and other measures, termed force measures, and calculated to vitalize the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution. It may be your general information that from 1875 up until 1883, there was a federal enactment which left no room for the separation of the races, disfranchisement and discrimination in ownership of property. Much of the controversy on this subject will be found in this old scrapbook.

Enough for that, today there are more than 400 periodicals published in the United States by Negroes. Only one of these can date its birth back to 1865; this is the Christian Reader, a religious publication published by the A. M. E. Church. The Negro press has but recently come into its own. The past fifteen years have seen marvelous progress in circulation and in the number of lines of advertising carried. The Negro press finds itself actually making a dent in the wall upon which it has for 101 years pitted its unrelenting strength. We have today our press associations, feature services, the telegraph wires are infrequently used for dispatches of importance, relating to our rapidly growing economic establishment, etc. Whereas the publication of the North Star had cost the fabulous sum of $80.00 per week, we now have publications with monthly expenses running up to the $50,000 mark; they carry circulation up to 200,000. I am also leaving you today a copy of a paper that Negro America considers their masterpiece. This paper is published in Baltimore, Maryland, and is known as the Afro-American. The editor of this paper, Carl Murphy, was educated in Europe, which will give you an idea of the type of Negro Americans who have been called to the journalistic arena.

But, enough for that. I turn now to the second viewpoint: the objective of Negro journalism. Sometime ago a Catholic priest threw a copy of the Black Dispatch down on my desk after my private secretary had offered the same to him (which is our custom with every member of your race when they come to our office). "I never read Negro journals," he said, "they are too radical; they are always crying about something. I can see no justification for their existance."

My observation and experiences teach me that there is quite a large number of American people, who consider that Negro journals are radical, and with every one of them I agree. But I do not agree that there is no justification for their existance, when I remember that these journals represent a unit of American life whose citizenship status has been lowered, and that they are in no wise more radical than White journals when perchance and occasionally the same shoe that pinches us, pinches the White race.

I want to give you a case in point. Can you imagine any more radical utterances ever made than appeared in the White journals of this state the morning our famous Jack Walton turned his machine guns on the capital building, the court rooms and the jail? Do you remember that he suspended the writ of habeas corpus and told you when to go to sleep and the hour when you should wake up?

The wild intemperate and radical utterances eminating from the White press of this state during those stirring times would shame any Negro publication laying claim to radicalism. The I. W. W. organs must have been filled with consternation at the conduct of the ultra-conservatives. Jack Walton offered us the proof that you can manufacture radicals out of the best of us when you withdraw constitutional guaranties and political rights. It would be helpful, in a study of this phase of the relationship of journalism to government, to study the spirit, attitude and generally inflamed condition of the colonial press during the days of the Revolution; during the War of 1812; and especially the utterances of the entire American press during the frightful days of the World War.

With the Negro here in America, the writ of habeaus corpus is always suspended; the guns of the mob are always pointed at the jails, and our good judgement, many times, forces us in bed when it is not bedtime; when the dashing, lashing blood of manhood tells us we should be out fighting for the constitutional guarantee we are denied.

I might as well say right here, that America, or government, makes radicals out of any unit of its citizens whose class status is lowered. Every man and woman whom God has catapulted into this world is looking for economic and political freedom. Frederick Douglas named his paper the North Star and he intended for his publication to be a symbol which that wonderful unit of heavenly light had been to him—the direction in which the slave could steal away to freedom. I want to refer to the names of some Negro journals. As I read them you try to imagine the objectives of the man who sought the title he gave his publication: The Indianapolis Freeman, The Chicago Defender, The Washington Sentinel, St. Louis Argus, Negro World, Watchman-Lantern, Wichita Protest, Negro Advocate, Dawn of Tomorrow, and a hundred others with names, all of which are significant of protest, ambition, and desire to tear themselves away from the social position into which their group had been cast.

It can readily be seen that the Negro reacts in the same manner as men of other races, to restriction, discrimination and things that bind. From the Black group there springs the same human protest that sprang from your race when you were fighting King John for Magna Charta on the bloody fields of Runnymede. I think I have sufficiently covered the field of objectives; I turn now to the question of results gained from our century struggle up the hills of world esteem.

The Negro press feels that it has compelled respect and approval for the race it represents, and has turned topsy-turvy the changed opinion that America and the world were about to get of the moral character of the Black man. I feel that I should speak frankly on this particular subject to you embryo journalists. In antebellum days, the Negro as a slave, was pictured in song and story as a creature of love, obedience, good fellowship and a sturdy worker.

This is a true picture of the Black man. The Black man is a natural communist. This may be his fault rather than his virtue, but in America there has not yet been drilled out of the Black heart and soul the love of peace and accord which through the mystic centuries, was his characteristic back in the pastoral hills of his fatherland. I am not preaching to you today the doctrine of amalgamation, but I will say that a very learned White man said to me sometime ago, that this attitude of mind of the Negro is one that the White race should attempt to approximate, in order to temper down his highly organized nature that he has acquired out of the world's strife and battle, in which, in contrast to the Negro, he has lived.

Following the Negro's freedom in this country, for political reasons it was necessary to justify the bar placed against the Negro's right to the ballot. In this connection I do not believe that any more discrimination has been offered to the Black man in America than has, in the years which have gone, been offered to the Jew, the Irish, and other temporarily submerged groups. The Jews remember their ghetto, the Irish remember the "Pale" just as the Negro today understands segregation. No dominant race has ever accepted a submerged group immediately as their equal, regardless of what political or governmentalk pronouncements were brought to their relief. It has through all of the ages been a campaign of education, and that campaign has always extended across years until the men and women who knew that group as serfs had died, and their sons and daughters had sped on through many generations to be dominated by a wholly different psychology.

To arrive directly at that to which I am driving, I want to point out that Negroes began to notice, shortly following freedom, that instead of the oft repeated story of slave virtues, there had crept into the journals of the nation the Negro's delinquencies. If a Negro committed a crime, it somehow got on the front page of the paper; he received headlines. While, on the other hand, I have only to repeat a story told by Booker T. Washington. Washington said that at one time he delivered what he considered about his best platform effort. He delivered an address in a certain southern town. The next morning, according to Washington, he grabbed for the paper published in that particular city, thinking that his address would be emblazoned upon the front of the local journal. He said that after much search and investigation he finally found about two inches given to his speech on the back page. On the front page of the same paper was a double-column article about a Negro who had been killed stealing chickens.

This sort of propaganda has had its effect for almost fifty yeas, and up until the Negro journalist began to be heard and felt, the common accepted idea was, that Negroes, generally, were below the moral standard of other American groups. The Southern Sociological Congress, several years ago, in its resolutions adopted, carried a paragraph which left no doubt in the minds of all who read it, that one of the greatest manaces to the Whites of the south was the Negro's inclination to rapine and dissolution. Understand now, I am not charging these honorable gentlemen with anything more than being the victims of the false propaganda they had read. Thus they justified the mobs in the south, and the unleased fury that toppled down upon the heads of Black folks.

Since that time, through the department of research at Tuskegee, and the records compiled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in New York City, it has been proven beyond a reasonable doubt that in the realm of crime, rape is the least of the charges to be checked up against Black folks. Negro journals have been able to expose, in the southland a system of vassalage and peonage, and to prove that out of this involved situation springs practically all of the violence that has been heaped upon America's submerged tenth.

Negro journals fought for the release of the Negroes snatched up in the maw of the Elaine riots in Arkansas, because our investigation showed that it was the tenant system of farming at the bottom of it all. We have proven that these humble Black farmers did not have a dangerous secret society, which they intended should be a medium by which they could exterminate White people, as it had been heralded to the world in White papers.

I might go on to discuss the East St. Louis riot, the Chicago riots, the battles of the Blacks for ballot privileges, against Jim Crowism, segregation and every character of discrimination; it has been the Negro journal that has gone into the maze of the struggle and told the facts as it has understood them.

As a result of this effort there has come into being in the south, interracial commissions. In the larger cities Negroes are being accorded representation on welfare boards and membership in other civic bodies. The Negro journal is fighting for better employment, better living conditions, better educational facilities for Black people. We are fighting for a chance to enjoy everything that any other citizen who bears his breast to foreign foes, enjoys in America. The Negro press fights especially for the right to vote, because we understand and know it is the only method by which, under our form of government, a man can protect his life, his liberty and his property. The judge, when my case comes before him, leans quite naturally towards the man who elected him to office, the sheriff may not think so much of me when the mob comes, if the mob votes, while the mob's victim and his relatives do not vote. The right to vote is fundamental and reaches down to the very cornerstone of liberty in this country; therefore, the Negro has insisted and will continue to pound upon the conscience of America until the Black man has unleashed, full and complete the rightful use of the ballot.

In our forced radicalism the Negro journalist knows that he is taking the dangerous chance of being misunderstood. In my thirteen years of journalistic effort I have had two battles to fight; I have had to fight to remove the barrier in front of my group, and I have had to fight the Tories within my own group who would misrepresent me to you; even as did the Tories in the life of the colonists, seek to deliver the folk who sought self determination in their country, into the hands of the British.

