



Organizing to Win on HBCU Campuses

Session 1



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Honoring This Space

- We acknowledge the long history of systemic racism, oppression, and genocide that has shaped the land on which we stand today. This land was once home to Indigenous peoples who lived in harmony with their environment for millennia. Their sacred sites, cultural practices, cultural practices, and deep connections to the land were violently disrupted by colonial policies that sought to erase their existence. The forced removal, displacement, and dispossession of Indigenous communities from their ancestral lands continue to have lasting impacts on their social, cultural, and economic well-being.
- We also acknowledge the trauma inflicted upon those who were trafficked, forced into servitude, or made undocumented through colonial and federal practices. This includes Indigenous peoples, enslaved Africans, and other marginalized groups who were brought to this land against their will, enduring systemic violence and exploitation.

Honoring This Space - Continued

- We recognize that the United States was built on the backs of enslaved Black people, whose labor and sacrifices were exploited to build the foundations of this nation. The contributions of enslaved Black people, along with the struggles and perseverance of other immigrant communities throughout history, have been essential to the development of this country. Yet, their labor and humanity were often dehumanized, and their rights stripped away, perpetuating cycles of inequality and injustice that persist today.
- We stand in solidarity with the ongoing efforts of Indigenous peoples, Black communities, and all marginalized groups fighting for justice, reparations, and the healing of the wounds inflicted by these histories of colonization, enslavement, and systemic oppression. We are committed to learning, unlearning, and working towards a more just, equitable, and inclusive future.

Overview Of Tonight's Session

- Explore the legacy of Black Teachers Associations and labor unions.
- Connect historical leadership to current organizing needs on HBCU campuses.
- Identify a team for the organizing efforts you want to lead.



Scan the QR code for
directions on how to register:



Next Session is
December 2nd, 6:00 to
7:00 PM ET

Make sure it is on your
calendar and invite a
team to come with you!

ORGANIZING TO WIN ON HBCU & MSI CAMPUSES TRAINING SERIES

Who?

Are you an HBCU Aspiring Educator, Faculty, Staff, or Graduate Employee passionate about a better education system? Join the National Education Association Organizing to Win on HBCU & MSIs Virtual Training Series! You must be an NEA member to attend.

What?

HBCU Skills to Win Session topics will include:

- Black History in Labor Organizing
- Base Building & Outreach
- Working in Coalitions to Build Power for Justice
- Building Strategic Campaigns
- Power Analysis

November

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**If you had the power, what is a change
that you would want to make ?**

