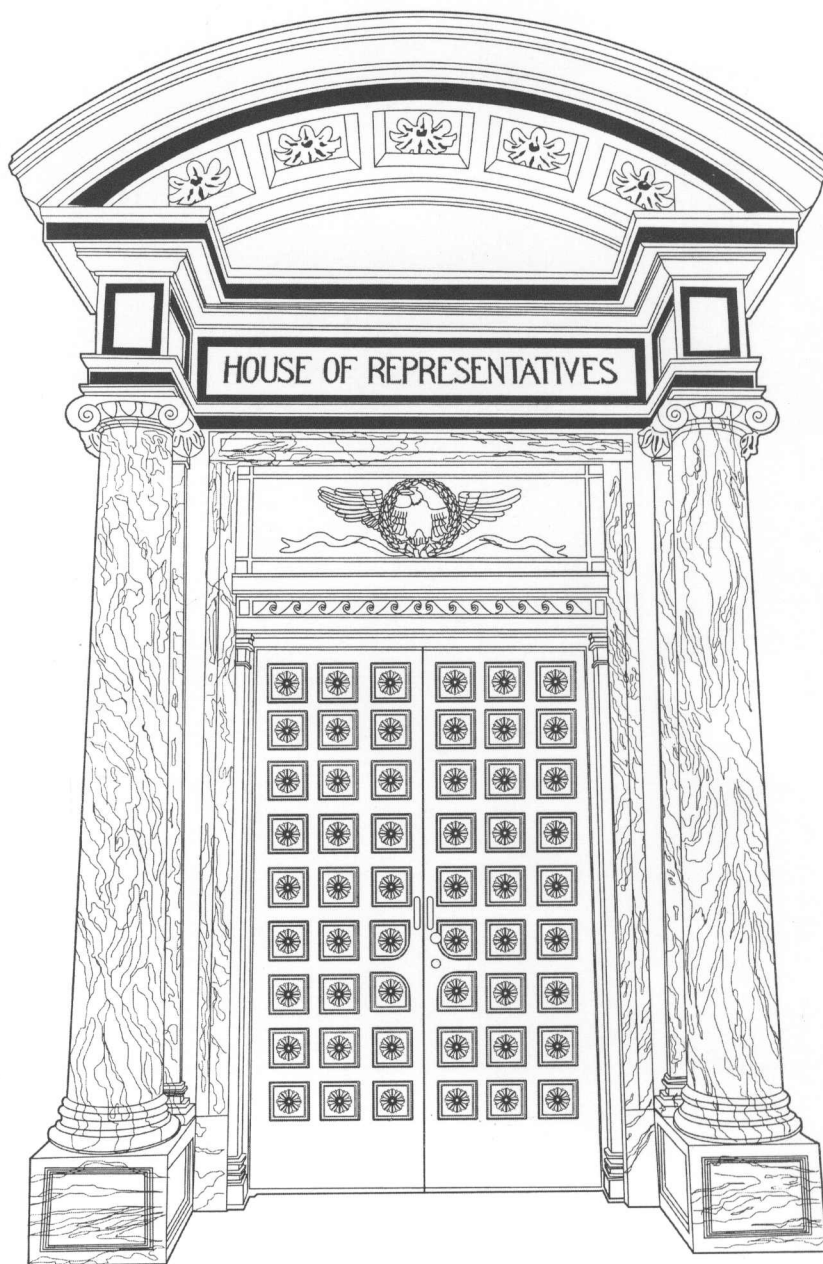


A Century To Remember



A Historical Perspective on the Oklahoma House of Representatives

A CENTURY TO REMEMBER



Oklahoma House of Representatives' Chamber, First Joint Session,
January 19, 1917



Oklahoma House Of Representatives' Chamber, Dedication Ceremony, January 19, 2000
(Speaker Loyd Benson Presiding)

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*A Historical Perspective on the
Oklahoma House of Representatives*

PREPARED FOR THE DEDICATION OF THE
RESTORED CHAMBER OF THE
OKLAHOMA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
January 19, 2000

AUTHORIZED BY:
SPEAKER LOYD BENSON
Second Session, Forty-Seventh Oklahoma Legislature

Written by George G. Humphreys, Research Director

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Foreword

When I entered the chamber of the Oklahoma House of Representatives in January 1984 as a freshman legislator from Frederick, I was struck by the “bigger than life” feeling this impressive room inspired. I was also awed by the portraits on the surrounding walls that portrayed the Speakers who had led this great body. They were men of strength, men of spirit and vision, and men who have gone down in history for setting the tone of how our state’s government would operate. It never occurred to me then that one day I would be a member of this group. However, I have become the last Speaker of the Twentieth Century and the first Speaker to serve in the Twenty-first Century. It has been an honor beyond belief and one I will treasure forever.

When we began plans for the January 2000 opening of the restored chamber of the Oklahoma House of Representatives to the splendor when the Capitol Building was initially constructed, I decided that a history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives would add to the opening ceremony. George Humphreys, Research Director of the House, was asked to complete this task. In addition to his twenty years of staff experience with the Oklahoma Legislature, he has cowritten a book on Oklahoma politics.

It is my hope that this overview of the history of the House will give all those who read it a deeper appreciation of the role that the Oklahoma House of Representatives has played in the political life of this great state. I particularly hope that past, present, and future members, regardless of party, will take with them a deeper sense of their service to this great institution as it enters the next millennium.

Not only does the text convey the powerful passions and clashes that have occurred in the House of Representatives since 1907, you will also find in it the historical threads that have enabled past and present generations of House members to improve the legislative process. I believe these improvements have been designed to enable members to better represent their districts and to enable the House of Representatives to perform its appropriate role in the democratic system of government that the drafters of the Oklahoma Constitution intended, and that the present system of state-federal relationship demands of state legislatures.



Speaker Loyd Benson
December 1999

Introduction and Acknowledgments

When Speaker Loyd Benson asked me to prepare a history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives for the January 19, 2000, dedication of the restored House chamber, I was both pleased and overwhelmed. For more than ten years, I have believed that more work has been needed on the political history of the state. I thought my opportunity to add to that history had ended when in 1991, I coauthored the Oklahoma volume in the University of Nebraska's *Politics and Governments in the American States* series. However, the present text has given me an opportunity to write on the political institution that I have worked for over the majority of my professional career. The Oklahoma House of Representatives has been for me a stimulating and challenging environment in which to work.

I was also overwhelmed by the task of writing a history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Attempting to compress a century of history of a political institution, such as the Oklahoma House of Representatives, into a readable document and to do justice to the institution in the time frame given to complete the project, caused me to hesitate at times. I am fully aware of all the important matters that I have been unable to include to avoid weighing down readers with more information than they want. It is for that reason that the title indicates that this is a "historical perspective." My intent is not to give an exhaustive history. Instead, I have touched quickly on what I believe to be the more interesting and important events in the House's history. However, I have also included, for the more serious reader, information about the evolution of the Oklahoma House of Representatives in Appendix IV that I felt should not be lost.

Another matter of great concern to me has been writing about relatively recent events in the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, some of which were painful in nature. I have served the last five Speakers of the House in one administrative capacity or another, and I found each to be fine men and outstanding leaders. Therefore, it is with great hesitation that I have had to include in this history the very difficult conclusions to the Speakerships of Daniel D. Draper, Jr. and Jim Barker. On the other hand, it would not be historically honest to leave out those chapters in this history.

Any project of this magnitude is only possible with the contribution of many individuals. I will list those that I am most indebted to for information or materials. The library staff at the Jan Eric Cartwright Law Library at the State Capitol were extremely helpful in trying to respond to my many urgent requests. Edward Connie Shoemaker at the Oklahoma Historical Society's library made a major contribution to this effort by introducing me to *Harlow's Weekly*, an immensely valuable source for Oklahoma political history before 1940. Bob Blackburn, the executive director of the Oklahoma Historical Society and his staff also provided me with several very valuable photographs. The Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma and Bozarth Photography in Guthrie also made the Guthrie photographs for the early history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives available. Thanks go to Mick Hinton at *The Daily Oklahoman* for the photograph of the Langston lock-in, and Brian Ford at the *Tulsa World* for the photograph of the signing of House Bill 1017. The contributions of Stuart Ostler, the chief legislative photographer, were critical in helping me obtain photographs of former members and digging out of his files several splendid pictures of the State Capitol.

Although time limited me from doing extensive interviews of former House members and staff, I was able to benefit from those I did. Former Speakers Rex Privett and Daniel D. Draper, Jr. were kind enough to give generously of their time. Speaker Privett was a very important source for the history of the House in the 1950's and 1960's. Former House member Sid Hudson was particularly helpful in filling in details about the T-Bar Twelve.

Richard Huddleston, my former boss and a twenty-five-year veteran of the House staff, enriched my understanding of the House during his tenure. Other veteran, current and former, House staff who shared their insights with me include Louise Stockton, Inez Gilson, Susan Hill, and Marcia Shockey. Susan was the source for the table of former House members listed in Appendix III. Karen Kipgen corrected my understanding of the history of the House page program.

Trey Ramsey, Director of the House Information Services Division, prepared the map of Speakers by county in Appendix I. Joe Blough in the House Chief Clerk's office did an excellent job in checking and correcting the information in Appendix II. Donna Russell in the office of the Executive Director of the House Research, Legal, and Fiscal Division literally spent days verifying and correcting the list of House members in Appendix III. I appreciate Tally Fugate at the Oklahoma Department of Libraries for her valuable work examining the bill archives. Her analysis was used in writing the section on bill drafting in Appendix IV. Arlene Bayne and her staff in the House Engrossing and Enrolling Office were instrumental in providing the polishing touches to my rough drafts. Their quick proofing and editing is greatly appreciated.

I owe an immense debt to Penny Tullis, Chief of Staff to Speaker Loyd Benson. She supported and encouraged me from the start of the project. When my mind was too numb to come up with a good title, she came to my rescue. She also took the lead in developing the cover. In that effort, I also want to express my appreciation to Jerry Jansen and Representative Darrell Gilbert for the art work on the cover and to Scott Carter in the Media Division of the House for its design.

Gerlinde Williams, Administrator of the Central Printing Division at the Department of Central Services, and her staff were very cooperative in the production process. Her advice and willingness to work with tight deadlines were critical to the success of the project. Her staff did a wonderful job with the pictures, some of which were not the crispest copies.

Finally, this project could never have been completed without the unselfish time given to it by Susie Bradshaw, Executive Assistant in the House Research, Legal, and Fiscal Division office, and her support staff who typed the manuscript and made copies of the photographs that are included in the following pages. A special debt of gratitude goes to Joan Richards for sacrificing her holiday weekends to assist me and attempting to otherwise keep this project moving to its completion. She added a great deal to the final product. We worked well as a team.

For this second printing, I took the liberty of eliminating a number of errors and typographical problems. I have also added a photograph from the chamber dedication at the beginning and one of the chamber entrance at the end of the publication.

Pre-Statehood

A history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives must begin with political events leading to statehood. Prior to voter adoption of the Oklahoma Constitution in November 1907, Oklahoma was divided along a north to south line, splitting Indian Territory in the east from Oklahoma Territory. Both areas had considerable experience in self-governance. Indian Territory had been governed by the tribes, most notably the Five Civilized Tribes (the Chickasaw, Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee nations) which had been forced to leave their original homelands in the southeast during the first half of the nineteenth century. These nations had their own constitutions and legislative, executive, and judicial institutions. Oklahoma Territory was created by the Congress in the Oklahoma Organic Act of May 2, 1890. The President of the United States appointed territorial governors who, in turn, had important patronage powers which greatly benefitted the Republican party, which controlled the White House, except for the four years when Democratic President Grover Cleveland was in office. In addition to the territorial governor, a territorial legislature was elected to perform the legislative function.

Though Oklahoma developed quickly in terms of population and economy, statehood was delayed in large part due to the twin territorial arrangement. At the beginning of the twentieth century, political leaders in Indian Territory pursued a twin-statehood solution when the principal chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes convoked the Sequoyah Convention in Muskogee on August 21, 1905. It produced a well-written constitution approved by voters in the territory and a request that Congress admit Indian Territory to the Union as the state of Sequoyah. The request was ignored; instead, Congress enacted the Hamilton Statehood Act, known also in Oklahoma as the Oklahoma Enabling Act, on June 16, 1906, providing for unification of the twin territories.

The Sequoyah Convention, the Oklahoma Organic Act, and the Constitutional Convention created by the Enabling Act had very large impacts on the Oklahoma House of Representatives' history. The Enabling Act ended efforts for twin statehood by authorizing a process for a unified Oklahoma to be admitted to the Union. A constitutional convention was called with fifty-five delegates elected by adult males from each of the territories and two delegates from the Osage Reservation. As provided in the Organic Act, the convention was held in Guthrie, the capital of Oklahoma Territory. Congress selected Guthrie as the capital of Oklahoma, at least until 1913,

when the new state would be permitted to decide on the permanent location of the state capital. Other notable provisions that would greatly impact this history were provisions requiring prohibition in former Indian Territory and prohibiting Oklahoma from ever enacting legislation to abridge the right to vote “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude” (the Organic Act’s protection of African-Americans was never complete as the act specifically accepted separate school systems).

The Sequoyah Convention was important as a crucible for the shaping of the new state’s political institutions and the development of future state political leaders. Men such as Charles N. Haskell from Muskogee and William H. “Alfalfa Bill” Murray of Tishomingo played major roles at the Sequoyah Convention and the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. They were rewarded at statehood when Haskell was elected the new state’s first Governor and Murray was picked to be the Oklahoma House of Representatives’ first Speaker. Many of the radical provisions of the Oklahoma Constitution associated with the populist and progressive political movements of the day were incorporated in the proposed Sequoyah Constitution.

The men who were elected to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention were, by and large, very different from those who had led political life in Oklahoma Territory. As previously noted, Oklahoma Territory had been dominated by the Republican Party. In contrast, voters in both territories selected an overwhelming majority of Democrats to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. The Democratic delegates, with strong support from labor and agricultural leaders who found common ground in their dislike of the trusts and corporate barons which were viewed as evils in that day, assumed firm control of the convention. Murray, with the strong support of Haskell (despite his throwing an inkwell at Murray because he would not recognize Haskell), presided over the convention.