But the Negro editor does not seek to be misunderstood. He seeks to interpret the mind, the aspiration, the object, and longing of his people. He knows that those who have a different policy, a different program, will perhaps be momentarily affronted; but even so, we fight on secure in the belief that America's conscience will continue to rise to higher levels. Tis a long advance that the Black man has made since the day he sang that significant song, "Steal Away to Jesus," indicating and pointing to the time he did not have even the right to pray; the Black man was regarded as not having a soul.

The Negro editor measures the strides he is making by such relative lengths; yesterday, we were uneducated, today we are educated; yesterday, we owned nothing, today, we do annually about two billion dollars worth of business in the marts and trade. We have built a great home life and we measure with our yardstick the distance between the time when Chief Justice Tany said, "The Negro has no right which a White man is bound to respect," and today when almost every time the Black man lands in that august tribunal, the Supreme Court of the United States he hears the constitution interpreted as placing safeguards around our homes, our lives and our property.

If the Negro editor has not measured up to the standard that you perhaps might set for him, keep this is mind; hardly is there a Black man operating a newspaper, who has had the opportunity of those who hear me today. All of us whom you see operating Negro journals started out on an uncharted sea, without a compass, in front all was darkness. It took courage, faith and the grit that Kipling spoke of in his splended poem, "If" to bring us to where you find us today, and all that we have been trying to do up to this moment is this: we have tried to make you stop and think like a man has to think when he is tied and bound, and very often gagged.

APPENDIX B

DUNJEE'S SPEECH ON NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH AT PILGRIM CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, OKLAHOMA CITY MARCH 11, 1931

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

An address delivered by Roscoe Dunjee at Pilgrim Congregational Church, Oklahoma City, on March 11, 1931. (Printed in the Black Dispatch, March 26, 1938).

In 1924, according to the state superintendent of education, there were in the sixteen former slave states, and Oklahoma and the District of Columbia; 3,141,869 Black boys and girls of school age. Of these, 2,149,548, or 68.4 percent, were enrolled in school. The number of Negro public school teachers in these states was 42,018.

Tonight, in discussing the subject, "Negro Education in the South," I believe that I should deal largely with four phases of this very important subject, Viz: (1) the source of revenue for maintenance; (2) the type and character of the curriculum; (3) the net results of the present day method; (4) the objective and aims of the Negro intelligensia.

An early as 1620 Virginia started operating a public school for Indians and Negroes. From this period up to 1850 the attitude of the south underwent many changes with reference to the Black man. In 1750, Reverend Thomas Bacon, an ex-slaveholder in Talbot County, Maryland, opened a school for poor White and Negro children, and in 1763 a manual school was established in Hyde County, North Carolina for Indians and Negroes by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[1]

During this period the Negro was not idle in his own right. Negroes in Boston established a private school in 1798 and two years later, in 1800, this school enrolled sixty-eight students. In 1807, three Colored men, George Bell, Nicollas Franklin and Moses Liverpool, erected in Washington, D.C., the first schoolhouse in that city for Colored children. Not one of these men could read or write. They had lived as slaves in Virginia, but had learned that education was an important thing. They secured a White teacher for their school.

I said a moment ago that during this early period, the attitude of colonists underwent many changes with reference to the Negro. The economics of slavery insisted that the Black man be developed into the best type of manual laborer. By 1700 he had developed into the largest source from which the early settlers drafted their skilled laborers, and yet craftly slaveholders realized that education of a certain type was dangerous if the Black man was to be kept in passive submission to the lash of the whip and the menial tasks of human bondage. Thus early in the life of the colonist there developed many controversial questions as to the type and character of education the Negro should be allowed to secure. One drift, which finally found sanction in law and public policy, was to the effect that no slave should be taught even the rudiments of education.

Many proponents of slavery argued during anti-bellum days, that the Negro did not even have a soul, and as late as 1875, W. H. Huffner, superintendent of schools in the state of Virginia, made a report to the governor of that state, that "textbooks of a special character are needed for the Colored people for one or two generations to come, because the brain of the Negro is not sufficiently developed to master even the common rudiments taught in our schools."

Regardless of the meager educational opportunity during the first 200 years spent in this country, the Black man made remarkable progress in mental development. Benjamin Baneker, Baltimore, Negro, born in 1721, was at the

age of 24 the owner of the first clock constructed in America. Baneker's clock gave correct time and struck the hour. It must be kept in mind that Baneker achieved this mechanical miracle with imperfect tools available in those times.

Time will not permit me to go into a lengthy discussion of the progress of the Negro during this period, but I will refer to Phyllis Wheatley, born in Africa, but sold as a slave to John Wheatley, a colonist, in 1761, who had her educated. The first president of the nation, George Washington, gave personal recognition to this distinguished woman who became one of the first American poets. As a poet, Jupiter Hammond antedates Miss Wheatley. Hammond was a preacher. One of his poems of that period carried this caption: "Composed by Jupiter Hammond, a Negro belonging to Mr. Loyd of Queen's Village on Long Island, the 25th of December, 1760."

The free public schools of the south as we find them today came into existance during what is called the reconstruction period of the south. In 1863, Virginia established its first system of public schools which included Negroes, and in 1864, Louisiana established the first system of public schools in the south supported by taxation.

In this connection I desire to point out that during the reconstruction period of the southland the Negro played an important part in the establishment of the public school system. Blanch X. Bruce, Negro superintendent of schools in Mississippi, and later United States Senator from that state, was the guiding spirit in organizing the Mississippi public school system. It must be kept in mind that up to the reconstruction period the poor Whites of the south had no free schools, supported by taxation, as they now function in the former slaveholding section. Immediately following freedom, Negroes held the balance of power in most of the legislatures of the south. Take for example, the racial personnel of the following southern legislatures: Alabama legislature 1874-78, Whites 71, Negroes 29; North Carolina 1873-74, House of Representatives, Whites 63, Negroes 61; Mississippi, 1874-75, House of Representatives, Whites 61, Negroes 55.

The point I have sought to make here is that before, by devious methods of disfranchisement in the southland, the Negro was separated from the law-making bodies of the south, his thirst for knowledge helped to make possible, and in many instances was the compelling influence which created the wonderful public school system which White as well as Black enjoy in the southland.

It is roughly estimated that since 1865 religious and philantropic organizations have contributed to Negro education more than $90,000,000. During this same period the Negro through his churches and by other means has contributed more than $50,000,000. In 1923-24, the former sixteen slave states spent from the public tax fund, $28,577,044 for Negro education. There was spent during the same two years in the entire United States the huge sum of two billion dollars for education of all races and classes.

Digging into the expenditure and the administration of the collosal fund for education, annually spent in these United States, it might be interesting for you to know that only three of the sixteen southern states, have equal school terms for White and Colored children.

President Grossley, of the state college, Dover, Delaware, reported to the Negro fact finding conference, held at Durham, North Carolina, two years ago, that the educational tax in many southern states was unfairly divided as follows:

> Maryland spends $39 on each White child, $23 on each Negro child.
>
> North Carolina spends $32 per capita on the White child and $16 on each Negro child.

Mississippi spends yearly on each White child $32, and on each Negro child $6.

South Carolina spends yearly on each White child $32, and on each Negro child $5.

Washington, D. C. spends yearly $147 on each White child, and $127 on each Negro child.

Delaware spends annualy on each White child $93, and on each Negro child $78.

The Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, in its survey of public education in Oklahoma in 1922, said among other things: "The separate school law is unjust to both races and cannot be defended as a matter of principle." Its injustic to the Negro is manifest. The Negro taxpayers of Oklahoma City and of all districts in the state, where the district school is the White school are taxed 15 mills or less to support White schools. In addition, they (the Negroes) are taxed two mills or less, to maintain their own schools in Oklahoma County, including those in Oklahoma City. They are also taxed to help retire bonds that have been issued. These bonds are issued to build White schools.

Dr. Z. T. Hubert, president of our state university at Langston, this year provided some interesting figures for the present legislature, which shows the unfairness in the administration and appropriation of the state funds for higher education of the Black boy and girl, here is the summary:

> The number of White students attending the University of Oklahoma and the A & M College total 11,816. The enrollment at Langston University (Colored) during the fall and spring of the same period was 1,174.
>
> The 1930 appropriation for the two White institutions named totaled $1,894,000. The 1930 appropriation for Langston University was $94,000. Reduced to a per capita basis these figures show that the state of Oklahoma spent in 1930 on each White child who sought higher education, $160.30 while on the Negro child who attended Langston University, the state spent $80.00.

Oklahoma like most of the southern states, dictates a policy with reference to Negro education which eliminates the possibility of a Black boy or girl securing professional or artistic training. As a result, the Negro parent must send his boy or girl out of state to secure the class of education which the White child can secure at Norman or Stillwater.

It can be readily seen that in addition to being burdened in Oklahoma with a tax to educate the White child, the Negro taxpayer is loaded with an extremely heavy burden of sending his offspring hundreds of miles out of Oklahoma to prepare these children for the battle of life.