**Who would
want to make
that change
with you?**



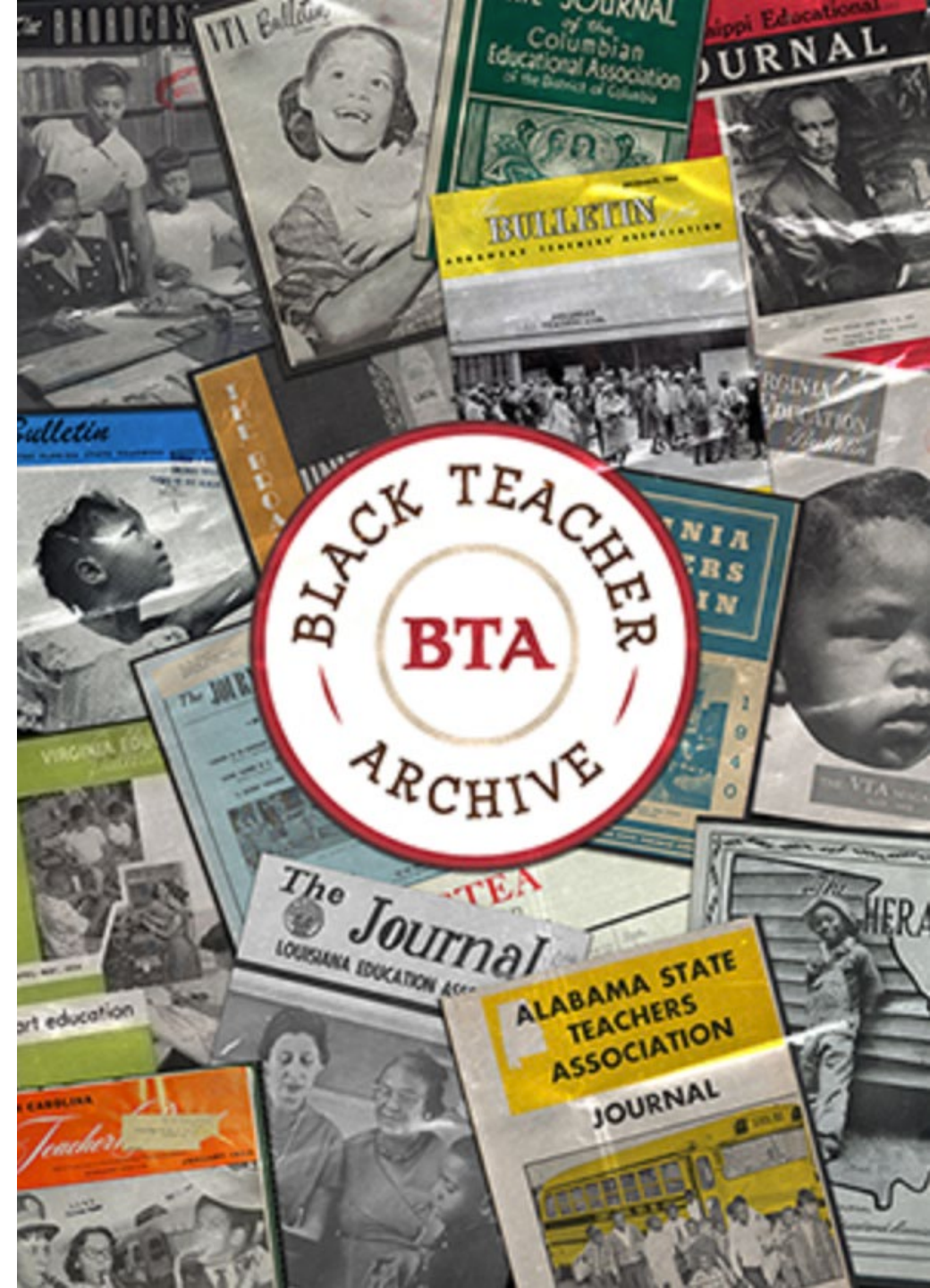
UNIONISM

**How HBCUs
&**

**Black Teachers Associations
Intersect**

The Birth of Black Teachers Associations

- Black Teachers Associations were known as "Colored Teachers Associations" (CTAs).
- The first documented CTA formed in Ohio in 1861.
- The Black teachers associations emerged in southern states between 1877 and 1906.
- State-wide associations formed in some Northern and Midwestern states during Jim Crow.