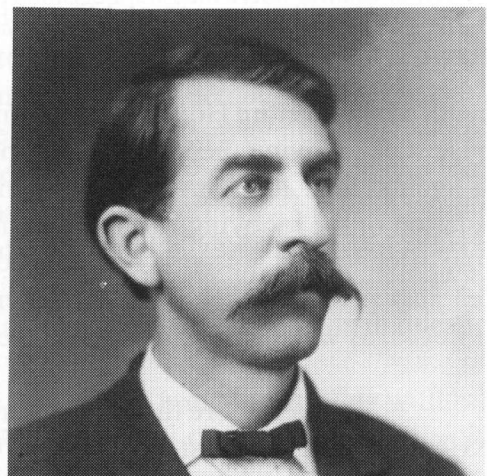
This is not the place to delve deeply into the work of the convention or the Constitution itself, but a number of the Constitution’s provisions had a large role in shaping the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Although there was some support for a unicameral legislature modeled after Nebraska’s or for a relatively small number of legislators, the delegates’ prevailing opinion was that the Legislature should be bicameral, with a Senate and a House of Representatives composed of and elected by men. The first House would be composed of 109 members who would serve two-year terms. The delegates had turned down the strong efforts of the female suffrage forces who sought to include female suffrage in Oklahoma. The office of House Speaker was created, and the House was given the sole powers of originating revenue-raising measures and impeachment proceedings. Except for the first session, Legislatures would meet biannually in regular session in the odd-numbered year. The length of the session was not restricted, but a provision that reduced daily compensation from \$6 to \$2 after sixty days (except for the first session) would pressure legislators to restrict the length of sessions. No provisions were made for the Legislature to convoke itself into session. The calling of special sessions was the responsibility of the Governor and he (women were prohibited in the Constitution from election to that office) determined what matters the Legislature could consider in a special session. The Legislature’s powers were shared with voters through the relatively new and radical initiative and referendum process which permitted voters to enact statutory and constitutional changes and to petition for a vote on legislative enactments not containing emergency clauses. A relatively high requirement for a two-thirds

majority vote on emergency legislation without which measures would not take effect until ninety days after a session were written into the Constitution. This gives voters an opportunity to circulate a referendum petition that, if it obtains sufficient signatures, will suspend a legislative enactment and enable a state vote on the measure that can result in its repeal. Though the populist sentiment created a constitutionally weak governor, the office was given strong package and line-item veto powers over legislation. The drafters of the Oklahoma Constitution added a wide variety of other provisions to prevent abuses that they felt should not be permitted in the Oklahoma Legislature. For example, measures (with a few exceptions) had to be limited to one subject, and enactment of special or local legislation was encumbered by a process requiring newspaper postings.

Once the proposed Oklahoma Constitution was written, voters went to the polls in November 1907 to elect a large number of statewide officers and a Legislature, as well as voting on the Constitution. The House of Representatives' apportionment plan was based on county representation. As provided by the Constitution, sixty of the seventy-five counties (including Tulsa County) were entitled to one seat; twelve counties were authorized two seats each; two counties were authorized three seats; and Oklahoma County was permitted four seats, one at-large and the others by districts. Fifteen additional seats were to be elected from flatorial (multi-county) districts composed of two or three counties. In future reapportionment plans, no county could exceed seven seats regardless of the county's population size. This scheme, particularly the cap on seats to a county, was designed to protect the interests of rural areas which feared domination by cities. This provision had immense importance in the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives by giving the House a rural orientation until the mid-1960s.

The First Legislature and the First Speaker

The 1907 elections validated the work of the Constitutional Convention. The Oklahoma Constitution was approved, and the political forces which inspired it were rewarded by the election of men who shared their outlook. In the House of Representatives, there were ninety-three Democrats and only seventeen Republicans elected to serve in the first Oklahoma Legislature. When the members gathered in Guthrie to meet at the City Hall Building (the Second Legislature would move to the newly-built Convention Center) for the first day of session at noon on December 1, 1907, Murray had already captured sufficient votes among Democrats to make him the unanimous choice as Speaker. In an emotional acceptance speech during which Murray stopped several times to choke back his tears, he laid before the House the Herculean task of putting legislation together to implement the Constitution. He also promised to administer his duties fairly and to treat the Republican minority fairly. He warned them, however, there would be limits:



*William H. Murray, the first Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, 1907-8 Session.
Source: The Oklahoma Historical Society*

I want to say that so long as the republicans in this body have a desire to promote the interests of this state and desire recognition at the hands of the chair, so long will they have an equal footing on the floor with any member of this body (Applause). But the man who undertakes to get gay, the man who imagines that in a position of this kind, that he can make life miserable for 'Cockleburr Bill' (Murray's other nickname) is mistaken. (Applause.)

Murray then sought in the first three staff appointments to symbolically unite the state's population. Sworn in first were a Union and Confederate veteran as doorkeepers. They were then followed by the swearing in of Jim Noble, an African-American, as House custodian (Noble was a well-known figure at the state capitol, both in Guthrie and Oklahoma City, for several decades).



City Hall in Guthrie where the First Legislature met, 1907-8. Source: Bozarth Photography, Guthrie

The House also adopted as its initial rules those of the Constitutional Convention until rules of its own could be prepared. The rules prepared by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business and adopted by the House on December 7, 1907, provided the Speaker with strong powers over House operations. He was, for example, empowered to make all appointments to the fifty-three House standing and three joint committees and to decide where bills should be assigned. He was also given the power to hire and fire House employees, although in practice the patronage arrangements that prevailed in the early Legislatures gave the minority party control over a limited number of staff. The new rules also included: 1) committees on printing of bills and journals, etc., and House accounts and expenses to prevent corruption in those important functions, 2) use of the committee of the whole whereby a measure can be

amended by the entire House prior to third reading, 3) use of the rising vote, 4) a prohibition against House staff lobbying members, and 5) provisions for registering paid lobbyists for special interests and against their lobbying individual members from going on the House floor without invitation (violation of the lobbying rules would involve contempt of the House and result in the banishment of the offender and his name being placed on a list at the main entrance to the legislative hall). The rules also permitted a variety of current or former territorial or state and federal officers floor privileges, as well as the chief executives of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Perhaps more than any other Speaker in the House's first fifty years, Murray dominated the House during that first long session which finally adjourned May 26, 1908. Moreover, he and Governor Haskell dominated the state political scene during the first session.

Never afraid of a good fight, Speaker Murray demonstrated during the first days of that session that the House would not be treated as an inferior body to the Senate or permit it to assume

the position of the “upper house.” This was illustrated when it came time for the Legislature to elect Oklahoma’s first two U.S. Senators (a practice which ended with the ratification of the 18th Amendment in 1919). Robert L. Owen and Thomas P. Gore had led the field in the preferential balloting for these seats and were virtually assured of election. On the appointed day, the House adjourned early and proceeded to the Opera House in Guthrie for the joint session scheduled at noon where many of the new state’s political notables gathered to watch. In accordance with joint rules which had been adopted by the new Legislature, Speaker Murray was to preside over the joint session. However, the Senate delayed the session and sent word that the Senate wanted the Lieutenant Governor to preside because the Oklahoma Constitution gave the Lieutenant



Ione Hotel in Guthrie in 1906, a popular spot for Democratic House members and where the Democratic caucus met prior to the First Legislative Session, 1907-8.

Source: Helen Holmes Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma.

Governor a vote in the Senate as President of the Senate and in joint sessions. Well aware of those provisions, but also that the Constitution was silent regarding the issue at hand, Murray refused to budge for three hours. During that time, the state watched the first (but hardly the last) clash between the two chambers.

The Senate was not unique in experiencing the wrath of Speaker Murray. “Cocklebur Bill” also would not tolerate local officials treating the House with contempt. When the Alfalfa County clerk refused to turn over to the House Committee on Privileges and Elections records pertaining to a contested House race, he was found in contempt of the House and sentenced to six months in the Logan County jail. When the clerk refused to accept his punishment or turn over the records, Murray accompanied a special posse that he appointed of House members and sergeants-at-arms, and Garfield County sheriff’s deputies to arrest the clerk. The clerk avoided the posse by fleeing to Kansas, and the Speaker ignored a local court order obtained by the clerk which was issued to stay the House’s search. Murray defiantly responded that the only court order he would comply with in the matter would be a habeas corpus after he caught his man! The issue was resolved when the clerk turned himself in, agreed to a one-night stay in the Logan County jail to satisfy the contempt of the Legislature charge rendered against him, and turned over the records in question.

Speaker Murray would also be involved in a number of notable conflicts with other House members. Two such incidents illustrate his combative style. One House member who publicly complained that the Speaker was responsible for permitting the member to be misquoted, filed a resolution to require the maintaining of floor speeches. Murray (who had earlier forced the member’s wife, a House stenographer, to leave her stenographer post in the House rather than accept the resolution) said that he would fire all staff stenographers and destroy all existing records of floor speeches. Later in the session, the chair of the House Rules Committee would have struck the

Speaker over the way he was conducting floor sessions, but the members and sergeants-at-arms intervened. In another instance, Murray caused a great stir in the House when he chased from the floor Kate Barnard, the popular statewide-elected Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, even though House rules gave state officers floor privileges.

There is another matter that deserves to be saved from the dustbin of history. As the 1907-08 session neared its scheduled adjournment, the Legislature had not completed its appropriations work. However, the Speaker attempted to force the Legislature into a special session by arguing that it was the intention of the Constitutional Convention that revenue-raising and appropriation measures not be passed during the last five days of a session. When it was pointed out that there was no such provision applicable to appropriation bills, Murray coolly said the omission was due only to an engrossing error and that to do otherwise would be a violation of the spirit of the Constitution. Although he reluctantly gave in to the pressure from weary legislators, he warned that allowing appropriation measures to pass the last few days of session would not only be a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, the practice would also permit the opportunity for graft during the concluding days of future legislative sessions.



The Daily Oklahoman, January 7, 1908

That first session of the House required a great deal from its members as they considered legislation necessary to unite the two territories, to vitalize numerous constitutional provisions, and to provide a financial base upon which to fund state and local governments in Oklahoma. From their desks, which were in a semicircle patterned after the U. S. House of Representatives, the 119 House members wrote, debated, and enacted more than 200 bills. Nearly one-half of the measures vitalized provisions of the Oklahoma Constitution or the Oklahoma Organic Act.

One of the more controversial of this class of measures was a bill to put teeth in the prohibition provisions of the Oklahoma Constitution. The Oklahoma Organic Act required prohibition in the eastern half of the state, but a separate amendment to the Oklahoma Constitution approved by voters in the statehood election imposed prohibition statewide. The "Billups Booze Bill," so-named after Senator Richard A. Billups, came to the House with strong enforcement provisions for law enforcement officials who were complaining about rampant violations in their jurisdictions. In the House, Speaker Murray added a series of amendments creating a state dispensary agency to supervise the sale of spirits for medical and other prescribed purposes (allowed in the Enabling Act and the Oklahoma Constitution) and authorizing local dispensaries in each municipality

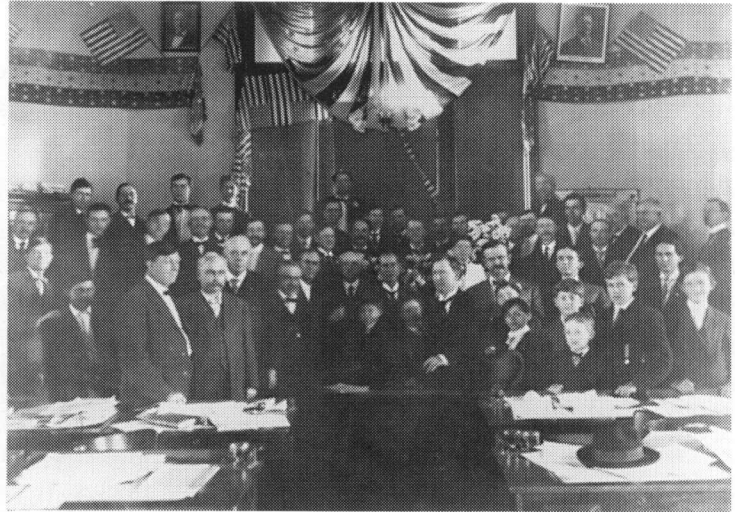


The Daily Oklahoman February 29, 1908

over 2,000 in population and one for counties without a town of that size designated by the superintendent of the state dispensary agency. Murray's amendments, in contrast to provisions of the Enabling Act, would also allow for dispensaries in towns under 1,000 if voters approved an amendment to the Oklahoma Constitution. The Speaker encountered opposition on the amendment,

falling five votes short of the votes required for an emergency on the bill. The resourceful Murray then ruled that measures to implement constitutional provisions automatically carried emergencies with them! When the House returned the bill to the Senate, its members were upset about the extensive House amendments, delaying final consideration for nearly three months. The final bill sent to the voters the House provision authorizing dispensaries in towns under 1,000, but experience with dispensaries in the intervening time indicated that they were not financially viable. Voters rejected State Question 1, and there would never be more than 20 dispensaries operating at any one time before the dispensary system was repealed in 1911. Prohibition and liquor control issues would remain controversial matters that divided voters until passage of a liquor-by-the-drink state question in 1984.

The other controversial issue left from the Constitutional Convention dealt with race relations in the new state. Only the fear that President Theodore Roosevelt would refuse to approve the Oklahoma Constitution and delay statehood if it contained racially-discriminatory provisions (popularly called Jim Crow laws) deterred the convention members from inserting one. However, it was clear to Oklahoma voters and African-Americans during the gubernatorial and state legislative campaigns that a Democratic victory



Bill signing ceremony for Senate Bill 1, imposing Jim Crow racial segregation in Oklahoma. Source: Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society

would result in quick action on Jim Crow legislation to require segregated public facilities. In fact, the first bills filed in both chambers were Jim Crow bills, and the House voted 95-10 for Senate Bill 1. This act (not the first one signed by Haskell) required transportation companies in Oklahoma to provide separate coaches, waiting rooms, and other facilities for African-Americans. Supporters of Jim Crow were motivated by race and partisan considerations (African-Americans in Oklahoma were strong supporters of the Republican Party as the Grand Old Party of Lincoln). African-American reaction was something more than passive. There were small-scale riots in the African-American community, and African-Americans attacked a special train carrying Democratic politicians from Guthrie to Muskogee to the state party convention. They were attacked as the train passed through the African-American town of Redbird. A large chunk of coal broke a window cutting the shoulder of one state representative and scattering glass on two senators.