It is my personal opinion that certain provisions of Oklahoma's separate school law are in violation to the Constitution of the United States. I have special reference to the section which forces the Black man to pay any educational tax, above the two-mill levy, from which no Black taxpayer can derive any benefit.

Most Negro state schools or land grant colleges are compelled to accept a curriculum which covers a so-called agricultural and industrial course. It should be pointed out here that Negro leadership has a more sympathetic

interest in industrial courses than it had perhaps three decades ago; but, even so, the point we offer here is that industrial courses in all of the southern schools for Negroes, are nothing more than gestures at industrialism. They make no actual contribution to industrial training.

In other words, there is no effort made in state schools to train the Negroes to do the class and sort of skilled work which would throw Negroes in direct competition with White union labor. My notion of an industrial school is one which would develop plumbers, electricians, architects, sign painters and such like.

It is only in school, such as are supported by privately organized funds, that the Negro has been allowed to fairly equip himself to enter into the competition of life. Following the emancipation of the slaves many agencies set about the task of uplift among Negroes. One of the earliest of these philanthropists was Daniel Hand, of Gulliford, Connecticut, who in 1888 gave the American Missionary Association one million dollars to aid in the education of the Negro. Mr. Hand later contributed, before his death, one half million more.

Tougaloo College, at Tougaloo, Mississippi, the school in which this church membership is deeply interested and to which I understand you have from time to time generously contributed, is one of the institutions in the south where the Negro is getting an even break in life. In fact, the Negro owes a debt of gratitude to the Congregational Church, which has contributed so largely in the higher education of Negroes in more than 28 training schools and colleges throughout the United States.

I feel that I should divert here just a moment from the general theme so say Lemuel Haynes, a revolutionary soldier, was the first Colored Congregational minister. He was born in West Hartford, Connecticut in 1775. Reverend Haynes joined the Colonial army and served throughout the war. He had an exceptionally good education. In 1785, he was selected as pastor of a White congregation at Terrington, Connecticut. By 1818, this Colored Congregational minister was recognized as one of the ablest divines of the period. His sermon against "Universalism" was widely published all over Europe and America. He died in Granville, Connecticut in 1832.

I would be unfair to the subject in question were I not at this point to give full credit to the many philanthropic sources from which the Negro in the southland has supplemented the meager state funds received, in developing his educational program. Millions of dollars have been contributed to Negro education in this way.

Here are a few of the sources of revenue: The Cushing Fund, the Avery Fund, The Vilas Bequest, The Buchingham Smith Fund, The African Third, The George Washington Educational Third, The Miner Fund, The Peabody Educational Fund, The Julius Rosenwald Fund, The John F. Slater Fund, The Jeanes Fund, The Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the General Educational Board.

The most serious objection which can be brought against educational standards in the south is that it does not offer a sufficient opportunity for the White man or the Negro youth himself, to see the Black man in the proper light. Let us start with the text book. In the school room the White child and the Negro child alike are offered a text book which says the Negro is inferior to all races. Personally, I have been trying all my life since school days, to find a Negro quite so ugly as the picture of the one offered me in a text book during my early days in the school room.

With this foundation upon which to build in the grade school the Negro and the White child proceed to study history, literature, art and science. Nothing is said about the contribution of the Negro to civilization, culture and progress. By omitting to tell of Black genius all children who attend American schools are led to believe that all progress had had its birth in a White cradle. It is easy to conceive of how the White boy or girl will grow up assuming that the Negro is inferior. Books tell him that the White folks have done everything: inferentially, the same books say that Negroes have done nothing.

It is easy also to understand how out of such an atmosphere the Negro boy and girl could develop an inferiority complex. Antar and Pushkin should be a part of his every day life just as Shakespeare's Chaucer. The White boy and girl should know also about Antar, Pushkin and Dumas. He would see the Negro whom he meets on the street every day in a different light were he to know in intimate detail about the life of these great men of letters.

Those of us who are earnestly studying race relations should dig in here. There is nothing that would dissipate race prejudice more quickly than a fair presentation of the Black man's past in the school room. The White child in the south and everywhere should know that Negroes named the stars, that Black men gave the world its democratic government and its science and mathematics. The truth of history teaches that the engineering problems of the pyramids were ours, and that we built ancient Thebes and Ninevah.

My personal opinion is that those who constitute mobs would hesitate to wreak physical violence upon the person of the Negro were there in the sub-conscious mind the knowledge of the value and worth of Black men and women to civilization, culture and progress. I believe that what I have just said properly belongs in the discussion of this subject, and I especially invite your earnest consideration of this viewpoint.

There is no question about the Negro having made mistakes in the past with regard to the kind and character of education which he should receive. For many years there has been violent clashing between two schools of thought within Black life. One extreme view is that we should endeavor to get somewhat of a social garnish involved in the mastery of certain languages and artistic notions; while the other extreme follows the belief that we should confine the effort to an industrial and agricultural program.

My personal notion is that education should teach a man to live an effective existence. It should teach him first to feed, shelter and clothe himself, and upon this he should build all of his artistic and cultural self.

A Negro who owns a farm should be ambitious to send his boy to a school of mines. The farm might not be worth a cent for agriculture; so that to live an effective existence upon that farm the Negro boy should be taught what is in the rocks and the formations of the earth. It is unfair to give this sort of education to White boys in Oklahoma while we dictate a character of education for Negro youth which withholds this knowledge.

George Washington Carver, a Negro whose color is as Black as my shoe, and the great scientist from Tuskegee, came recently to Oklahoma. Carver found among the growing plants, indigeous to the soil of Oklahoma, a fine quality of rubber. It may be that Oklahoma in withholding scientific knowledge from the Black youth, is thus shielding her eyes from many of the most potential riches of this great commonwealth. Carver has taken the humble peanut and the sweet potato and made several hundreds of hitherto unknown commercial products. What one Black man has done another can do.

If this state offers the White youth courses in law, medicine, engineering, finance, geology; if it maintains technical schools which offer courses in skilled trades to White students; then justice and fairness insist that the Black boy and girl be given the same, identical sort of education and development.

This then is the path down which we, who seek to blaze a highway for the Negro, must go. The objective, the purpose and the longing of the Black man, if you will study it carefully and well, is identical and the same as yours.

APPENDIX C

DUNJEE'S TESTIMONIAL SPEECH AT DOUGLAS HIGH SCHOOL, OKLAHOMA CITY, NOVEMBER 18, 1955

Speech Delivered by Editor Roscoe Dunjee
of a Testimonial Dinner in his honor
at Douglas High School
Oklahoma City—Friday, November 18, 1955

Dr. Williamston, president of this conference; my good friend, Thurgood Marshall, who has come a long way today to say such nice things this evening about me; Dr. Finley, Chairman of the Testimonial Committee; members of the Black Dispatch staff, with whom I have labored for many years; delegates to this silver anniversary of the Oklahoma Conference NAACP; fellow townsmen and friends from all over Oklahoma; ladies and gentlemen:

I cannot tell you how deeply grateful I am at this outpouring of my fellow workers, associates and friends. If I have not drunk freely tonight from the goblet of friendship, confidence and trust, that experience is impossible of human achievement.

I want you to know, however, that when I ponder upon what has been said here, I feel insignificant and unimportant—when I think in terms of what I have tried to do during the past fifty years, and the unfinished tasks that lie ahead.

I am indeed happy to know that neighbors, among whom I have lived these many years have this type and character of estimate of my strivings, and yet there is a tiny voice of conscience, that hammers away, to tell me I have not done everything I could have done. Everyone has, in a more or less degree, a sense of responsibility, and in this instance I can reckon with many problems, for which I feel accountability—which have not been resolved to my satisfaction. This is what has humbled me before the truth, as you have talked here tonight.

Since the movement I was advised that this testimonial was planned, I have spent many hours going back over the trail myself, to see if I could find any satisfaction in the effort. While there is confusion today in this glorious hour of change in American society, I am sure when we compare the American Black man of today, with his counterpart of half century ago, the portrait of progress stands out in bold relief. I can say here tonight we have made visible advancement in American citizenship, that is both material and spiritual.

Fifty years ago, when I started out in the public life of this state, the zephers of freedom blew more favorably over the Oklahoma Negro than in the southern section of America. Shortly thereafter, there came statehood and the reactionary forces from the Indian Territory sought to devour our freedom with Grandfather Clause, separate coaches and waiting rooms, demoted educational status, and an almost crushing attempt to visit second class citizenship upon you and me. Lee Cruce was at that time governor. He was the state of Oklahoma's second chief executive. Many of the younger generation do not know about him, but I recall the effort of Negroes of that period to laud Governor Cruce, who must have had compassion in his heart for the distress that had been brought down upon the heads of Oklahoma's largest minority group. Governor Cruce gave the Black people of Oklahoma the first glimpse of sympathy and light in the capital, when he reprieved and gave a life sentence to a Negro murderer who had been sentenced to be hanged. I have always felt that this condemned Black man was the beneficiary of the big heart of Governor Cruce, who was seeking in some way to ameliorate the condition of Negroes in the new state.