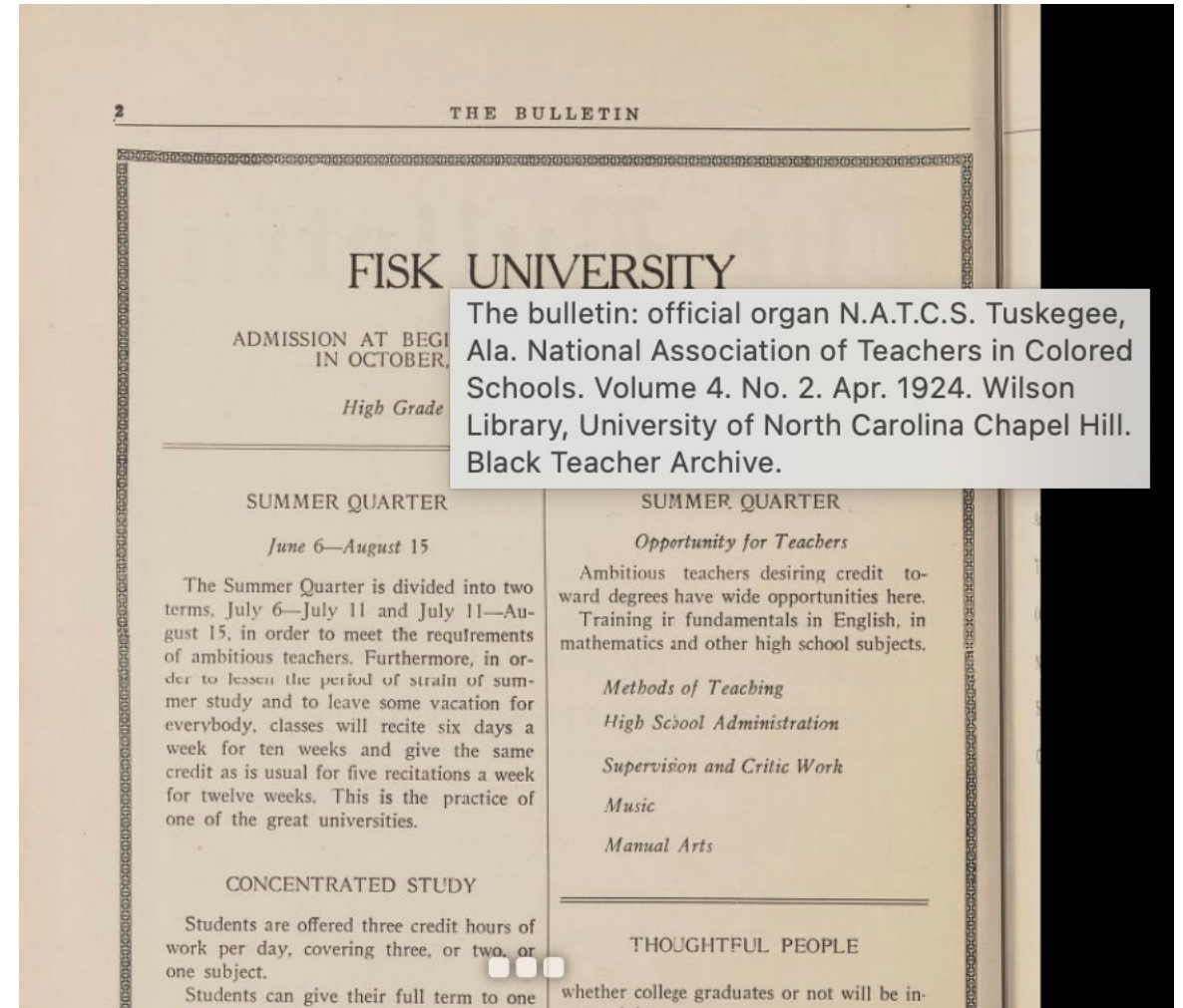


Black Teachers Associations in the South

- The Colored Teachers Associations aimed to enhance the professional development of Black educators and advocate for better funding for Black education.
 - **North Carolina Teachers Association:** Opposed pro-Confederate textbooks.
 - **Alabama State Teachers Association:** Condemned inhumane treatment of prisoners; had factions led by Booker T. Washington and William L. Pickens.
 - **Colored Teachers Associations of Texas:** Structured annual meetings to engage political candidates and sponsors of legislation.
 - **Georgia Teachers and Education Association:** In 1894, the Association nearly split over a resolution to endorse Ida B. Wells' anti-lynching campaign.
 - **Virginia Teachers Association:** Established at a summer school for public school teachers in 1887.
 - Of all of the state associations Virginia probably experienced the most spectacular growth which was owed to John M Gandy who was elected president of VTA in 1924. **Gandy** was a graduate of Fisk University committed to public education. He became the president of Virginia State College in 1914 when the school was known as Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute. While president of what is now Virginia State University, he also served as president of the Association of Negro Land Grant Colleges, president of the Virginia State Teachers' Association, and president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

Black Teachers Associations & HBCUs

- CTAs were also deeply interconnected with other key black institutions (i.e., churches, HBCUs, Black civic and social organizations, as well as Black fraternities and sororities).
- The black teacher associations received financial support from the Northern philanthropic foundations (The General Education Board, the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund).
- CTAs also worked closely with Colored Parent-Teacher Associations and the Office of Education.



The Fight for Equality

- Black teacher associations demonstrated historic significance by demanding a fundamental right to an education, equal salaries, and the right to work during the era of desegregation.
- On April 12, 1930, in Montgomery, Alabama, Dr. John Hope, civil rights leader and president of Morehouse College, addressed a meeting of the all-Black Alabama State Teachers Association (ASTA).

"The need of the Negro is pressing," Hope stated. "If they are going to work out of it at all it will have to be done through their teachers. Negro doctors and ministers are not doing their jobs as well as they might. We as teachers must realize that we have the power."

-(Alabama State Teachers Association, 1930-1931)

- Hope served as president of Morehouse College (1906-1931), president of Atlanta University (1929-1936)
- Hope served as president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (1916).