One of the heavy responsibilities of the First Legislature was to erect a tax base to fund state services. Given that the Oklahoma Constitution gives the House of Representatives the power for the introduction of revenue-raising measures, the initial House was assured a key role over establishing fiscal policies for the new state. For a tax base, the Legislature levied: 1) a 2% gross revenue tax on pipelines, coal mines, and telegraph lines; 2) a 0.5% gross production tax on oil, railroad, electric utilities, and telephone companies; 3) a graduated individual income tax on incomes over \$3,500 per year with a top rate of 3.5% on incomes over \$100,000; and 4) the property tax.

Oklahoma was one of the first states to have an income tax. With these levies, the Legislature passed a \$4 million budget for the biennium.

In addition to redeeming the Jim Crow pledge, legislators enacted a social agenda which is considered the most radical in Oklahoma's political history. With the union of populist and progressive forces behind them, the Twin Territorial Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Union were very influential in the work of the Constitutional Convention. Their political strength continued into the First Legislature. Murray, for example, was one of a contingent of more than forty House members known to be strongly in favor of the Farmers' Union agenda. Not surprisingly, therefore, the 1907-08 session produced an impressive volume of "radical" legislation that protected bank depositors, extended protections for labor strikers, created the nation's first statewide system of publicly-financed employment agencies, imposed an eight-hour day requirement for workers employed on all state projects, and enacted anti-trust legislation designed to curb the influence of Standard Oil and Rockefeller interests in the new state. *The Daily Oklahoman*, at that time the state's strongest media proponent of the Democratic Party, at the end of the session editorialized approvingly on the radical orientation of the new Legislature as a counterbalance to the excesses of trusts in the national economy. "In constantly consulting the interests of the whole people of the state, the first legislature has acted with commendable wisdom."

This union of reform-oriented labor and agricultural forces would not last. In fact, cracks developed during the 1907-08 session, and Speaker "Cockleburr Bill" Murray was a central figure in the impending break. In part, his eccentricities were partly to blame. His decision to chase Kate Barnard, a popular figure in progressive circles, from the House floor was a tactical mistake. One of his biographers also concludes that Murray's dominance in the House of Representatives did not guarantee his popularity statewide. His appeal was strongest in rural and small town constituencies. Urban areas, the wealthy, and the educated strata of Oklahoma society viewed the populist "Alfalfa Bill" as too unsophisticated for their tastes. Although Murray supported much of the reform agenda in the First Legislature and used his office to pass most of it, his support was not total. For example, he was assigned much of the blame in labor circles for the Legislature not passing a child labor bill supported by the labor wing of the reform agenda, but which had been opposed by the Farmers' Union. The State Federation of Labor, when it met in July 1908, pointedly attacked the Speaker and numerous other legislators for their luke-warm support for the reform agenda. Labor resolved itself to "pledge our efforts and ballots to the end that he [Murray] shall be defeated for every political office he may aspire to, and we shall regard any official or party that continues to boost W. H. Murray as an enemy to the masses of Oklahoma." In fact, Murray, briefly left the political scene after he concluded his term as Speaker in a financially stressed condition and in poor health. He declined to run for office in 1908 in part to prepare for his unsuccessful race for governor in 1910.

Nevertheless, that First Legislature, which completed the radical work of the Constitutional Convention, earned the Legislature an exaggerated anti-business reputation which it would not shed for decades. This reputation was particularly undeserved since the Second Oklahoma Legislature and those that would follow were considerably more conservative and friendly to business interests than the First.



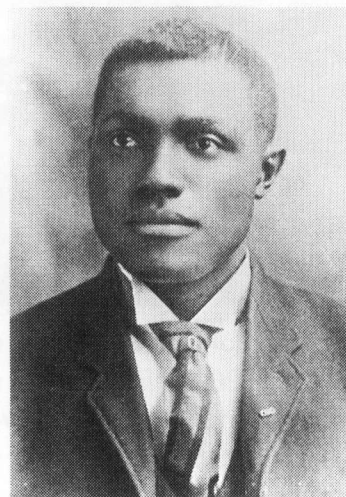
*Oklahoma Avenue in Guthrie Showing the Convention Hall, where the Legislature met in 1909, at the head of the street.
Source: Bozarth Photography, Guthrie*

The reform movement was greatly diminished when one of its key, if not always consistent components, the Farmers' Union of Oklahoma experienced a tremendous setback caused by the collapse in farm prices and the resulting increase in tenant farming and sharecropping. Its membership had dropped by 60% since 1905. In addition, organized labor's lack of enthusiasm for the accomplishments of the First Legislature provided an opening for a Republican resurgence. Only 86 of the original 110 members returned to the House for the 1909 session, and Republicans added 21 members to their ranks. A reporter for *The Daily Oklahoman* noted the change in the members of the Second Legislature (1908-10) as they gathered at the Ione Hotel in Guthrie to prepare for the approaching session. Gone were "legislators who last session wore broad-brimmed hats and fierce mustaches."

The First African-American State Representative

When the House convened on January 5, 1909, Logan County voters sent the first African-American member to the Oklahoma House of Representatives. When Guthrie Republican A. C. Hamlin answered the roll call that first day, there were reports of hissing in the chamber and from the galleries. As a member of the minority party, Hamlin could not expect to exert much influence. In those days, when a strong racial segregation consensus dominated Oklahoma race relations, he was relegated to the role of a token. Nevertheless, his election had important consequences outside the House of Representatives.

In part, due to Hamlin's election and the belief that the African-American vote had enabled Republicans to win a majority of the 1908 congressional elections in Oklahoma, state Democratic leaders quickly organized an initiative petition drive to put on the 1910 primary ballot a constitutional amendment establishing a "grandfather clause" based on a similar South Carolina provision to disenfranchise African-Americans. Voter approval of the "grandfather clause" (the use of a literacy test to determine whether a person was qualified to vote, but exempted persons who were qualified to vote prior to January 1, 1866, their lineal heirs, and immigrants) led to the disenfranchisement by local election officials of thousands of African-American Oklahomans during the 1910 general election. Hamlin was defeated under unusual circumstances in his reelection bid even though he had more votes on the general election ballot than his Democratic opponent. Locally, members of the Anti-Horse Thief Association threatened Logan County election officials if they approved Hamlin's election, and Governor Haskell's administration intervened on the Democratic challenger's side because Haskell believed many unqualified African-American voters had voted in the election in violation of the grandfather clause. Hamlin was the last African-American to serve in the Oklahoma House of Representatives until 1964.



A.C. Hamlin, the first African-American House member 1908-10. Source: Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society

The Oklahoma House of Representatives and the “Stealing” of the State Capital

While one of the major considerations of the first several legislatures was the creation of state institutions, the biggest institutional prize of the new state, the capital, remained very much unsettled in the young state. Guthrie, which had been the territorial capital, had hoped that it would remain the capital city when it successfully lobbied Congress for the provision in the Oklahoma Enabling Act that the capital could not be changed before January 1, 1913. But Democratic politicians quickly found Guthrie a hotbed of Republicanism and despised the politics of publisher Frank Greer and the editorial slant of his *Oklahoma State Capital* published in Guthrie. The House, unhappy with its accommodations, had established a committee in 1907 to examine the sanitation and ventilation problems of the House chambers and rooms. A report of the committee issued in February 1908 was sharp in its criticisms of Guthrie accommodations and the report found, for example, that the quality of the drinking water at the City Hall was not adequate and recommended that bottled water should be brought in from Sulphur.

Some of the House's complaints may have been resolved when the Legislature moved to its new home at the Convention Center built by the residents of Guthrie for \$150,000 to house the Legislature in 1909. Although the Democratic majorities in its Legislature were still not content with Guthrie as the state capital, hadn't the Congress tied the Legislators' hands until 1913? Speaker Murray did not believe so; in his acceptance speech, he advanced the idea, which was later refined as the "New Jerusalem Plan," whereby a spot in the center of the state (which everyone believed to be a site near Oklahoma City) should be selected for a capital city. The costs for building the capitol building would be derived from the sale of nearby plots of land. Moreover, Murray believed (and the U. S. Supreme Court later agreed) that Congress did not have the right to dictate to any state the location of its capital.

The first legislation regarding the removal of the capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City was introduced in the House by Representative I. M. Putnam of Oklahoma City on February 11, 1908. His resolution complained that the Legislature's quarters in Guthrie were "in many respects inadequate and inconveniently located, and the health of many members of the legislature have been endangered by poor ventilation and unsanitary conditions." Predictably, the response from Oklahoma City was enthusiastic. Civic leaders, who felt that the New Jerusalem Plan was poorly conceived because it underestimated the difficulty of creating a capital city and overestimated potential revenues from the sale of land, invited legislators and other state dignitaries to be guests in Oklahoma City in late February 1908, for a day of festivities specifically designed to boom the city as the future home of the state capital. A special train carried legislators to the event where they were promised a \$1.5 million capitol building to be built at no taxpayer expense.

The Legislature passed House Joint Resolution 11 in 1908 to put a New Jerusalem question on the general election ballot that November. The question directed the state to acquire a site of sufficient size for a state capital and the sale of lots to cover the cost of construction of a capitol building. Though the votes for the question greatly exceeded those against it, the question failed due to the "silent vote" (state questions had to receive a majority of the votes cast for the state office receiving the most votes, a provision that led to the defeat of many questions before this provision was removed).



*Speaker W. B. Anthony
and Governor Haskell's Secretary who
stole the state seal*

No capital removal legislation was passed during the 1909 session. Instead, Oklahoma City leaders took the initiative route and, with cooperation from Governor Haskell, succeeded in putting two questions on a special election called June 11, 1910. For those interested in a more extensive history of the capital removal, Irving Hurst's The 46th Star should be consulted. For our purposes, Oklahoma City won the capital contest, and Governor Haskell moved the state seal to Oklahoma City once the results were known, thereby surprising many, including the Guthrie civic leaders, who presumed that in accordance with the Oklahoma Organic Act the capital would stay in Guthrie until 1913. Guthrie backers won a victory of sorts when the Oklahoma Supreme Court declared on November 15, 1910, the state question moving the capital invalid because the phrase "shall it be adopted?" had been left off the state question. To resolve the confusion, Haskell, whose term in office was nearing an end, called the new Legislature into a special session.

Before the special session convened, Haskell twice, in deference to questions about the legitimacy of the Oklahoma City state capital claim, made the two-hour automobile ride from Oklahoma City to Guthrie to issue his call for a special session to meet in Oklahoma City. Haskell used a provision in the Oklahoma Constitution permitting the Governor to convoke the Legislature at a site other than the capital when "in his opinion, the public safety or welfare, or the safety or health of the members require it" and two-thirds of the members concur. Given the temper of the residents of Guthrie over the capital removal issue, this decision may have been a prudent one.

Without a permanent home, the Legislature was forced to rely on the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce to find a temporary free space. The first two sites considered were the India White Temple owned by the Shriners and the Oklahoma City Auditorium. Ultimately, the Chamber settled on the new Levy Building located at the corner of West Main Street and Harvey. The House met there for both the 1910 special session and the 1911 regular session. The House occupied the sixth floor and the Senate the fifth, with the third floor available for committee meetings



Lee-Huckins Hotel in Oklahoma City, the hotel that the House Democratic caucus used before the 1910 special session and an important meeting place for politicians.

Governor Haskell had prepared carefully for the special session. Most observers conceded before the session met that he had the two-thirds vote in each chamber that would be needed to ratify his special call and to move the capital to Oklahoma City. Organization of the House session went smoothly. In advance of the session, House Democrats caucused at the Lee-Huckins Hotel and picked for Speaker, W. B. Anthony, a Stephen's county publisher of the *Marlow Review* and Haskell's secretary, who the Governor ordered to "steal" the great seal of Oklahoma after the vote on moving the capital to Oklahoma City. House Republicans caucused the next day at the Threadgill Hotel. They did not as a caucus oppose the capital move, but there were some observers who

thought that, in deference to the pro-Guthrie bloc in the caucus, they might not support Haskell's special session call to meet in Oklahoma City. Nevertheless, all doubt about where the House stood on the capital issue was removed when it was approved 80-26 to ratify the special session call.



*The Levy Building, later known as the Mercantile Building, where the Legislature met in Oklahoma City for 1910 Special and 1911 Regular Session.
Source: Oklahoma Historical Society*

Early predictions were for a short session, possibly only five days. Indeed, the House quickly advanced Haskell's capital legislation bills, but predictions for a short session were not realized. In the House committee of the whole, there were a number of unsuccessful efforts by supporters of Guthrie, Muskogee, Shawnee, and other cities to promote their cities as an alternative to Oklahoma City. Nevertheless, Oklahoma City was the easy victor as far as the location of the state capital. More energy was spent on the method that would be used to decide on which of the competing Oklahoma City locations would be selected. The House version of the capitol building bill, popularly called the Wright-Peery-Durant bill sponsored by J. H. Wright of Oklahoma County, D. W. Peery from Caddo County

and W. A. Durant from Durant adopted Haskell's proposal to leave the decision to a three-member State Capitol Commission appointed by the Governor. This approach drew determined opposition from some House members who believed that the site selection should either be made by the Legislature or that it should be involved in some meaningful manner. G. W. Cornell from Custer County, who took the lead in urging that the decision be made by the Legislature, argued that: "It is not the governor's capital. It belongs to the people of the great state of Oklahoma." Nevertheless, Representative W. A. Durant was effective in defeating Cornell's and other amendments, and the bill was passed the first Friday of the session by an overwhelming 97-10 vote. *The Daily Oklahoman* reported that "cheer after cheer rent the air. Old men, young men, who composed the lower branch of the legislature, clapped their hands and shouted for sheer joy" as it appeared that the struggle over the state capital neared an end.