In those days I was a firey, yellow dog Republican, and remained so until the days of Franklin Deiano Roosevelt. I want to take occasion right here and now to say that Roosevelt is the man who should be the patron saint of Negroes. He gave us status with the American farmer and the industrial workers in cities. I saw this immediately following his advent into office, and without hesitation, moved under the banner of Roosevelt.

It was just at this time that political gangsters were attempting to oust the grand old man of education, Dr. Inman E. Page, from Langston University. I want to say here and now the Black Dispatch was born fighting for Langston University and for equal education facilities for Negroes in this state, and we hope the time will never come when the present management of the Black Dispatch recedes one inch from that position. Integration and the future hopes of Negroes in western society, depends entirely upon the Black man securing the same and identical type of education as his White brother.

The fight of the Black Dispatch for equality in citizenship was in earnest back in 1918, when Governor Robert L. Williams called a special session of the legislature to prevent Negroes from voting. The Supreme Court had just outlawed the Grandfather Clause and Governor Williams sought for and did secure the enactment of the Registration Act, which while not in use, is still on the statute books of this state.

Old timers will recall every week of Bob Williams' extra session, the Black Dispatch was on the desk of the legislators. To such an extent, Governor Williams wrote me a letter, at that time saying: "You remind me of a man with a chip on his shoulders, trying to get somebody to knock it off." The governor, to hide his real purpose in calling the legislature, announced publicly he had called the session to enact gambling and usury laws. I made gambling and unsury the subject of two of my editorials, but I applied the subject to the demoted citizenship status of Negroes.

Across the past forty years, I have had intimate relationship with the public life of this state, much of which many of you know. It has been an endless fight to match wits with intolerance and hate, but we have accepted this as the task of the Black Dispatch and you are tonight giving oral approval of what we have done.

I am sure when I have lived a long period in a community such as I have, you would expect me to leave some message to the younger men who are coming on behind. To them I want to say, leadership and influence carry with it collosal responsibilities. If you acquire influence, selfish, ruthless individuals will attempt in every conceivable way, to use that influence to their benefit and gain. It will be up to young men to conserve it for the benefit and use of the people.

From the highest to the lowest, every individual who seeks votes will want to use you. They will at first seek to buy you openly, and if they cannot do that, they will adopt other more subtle means. If they fail at that they will find some method with which to control your influence. The young leader must be strong enough to resist all such efforts. He will many times have to turn his gaze away from material gain, for the devil, every moment that you have influence over people, will carry you to the high mountain and point to the green valleys.

I recall during the early days of Jack Walton, when he was Mayor, an underworld character who was high in that city administration, came to me one morning in the midst of a fight I was pitching upon the Walton regime, and told me Jack Walton wanted to run for governor, and if I would cease my attack on

Walton, I could name the amount of money I wanted to take off of every Negro bootlegger, gambler, prostitute and dope peddler in Oklahoma City. He would collect it every week; I had nothing to do but accept the bribe after he had collected the same. The price for this filthy money was my support of Walton. I turned that offer down. Two weeks later the same man returned in the still watches of the night to prove that even a crook has a heart. He told me the next day when I went to the polling place, I was to be attacked by a gambler whom he named. I went to the polls that next day but in company with Sheriff Ben Dancy, who was my friend, and to whom I had told a part of the story, in order not to identify my informant. As truthfully as I am standing here now, when I arrived at the polls, I found standing there the two men whom my informant had told me had arranged the plot.

The forces in a community who seek to control it will either try to control you or get rid of you. On another occasion, in those early years, a charge was trumped up and I was thrown in jail. I want to tell something here tonight I have never told before. In the middle of the Grand Jury investigation, which I caused to be called two years ago, I was called late at night by a strange masculine voice and told what was going to happen to me. Leadership of integrity is dangerous and the young man who is launching a career should know something about what he is getting into before he starts. What the young man should do who starts out today in this glorious realm of change in social patterns is to fix his objectives in ends that have integrity. He should decide that his values should be spiritual and moral rather than material. This is a hard task, but it has its dividends. Always and ever, it should be kept in mind: "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." With me, money has never meant much more than substance. If a man is not right, his money is counterfeit. Men of character aways fight for right principles and not for selfish material gain.

In most of the battles I have fought, friends have stood about me and said, "you cannot win." It has always been my feeling that a man can surmount any obstacle in front of him, if he has the patience and courage; if he has the native tenacity to fight on, when, as Kipling once said, "There is nothing left but the will that says FIGHT ON." I am hoping as the years pass, there will be fewer Negroes dominated by the fear that we cannot win our rights here in America. The successful fight of Thurgood Marshall and his staff have proved we can win and that the future leadership among the Negroes in the United States should have the spirit of Elijah, who walked boldly into the wilderness of the past, depending solely upon the ravens to feed him. The Black man wants a changed leadership in this hour, willing for the thrilling adventures ahead in the field of equality in citizenship.

I recall one day about ten years ago, I was invited to deliver an address to the Texas State Conference of Branches NAACP at Corpus Christi. I arrived early that morning for the appointment and quickly slipped away from my guests and walked down alone and gazed out at the Corpus Christi Bay. The prevailing wind was blowing from the south with a stiff breeze. As I stood gazing at the waters of the bay, I noted, despite the fact the morning wind was sweeping from the south, many of those sailing vessels were going directly into the face of those contrary winds. Some of them were going to the East and some of them to the West. Mariners have learned the art and science in setting their canvas so that they may proceed uninterrupted in the direction of

contrary winds. There that morning was the wind blowing from the south, and in that same moment, were ships sailing directly forward in the face of that natural opposition. As I stood there I thought of that verse:

"Some ships sail East, and others sail West
In the very same winds that blows;
'Tis the set of the sail and not the gale
That determines where we go."

My friends, if I have tried in the past forty years to offer any leadership in the community where I have resided, it is a type of persuasion that attempts to prove that Negroes can do anything that they want to do, IF THEY HAVE ENOUGH PATIENCE, COURAGE AND INTEGRITY. Many of my associates have called me stubborn and inflexible, but those were only moments when opposition struck at my central objectives. Through all of the struggle I have never been able to accumulate hate or envy against any man. I have been far too active attempting to prove that humanity can set her sails to carry on against the contrary and opposing winds of race prejudice, and all I have found time to do is to shove aside opposition and help to press on towards the goals we have won.

This is a wonderful night. It will be precious in my memory for it proves without question that resolution and determination have their rewards, resting in the hearts and good wishes of one's neighbors.

I salute you in this great moment of joy!

APPENDIX D

DUNJEE KEYNOTE ADDRESS TO NATIONAL COLORED DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION

Keynote Address delivered by Roscoe Dunjee
to the National Colored Democratic Association
(Printed in the Congressional Record), n.d.

Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma: Mr. President, the National Colored Democratic Association recently held a national convention in the Eighth Regiment Armory in Chicago. The keynote address before this convention was delivered by Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch and a highly respected citizen of my State of Oklahoma. I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

I understand that Oscar DePriest, a distinguished citizen of this community, has done us a great honor. I am advised he says that Negro democrats are "foolcrats." I come today to beard the lion in his den. I want to devote a lot of my time today to the Negroes in America, who, like Oscar Depriest, assume the philosophy of Lot's wife, looking backward at the Republican ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah.

VOTE IN OKLAHOMA

I come from Oklahoma, that fair State where the Indian and the coyote used to roam. I come from a State where 40,000 Negroes now vote in the Democratic primary, and I come from below the Mason and Dixon's line to fling this challenge in the face of Oscar Depriest:

The 40,000 "foolcrats" down in Oklahoma, who have sense enough to be Democrats, are the Black men and women who by their vision and good fellowship among the citizens with whom they live are going to politically liberate the millions of beleagured members of our race now disfranchised in the far reaches of the Southland.

NEGRO ASLEEP

For 60 years the Negro laid down and went to sleep in the back yard of the Republican Party. He asked for nothing and got nothing; but we who are assembled here today have discovered the power in the ballot. We were dissatisfied with the crumbs that fell from the Republican table. Practically all of the older men of this convention are former Republicans and we left the Repubican Party immersed in that philosophy expressed by the immortal Frederick Douglass when he said:

> "Men have in their own hands the peaceful means by which they may put all of the moral, political, and economic enemies to flight, if they will faithfully, courageously, and valiantly use them."

L. K. WILLIAMS IN OKLAHOMA

Once before I have had to correct the thinking of one of the distinguished citizens of this fair city. He came down to Oklahoma during the last Presidential campaign admonishing an old colored lady whom he said symbolized all of the Negro Democrats in America. He said there was an old

colored lady up here in Chicago who was singing a song entitled "Jesus Leads Me and Roosevelt Feeds Me."

Well, I am glad to come to Chicago today to say that in spite of the Reverend L. K. Williams, the great Republican leader, Jesus still leads and Roosevelt still feeds the great American Nation.