Dr. John Hope

National Association for CTAs

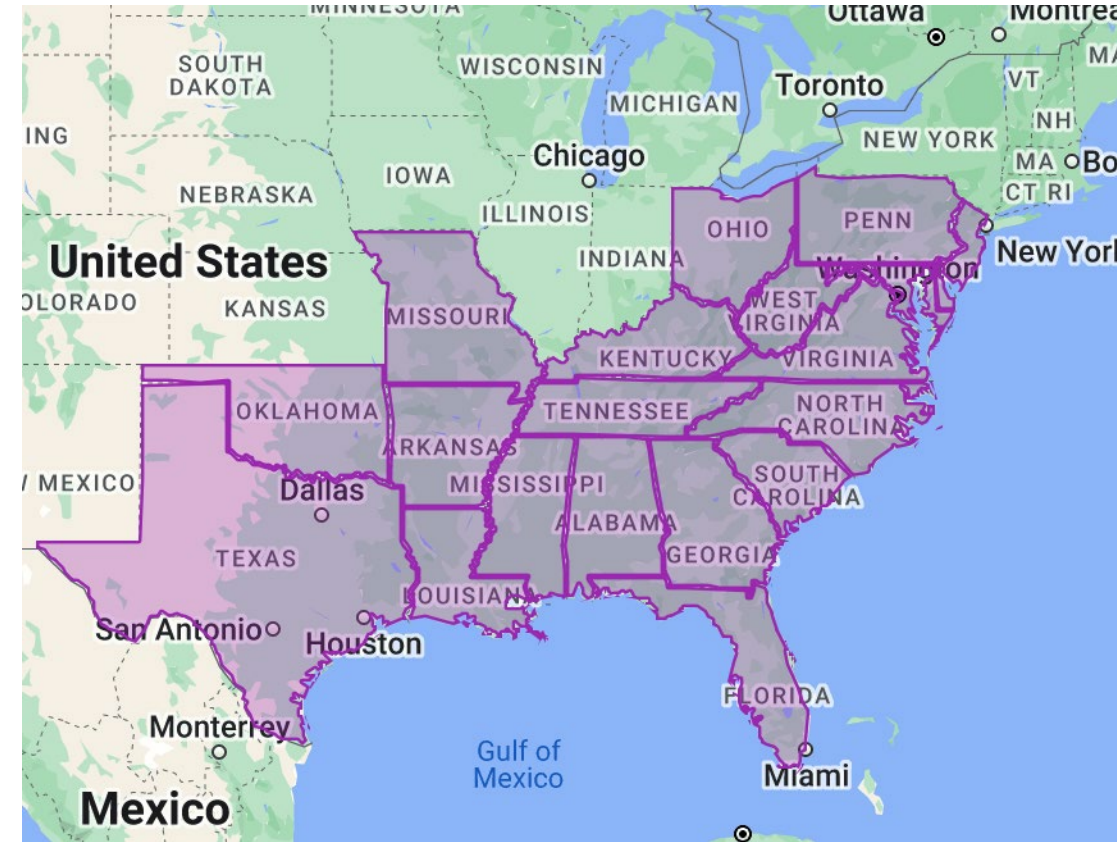
A national body of these organizations formed in 1904 as the National Association of Negro Teachers, later known as the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (1907) and then the American Teachers Association (ATA) (1937).



- The national association since the 1920s had a longstanding relationship with the National Education Association starting with a joint standing committee.
- After the ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* associations in states on the border between the North and the South bordering states, such as Ohio, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, merged with the white state affiliate teacher associations.
- The National Education Association passed Resolution 12 in 1964 which instructed state affiliate associations to remove racial restrictions for membership and develop plans for integration by July 1, 1966.

Black Teachers Associations Membership

- Membership was impacted by the Great Depression. Across the country the number of teaching positions declined by less than 1% during the early 1930s.
- Black Teachers Associations recovered quickly after the Great Depression. In every state, they recouped lost members and soon exceeded their pre-1929 strength. By the end of the 1930s at least half of the South's black teachers belonged to state associations. In North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, virtually all black teachers were members.
- In 1934-1935 The federal government gave the states \$20 million to help keep schools open by paying teachers' salaries.
- Two typical Black Belt counties in Georgia, for example, had by 1935 received \$32,000 in federal funds for improving school properties, but spent "not one cent" of that money on black rural schools.