The fireworks had actually just started. The Senate would drag out the process until the middle of December as it struggled with the issue that the House floor managers had put down--the precise location of the capitol. The original Capitol Commission and Haskell were known to support the Putnam site north of the Oklahoma City central business district. Opponents to that site pointed out its distance and commute time from the center of the city and its hotels where many members stayed to the proposed capitol site, and its proximity to a packing plant and its noxious odors. A variety of other Oklahoma city proposed sites, including one in the Capitol Hill area of South Oklahoma City, were made as the Senate Capitol Committee met. At one point, it was feared that the special session would fail when the Senate committee delivered an ultimatum for Oklahoma City to provide financial assurances that city civic leaders felt were unjustified. However, they and the Senate committee soon seemed to settle on what was then known as the Culbertson-Parker-Howe site on 22nd Street and Lincoln Boulevard, along with the delivery of a \$100,000 performance bond from Oklahoma City to deliver a free capitol building.

This proposal was placed in a resolution and adopted by the Senate, which it expected the House to adopt before the Senate would pass the Wright-Peery-Durant bill. It took fifteen minutes for an angry House, which had expected the compromise on the capitol building to take place in a conference committee, to table the resolution. Majority Leader J. Roy Williams from Comanche County harangued the Senate for its part in the special session:

If the Senate has definite and concerted ideas relative to pending legislation it should have the courage to place them in the form of a bill and go on ahead. Until then there can be no basis for a compromise and the Senate can have no means of ascertaining how far the House would be willing to recede from its position.

The Senate responded by threatening to end the session without any decision on the capital. House leaders took the threat as a credible one and quickly moved to find a compromise. They received assurances from Governor Haskell that in return for accepting the Senate version of House Bill 1, he would not sign it until he was certain that the Culbertson site would be appraised to yield at least \$1 million from the sale of land plots in order for the citizens of Oklahoma to realize the free capitol building that they thought they had secured by approval of State Question 15. The Governor also publicly exonerated the House which had been accused of being petulant in its response to the Senate's plan because the House's "choice," the Putnam site, was not selected. Haskell said that the House had never insisted on a site, preferring to leave that matter to the Governor and the Capitol Commission. With that, the House approved the Senate resolution by an overwhelming 94-4 vote.

In a nice historical gesture, Speaker Anthony appointed Dan Peery to accompany a Senate committee in taking the capital legislation to Governor Haskell. Peery had earlier shared with House members that twenty years before, he had been part of a coalition in the Territorial Legislature that had supported moving the capital to Oklahoma City, but that a crowd of Guthrie citizens, determined to prevent that from happening, had forced him to flee and hide for fear of being lynched.

The House's Only Double Speaker

It was understood that Anthony would only be the Speaker for the 1910 special session (Speakers during the early decades generally only served in that position for the session that they were elected, unless the Democratic caucus and the Governor decided otherwise). The House had already nominated W. A. Durant from Durant as its speaker for the 1911 regular session. Durant reminds us of the strong legislative influence of Native Americans in early Oklahoma politics. He was an active participant in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and was one of the most influential voices in the House of Representatives during its first ten years. He had emerged during the debate on the location of state institutions in the 1909 session as a dominant figure. He was also



W. A. Durant, Speaker of Choctaw Nation and Oklahoma House, 1911 Session

the only Oklahoma Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives to have been Speaker of two assemblies simultaneously. In addition to House Speaker, Durant was the Speaker of the Choctaw Nation.

After serving as Speaker, Durant held important positions in the next two sessions of the House of Representatives. When he left the House for an unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign in 1916, he was the only House member of the First Legislature who had served in each of the first five Legislatures. He later served in the Senate and as Secretary of State, in addition to House Chief Clerk for the 1920 special session and in the 1931 regular session.

The Fourth Oklahoma House's Investigations

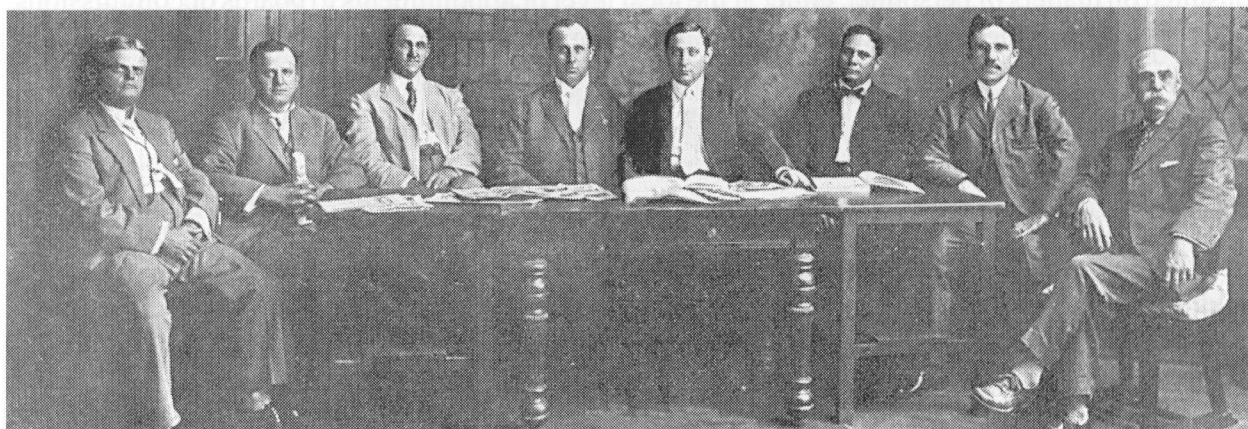
Governor Lee Cruce had not established particularly strong working relationships with legislators during the Third Legislature (1910-12). Legislators who felt that it was their right to be consulted on matters of personnel, either at the local level or appointments to boards or commissions resented Cruce's reluctance to do so and his appointing Republicans to key state offices. However, the relationship between the Legislature and Cruce soured during the Fourth Legislature (1912-14), as the House of Representatives embarked on a series of investigations of almost every executive department and office by the end of the 1913 regular session.

Cruce was not willing to change his leadership style in order to seek accommodation with the Fourth Legislature, which now met in the India White Temple (a one time Shriners' building that had been used for a variety of purposes and currently part of the Kerr-McGee complex). Instead, he requested voters to elect legislators in the 1912 elections who would support his agenda. Not particularly successful in this effort and as a lame-duck governor, his legislative agenda for the 1913 session was not expected to have strong support in either chamber. His opponents in the Fourth Legislature moved early to the offensive. House Democrats were divided as the 1913 session approached into pro and anti-Cruce camps, with a third group seeking to reduce friction between the Legislature and chief executive. The Governor initially supported John P. Crawford from Pontotoc County for Speaker, but he ultimately swung his support to J. H. Maxey of Muskogee.

Members' hostility towards the Cruce administration increased early in the session when he decided to go over the heads of lawmakers to the citizens for support to cut the state budget, which meant cutting budgets for institutions in members' districts and resistance from the institutional lobby. His proposal to eliminate numerous local offices and reduce by one-half the size of the Legislature also went unappreciated in the Legislature.

The big story of the 1913 session was the series of investigations undertaken by the House Investigating Committee, chaired by the thirty-four year old Speaker Maxey. This committee thoroughly investigated the executive branch. The committee's work caused the resignations of the State Auditor and impeachment and conviction of the State Printer and the Insurance Commissioner. The committee provoked a major conflict with the venerable Kate Barnard, the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, by forcing the resignation of her attorney and deep cuts in her budget and travel allowance.

Ultimately, the committee came very close to impeaching Governor Cruce over unhealthy conditions the Committee found at the Granite Reformatory, which the committee reported was a “hell hole of iniquity.” As a member of the Board of Prison Control which was responsible for Granite, some members of the committee felt that Cruce should be impeached for gross neglect of duty. To that, Cruce responded in April 1913 that the House should no longer delay and act “if it thinks it can get away with it.” So serious was the developing crisis that *Harlow’s Weekly*, a weekly magazine on state politics, concluded that the state was entering its most serious period of political crisis. “The line of contest is sharply drawn, with the Legislature practically charging the governor with impeachable offenses and the governor in turn charging the investigating committee with bad faith and an attempt to use official power as an opportunity for political effect.” In the end, Cruce, who testified for five hours before the committee, weathered the crisis as Oklahoma citizens did not appear to support his impeachment. Still the vote to send impeachment articles to the House floor against Cruce failed by one vote in the investigation committee. Nevertheless, the House of Representatives had discovered in its investigatory and impeachment powers a powerful political weapon that it would turn to with great effect in the 1920’s.



House General Investigation and Impeachment Committee that conducted exhaustive investigation of executive branch and Governor Lee Cruce. From left to right, members are E. P. Hill from McAlester; William L. Curtis from Sallisaw; Harvey H. Smith from Shawnee; W. B. M. Mitchell from Pauls Valley; Speaker J. Harvey Maxey from Muskogee; Houston B. Teehee from Tahlequah; Frank H. McGuire from Guthrie; and C. L. Pinkham from Newkirk. Source: Harlow's Weekly

The Al Jennings’ Phenomenon and the Socialist Experience

One of the most interesting and underappreciated political phenomenons of Oklahoma political history is the career of Al Jennings, who finished a strong third in a very competitive five-candidate field in the 1914 Democratic primary. The product of a respected Oklahoma family which had participated in the Run of 1889, Al Jennings had a well-known criminal background as a young man. Following the killing of one of their brothers and the wounding of another in an 1895 gunfight with Sam Houston’s son, Temple Houston, Al and Frank Jennings formed the Jennings gang, reportedly to avenge the killing of their brother. The gang was alleged to have been involved in a series of saloon, bank, post office, and train robberies in the Southwest between 1895 and Al’s arrest in 1897 by a federal marshal. Jennings was given a life sentence by a Columbus, Ohio federal court. His sentence was reduced to five years by President McKinley and later pardoned by Theodore Roosevelt. Jennings returned to Oklahoma where he took up a law career and promoted his legend

by writing an autobiography published in *The Saturday Evening Post* and starring in a movie based on his adventures. So serious was the “Robin Hood” Jennings’ candidacy in a 1914 campaign that it caused the other contenders and Democratic leaders to close ranks to prevent a convicted criminal landing the top spot on the Democratic ticket.

Though thousands of financially hard-pressed tenant farmers and sharecroppers were no longer able to cast their votes for the anti-establishment candidacy of Jennings in the November 1914 general election, there was always the Socialist Party alternative to the two major parties. In fact, Socialist strength in Oklahoma had steadily grown since statehood. However, the 1914 election was a watershed for Socialists in Oklahoma. In 1914, the unsuccessful Socialist candidate for Governor won 20.8% of the popular vote, and 174 socialist candidates were elected to local offices. Dewey, Marshall, and Major Counties each elected two Socialist county commissioners and all three county commissioners in Roger Mills County were members of the party. In the short grass county of southwest Oklahoma, the Socialist Party strength was strongest as demonstrated by the election of six Socialists to the Fifth Legislature (1914-6) five House members and one Senate member.



The India Temple, currently part of the Kerr-McGee Complex, was the second place the Legislature met in Oklahoma City

The OHOYAHOMA Society

The OHOYAHOMA Society dates back to early statehood days. Membership includes all the wives of legislators and statewide elected officers. During legislative sessions, particularly in the days when the Legislature met on ly three to four months in a biennium, OHOYAHOMA provided wives of legislators a forum for social, political, and charitable activities. OHOYAHOMA continues to function today by hosting a reception for legislators and their families for the January organizational session at the beginning of a Legislature and meeting on a regular basis through the annual session. Fewer legislative spouses participate than in early statehood days in these meetings since many legislators commute daily or their spouses remain at home to follow their own careers or tend to family matters.

County, Charles Henry Ingham from Major County, and Sidney W. Hill from Roger Mills County were the first third-party members of the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Oklahoma historians Danny Goble and James Scales have concluded that in the phenomenal expansion of the Socialist party strength was the repudiation by rural Oklahoma voters of the “agricultural ladder.” According to them:

The Socialist Party appealed to Oklahoma small businessmen, farmers, laborers, and professionals with its 32-point platform for the creation of a just society, including state ownership of many industries and public utilities; free textbooks; a state-owned bank for issuing low-interest loans to the working class; a strong usury law; female suffrage; abolition of capital punishment; state provided medical care; the eight-hour day; and old-age pensions. Stumping on this platform they claimed offered more solutions aimed at protecting the working poor than the other two parties, Thomas Henry McLemore from Beckham County, David C. Kirkpatrick from Dewey County, N. D. Pritchett from Kiowa

The farmer's presumed ability to move from the ranks of landless laborer to independent yeoman was cruelly, systematically, and increasingly denied. The power of the landlords, the unavailability of affordable land, and the exactions of creditors all conspired to keep growing numbers of farmers at the brink of ruin.

The Socialist House delegation took their seats in the 1915 regular legislative session seriously. Along with the Democratic and Republican caucuses which nominated candidates for Speaker, the Socialists nominated from their caucus (the only third-party candidate for Speaker in state history) N. D. Pritchett. Although the new Speaker, Democrat A. A. McCrory from Ringling, appointed Socialists to committees which considered few bills, Socialist House members filed 32 bills and resolutions, many of them dealing with Socialist platform matters. Only House Bill 589, sponsored by Ingham and Kirkpatrick, that dealt with deer hunting and protecting bears and wild turkeys in western Oklahoma became law. The House did pass two bills by Socialist authors that would have given additional protections to debtors, an issue obviously more related to the Socialist Party platform than House Bill 589. However, both bills were killed by the Senate. Other parts of the Socialist platform, such as creating a workers' compensation system and enacting stronger usury sanctions were eventually appropriated by the Democratic Party. Despite the meager results of their legislative efforts, the Socialist presence and a more vigorous Republican minority challenged Democratic control of the House of Representatives and caused the Democratic Party to react against further inroads against their political control of state government.

In a relatively short session, the House worked with the Senate and the new Governor, Robert L. Williams, to pass a program designed to take some of the steam out of the Socialist movement. Legislation was passed establishing maximum hours that women could work; enacting the state's first welfare bill which qualified widows for up to \$10 per month assistance (capped at \$8,000 for any one county annually); and approving a \$10 per month pension for Confederate veterans (considerably less than the federal pension for Union veterans). Despite these reforms, contemporaries concluded that the 1915 legislative session was one of the most conservative in the state's short history.