Parties are nothing except that they represent principles in government. The principles for which the Repubican Party first stood have my approval, but when parties change their principles we should forget party and follow principle. This is the grave error made by Negroes who belong to the Republican Party.

"LILY WHITE-ISM"

I was once a Republican. For 18 years down in Oklahoma I was the undisputed head of the Negro wing of the Repubican organization. I sat in the Republican Convention in Kansas City in 1928 where "lilywhite-ism" was florescent. I shall never forget that memorable and despicable scene when, in spite of the truth and the facts, the Republican Party sold the Negro down the river.

"Lilywhite-ism" drove me out of the Republican Party. I was wounded in the house of my friends. I was present when Gooseneck Bill McDonald, of Fort Worth, and Ben Davis, of Georgia, were given their walking papers, and I lived long enough to see that same "lily white" organization send Mable Willibrandt from the department of "injustice" down to Mississippi in an attempt to put Perry Howard behind prison bars. Perry Howard happened to be one of those fellows spoken of in the Bible.

Perry has eyes but sees not. He has ears but hears not. Perry was trying to and is still trying to stay in Sodom and Gomarrah. Perry Howard was still looking back toward Lincoln and to Frederick Douglass who said, "The Repubican Party is the ship, all else the sea."

TOOK FRENCH LEAVE

Well, I come to Chicago today to say that the Democratic Party is the ship, all else the sea. I think I proved that rather conclusively to the Reverend L. K. Williams when he came down to Oklahoma 2 years ago. I think I'll take time out to tell you how I forced Reverend Williams to take French leave from our parts. I heard State Senator King and Reverend Williams were coming down to explain to us the "whereforeness of the which." I decided that Reverend Williams was one who needed an intelligence test, so I prepared examination papers for him. I knew what Hoover prosperity had done for the American people and I thought that if Reverend L. K. Williams and State Senator King had not heard about it, I would treat them to a little information. You know there are still some mountaineers up in the hills of Tennessee who have not found out Lincoln is dead, and who come down into the valley each election to vote for him.

So with this in mind, and with the hope that these deluded individuals would see the light, I prepared a list of 13 questions and registered them special delivery to the temporary residence of Reverend Williams. I ask this distinguished churchman to answer these questions when he spoke to his Oklahoma City audience. I am here to say that he never answered a single one

of those questions. He called me up and said he would prepare a statement regarding same when he returned to Chicago. Apparently, Lacy Kirk Williams has never gotten back home, for he still owes me a letter answering my questions. Now here is the list of 13 questions I asked Dr. Williams:

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Did you know that during the 10-year period ending with the Hoover administration, Negro farmers lost their rural holdings in the amount of 2,748,619 acres—an area almost twice the size of the State of Delaware? This happened under the Repubican "old deal", did it not?

2. Did you know since President Roosevelt inaugurated the New Deal and organized the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Negro farmers have been able to purchase 4,046 individual farms, representing more than 400,000 acres? Tell the audience how you account for this. (Negroes voted down South.)

3. Where are the mile-long soup lines and the hungry hordes who were breaking into food stores bequeathed to the Democratic Party by Herbert Hoover's "old deal"? Do you remember?

4. Why have the daily papers ceased to carry stories which tell of rich men jumping out of 20-story windows? (Even a few Negroes jumped.)

5. Did you know that the New Deal you lambast is furnishing money in the United States to give 5,057 Negro youths a college education: keeps 21,331 in high school and is giving 128 graduate work?

6. Did you know that more than 400 Negro youths are being educated by the New Deal in Oklahoma today? This is the direct result of assistance coming from the National Youth Administration. Do you oppose this Government aid?

7. When Republicans shout "constitutionalism" today, are they not in fact advocating State rights, the principle which in the South has given birth to Jim Crow, disfranchisement, and segregation?

8. Does not the Roosevelt New Deal seek to centralize government and give uniformity to national laws, which would rid the United States of sectionalism and finally southern prejudice?

9. Where are the highjackers and kidnapers of 1933? Do you feel that President Roosevelt's C. C. C. camps had anything to do with this?

10. Do you know that the C. C. C. camps removed from the highway that leads to lawlessness and crime 50,000 young Negroes, and that out of their Government checks these black boys are sending back home slightly more than a million dollars each month? Do you condemn this New Deal program? Did Republican administration ever attempt anything similar?

11. Why have the Liberty Leaguers and members of the anti-New Deal crowd sought to traduce and malign the wife of President Roosevelt? Is it because she has been friendly to Negro development and progress, or is it because she is an enemy of black folk? (I'd like to make Mrs. Roosevelt President).

13. What do you think of a remark made by Congressman Oscar DePriest, of your city, in the church where you now stand? Congressman DePriest said in that statement: "If I were a Negro and lived in Oklahoma, I'd be a Democrat." (Oscar himself would be a "foolcrat" if he lived in my State.)

NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

If you listened in on the Republican National Convention the other day, you noticed that the boys who gathered in Philadelphia were against something and for nothing.

Not alone in politics, but in all life we find people who knock every constructive program, and many people think knockers are extremely smart because they oppose what is being done. Usually, the only thing one has to do to expose such individuals is to ask them what they have to offer as a substitute for the present order.

BE HONEST WITH VOTERS

You hear Republicans orating against the New Deal, and the terrible expenditures being made in our relief set-ups. But why are they not honest or intelligent enought to tell the American people what it is they would cut out? Do the Republicans want to get rid of W. P. A.? Do they want to get rid of C. C. C.? Do they want to get rid of N. Y. A? Do they want to scrap-heap the housing program or the farm security program? What is the definite and positive change these fellows would make in the present governmental function?

Why great day in the morning! When my father died he left my mother and me in a dilapidated old house with which I was very much dissatisfied. It was an old unpainted structure, had no porch or foundation under it, and the ceiling was made of cheap canvas. I was utterly disgusted with that home, but I am here in Chicago today to tell you that I never moved out of that home until I was able to build a better one in which to live.

It seems to me that the Republican Party wants the American people to move out into the rain. I have read the speeches of Taft, Dewey, Vandenberg, and Willkie, and in each instance it is a statement of negation. I think that the greatest creation of the mind is expressed in the radio. One can back a $2 jackass up to the finest radio in the work and that jackass can kick the radio all to pieces, but the jackass cannot reconstruct this monument to man's superb mentality.

WARNING TO NEGROES

There is just one thing that has been said by Repubican speakers that is perfrectly understandable. I want to stop right here and call attention to it. I think Candidate Alf Landon expressed it very clearly 2 years ago during the campaign in a speech at Wichita. Here is what Candidate Landon said:

> "The Republican Party as a major reform proposes to return the adminstration of relief to the States. It will be possible for the communities themselves to determine just what form relief would take. They will determine what, if any, work-relief project will be started and continued."

I know every one of my listeners can understand that the Republican Party wants to take the administration of W. P. A., C. C. C., N. Y. A., and A. A. A. out of the hands of the Federal Government and place it in the hands of the State.

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

I ask you in all sincerity whether or not you believe that the millions of black folk who live south of the Mason and Dixon's line woud fare better or wose under such an arrangement. What would heppen in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana? I stand here today shouting from the hilltops that age-old expression, "Am I my brother's keeper?" If you want to rescue and help the black men and women south of the border you'll never allow the Republican Party to reconstruct agencies of relief in any such manner.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SAYS

At the same time that Alf Landon was making his memorable address at Wichita, President Roosevelt uttered this very significant statement:

> "I do not believe that Kansas woud have pulled through the difficult problems of the past 4 years as spendidly as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation, and Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. If you think we were wrong to give this assistance, then, to be logical you must ask in the day to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an individual entity for the solution of all the problems of the inhabitants."

PARTY CHANGES

I said a while ago that the Negroes in the Repbulican Party had gone to sleep in a political back yard. A man asleep is like Rip Van Winkle; he wakes up finally in a new environment and bewilderment. If the Negroes in the Repubican Party had not been asleep, they would have known long before now that both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have swapped their party principles and the the Democratic Party and the New Deal now stand for centralization of authority and uniformity of laws.

In the days of federalism and antifederalism the same line of demarcation between political parties existed then as now. State rights was the rock upon which the Democratic Party rested and the Repubican Party marched under the banner of central control.

STATE RIGHTS ISSUE

It ought to be perfectly clear to every Negro in America that State rights has been the vicious principle in government from which all our woes emanate. Jim Crow, segregation disfranchisement, and mob violence are all made possible by special legislation and special sanctions in State-rights States. Central control and uniformity of laws would make it possible for America to have an even spread of democracy. There is no better way to identify Negroes asleep in the Republican Party than when we see the time-honored principles of the party abandoned and the party of Lincoln embracing the idea and notion of government as expressed by the Republican grass-roots convention held at Springfield, Illinois, 2 years ago and the later statement of Alf Landon at Wichita.