CTA & NAACP's Fight for Equalization

- Black teacher took a momentous step against racial inequalities and public education.
 - “There actions formed part of a legal campaign, coordinated by the NAACP, against racial inequalities and public education. In the context of the 1930s and 40s, it was a bold strike against white supremacy. In taking their employees to court, black teachers broke with their traditional tactics of conciliation and accommodation, and instead launched a direct confrontation with the South’s white leaders. Although the salaries campaign did not attack racial segregation per se, it did seek substantive equality under the 14th amendment, not merely concessions that might lessen inequality.”
 - **Black Teachers in the Segregated South: A Class of Their Own by Adam Fairclough** -
- From 1933 to 1950, the NAACP and its legal team, led by Charles Hamilton Houston and later Thurgood Marshall, sought to equalize school facilities and teacher salaries, as well as desegregate graduate schools.
- The **Equalization Lawsuits** focused on the provision of quality education, which included gaining access to resources exclusively limited to White schools as well as securing equal funding for segregated Black schools.

Equalization Lawsuits

THIRTEEN 

Equalization Lawsuits

- Significant risks faced by teachers pursuing equalization suits.
- NAACP battled independent school boards that often ignored legal precedents.
- School boards relied upon delays and sympathetic judges undermined Black plaintiffs' efforts.
- Thurgood Marshall recognized the American Federation of Teachers as a vital ally.
- Collaboration with AFT united Black and white educators in the South.
- NAACP took over a decade to achieve victories in the South.
- NAACP's efforts led to a domino effect of favorable federal rulings by the early 1950s.
- Southern states began reforming education systems to address inequalities.

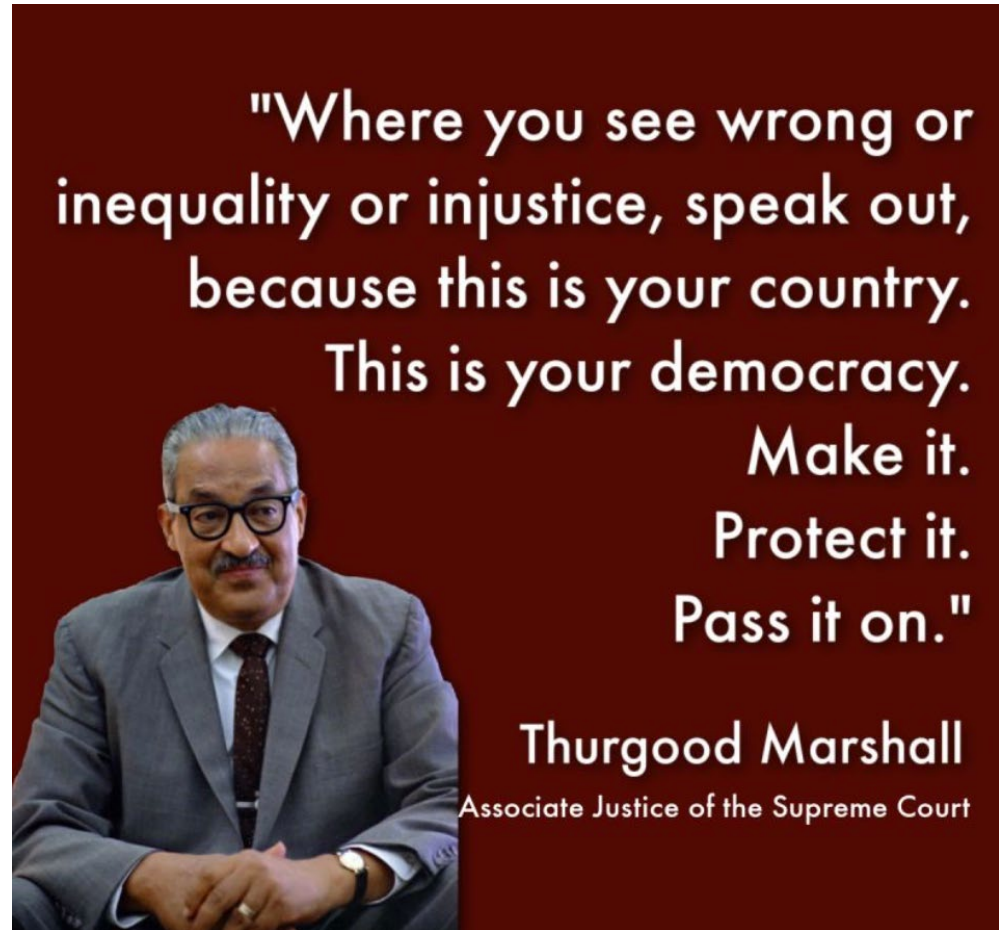


The race problem in the United States is the type of unpleasant problem which we would rather do without, but which refuses to be buried.