The most notable historical work of the Fifth Legislature occurred during the special session that convened January 17, 1916. It was widely believed that the major reason for Governor Williams calling the session was: 1) to respond to the recent U. S. Supreme Court decision that declared unconstitutional Oklahoma's 1910 grandfather clause that had been used effectively to restrict ballot access to African-Americans, and 2) to make other election changes in order to protect the Democratic majority. However, Williams did not include these items in his original call, preferring to delay adding these items to his call until a consensus could be reached with the two Democratic caucuses. The tactics hardly fooled Republicans and Socialists who recognized that they were the targets of the session and that the future of their parties in Oklahoma was at risk.

Williams and many Democratic legislators felt that the grandfather clause should be replaced in the Constitution by another literacy test that would continue to prevent African-Americans from voting. Although the wording of such a provision could not be limited to African-Americans, the supporters of the proposition found merit in its application to illiterate whites who

tended to support the Socialist Party. However, the uncertainty of voter passage of a literacy test was hardly a certainty. As a second line of defense, Democrats enacted the state's first voter registration system. The bill automatically registered voters who participated in the 1914 election to eliminate the concern of some Democratic legislators that the literacy clause would be used to take the ballot away from their supporters. For all others, a less than two-week window for registering was employed in order to minimize the influx of new African-American voters.

Passions on the House floor erupted when the registration bill came up for consideration. During the deliberations over the bill, one Republican representative called one of his Democratic colleagues a crook. He responded by calling the Republican a liar. A newspaper observer described the next five minutes as one of the most disorderly periods in the history of the House. Order was restored once members started singing "Nearer My God to Thee," but the House rioted when a Democratic House member knocked unconscious the chairman of the Republican State Party who had gone onto the House floor. It was reported in the ensuing melee that three of the outnumbered Republican members were slightly injured, one with a slight forehead wound allegedly caused by W. A. Durant and the others by inkstands thrown by Democrats. No Democrats were reported hurt.

While the bill passed that day over the opposition of Republicans and Socialists, the emergency clause failed when fourteen Democrats voted with the opposition parties. The bill was held over for reconsideration because Democratic floor managers could not afford to allow a referendum petition to be organized against the bill. Three days later the emergency passed, but only after insurgent Democrats made certain that the usury bill they wanted was approved by the Senate. The usury bill was important to rural Democrats who believed they were losing voters to the Socialist Party. The measure protected poor landowners by imposing a penalty on lenders who charged interest rates above constitutional limits. Socialists, who had a strong usury law as a major plank on their platform, charged that the bill had few teeth as it lacked criminal penalties, and they joined with thirteen out of fourteen House Republicans to vote against the bill.

As it developed, Democratic lawmakers had every reason not to rest their hopes solely on voter approval of the literacy test. The literacy test was easily defeated in August 1916, as Republicans and Socialists joined forces to fight it.

However, the new voter registration bill and the strong showing in Oklahoma of Woodrow Wilson's Democratic presidential reelection bid permitted Oklahoma Democrats to ride his coattails in the general election. The number of Democrats elected to the House for the Sixth Legislature (1916-8) increased by nine, and there were no Socialists elected to the Legislature. Their absence from the halls of the House when it moved to its new permanent headquarters for the 1917 session was not



The permanent Capitol Building where the House of Representatives first met in 1917

regretted by the other two parties. In 1919, for example, the House passed a resolution congratulating Oklahoma voters for not electing Socialist legislators since 1914. The resolution also commended voters for “their reaffiliation with the two dominant and patriotic political parties.”

Republicans’ Control of the Oklahoma House of Representatives

Oklahoma Democratic political fortunes were affected both by internal weaknesses and a strong national Republican resurgence as the 1920 elections approached. Battles among state Democratic politicians left the party extremely vulnerable to the strong national showing of Republican Warren G. Harding’s presidential race.

For the only time in state history (Stephen Jones, author of *Oklahoma Politics in State and Nation* wrongly concludes that Republicans also organized the House in 1929), Republicans were in charge of one of the legislative chambers when they were the majority party for the Eighth Legislature (1920-22). The partisan composition in the House of Representatives was 55 Republicans and 37 Democrats, a net loss of 37 Democratic seats! Also, for the first time in Oklahoma history, the Governor would have no say in the organization of the House of Representatives. Governor J.B.A. Robertson, as he prepared for his second regular legislative session, attempted to make the best of the situation by assuring both chambers that he was willing to work with a divided Legislature and that he would not take a defensive attitude in his dealings with the Republican-controlled House of Representatives.



George B. Schwabe, the only Republican Speaker in Oklahoma History

The task of leading the House of Representatives fell to George B. Schwabe of Nowata, a 34 year-old publisher and the only Republican Speaker in Oklahoma history. Without the Governor to clear the way, the Republican caucus experienced a real Speaker’s race. Schwabe was strongly opposed by R. H. Matthews from McAlester whose supporters believed Schwabe would be too conciliatory towards Governor Robertson. However, Schwabe’s victory was assured when Judge A. E. Craver of Bartlesville threw his support to Schwabe. The new Speaker’s strongest backing came from the many new Republicans elected to the House.

Although it was believed that whoever won the Speakership, there would be a thorough investigation by the House of the Robertson administration and that House Republicans would march to the tune called by the Oklahoma Republican Party, Schwabe and his lieutenants demonstrated their intent to be independent of the party machinery which they did not feel was greatly responsible for their success. Whatever credibility they gained for this independence, it may also have been partly responsible for the confusion that plagued the new majority caucus during the session.

In his acceptance speech when elected Speaker, Schwabe told the House that in 1919 he could not imagine he or any other Republican ever being in the post that he now held. As the first

post-First World War Speaker, he recalled the recent clash of arms, but focused on the economic challenges of the postwar world.

We are confronted today with the aftermath of the great struggle of humanity; we are confronted with those economic problems in this country and abroad, and we, as legislators, must be mindful and deliberate in the consideration of each and every one of those problems as they arise during our sessions. . . . Fellow citizens, and that is the way we should consider this matter, let us aggressively, and, at the same time, with a proper degree of conservation, remember that these duties, these problems, must be considered by us as a matter of duty devolving upon us, and remember that we cannot carry out this program without the cooperation of the membership of the House. We will succeed, I trust we shall, I have every confidence that we will, and let the watchword of this session between the Speaker and each and every member of this House, and among the members themselves, be first, last, and all the time "cooperation for the good of the people of Oklahoma." (Applause)

Among the interesting developments of the 1921 regular session were the difficult set of negotiations among the factions in the two chambers over organizational matters. Although Democrats retained control of the state Senate, Robertson's support there was also somewhat weak. Indeed, there were rampant rumors that an insurgent coalition of Senate Democrats and Republicans would be formed in order to join the House in impeaching and removing Robertson. Though that never happened, a revitalized Senate Republican caucus attempted to negotiate with the Senate Democratic leadership for proportional representation on Senate committees. The Senate Democratic leadership made those negotiations contingent upon the House Republican leadership reciprocating in the appointment of House Democrats to committees. However, Speaker Schwabe refused to consider the proposal.

If Schwabe appeared less eager than some of his most partisan Republican colleagues and the state Republican Party for investigations, pressures for them proved too strong. Supporters of an investigation agenda believed it would provide the springboard for Republican control of the state in the 1922 elections.

Republicans pushed through amendments to the House rules early in the session to allow the investigating committee to hold closed meetings. The vote on the rule change was highly partisan, with Democrats, now in the unusual position of the opposition minority, charging that the result would be a "star chamber." Only two of the eight positions on the committee went to Democrats. R.H. Matthews was appointed as its chair.

The energies of the House of Representatives during this unusual session were directed to: 1) investigations, 2) passage of a Republican "fair election bill," and 3) state budget reduction. However, House Republicans were outflanked early on the budget issue by Governor Robertson's \$17.5 million biennial budget, a \$2 million reduction from the previous budget. His budget was

considered so conservative that any further reductions would be difficult without giving up on a politically crucial \$2 million program sponsored by the American Legion for soldiers' relief. Moreover, the Republicans' election bill was not likely to pass in the Senate where chances of wresting control over the state's election machinery from Senate Democrats were almost nonexistent.

By early February 1921, some observers predicted a political deadlock in the Legislature and a state crisis. It soon became clear that the House investigating committee's major targets were Lieutenant Governor M. E. Trapp, a likely 1922 gubernatorial candidate, and Governor Robertson. Impeachment articles were filed first against Trapp in mid-March, all but one of them arising from his private work as a bond dealer. Although the impeachment vote of Trapp in the House took place along largely partisan lines, Porter Newman, a Democrat from Durant, assisted Matthews and Republican Harry Jennings of Claremore in drafting the articles of impeachment. In addition, Newman and two other Democrats generally supported the impeachment articles which were adopted on a 54-29 vote.

When the Senate received the impeachment articles and the House board of managers presented the House's case against Trapp, his attorneys immediately attacked the charges on the basis that all but one were unrelated to Trapp's office. On this, the Chief Justice, who presides over courts of impeachment, and the Senate concurred. Not only did this set an important precedent, it also ended the impeachment trial.

Though this was a big blow to the House leadership, it was not finished with its impeachment efforts. Impeachment articles were prepared against Governor Robertson for intimidation of legislators by threatening to veto certain appropriations; for making a \$40,000 deposit into his banking account on a salary of only \$4,500; unwarranted clemencies; and mismanagement at the highway department. By the time these charges came to the floor, Schwabe's control of the House was weakening when it lost on a 35-45 vote on a bill to reorganize the state board of affairs supported by the House leadership. It was not then a surprise when several House Republicans also deserted their leadership over the Robertson impeachment. J. C. Trevathan of El Reno, even though he realized he would be viewed as a renegade, said his conscience would not allow him to vote to impeach the Governor. Even so, the final outcome of the vote was hardly a certainty. Robertson's victory was only secured when Oklahoma City Democrat John T. Jerkins, a captain on leave from the Oklahoma City police department but confined to his sick bed, went by ambulance for the vote. It was reported that as the vehicle neared the capitol, the ambulance overturned when it swerved to miss a boy on a bicycle. The bleeding Jerkins' vote against impeachment was critical for a 42-42 tie. House Republicans, much like the House members in 1927 who would seek to impeach a Governor, discovered that without popular support, impeachment of a Governor was not possible.

The 1921 regular session ended in complete turmoil. Agreement had been reached to adjourn sine die at noon on April 12, but the institutional and departmental appropriations bills had not been completed at the appointed time. Normally the clocks would have been covered and work would have continued through the night. Therefore, Speaker Schwabe was not alarmed when he was invited to the Senate for a meeting at the noon recess. Perhaps he thought the Senate would be willing to take up some matter of importance to the House, e.g. the House's election bill. Instead,

Senators wanted to talk about a “criminal conspiracy” in the House over Trapp’s impeachment! Angry House leaders then adjourned the session without notification to the Senate and with dozens of bills technically still caught in the normal logjam which occurs at the end of the legislative session.

The astonished Senate believed the House’s action was illegal, and Governor Robertson sought a compromise for several days. Speaker Schwabe offered to recall House members, but only if the Senate would pass all major bills precisely as they had been written by the House. Naturally, the Senate leadership found the House’s offer unacceptable, and Robertson had no choice but to call a special session to complete a state budget.

The special session was called for April 25, 1921. In the meantime, Governor Robertson had angered House Republicans by calling them “wolves and hyenas” during a speech in McAlester, a label House Republicans bore on special ribbons prepared for when the Governor gave his message at the joint session.

The final budget passed for the biennium was \$21.3 million, including funding for soldiers’ relief program and the first grant of aid to local school districts (\$100,000). While it was generally conceded that the Senate did most of the yielding (including elimination of staff for the Lieutenant Governor), the budget was too high for many Republicans who expected deeper cuts from the Republican-controlled House of Representatives. In this first Oklahoma experiment with a divided state government, little of the Republican Party’s goals for the session had been accomplished. Two historians of Oklahoma politics concluded that “the GOP had wasted its rare chance for statesmanship.” Oklahoma political control quickly returned to the Democrats.

First Woman State Representative

The 1921 session was notable for another first. Republican Bessie McColgin, from Rankin in Roger Mills County, became the first woman to serve in the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Her father had filed her name without her knowledge. She agreed to run, but not to campaign. McColgin was elected anyway and left her one-month old child (her tenth) in her sister’s care and the rest with her husband to serve her one term in the House. She took an active interest in the soldiers’ relief program and filed legislation calling for the creation of a child hygiene bureau and a public nursing board.

Although McColgin was not reelected to the Ninth Legislature, the number of women in the House swelled to three for the 1923 session. They were Lulu D. Anderson of Drumright, Anne Laskey from Oklahoma City, and Edith Mitchell from Yale. However, the number of women House members remained small for decades. In fact, the House was a totally male club between the 1930 and 1940 elections.

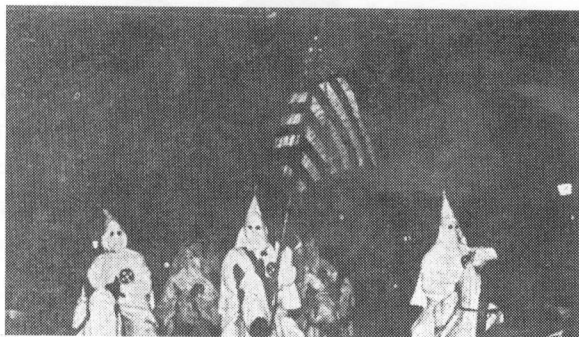


Representative Bessie McColgin (right) poses with Senator Lamar Looney. McColgin was the first female House member.