CONSTITUTIONALISM MEANS SAME THING

Of course, the Republicans do not use the term "State rights." They shout about constitutionalism, which, when reduced to its meaning, is equivalent to the same thing. When President Roosevelt wanted to reorganize the Supreme Court the Republicans shouted "Constitutionalism," even though they knew that the Constitutiuon of the United States provided for the President doing everything he was attempting to do regarding the Supreme Court.

The remarkable thing about this changing of the Supreme Court rests in the fact that the Negroes in the Republican Part were imbued with the same thought and idea as their constitutional shouting white colleagues.

SACRED COW

Every Negro I met at that time in the Republican Party seemed to think that the Constitution of the United States is a sacred cow of some sort. They do not recall that the American people have written 21 amendments to that document, every one of which recognizes delinquencies and lack of vision on the part of those who first drafted it. Why the Constitution in its originally adopted form did not have a Bill of Rights, and I say here and now that without the Bill of Rights America would not have a democratic form of government. The truth is we are going to have to write a number of new amendments to the Constitution of the United States before democracy is more than a gesture at human rights in this country. But the most ridiculous position taken by the Republican Party results from attempt to prevent the President from reorganizing the Supreme Court. To kick men off and put new men on was characterized by Republicans as outraging that venerable document. They argued that it was not the American way and belonged to a Hitlerized form.

SUPREME COURT

Negroes who endorsed such views do not realize that Abraham Lincoln had to constitutionalize the emancipation of the slaves in identically the same manner as President Roosevelt attempted to make legal the various New Deal agencies of government. Lincoln knew when he wrote the Emancipation Proclamation the same was unconstitutional, but Lincoln did not stop there. In a conversation with members of his Cabinet he discussed the social and political outlook of members of the Supreme Court whom he was sure would declare unconstitutional the freeing of the slaves. Here's what Lincoln said:

> "I must change the membership of the Supreme Court in order that I may constitutionalize the Emancipation Proclamation."

Lincoln had to do the same thing regarding paper money that is in circulation now. The Constitution of the United States does not provide for the making of paper money. But Lincoln put paper money in circulation during the Civil War. After the war, Lincoln had to change the complexion of the Supreme Court in order to have a judicial body that would declare paper money constitutional.

SUPREME COURT

Unquestionably about the dumbest human I know is the black man who will today follow the Republican Party in its mad witch hunt for a type of constitutionalism which if it had been followed in Lincoln's time would have reinslaved all black men. One thing we can thank President Roosevelt for is that when he did get a whack at the Supreme Court he went out into the citizenship of this great Nation and found Justice Hugo Black.

For years I have berated the order of the Ku Klux Klan, but President Roosevelt has taught me that "good can come out of Nazareth," and I come to Chicago to say that if all klansmen are like Justice Hugo Black, let us have more and more klansmen.

DEMOCRATIC VIRTUES

And the Democratic Party under the New Deal has been busy with its searchlight finding the gold within the ranks of the Negro race. The Democratic Party located and found for the American Negro that incomparable statesman and valiant fighter for race rights, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell.

The fight that Congressman Mitchell has made against lynching; his single-handed fight against the evils of Jim Crow transportation facilities and his ceaseless vigilance the past 4 years in the halls of the Federal Legislature shoud forever endear him in the hearts of America's largest minority group.

The Democratic Party reached out upon the broad prairies of Missouri and found that able leader who heads their organization, Dr. William J. Thompkins. Surely those of us who have watched the movements of Dr. Tompkins in the office of Recorder of Deeds are proud that the great prairies of the West could offer to the Nation this unselfish and outstanding black man.

The New Deal located and found that diplomat and polished statesman from the great State of New York, who has made a distinguished record in the Republic of Liberia. I speak of none other than the Honorable Lester Walton, another boy who comes from the great plains of the West.

The New Deal reached out to find that spotless, matchless, woman, who, as the bard sang, "is pure as the icicles that hung in the Temple of Diana and as chaste as the vestal virgins." I speak of none other than Mary Mcleod Bethune.

I might go on and on to prove that the New Deal has placed emphasis upon intelligence and integrity within the ranks of Negroes. I might add to the list such brilliant sons of Jethro as Edgar Brown, Ambrose Caliver, Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Joseph H. P. Evans, Maceo Smith, Lawrence W. Oxley, and many others too numerous to mention.

I don't know why they started designating the Roosevelt administration as the New Deal, but I will say for the American Negro that the selection of this vast array of eminent and prepared black men for administrative responsibility is unquestionably a New Deal for Negroes in America.

THE NEW PROGRAM FOR WHICH WE SHOULD FIGHT

Nothing I have said should cause the delegates assembled in this convention to feel that there is nothing left for which to fight. In fact the

battle for the black man has just begun here in America. We must teach greater solidarity in voting and destroy vicious individualism that crops out every time an election is held. Unselfish leaders, interested in the common wealth, is the crying need of the hour.

QUELL THE MOB

We should join the struggle for passage of antilynching legislation. I am proud to say that the present bill now before the Congress was drafted and introduced by Democrats. The Republican Party in its Philadelphia convention devoted three lines to a general statement against lynching, but that convention, in line with the attitude of the Republican Party through all of the years while in power, refused to declare itself for a definite proposal. The Republican Party lacked the moral courage to say it favored and endorsed the Wagner antilynching bill.

POLL TAX

We must join in the protest against the vicious poll tax which now strangles millions of poor whites and blacks in the Southland. I want to say here and now that if the unqualified right to the ballot is ever given to the black man in the South, there will be no need of an antilynching bill. Sheriffs and courts are unwillig to identify and prosecute members of mobs because the mob votes but the victims of mob and their relatives and friends do not vote.

We should battle within our party ranks for the right of the Negro to be integrated into every branch of the combat units of the American Army and we should insist upon a program that will in its finality deliver into the hands of every citizen of this Republic his civil rights.

Our ballots should secure for black men and women occupational opportunities, and the right to achieve in every avenue of life in ourdynamic American society. If these are our objectives, if we struggle in this direction, we shall some day win our place in the sun, and this will indeed be a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

I want to insist here and now that as American citizens we demand the right to be integrated into every branch of the American Army. Recently I appeared before the resolutions committee of the Oklahoma Democratic State Convention. White men who spoke before that body were in utter frenzy, asking that the convention virtually declare war on Germany. From what they said one would think that Hitler was going to seep over the ocean and invade American within a few months.

When I did get an opportunity to talk I told that committee about the obvious discriminations in the American Army. I told them how Pat Hurley, from my State, who when Secretary of War under Herbert Hoover had practically demobilized all of the Negro combat troops of the Army. I told them that at Fort Sill, in my State, and at Fort Riley in Kansas, Negroes were nothing more than manure handlers. I told them that if Hitler was going to come over here, Negroes wanted to be armed with something else other than a map and a broom.

The Republican Party under Herbert Hoover struck at the Negro's right to fight for this country and we want to ask our party convention this year to put a gun in the black man's hands. We want the right to fight in the Army, Navy, the air, and the National Guard. The Oklahoma Democrats wrote such a plank into our State platform and I believe the time is ripe for such a plank in our national platform.

LABOR

The most important fight which I believe we should launch during this convention is in relation to the problems of labor. I would be derelict in my duty here were I to paint a picture of satisfaction in which no account is taken of the toiling masses. Much has been done in New Deal legislation in the interest of the working man, and many black men and women have benefited thereby.

But wage-and-hour laws exclude outside workers, agriculturists and domestics. I think we should insist that all such laws be amended in recognition of the fact that practically all Negro workers come within the classifications excluded from the wage-and-hour laws. We must cease emphasizing that a few Negroes get big jobs and remember that Booker Washington said, "We shall rise in proportion as we raise the standard of the common masses."

WE WANT ROOSEVELT

And finally, in the last analysis, we want this convention to nominate for the Presidency of the United States Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He is the only man who today seems to see the "sparrows" in American life. We want Roosevelt to continue as President because his social outlook has meant more to the downtrodden, and especially the American Negro.

APPENDIX E

DUNJEE TO TOBIAS

Largest Circulated Negro Journal in the South. Read in Every State in the Union.

THE BLACK DISPATCH PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF "THE BLACK DISPATCH"

"A Paper With a Policy and a Purpose"

Post Office Box 1254

OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

June 25, 1959

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Chairman
Board of Directors
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

Greetings to you and the rest of my colleagues of the Board of Directors on this our Golden Anniversary. I hope the conference of next month will bring our Association to new and better heights, and we shall in the words of Isaias the Prophet "Take wings of eagles".

What stimulating thoughts come to my mind and yours over a period of fifty years as we see the eagle (NAACP) sweeping ever upward towards the blue of the sky; soaring against the swiftest wind and through the bitterest ice and snow to find his home high among the mountain crags; hovering high in the clear ether, as if suspended there by the unseen Hand of God.

As you probably know I have retired from active participation with my newspaper and other organizations. There is presently an effort spearheaded by interested citizens to write my biography, otherwise my activity is limited to advice and counsel as an elder statesman. My health is of such nature that I cannot participate actively with NAACP or our beloved Board of Directors again.