~ Charles Hamilton Houston ~

Equalization Lawsuits Run Their Course

- NAACP aimed to weaken Jim Crow laws before challenging segregation directly.
- Belief that true equality within segregation was impossible.
- Black teachers faced a choice: advocate for "separate but equal" or risk everything for integration.
- NAACP's decision to challenge Plessy v. Ferguson to overturn segregation justification.

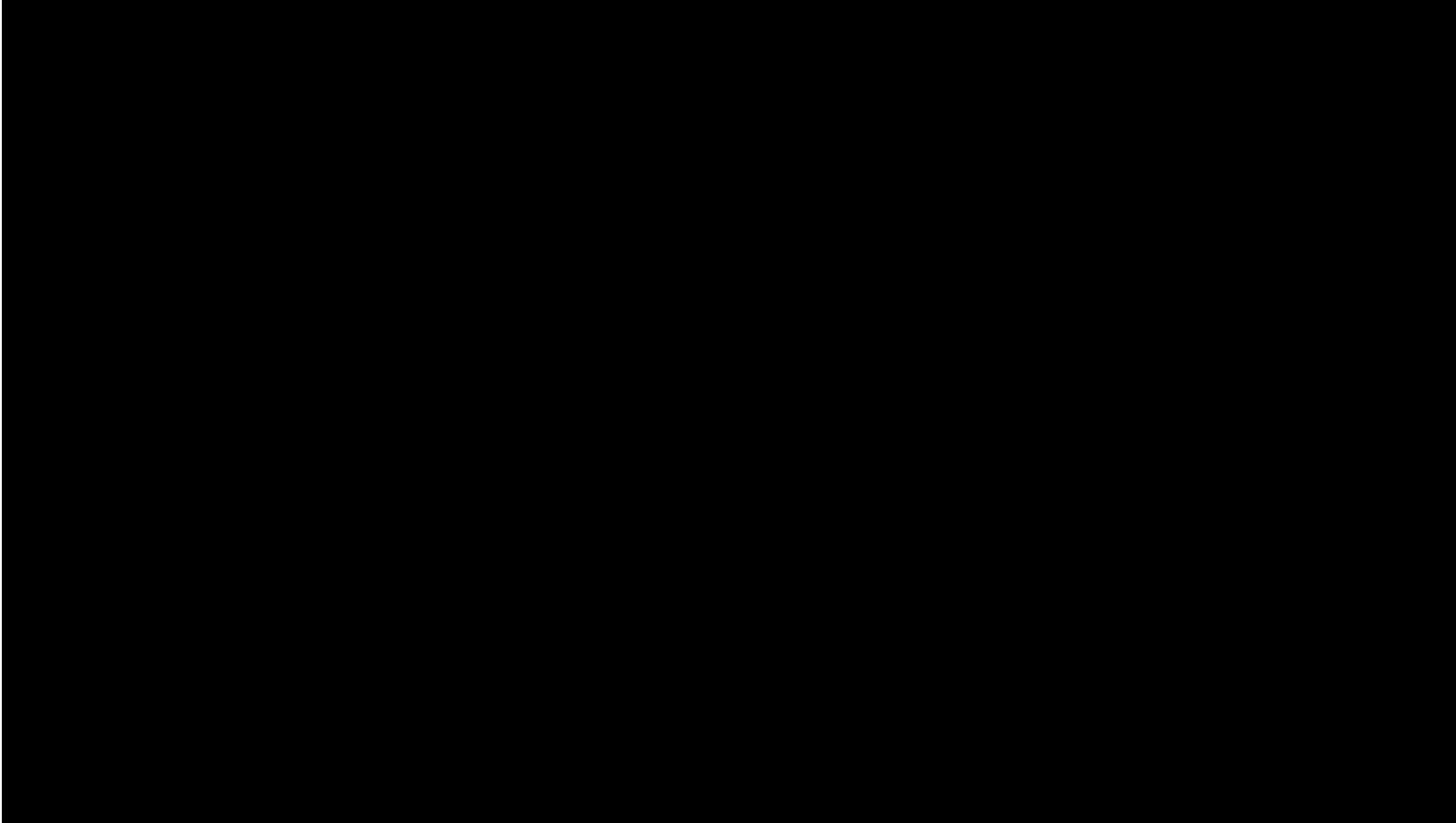


"Where you see wrong or
inequality or injustice, speak out,
because this is your country.
This is your democracy.
Make it.
Protect it.
Pass it on."