“Our Jack” Walton

The early 1920's saw a resurgence of radical politics in the state. On the left, organized labor, remnants of the Socialist Party, and Farmers' Union leaders came together to create the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League in 1921. Imitating the successful North Dakota Non-Partisan League, leaders who met in Shawnee to form the Oklahoma League hoped to recapture the fire of pre-statehood days when reformists provided the political stimulus for the Constitutional Convention and the First Legislature. The new League developed a program for the 1922 elections centered on government ownership of railroads and public utilities, creation of a state-owned bank and warehouse, and a system of state insurance. The League rallied behind the candidacy of former Oklahoma City Mayor John C. (“ Our Jack”) Walton who ran as a Democrat in the 1922 gubernatorial primary. He won the nomination largely due to divisions among Democratic party regulars and because he could attract voters in a number of vital Democratic voter blocs that had joined the League movement. Not only did Walton win the election, Democrats picked up five seats in the state Senate and a phenomenal fifty-six in the House of Representatives.

Nevertheless, there was considerable ambivalence from the start about the new Governor in the House; few members supported the legislative program of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League which now expected to reap the rewards of Walton's election. Walton, who decided to vacation after the campaign rather than to prepare for the approaching legislative session, nearly lost control of the House of Representatives. However, he righted matters in the end by setting up his headquarters at the Huckins Hotel where he and his supporters emerged victoriously in the race for Speaker. The 1923 race for Speaker was unusual for the divisions created in the democratic caucus and the first open ballot in the caucus history. In the end, Murray Gibbons from Purcell, a supporter of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League and Walton's choice, was elected Speaker by a 52-36 vote over Dave Stovall of Hugo.



*Ku Klux Klan parade in Tulsa before martial law declaration,
summer 1923*

Gibbons' support (and that for Walton) was more narrow than the vote indicated. Many members shared with first term House member William D. McBee from Duncan, reservations about Walton, but voted for Gibbons in the belief that a new governor should have the opportunity to prove his leadership. As it turned out, the honeymoon proved brief. Walton and his House leadership team were defeated near the beginning of the session when the administration's first bill, calling for large salary increases for elected officials, was defeated by a coalition led by W. E. Disney from Muskogee, who carried with him the farmer element of the League. The House leadership was once again soundly defeated when the House printing committee's recommendation to give the *Oklahoma Leader*, an Oklahoma City Socialist paper, the House's printing contract was rejected on a 73-22 vote. Well before the end of the 1923 session, it was clear that Walton had lost control of the House.

The Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League found its counterbalance on the right with the dramatic emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in Oklahoma politics. By 1923, the Klan claimed 70,000 members in Oklahoma. The rise of the Klan had numerous causes, a few of which were the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot; the Jazz Age; the breakdown of local law enforcement in the oil boom towns that mushroomed during this period in Oklahoma; disregard for prohibition laws; and the Red Scare associated with the spread of Communism after the First World War. Whatever the reasons, Walton (who was reported to have joined the Klan in early 1923 and appointed an alleged Klansman as the head of the State Health Department) took advantage of the KKK issue to advance his political fortune during the first year of his administration. By cracking down on the Klan in the summer of 1923, his supporters thought he could gain an edge in a future U. S. Senate campaign (he was so serious about a potential senatorial race that he arranged for the purchase of a home in Muskogee because it was assumed that the next winner of a senatorial had to live in eastern Oklahoma) or even the vice-presidency.

The first engagement of Walton's "Klan War" came when he placed Okmulgee County under martial law on June 26, 1923. The State Adjutant General established a military court and forced the resignation of several deputy sheriffs. The next battle was in Tulsa County on August 31, when the National Guard took over local law enforcement, censorship was imposed on the *Tulsa Tribune*, and habeas corpus was suspended.

Walton soon found himself in the middle of a two-front war when he lost the support of the Farm-Labor Reconstruction League over his handling of the appointment of the president at Oklahoma A&M. George Wilson, a prominent League member and Socialist, had early earned the enmity of many state legislators and veterans groups for his hatred of the American Legion. It should not have been a surprise to Walton that Wilson's appointment to the A&M presidency drew strong opposition from the Legion, A&M students, Stillwater residents, and the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture (the governing body of the college). The opposition was such that the National Guard accompanied Wilson for his installation. However, Wilson's stint as a college president was short, partially because of Walton's less than vigorous support of his ally. By the time the Board of Agriculture removed Wilson in July, Walton had turned his back on the League, causing its leadership to charge him with "political perfidy" never seen before in the history of Oklahoma. The consequences of these events later had great importance as the League, which could have been the Governor's strongest supporters in his upcoming struggle, instead stood by on the sideline or turned against its former champion.

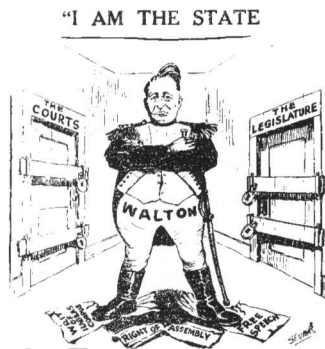
While all the above (and more) transpired, opposition to Walton grew apace. During the months ahead, anti-Walton forces rallied to the leadership of the previously mentioned first-term representative from Duncan, William D. McBee. McBee was a lawyer who had been pressed by his constituents into running for the House of Representatives. In his book on the Walton impeachment, written nearly thirty years later, he told how unsettled he had been by the excesses of Walton's inaugural festivities and his statements at his initial joint session of the Legislature that he would not order any executions, even though his oath of office swore him to enforce the



William D. McBee, anti-Walton House leader and Speaker during Walton impeachment

laws of Oklahoma. But it was what he saw as the chair of the House Revenue and Taxation Committee that compelled McBee to join the anti-Walton opposition in protest to Walton's fiscal recklessness. He quickly found close allies in House members Wesley E. Disney and Dave Stovall of Hugo.

During the summer of 1923, as the anti-Walton opposition grew, McBee and his confidants pursued a dual strategy. Outside the Legislature, they supported former Democratic Corporation Commissioner Campbell Russell's initiative petition to permit the Legislature to call itself into special session for the purpose of an impeachment proceeding. Inside the Legislature, McBee was developing a theory, based on his interpretation of a case in the state of New York, that the power to impeach permitted the Legislature to convoke itself in special session. The "inherent right theory," that would become important in legislative politics of the late 1920's, suggested that the powers granted the Legislature to impeach state officials inherently carried with them the power to implement them. Hence, he theorized that the House of Representatives could, even without the explicit authorization in the Oklahoma Constitution, convoke itself into a special session for the purpose of an impeachment procedure.



Cartoon appearing in the Oklahoma News, a socialist newspaper previously supporting Walton, September 21, 1923

Walton was resolute in his efforts to prevail against his opponents and save his political career. After Russell's petition secured the signatures to be placed on the ballot, Walton used state employees to check the validity of the signatures on the petition. When a grand jury in Oklahoma County was formed to look into this apparent violation of state law, Walton placed Oklahoma under martial law on September 15, 1923. National Guardsmen with machine guns at strategic points in Oklahoma City were prepared to prevent the grand jury from meeting.

Convinced that the state press and the public would support him, McBee was prepared to move matters forward in mid-September 1923. McBee and the majority of the House members who now supported him "crossed the Rubicon" when they met at 1:00 a.m. on September 20, 1923, at McBee's headquarters on the eleventh floor of the Skirvin Hotel in downtown Oklahoma City to ratify the proclamation he had prepared to convoke a special session of the House for noon on September 26, 1923. The authority for the session was based on McBee's inherent right theory. The proclamation's tone recalled the Declaration of Independence by listing the grievances against the Governor who, they charged, had become a military dictator by trampling constitutional government in the state. Among the principal charges, the proclamation accused Walton of illegally suppressing freedom of the press, interfering with the Legislature's right to assemble, and illegally suspending habeas corpus. Sixty-five of one hundred and five House members signed the proclamation.

Harlow's observed that the present situation had led the state to the brink of civil war. "Never since the parliamentary principle was first established in England has an English speaking race permitted an executive to trample upon the Legislature. . . . Such an attempt created two English and one American Revolutions."

It is difficult today to recapture the intensity of emotions and the potentially grave dangers that these House members now faced, but it is clear that McBee and other House anti-Walton leaders recognized that bloodshed could have resulted from Walton's decisions to use force to put down the rebellion (which McBee later termed the Oklahoma Revolution). Walton warned legislators that their actions were in violation of the martial law he had imposed on the state and that any members who tried to assemble would be arrested (Campbell Russell had already been jailed for his work). In anticipation of violence, Walton made plans to cancel the State Fair and to blockade the roads into Oklahoma City. Walton considered drafting 75,000 men into the National Guard in order to put down the revolt. While he reconsidered that move, he did issue a public call for all able-bodied Oklahoma males to come armed to his aid and massed existing National Guardsmen so that they could be used to disperse the rebels..

In defense of his actions, Walton castigated his opponents as minions of the Ku Klux Klan. McBee, according to Walton, was certainly a member of the Invisible Empire. McBee was emphatic in refuting Walton and later defended the actions of the House against this charge. "I," said McGee, "never was a Klansman. I was not, am not, and never will be in sympathy with the purported practices and activities of the Klan." Perhaps thinking of members such as the Catholic W. E. Disney, McBee added, "we did not have a Klan legislature. The Klan was somewhat annoying and impeded progress, but it had no effective power or influence."

Until the end, Walton counted on the Klan issue to provide him with a plausible stalking horse around which he could rally state and national public opinion to his side. He misjudged the situation. Oklahomans saw through him and were unwilling to support his use of martial law. They also objected to the negative image of the state that his actions fostered outside Oklahoma.

Ultimately, it was the cool heads of the National Guard leadership and House leaders which prevented the shedding of blood. The National Guard permitted members of the House relatively free movement in the days before the special session was scheduled to convene. McBee and his lieutenants told House members to come to the Capitol unarmed and warned them to not give Walton any additional cause to arrest them or to provoke the National Guard to use force. McBee correctly predicted Walton would not permit the House to meet, so there was no surprise when House members found the House chamber locked and guarded by National Guardsmen armed with side arms and service rifles when the time came for the special session to meet. As the House members approached, Colonel W. S. Key, military commander of Oklahoma City, ordered the members to disperse. They did, but only to plan their next steps at the Skirvin Hotel.

McBee later told how when he and his family returned to their rooms at the Skirvin, they had been ransacked by Chicago gun thugs who told McBee to remain in his room. A defiant McBee retorted: "I'll come and go as I please. If you have any orders from a kangaroo governor, try to enforce them." He reported that other members' rooms had also been ransacked and had whiskey planted in them. Moreover, McBee later said that the Adjutant General told him some time after Walton's impeachment that there had been plans that day for Walton's Chicago gun thugs to assassinate him along with Representatives Wesley E. Disney, Frank M. Boyer (Tulsa), R. A.

Singletary (Oklahoma City), William J. Otjen (Republican from Enid), and Walter I. Cunningham (Sapulpa). Evidence that Key said had existed for the claim has never been found.

While McBee and his colleagues pursued court action to reverse Walton's order, the emphasis now shifted to the Campbell Russell initiative petition. One by one, the legal hurdles that Walton put before it were cleared so that the citizens were enabled to vote on State Question 119 on October 2, 1923. Supporters from both sides were armed on election day. In Oklahoma City alone, election officials deputized over 2,000 men to protect voters in Oklahoma County against the interference of Walton's supporters. There were reports of Walton forces attempting to intimidate voters from voting, but these efforts were successful in only Harper, Delaware and Cimarron counties. The result was a resounding Walton defeat and a victory for the House impeachment forces. The question won by a 2-1 margin.

McBee now wasted no time in issuing another petition signed by House members on October 4, 1923, to convoke a special session on October 17 using the new law. At this point, Walton made a very serious tactical blunder by issuing his call for an October 11 special session for the purpose of enacting an anti-mask law. By doing so, he lost an opportunity (which Governor Johnston would effectively use in 1927) to challenge the legality of State Question 119. Once more, Governor Walton hoped to gain the upper hand using the Klan issue. The gambit did not work, even when Walton let it be known on the eve of the session that he would voluntarily leave office after signing the anti-mask law that he sought. Anti-Walton forces had no interest in a deal that would enable Walton to escape the public record that would result from the impeachment proceeding and give him a martyr's platform upon which to campaign in a potential U. S. Senate race.

When the House convened at 9:00 a.m. on October 11, the first order of business was to organize. Murray Gibbons, the Speaker during the regular session, could claim the support of less than twelve members. McBee was the obvious choice and was easily elected, the second of four occasions in the decade that the House organized itself. He picked his colleague Wesley E. Disney to be the all-important chair of the investigating committee.

Quickly, the committee went to work. There was initial friction on impeachment within the House over the work of the investigating committee. Representative J. W. Callahan of Wilburton protested on the House floor that committee meetings were held in secret and that the proceeding was controlled by the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, N. C. Jewitt. One House member seized Callahan by the throat. His friends quickly whisked him to the House cloakroom until it was safe for him to return.

By the end of October, the House acted on twenty-two articles of impeachment against Walton. Two of the articles were considered first (one dealing with use of state funds to pay Walton's private chauffeur and the other interfering with a grand jury) in order that they would be presented to the Senate and expedite the removal of Walton by causing him to be suspended from office. The first vote carried 80-17, indicating the weak support Walton had in the House. These two articles were then filed in the Senate by the seven-man Board of Managers appointed by the Speaker. The Senate accepted the articles, in part to prevent any further pardons and paroles from

being issued by the Governor, thereby temporarily suspending from office the tempestuous Walton on October 23, 1923, less than one year after his election.

Walton was not one to easily concede or change strategies. His attorneys in the Senate Court of Impeachment filed a list of fifty-five House members who Walton alleged were Klansmen. His strategy was to call them as defense witnesses in order to prove that the impeachment had been a Klan conspiracy. The Senate denied the request.



House Board of Managers who prosecuted Governor Walton. From left to right, Thomas H. Wren from Okemah, Dave Stovall from Hugo, W. E. Disney from Muskogee, Jess L. Pullen from Sulphur, James Tolbert from Kiowa, Leslie Salter from Carmen, and W. J. Olgen from Enid. Source: Harlow's Weekly

At the conclusion of the Senate's court proceedings, the Senate convicted Walton on eleven counts, including general incompetency which was approved 41- 0, acquitted him on five articles, and the remaining six articles were dismissed by House managers. The end result was Walton's permanent removal from office and the collapse of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League. The Klan proved somewhat more resilient, but its public exposure brought negative images of the violent side of the KKK. More importantly, the House played a vital role in upholding constitutional government in Oklahoma.