I am writing this letter with that thought in mind and the interest of the Association at heart. Oklahoma by any yardstick has played well her part in the growth and development of the NAACP and its program. We organized the first state conference back in the days when others said it couldn't be done. We took the first lawsuit to the courts under the banner of NAACP. Time nor my energy will allow me to enumerate Oklahoma's contributions to the program throughout the years.

For a number of years I have served on the Board to keep the faith and contributed what talents and resources which were at my disposal. However, the time has arrived when I must beg leave and request that you place a younger man in my stead. Our Oklahoma Conference of Branches, the president Dr. H. W. Williamston and myself join in this request that the Board allow James E. Stewart of Oklahoma City to fill my unexpired term and we pray that the Association will see fit to make use of his talents in that capacity for sometime to come.

I think a majority of the board knows Jimmy who was president of our Oklahoma City branch for a period of 17 years. He has also served as vice-president of the State Conference and a regional director of both Region VI and the state of Oklahoma. He has consented to serve, if elected, and in our opinion would make a worthy, forthright contribution to this body.

In closing may I thank you, the Board, Roy Wilkins, and his wonderful staff, who have throughout the years given me the best they had in service and request. The Golden Anniversary of next month will be a jubilee for those of us passing from the scene because we see today a people unafraid, confident, and serene, a people whose brave beginnings have yet to find fulfillment, whose proudest claim for the future stems from the solid foundation we tried to lay in the past. My parting prayer is that we who hope in the Lord shall renew our strength and we shall take wings of eagles.

Respectfully yours,

Roscoe Dunjee

RD:mw

APPENDIX F

WILKINS TO DUNJEE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N.Y. • LOngacre 3-6890

August 18, 1959

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

Your letter explaining the necessity for your retirement from the Board of Directors was placed before the Board at its last meeting during the 50th Annual Convention here in New York.

The Board accepted with deep regret your resignation. As a prelude to its reluctant action, the Board members present outdid themselves in the tributes they paid to the many years of skillful, devoted and courageous service you have given to the NAACP. There was not a man or woman present who did not recall some aspect of your service.

For me personally your letter brought up many memories from the past. I remember your editorial which fought the battle wherever it was pitched. I remember particularly the Annual Convention held just 25 years ago, in 1934, in Oklahoma City. It was held largely because you demanded that the NAACP come to Oklahoma for a two-fold purpose: to stimulate and inspire Oklahomans to support the program and to receive itself stimulation from the Oklahomans in the campaign steadily going forward.

I am trying to say that your letter to the Board of Directors took us back for a moment over a long and fruitful section of the history of this Association. You have a right to be proud of what we have done because so much of it was made possible by the vision and the determination of men like yourself.

With warm personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary.

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee
The Black Dispatch
Box 1254
Oklahoma City 8, Okla.

rw/mdj

APPENDIX G

OBSEQUIES OF ROSCOE DUNJEE

OBITUARY

Roscoe Dunjee was born at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, in one of the dormitories of Storer College, June 21, 1883, the son of John William and Lydia Ann Dunjee. His father was a Baptist minister and at that time was publishing a newspaper at Harper's Ferry known as the "Harper's Ferry Messenger." Rev. Dunjee was also the financial agent for Storer College.

His father was born a slave but escaped to Canada by way of the Underground Railroad in his 27th year. Shortly following the Civil War, Mr. Dunjee's father was employed by the American Baptist Missionary Society anr organized Baptist work throughout North America. He was sent to Oklahoma in 1892 and organized Baptist work in this territory. Young Roscoe was less than ten years old when the family settled on a farm northwest of what is now Choctaw, Oklahoma.

At his father's death, ten years later, Roscoe was left with a mother, three sisters and a brother to care for, and an old broken-down farm on which there was a $1,100 mortgage. Prior to the passing of his father, he had atended a one-room school on the Anderson Farm which was named after Rev. Dunjee, and had completed one year in the elementary department at Langston University.

This was the legacy left to the Dunjee family by Rev. John William Dunjee; however, Roscoe often spoke of one priceless treasure. Rev. Dunjee had collected in his lifetime more than 1,500 volumes, and it was from this library that Mr. Dunjee obtained most of his intellectual development.

He raised and sold vegetables to earn a livelihood for the family until he was 32 years of age. It was then (1915) that he saw an opportunity to purchase a little job printing plant from Mrs. Olivia J. Abby, an instructor in the Oklahoma City public schools. Prior to this time, while still peddling vegetables for a living, he had been writing for various newspapers for more than ten years, and in this manner had secured a measure of experience.

The Black Dispatch newspaper was launched by Dunjee, November 5, 1915, as a five-column folio and during his active years as editor-publisher it grew to a 12-page, standard 8-column publication with a nationwide circulation. He was thoughout his lifetime a vigorous advocate and crusader for Negro rights and privileges. His vigorous and soul-searching editorials gained the acclaim of fellow newspaper men, government officials, educators and the general public.

Mr. Dunjee was connected with many movements in and out of the state of Oklahoma. Nationally, he was a member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the National Negro Business League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He served two terms as national president of the NNBL. In addition to being a national director of the NAACP, he was organizer and president continuously for 16 years of the Oklahoma Conference of Branches, the first state conference of the NAACP organized in the United States.

On the state and local level, Mr. Dunjee was one of the organizers of the Oklahoma Commission for Interracial Cooperation in 1921 and served as secretary of the organization for five years. He was a regional director of the Mid-West Association of the Elks Oratorical Scholarship Awards Program. He organized the Oklahoma State Negro Business League in 1922 and remained as its president for five years. He was a charter member and served on the board of management of the Eastside YMCA until his retirement. A room in this building is named after him because of his unceasing devotion to the YMCA movement and the liberal contributions he made during the capital fund drive to construct the building.

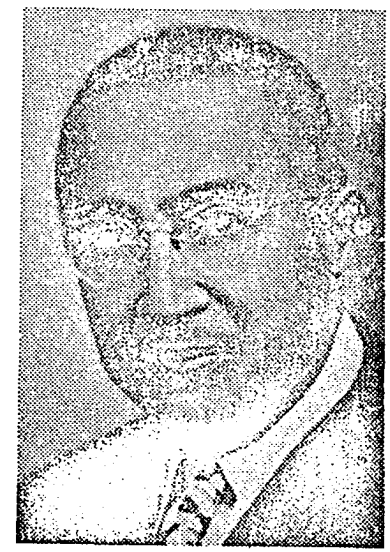
Roscoe Dunjee was widely sought throughout the nation as a platform orator and consultant on human relations. Friends and associates honored him with a testimonial banquet in 1955, at which time Atty. Thurgood Marshall delivered the principal address, and their gift to Dunjee was in the form of an all-expense trip to Africa. He officially retired, after 40 years of unyielding service, from the Balck Dispatch in 1955 and spent the balance of his life in meditation, reading, writing and visits by lifelong friends.

Mr. Dunjee professed a hope in Christ in May, 1964, and joined the New Hope Baptist Church. He died Monday, March 1, 1965.

Survivors are: John Dungee, nephew; six nieces, Elsie Buck of Omaha, Nebr., Myrtle Jackson, Blanche Christopher, Mary Lou Harvey, Nellie Hooker and Laura Juniel; Caroline Kelly, cousin; Andy Allen, grandnephew.

OBSEQUIES

of



ROSCOE DUNJEE

Saturday, March 6, 1965—11:00 a.m.

NEW HOPE BAPTIST CHURCH

1232 N.E. 7th Street

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Reverend J. D. Provo, Officiating

Temple Funeral Home, Directors

Interment - Fairlawn Cemetery

ACTIVE PALLBEARERS

Amos T. Hall	G. E. Finley
H. W. Williamston	P. H. L. Rhone
A. D. Mathues	O. M. McDaniels
Wyatt H. Slaughter	Ira D. Hall

HONORARY PALLBEARERS

J. L. Randolph	Byron Biscoe
F. D. Moon	C. E. Hall
Ira M. Finley	A. Maceo Smith
C. L. Barbee	A. W. Russworm
U. Simpson Tate	Dr. W. L. Haywood
Waldo E. Stephens	R. L. Barnes
W. J. Edwards	Boston Thomas

All National Officers, Staff and Board Members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

FLOWER BEARERS

Bessie Barber Floyd	Freddye Harper Williams
Aldena Diggs	J. Marie Williams
Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher	Lucy Williamston
Freida Ameringer	Era M. Holmes
Clara Luper	M. L. Sanders
Fredora Moore	Edna Slaughter
Comelia Sanford	Caroline E. M. Burks
Cora L. Price	Josie Barbee

The family wishes to thank those who have made various forms of communications, flowers and resolutions, as well as those who have expressed a desire to establish a Roscoe Dunjee Memorial Foundation.

PROGRAM

Master of Ceremony - Dr. Hugh R. Bumpus

Processional ..... Organ

Selection, "What a Friend We Have in Jesus".....New Hope Choir
Assisted by the Douglass High School Chorus

Scripture—Old Testament.....Rev. I. J. Sims

New Testament.....Rev. Eugene McAshan

Prayer.....Rev. E. J. Perry

Solo, "Ave Maria" (Schubert).....Henrietta Foster

Resolutions.....New Hope Baptist Church
Followed by Others.