Thurgood Marshall

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court

Unintended Consequences of Brown v. Board



Breakout Talk

Discuss the emergence and impact of Black Teachers Associations

- **Historical Context:** How did the socio-political environment of the late 19th and early 20th centuries influence the formation of Black Teachers Associations, and what specific challenges did these organizations face in their early years?
- **Advocacy Strategies:** Discuss the significance of the North Carolina Teachers Association's opposition to pro-Confederate textbooks and Alabama's condemnation of prisoner treatment. How do you think these actions reflected broader themes of social justice within the education system?
- **Legal Action and Change:** Analyze the impact of the NAACP's Equalization Campaign and the lawsuits initiated by Black teachers against local school boards. How did these actions represent a shift in strategy from previous approaches to advocating for educational equity? Why weren't the NAACP & Unions prepared to battle Brown's consequences?

Union Formation after the Civil War

After the Civil War and the end of slavery, the need for both skilled and unskilled labor increased. Union members in the skilled trades remained overwhelmingly native-born White Protestant males throughout the 19th century. These higher-paid workers had the funds to pay union dues and contribute to strike funds. They were reluctant to organize unskilled Irish and Italian immigrants, and also excluded women and Black workers. Black workers were often paid lower wages, which made White workers fear they would be replaced by cheaper labor.

Excluded groups organized their own unions. Black caulkers in the shipbuilding industry held a strike at the Washington Navy Yard in 1835. Women tailors, shoe binders, mill workers, and Black laundresses formed their own unions.

In 1867, the National Union for Cigar Makers was the first union to accept women and Black workers. And in 1912, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which had been organizing in the telephone industry, accepted telephone operators who were primarily women.

Just a few years after the Civil War, the Chicago businessman George M. Pullman began hiring thousands of African American men—including many former slaves—to serve white passengers traveling across the country on his company's luxury railroad sleeping cars. While they were underpaid and overworked and endured constant racism on the job, the Pullman porters would eventually help to fuel the Great Migration, shape a new Black middle class and launch the civil rights movement. A group of Pullman porters saw the need to organize a labor union. Seeking leadership for their new organization, they reached out to A. Philip Randolph who became president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids in 1925.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids

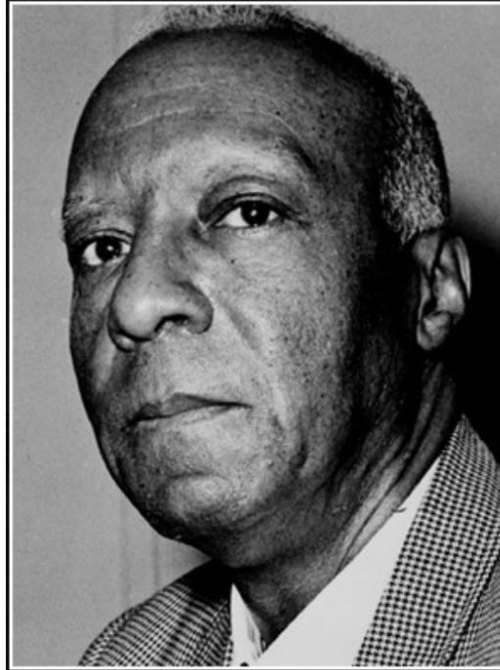
- The roots of the Brotherhood's struggle extend back to industrialist George Pullman and his vision for luxury rail travel.
- Pullman began developing kitted-out sleeper cars replete with brocade, elaborate moldings and the at-will command of porters, many of them formerly enslaved men.
- Select trains expanded their service to include maids, billed as "handmaidens" to the female passengers. These positions were open only to Black women until 1925 when the company began hiring a few Asian women to discourage unionizing efforts.
- The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids was established in 1925. (& Maids" was dropped from the Brotherhood's name in 1929.)