After Walton's fate was settled, the Ninth Legislature would continue to meet in special session until March 1924. The original special session ended in mid-January followed the next day by a second. The Klan-control issue for which Walton had called the session remained to be addressed after Walton had been dispatched. The new governor, Martin E. Trapp who, as seen previously, was himself impeached in 1921 by the Republican-controlled House, backed legislation requiring the registration of memberships in all secret organizations and prohibiting the wearing of masks in public places. Opposition to the membership requirement caused it to be removed from the bill, and even moderate factions of the Klan could not object to the anti-mask provision which, when signed, was the nation's first anti-mask law. Though Representative Wesley E. Disney accurately predicted that Walton would make a political issue of the watered-down legislation by charging that it proved state government in Oklahoma was Klan-controlled, the new law made the Klan members who paraded in masks subject to a misdemeanor and those who committed violent acts subject to a felony charge. The new law tended to quell the terrorist acts of the KKK in Oklahoma for decades and checked its spread.

Ewe Lamb Rebellion

After Walton's removal from office, Lieutenant Governor Martin E. Trapp finished the last three years of the term. The Oklahoma Supreme Court thwarted his plans to run for Governor in 1926 by ruling that he could not succeed himself. Instead Henry S. Johnston won the nomination in a divided field of Democratic candidates and the general election. Johnston, unlike Walton, was an experienced state politician since he was the first President Pro Tempore of the Senate. The new Governor started with a major success, as his legislation to reorganize the Highway Commission was enacted quickly, but he made a major political mistake by taking the input of his political advisers and not consulting with the Senate on his first list of commission nominees. The Senate rejected the entire list. In developing a second list, he sought a compromise with the Senate, but lost several of his strong administrative supporters in the process. The move hardly appeased his legislative critics who questioned his administrative abilities.

Johnston's critics viewed him as susceptible to advisors who sought to use him for their own agenda. This criticism quickly focused on the role of his secretary, Mrs. O. O. Hammonds. The seriousness of the complaints led to a meeting between House Democrats and the Governor in February 1927. The caucus did little to improve relations with Governor Johnston or to quiet the criticism against him in the House.

In early March, a group of House members introduced a resolution calling for a lengthy session recess ostensibly to give the Legislature time to study Johnston's legislative program which was not moving very quickly. The Johnston administration and several of his legislative supporters in the House saw in this proposal a ruse to give anti-Johnston forces time to impeach Johnston in the delayed regular session. The resolution lost 77-17, with Johnston actively working to defeat it. The House was not alone in criticizing Johnston's administration. A Senate resolution that urged Johnston to dismiss Mrs. Hammonds was defeated 26-3. The size of the vote against the resolution obscured the concerns of the Senate about Johnston and Mrs. Hammonds. Though the early revolts against the Governor were defeated, talk of impeachment in the Legislature was clearly in the air by the end of the 1927 session.



*Mrs. O. O. Hammonds, the "ewe lamb,"
Governor Johnston's confidential secretary.*

The anti-Johnston forces in the House of Representatives did not let the impeachment matter drop with the 1927 session sine die adjournment. By September of that year, stories appeared in the Oklahoma press about a rumored movement in the House to impeach Johnston in a special session. However, the strength of the impeachment forces was a matter of conjecture during the two months leading to the December 6, 1927, start of the special session. Representative Fred H. Reiley of Shawnee reported very weak support for impeachment from his survey of House members. He claimed that 80% of the members he surveyed opposed both an impeachment and a special session. In addition, editorial opinion in the newspapers generally ran against impeachment, even in anti-Johnston publications.

Nevertheless, there was a determined cadre of House members who were diligently plotting the impeachment of Johnston. The “big four” or, as they have been called ever since, the Four Horsemen, were Tom Kight of Claremore, E. P. Hill of McAlester, Tom Johnson of Antlers, and Robert C. Graham from Oklahoma City. They were reportedly aided in their efforts by Ed H. Semans (a former Oklahoma Democratic Party chairman and early Johnston confidant who, at the beginning of his administration, was supplanted by Mrs. Hammonds in the Governor’s inner circle), former House chaplain H.E. Snodgrass, and former State Superintendent of Schools R. H. Wilson.

During that fall, House members became identified with the “sessionist” or “anti-sessionist” camps, depending on whether or not they favored a special session. Not all sessionist members were committed to Johnston’s impeachment, but they did support a special session to air the grievances raised about his administration.

The Four Horsemen had a number of very important, and at the end decisive, problems that they had to confront. Perhaps the most important question was whether or not the House of Representatives could legally call itself into a special session for an impeachment proceeding. This had been an issue in the Walton impeachment, but it had supposedly been resolved when voters passed State Question 119 permitting the Legislature to convoke a special session for the purpose of impeachment by a call of a two-thirds majority of House members. However, the question’s legality was seriously doubted in 1927. The problem was that it was unclear as to whether the state question had been legally placed on the ballot in the October 1923 special session since Governor Walton had not issued a proclamation as the Constitution stipulated. If the Johnston strategists could prove that State Question 119 was unconstitutional, the Four Horsemen were left with only two other options: 1) a special session called by Johnston, or 2) one called by the House pursuant to the untested “inherent right theory” advanced by Speaker McBee during the Walton impeachment. In fact, the Four Horsemen presented Johnston with a petition from a majority of House members asking him for a special session. Johnston, whose public stand was that the impeachment movement was about individual legislators and office seekers who had not gotten their way on political appointments, turned down the request. His memory of Walton’s fate in the 1923 special session argued too strongly against those who thought it would be better to confront and defeat anti-Johnston forces sooner rather than later.

The Four Horsemen and the sessionists who leaned toward impeachment then decided to call their own special session which they hoped would be legal pursuant to the inherent right theory or State Question 119. The showdown, which was set to begin on December 6, 1927, has been called the “Ewe Lamb’s Rebellion,” with Governor Johnston’s secretary, Mrs. Hammonds, as the ewe lamb. The term arose from a press conference at which a reporter asked Johnston if he would sacrifice Hammonds to avoid impeachment. He said:

It would be yellow. It would be hiding behind the skirts of a woman, and it would be base and venal to discharge Mrs. Hammonds under fire and false charges. If you come to me with a thousand sheep, and I only have one ewe lamb and you wanted me to destroy that, do you think I would be so base as to destroy it?

Mrs. Hammonds had become a major issue in Oklahoma again that fall when Aldrich Blake, a member of the Walton administration, published an article in *Nation* magazine charging Hammonds and the Governor with practicing Rosicrucianism (an east Indian mystic philosophy), consulting astrological charts before making state decisions, and attempting to perform metaphysical feats. Oklahomans read that their Governor was under a hypnotic spell cast by Hammonds. Aldrich sarcastically wrote that Mrs. Hammonds was believed to have a "sixth sense."

Alas, members of the legislature, victorious in their battles with the stars, found themselves baffled by the strange woman who guarded the inner sanctum. Party leaders soon fled in dismay, balked in their plans by the simple gestures of the mere female they usually found sitting by the Governor's side, and whose soul, they now suspect, was in the habit of flitting through the key hole, perhaps to some distant county to investigate the character of some supplicant for public office, returning in the twinkling of an eye to whisper "no" in the Governor's ear.

Once the special session was set, several efforts were made to have the courts intervene on Johnston's behalf before the session convened. Anti-sessionist House members F.H. Reily, Claude Briggs of Wilburton, and Clarence Lohman from Osage County asked the Oklahoma County district court representing John A. Simpson (president of the Farmers' Union of Oklahoma) to stay the House from meeting. At first, the Four Horsemen prevailed, but they lost on appeal to the State Supreme Court. In the opinion written by Chief Justice Fred P. Branson, the Court (with only one dissenter) declared that the House of Representatives had no right under any theory or law to convoke itself in a special session. The Court also invalidated State Question 119 on the basis that it had been unconstitutionally put on the ballot. Tom Kight, who emerged as the public voice of the Four Horsemen, was not fazed and defiantly stated that the House would proceed with its plans. He noted that the Court had not issued an injunction against the Legislature meeting. Kight defiantly stated, "Oklahoma has a Legislature which will not be intimidated."

Sessionists from both parties cooperated as they moved forward to take control of the House in the special session for the impeachment of Johnston. In a rare House caucus, a bipartisan leadership organization was developed for the special session with E.P. Hill, a McAlester Democrat and one of the Four Horsemen, elected as Speaker. For the number two spot, Republican Representative E. W. Smedley of Alva was elected Speaker Pro Tempore, and Tom Kight was given the task of chairing the Investigating Committee. Speaker Hill's acceptance speech clearly laid out the task before the House.

We are here today stepping forth, in my opinion, to establish a landmark in history that will determine whether or not a duty (impeachment) can be imposed upon an official body without the right to exercise the necessary powers incident to the performance of such a duty.

The Johnston forces, as it would be proven in the end, had more weapons on their side than did the Four Horsemen. Despite Speaker Hill's promise at the opening of the session, there

would be no paychecks for House members during the special session. Anti-sessionist Earl Brown from Ardmore forced this issue on December 8 by presenting his claim to the State Auditor. Due to the Supreme Court's ruling on the session, the Auditor had no choice but to refuse payment.

In fact, the executive and judicial branches, following the examples set by the Governor and Chief Justice, were united on that score. After the House organized on December 6, a committee was sent to invite the Governor, as is the custom, to address the House. They were at first unable to locate him, but when they did, he declined to appear before an "illegal assembly." Instead, he gave them a prepared statement in which, Johnston stated:

Fellow citizens: As Governor of Oklahoma, I decline to receive you as a committee. Your body has a legal right to meet as citizens only and not as a branch of a legislative body.

When this statement was read, it nearly touched off a riot in the House gallery, apparently packed with Johnston supporters who shouted "guess that'll hold you!" and "throw them out!" before the Speaker could restore order.

When the Senate resolved itself into an impeachment court, the Chief Justice declined to perform his constitutional duties in the impeachment process. He refused to administer the oath to the Senators or preside over the Senate Court of Impeachment by politely sending word to the Senate that, due to the opinion he had written, he could do neither without violating his oath of office. Therefore, a Senate clerk had to administer the oath.

With the executive and judicial branches aligned against the House, the Senate's attitude towards the special session was critical. From the first, the Senate was aware that the session legality issue would have to be confronted. Nevertheless, it did not at first break ranks with the House. After the Senate voted to go into a court of impeachment, Senate leaders immediately sought the counsel of Attorney General Ed Dabney on the special session question. During the Walton impeachment, the incumbent Attorney General ruled against the Legislature calling itself into a special session. Nevertheless, Dabney was less definitive in his oral guidance. He told Senators that, if asked for a formal opinion on the matter, he would likely render an opinion consistent with the previous opinion and the Supreme Court's recent ruling. Informally, he advised the Senate to be its own judge. With that, sessionist forces in both chambers bought additional time.

Returning to events in the House, the Speaker appointed fifty-two members to the investigating committee. Working quickly, it brought impeachment charges against the Governor, the Chief Justice, and the chair of the Board of Agriculture in mid-December. The committee charged Governor Johnston on a number of counts including issuing illegal deficiency certificates (authorizations used at the time by agencies for funding projects not authorized by the Legislature) for projects specifically turned down by the Legislature, and general incompetence. The most spectacular charge involved an alleged extortion scheme involving Mrs. Hammonds for a payment to another woman. Later, charges would arise from Johnston's next series of moves.

Before the entire House could consider articles of impeachment, Johnston issued a proclamation authorizing his use of the National Guard to put down the insurrectionary situation that

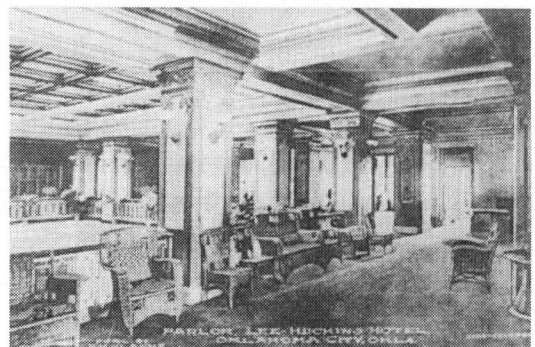
threatened his office. He directed the Adjutant General “to use and employ all necessary force to quell, subdue, remove or destroy such insurrection and to suppress all insurrectionary meetings whether held at the state capitol or at any other place in the state.”

However, Johnston stopped short of imitating Walton’s amassing of a large body of troops to intimidate lawmakers. Brigadier General Charles E. McPherron (a former Senator who ironically served on Walton’s impeachment court) had only seventy troops under his command. They roped off the fourth floor of the Capitol so that the two chambers were unable to meet that day and broke up all meetings of legislators in the Capitol. Despite the small number of troops, the Adjutant General refused to give way to a delegation of anti-Johnston forces headed by Kight, forcing them to retreat to the Huckins Hotel.

However, the previous day’s barricading of the House chamber did not prevent fifty-six House members from slipping into the chamber several hours before dawn the next day to take up the previously filed impeachment articles and a new one for Johnston’s use of the militia to prevent the Legislature from meeting. The articles were passed easily by this “rump assembly.” The vote was 49-6 on the illegal use of the militia and 45-9 on general incompetence. After the vote, a bipartisan nine-member board of managers chaired by Kight was appointed to handle the impeachment.

The focus now shifted to the Senate. At first, Johnston did not impede the Senate from meeting. However, the Senate was immediately confronted by the question of whether its acceptance of the House’s charges would cause Johnston’s temporary suspension. The Senate had suspended Governor Walton at this point in the 1923 impeachment proceedings. This time, the Senate decided against suspension, in part because of the lingering question about the legality of the session and also because of the persuasiveness of Senator Tom Anglin (a future Speaker) who convinced the Senate that suspension of Johnston without a definitive answer to the session question would create an intolerable dual executive situation whereby Johnston and Lieutenant Governor Holloway would both have a claim to be recognized as the state’s chief executive. Nevertheless, it appeared to most observers that the Senate’s action on the matter did not suggest that the Senate would abandon the House on impeachment and would not undermine the House’s agenda.