Tribute .....Thurgood Marshall

Selection, "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory."

Eulogy.....Rev. J. D. Provo

Review.

Recessional.

APPENDIX H

NAACP DEATH NOTICE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

March 2, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

FROM: THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Roscoe Dunjee, a Board member from 1936 to 1959 and a vice president of our Association from 1960, died in Oklahoma City, Okla., March 1 following a long illness. He was 81 years old.

Funeral service is scheduled for Saturday, March 6, at the Mount Hope Baptist Church in Oklahoma City. Condolences may be sent to Mrs. Caroline C. Kelly, his niece, who cared for him in his declining years. Her address is 324 N.E. Second Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.

mjs

APPENDIX I

SPINGARN MEDAL ANNOUNCEMENT

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

October 1, 1974

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: NAACP BOARD OF DIRECTORS, BRANCHES, STATE CONFERENCES, YOUTH COUNCILS AND COLLEGE CHAPTERS

FROM: ROY WILKINS

RE: SPINGARN MEDAL

Nominations for the 1974 SPINGARN MEDAL are open. All nominations should be submitted to the National Office in writing on or before December 31, 1974.

The MEDAL, instituted in 1914 by the late J. E. Spingarn, then NAACP Board Chairman, is awarded for "the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years."

The purpose of the MEDAL is twofold -- first to call the attention of the American people to the existence of distinguished merit and achievement among American Negroes, and secondly, to serve as a reward for such achievement, and as a stimulus to the ambition of youth of African descent.

The final selection of the medalist is made by a Committee of Award which is selected by the Association's Board of Directors.

Nominations should be addressed to the Spingarn Award Committee, NAACP National Office, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019, and must be postmarked no later than Tuesday, December 31, 1974.

/aa

APPENDIX J

STEWART TO SPINGARN COMMITTEE

October 9, 1974

Spingarn Award Committee
NAACP National Office
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Fellow Board Members:

I would like to present the name of the late Roscoe Dunjee, editor-publisher of the Black Dispatch Newspaper and long time member of the NAACP National Board of Directors, for consideration in your selection of the 1974 SPINGARN MEDAL.

Editor Dunjee needs no introduction to most person knowledgeable in the area of human rights in this century. None-the-less, to refresh our memory, we shall list just a few of his credentials.

He was editor-publisher of the Black Dispatch newspaper over forty (40) years at which time he used this organ to fight racial discrimination in all forms thru his vigorous soul-searching editorials, investigations and public speeches; at all times projecting the program and efforts of the NAACP.

He traveled throughout the state of Oklahoma speaking for and organizing branches of the NAACP. When Editor Dunjee recognized the need for centralization of NAACP projects and programs and the strengthening of small branches, he organized the Oklahoma State Conference of Branches of NAACP, the first state conference in the nation. After its organization and successful operation, although there was still doubt or skepticism by some, Editor Dunjee persuaded the National Board to grant him funds and the use of field secretary William Pickens to go below the Red River and organize the state of Texas.

Likewise, because of travel costs and the availability of field secretaries and /or staff lawyers, and having eighty (80) odd branches in Oklahoma at the time with varuous and sundry problems; Dunjee found it more and more difficult for lay leadership to give the vigorous prompt leadership and direction necessary. Thus, at the Cincinnati annual convention (1946), he introduced and had accepted the regional concept to better facilitate the program of NAACP.

Editor Dunjee's efforts and editorials were the clarion voice for freedom and justice in the mid-southwest for two-score years. He marched into the storms of bigotry and race prejudice without fear of his person and certainly his financial well being. Their numbers are legion, in the business world, who told his advertising agents "We would advertise in the Black Dispatch if Dunjee would change his views". He never did, and died a pauper, still holding high his head and saying "My newspaper and not my principles are for sale".

Roscoe Dunjee rode into towns immediately following a lynching to get the facts and tell the story to the world. He challenged draft boards and private citizens who treated black servicemen in World War I and II less than human while attempting to serve our country. He bailed one black man out of jail five (5) times in one (1) day because of his belief that American citizens should be able to own and occupy property wherever they chose -- this was at least thirty (30) years prior to our victory against racial restrictive covenants. He won this case (William Floyd) in the Federal Court and opened a wide section of Oklahoma City for black occupancy. In a similiar action, in which white residents refused to allow the city to develop a park for blacks adjacent to their homes, Dunjee found a black (W. J. Edwards) whom he persuaded to purchase the abutting property; took him to Washington, D.C., and secured the first FHA insured mortgage guarantee by a black developer in the United States. Today, Edwards Addition, Edwards Elementary School, Edwards Park and the Edwards Shopping Center are show places in our community.

His efforts were just as vigorous and fruitful in the fight for voting rights of blacks, from the Grandfather Clause to the I.W. Lane vs Waggoner County victory. Blacks didn't vote in Oklahoma when Dunjee began his activities, and although threatened by mobsters, Dunjee called the county sheriff and had him escort him to the poll where he cast his ballot. He led by example.

There is a erronious thought by some that the victory in the Grandfather Clause voting case solved the franchise problem for blacks in Oklahoma. This was far from true and although Dunjee was able to get blacks registered and voting in urban arears of the state, many rural areas with large numbers of blacks still held out. The I. W. Lane case in Waggoner County cleared the path in the "30's.

Blacks in the South, if not throughout the country, owe the privilege of jury service to Roscoe Dunjee. It was in the Jess Hollins case that a judge held "Negroes have been systematically excluded from jury service in this county, therefore, due process cannot be obtained." His reasoning was that over fifty (50) years had passed, yet no black had been called for jury service. Representative Adam Clayton Powell availed himself of this decision as recent as the late '60's.

Although never able to get into court in a separate coach (segregation in transportation) case, Dunjee resisted all forms of racial segregation, all of his adult life. He would secure a seat on trains or busses and refuse to move when requested. He never voluntarily attended a social event, sports event or any other affair in which the choice was his to accept segregation.

Roscoe Dunjee likewise was concerned about economic development of blacks. He served actively and as a motivating force in the National Negro Business League, organized by Booker T. Washington in 1900, and served as both Oklahoma City President of the local chapter as well as president of the National body two (2) terms.

Dunjee was one of the organizers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at a time when interracial conferences were taboo in the South and participants were suspects. He was branded a communist by some; was said to be "fifty years ahead of his time" by one of the states' governors; was physically attacked by the President of Langston University (the only institution of higher education open to blacks, at that period) because Dunjee was at that early date (1930) advocating quality, unsegregated education. He initiated the Ada Lois Sipuel suit and personally escorted Miss Sipuel to seek enrollment. He persuaded Mrs. Ermma Lee Freeman to file a equal teachers salary case which we won.

Dungee died a pauper for reasons of which any man ought to be proud. He never sold his principles and he was always the first donor to support causes in which he believed. He served on the National Board of NAACP for a long period of time until his health failed. He was one of the organizers and largest donors to our YMCA in Oklahoma City.

Schools, parks and streets are named for him and his mark shall remain on the hills and crossroads of the Mid-Southwest, for the contributions he made unselfishly to mankind and we are both proud and honored to present his name for your prayerful consideration.

With best regards, I am

James E. Stewart

James E. Stewart

548 N. E. 4th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73104

JES/mh

APPENDIX K

LETTER TO CANDIDATE FOR INTERVIEW

Mrs. Horton Kelly
4009 Woods Drive
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111

Worth J. Hadley
3909 Coltrane Rd.
Cklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111

Dear Mrs. Woods:

I am a candidate for the doctoral degree in Education at Oklahoma University. I would like to secure your assistance in researching material on Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch Newspaper.

You are Mr. Dunjee's cousin and was responsible for him in his declining years, as a result, you are most knowledgeable on his life history. I would appreciate the privelege of a personal interview with you to discuss Mr. Dunjee.

The interview would take the form of an oral history interview and will be taped recorded to insure my accuracy in recording what you have said. A copy of the interview questions is enclosed for your scrutiny, I would appreciate this opportunity and the interview will be at your convenience.

Thank you so much for your assistance in this project.

Sincerely yours,

WORTH J. HADLEY

APPENDIX L

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ORAL HISTORY

1. How long were you associated with Mr. Roscoe Dunjee?
2. What were your observations of him in regards to:
   a. Hobbies
   b. Interests
   c. Civic and Community activities
3. What were his views on education of blacks, can you give specific dates?
4. How did Dunjee get his information on what was happening in the area of education?
5. Do you have photographs, letters, manuscripts, or other material which you would like to comment on?
6. Do you have knowledge of any other source of information or material on Mr. Dunjee?
7. Would you discuss Dunjee's relationship with the legislature, governor, board of education, regents of higher education, churches, and the community at large?
8. What was Dunjee's role in the development of Oklahoma's desegregation of public education?
9. What do you consider to be Roscoe Dunjee's major contribution to black education?