<https://www.npca.org/articles/3707-the-women-behind-the-brotherhood>

A Philip Randolph: President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids

- He was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Florida, and spent his early years in Jacksonville, Florida. In 1907 he graduated as valedictorian from Cookman Institute.
- A. Philip Randolph was a pivotal figure in the fight for African American labor rights. In June 1925, he was approached by a group of Pullman porters seeking leadership for their new organization. Randolph, known for his integrity and independence from the Pullman Company, accepted the role and served as the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids.
- Over the next ten years, he fought tirelessly to secure recognition for the BSCP, culminating in its certification as the exclusive bargaining agent for Pullman porters in 1935, which he hailed as a landmark victory for Black workers.



Nothing counts but pressure,
pressure, more pressure, and still
more pressure through broad
organized aggressive mass action.

— A. Philip Randolph —

AZ QUOTES

Women Behind the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids

- Women were active in labor struggles of the late 1920s.
- Women behind the Brotherhood were maids on the railroad and wives of Pullman porters.
- Organized annual conventions, fundraising, and local chapters.
- Hosted dinners for Brotherhood leaders.
- Helped secure the first Black-led union charter from the American Federation of Labor in 1935.
- They faced retaliation from the company.



Providing manicures to riders helped elevate the Pullman train experience, but the company expected the maids to purchase their own supplies. [@MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY/NEWBERRY LIBRARY](#)



Women of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, circa 1950. [@DELLUMS \(COTTRELL LAURENCE\) PAPERS, MS014_B12_F13_086, AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSEUM AND LIBRARY, OAKLAND PUBLIC LIBRARY, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA](#)

Women Behind the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters & Maids

- Pullman Company as the leading employer of Black workers.
- 20,000 African Americans employed, including porters and maids.
- Discriminatory pay, limited rights, and societal expectations for women.
- Isolated working conditions and lack of representation.
- Difficulty balancing union involvement with societal roles.
- Maids' grievances often overlooked; many remained silent due to fears of reprisal.
- Wives of porters
 - Took initiative in organizing efforts, visiting homes, and drumming up support.
 - Held meetings discreetly to avoid Pullman's scrutiny.



Frances Albrier, a nurse and Pullman maid, aided the union efforts.  SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, FRANCES ALBRIER COLLECTION



- In what ways did societal and institutional barriers within labor unions and civil rights organizations contribute to the exclusion of Black women from the narrative of the Black labor movement?
- How may this exclusion have impacted the broader goals of labor activism during the 20th century?
- In what ways did Black women assert agency and leadership despite the exclusion?



Ella Baker



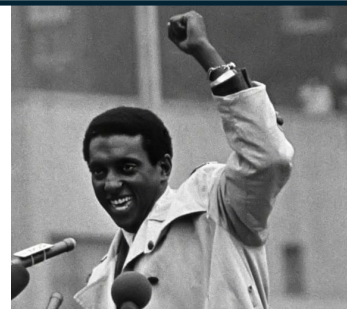
Thurgood
Marshall



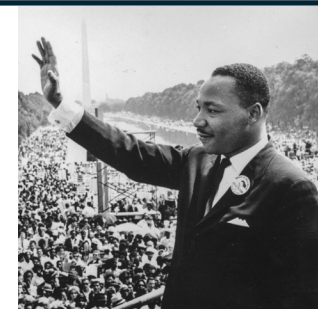
Medgar Evers



Rosa Parks



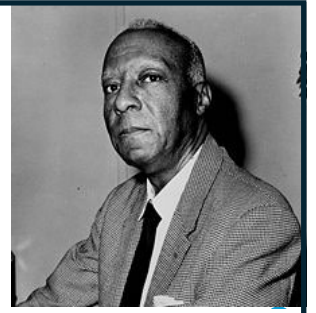
(Stokely Carmichael)
Kwame Ture



Martin Luther
King, Jr.



Bayard Rustin



A. Phillip
Randolph

**SUM
IT UP!**

- What are some key positive impacts of the organizing initiatives and campaigns by Black Unions and Black Teacher Associations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?
- How did these actions contribute to the broader civil rights movement and help shape educational policy?
- Give one word to describe the contributions of these HBCU graduates in our struggle for racial and social justice.



Stacey Abrams



John Lewis



Barbara Jordan



WEB DuBois



Ida B Wells



Louis Farrakhan



William Barber II



Jesse Jackson

All organizers begin by asking:

What is the change you want to make?

Who would want to make change with you?



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Give us your feedback

In the chat -
What is the
most important
idea that you
are taking with
you from
tonight?