At this point, Johnston once again took control of the situation. First, he made certain that he would be the one to decide when the Senate would next meet by blocking the Senate chamber with National Guardsmen. Next, he and his supporters installed themselves at the Huckins Hotel where he could effectively use all his powers of persuasion over the Senators who were milling around. Johnston’s strategy worked. By the next morning, Senate sentiment had shifted to a position advocated by Senator Guy L. Andrews of McAlester who believed that the entire House role in the special session had been illegal. Confident of the result when the Senate reconvened, Johnston lifted the National Guard barrier, and the Senate voted 22-16 (including three Republicans who voted with the majority) to the



Huckins Hotel Parlor where Governor Johnston helped persuade Senators to terminate the Ewe Lamb Rebellion

dismay of the insurgent House members that State Question 119 was unconstitutional and that the House had no inherent right to convoke a special session to exercise its impeachment authority. Ironically, the Senate reserved to itself the power to use that right to meet and then call the House into session to perform its investigation impeachment role! With that, the Ewe Lamb Rebellion collapsed. A next day's headline reported: "Unhorsed, unhonored, unpaid and hamstrung, the rebel leaders and insurrectionists returned to their homes."

The Shortest Speakership and the Only Coalition Speaker

By the time the Legislature was prepared to meet for the 1929 regular session, Governor Johnston's political fortunes had plunged to the point that it appeared not even the mystical powers of his secretary could save him from removal from office. The 1928 presidential election certainly was a major factor in the deteriorating political situation that the Governor now confronted. Republicans in Oklahoma benefitted immensely from the poor performance of the Democratic presidential campaign of Al Smith. Johnston, perhaps unwisely, had put his prestige on the line in stumping for Smith. As a Catholic and a supporter of ending national prohibition, many Oklahoma Democrats voted Republican from the top to the bottom of the ticket. As a result, Republicans gained twenty-six new seats in the House of Representatives.

With a total of forty-seven seats, Republicans were only five votes short of the majority. Moreover, anti-Johnston Democrats, several of whom were angry that the Governor had attempted to defeat them, had generally fared somewhat better than pro-Johnston Democrats in the election. It was no surprise that a number of the anti-Johnston Democrats were more determined to remove Johnston than before.



Eight of the "irreconcilable" Democrats.

From front left to right: Tom Kight from Claremore; Speaker Jim Nance from Walters; Homer Paul from Pauls Valley; and R. J. Stanley from Hugo. In back from left to right: C. C. Hester from Blanchard; Bob Graham from Oklahoma City; John Head from Idabell; and Frank Carmichael from Sayre

Therefore, the House Democratic caucus was badly divided as preparations for the 1929 session got under way. While most of the Democrats thought the caucus would still elect the next Speaker, others were plotting with House Republicans for a coalition organization of the House. A small group of "irreconcilable" anti-Johnston Democrats actively negotiated with the Republican caucus for a coalition that would organize the House to impeach Johnston. The leaders of the irreconcilable Democrats were Tom Kight, James C. Nance of Walters, Charles Moon of Muskogee, Homer Paul of Pauls Valley, C.C. Hester of Blanchard, Frank Carmichael from Sayre, and R. H. Stanley from Hugo.

The Democratic caucus selected Allan Street from Oklahoma City as its candidate. He was elected Speaker, but on the opening day of session the irreconcilable Democratic and Republican coalition would not permit the session to pause long enough for the Governor to give his message to the joint legislative session. Instead, they moved to amend House rules to strip the

Speaker of his power to appoint committees and gave the power to a newly created committee on committees whose members were named by the coalition. At that point, Street determined that he would not be able to perform his duties as Speaker. With good humor, he accepted the inevitable and resigned after serving about six hours to the cheers of the party regulars. Tom Kight then nominated Nance for Speaker, who won by a 60-38 vote. In addition to forty-seven Republican votes, thirteen Democrats voted for Nance -- the irreconcilables, the *now* former Speaker Street, and several other Democrats.

The irreconcilables defended their actions to Oklahoma Democrats. They blamed the failed leadership of Johnston and lashed out at him for not allowing a party convention the previous year and trying to revenge himself during the campaigns for the Ewe Lamb Rebellion. Nance concluded that his reason for entering into a coalition with the Republican caucus rather than accepting the decision of the Democratic machinery (Governor Johnston) was: "we promised the people nothing in the campaign, and they gave us nothing."

In organizing the House, John C. Head of McCurtain County was made chair of the Investigating Committee that would pursue Johnston's impeachment with Republican John Sherman from Major County as vice-chair. Kight took over the powerful Appropriations Committee.

The Investigating Committee had twelve Democrats (seven irreconcilables) and eighteen Republicans. The counsel was E.P. Hill, Speaker during the Ewe Lamb session. The committee's efforts focused on developing a short list of impeachment charges that would be approved by the House and received in the Senate so that Johnston would be suspended from office. By late January, a list of eleven articles had been drafted. They included a number of articles related to misuse of public funds, the charge from the Ewe Lamb Rebellion regarding the use of the militia to impede the work of the Legislature, and the usual general incompetency charge. Five articles were approved by the House on January 18, 1927. The 78-22 vote on the first article revealed the weakness of the Johnston forces in the House. The closest vote before the House adjourned at 1:05 a.m. was 59-38 on one of the misappropriation articles. A considerable number of Democratic regulars gave their support for impeachment.

The seven-member board of managers then filed the five articles with the Senate. This time, Johnston was suspended from office after the charges were filed. The House managers amassed a voluminous public record in the impeachment proceedings. Some 141 witnesses were called, but not Mrs. Hammonds. She resigned soon after the charges were filed in the Senate, submitting a resignation letter that bitterly repudiated the House investigation which:

has proved beyond a doubt that no honest investigation was desired that could aid in a constructive program, but the entire record disclosed from the House investigation is but a lot of foolish statements and misrepresentations to create propaganda that would be sensational enough to throw a smoke screen over their purpose, all with the ultimate aim of accomplishing and carrying out their selfish aims and desires.

Historians Danny Goble and James Scales' examination of the impeachment record reveals a Johnston who seemed oblivious to the workings of his administration. They conclude that "at bottom, his greatest fault was one with his greatest virtue: absolute loyalty to the democratic Party and to the people that gathered around him." There was nothing really heinous proved by the House prosecutors, so Senators carefully cast their votes so that none of the specific charges received the required two-thirds majority. However, on March 20, 1929, Johnston was removed from office by a 39-5 vote on the general competency article.

The Great Depression and Governor William H. Murray

The members of the Thirteenth Oklahoma House of Representatives (1930-2) inherited a state economy that was rapidly collapsing as the Great Depression devastated all sectors of the Oklahoma economy. State and local services, including public schools, were jeopardized by a lack of money. Unemployment was rampant, banks foreclosed on families unable to pay their mortgages, and bread lines were long.

In Oklahoma City, a figure from the early history of the House of Representatives now occupied the highest position in the executive branch. William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, Oklahoma's first House Speaker, was the surprise new Governor after a ten-year absence from the political scene. However, Murray, upon taking office, demonstrated that he had lost none of his political skills or his combative nature.

He made a point of gaining control of the House of Representatives and maintaining it for the next four years. As Speaker for the 1931 session, he picked Wilburton editor Carlton Weaver. Although Weaver was a new House member, his relationship with the Governor stretched back to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention when Weaver was among its youngest members. In order to offset Weaver's inexperience at his new job, Murray convinced the Speaker to place the experienced W. A. Durant (Speaker in the regular session of the Third Legislature) as chief clerk. Murray knew Weaver would be tested by the Governor's extensive legislative program. Before Murray's inauguration, the House leadership passed its initial test by steamrolling the House for quick passage of House Bill 1 that created the Oklahoma Tax Commission. With the Governor-elect assisting, the bill flew through the committee of the whole in less than three hours with few amendments and only one vote against it.

Murray counted on cooperation from the Legislature in dealing with the many economic problems facing the Oklahoma economy during the first years of the Great Depression. He wanted passage of legislation early to provide emergency relief for the destitute and the elimination of the state property tax that burdened small farmers. Funding of the relief would be derived from a temporary income tax on salaries of public employees and officers. The Governor was taken back when House Majority Floor Leader J. T. Daniel and Tom Kight, who spoke for many constituents who felt that it was unfair to exempt higher paid private incomes, vigorously fought the salary tax bill. Rumors that Murray would replace Daniel as Majority Floor Leader turned out to be false, and Murray beat back the attempts to kill the bill by extending the tax to the private sector by a 57-32 vote.

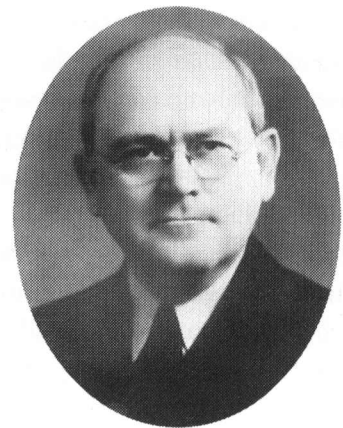
The fight over this bill, which also met strong opposition in the Senate, forced Murray to take a more active roll in his legislative program. At a joint session, "Cocklebur Bill" railed at the two chambers' reluctance to support his legislative program. He warned state teachers, who he blamed for the opposition to the salary tax, that he would start an initiative petition to reduce their salaries. He lashed out against his opponents in the Legislature: "With men and women under the very shadow of the capitol begging for clothing and food, you with big salaries in your fine hotels cannot understand the danger." To all of those who intended to oppose his legislation, he threw down the gauntlet: "The roll will be called and the fire bells will be rung before this is over. When you have whipped me, you can brag about it--but wait until you do!"

The session ran into a snag over Murray's bill to create a corporate income tax, viewed by contemporaries as the "most far reaching tax proposal as it relates to corporations that has been ever prepared in Oklahoma." The bill passed in accordance with Murray's wishes, but it was hacked up by the Senate which reduced the tax rates and riddled the bill with exemptions. The bill later died in conference. The resourceful Murray lost no time in taking his uncompleted legislative platform to the voters in a series of seven initiative petitions. Despite his vigorous efforts, voters, who feared the results of the dramatic reforms proposed by their eccentric governor, rejected all of the state questions, including ones that would have raised state revenues to cover a \$9 million excess appropriations due to the Legislature's failure to comply with his budget plan, in the Fire Bells Campaign of 1931.

In actuality, the Thirteenth Legislature was an important one. One writer said of it that it "stands out in many respects as the most unusual and significant Legislature the state has yet witnessed. . . . In general deportment, sobriety and fidelity to its public obligation it establishes a new mark in Oklahoma's legislative history." Some historians have seen the creation of the Tax Commission and county excise boards as the greatest achievement of the Murray administration. The establishment of a uniform assessment system in the state quickly increased assessments on corporate property by \$65 million and permitted the reduction of personal assessments by 20-25 percent. In addition, the Tax Commission provided the bureaucratic infrastructure for future tax reform efforts.

There were other accomplishments that session. For the first time in state history, funding (\$1 million) was provided for the feeding and clothing of the destitute. 1931 marked the first (but not the last) time that the House redistricting plan failed to follow the Oklahoma constitutional redistricting provisions that required the joining of counties which fell below the threshold for their own seats. The Panhandle was given seats for each of its four counties, even though they individually did not have enough population to qualify for the four seats. Murray allowed the bill to become law without signing it.

Although Murray's prestige had suffered from his defeat in the Fire Bells Campaign, he was determined to assert his leadership in the Fourteenth Legislature (1932-4). He took a different tack in the organization of the House by selecting an



Tom Anglin, Speaker for the 1933 Regular and Special Sessions and the Senator wounded in the Senate chamber in 1947 by Representative Jimmie Scott

experienced legislator for Speaker. He had convinced Tom C. Anglin of Holdenville, who had previously been President Pro Tempore of the Senate, to run for the House of Representatives in return for assurances that he would be picked Speaker. Though Murray's candidate for Senate President Pro Tempore was not successful, Anglin had little opposition in his Speaker's race.

During the first week of the session, Anglin and Murray tested the level of support in the House for the Governor in a resolution expressing confidence in him. It passed easily 82-30. In fact, Murray needed strong support during 1933 as the state fell deeper in economic depression. The failure of the Thirteenth Legislature to pass a balanced budget could no longer go untended. In his joint message, Murray recommended an \$11.8 million cut in the state budget for the next biennium. Although the institutional bloc and anti-Murray legislators were unhappy with his economy program, the House, under the strong leadership of Speaker Anglin, responded with an institutional appropriations bill \$6.8 million less than the current biennium and other budget cuts that Murray approved. Unlike 1931, he was successful in convincing the Legislature in 1933 to cut expenditures for state government by approximately 30% to \$22 million. *Harlow's* concluded near the end of the session of Anglin's performance as Speaker:

Oklahoma has had a number of strong Speakers, men with ability, influence and force, but it is probably true that at no time since the first Legislature [when Murray was Speaker] has any presiding officer maintained as definite and continuous control over all the activities of the House of Representatives as has the present Speaker.

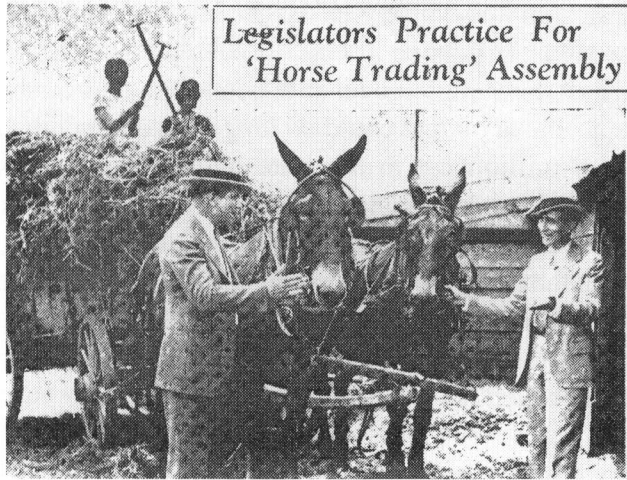
That control would be vital as Murray and legislative leaders struggled to quell domestic unrest due to the state's economic collapse. In February 1933, political shockwaves were felt throughout the state when a large crowd blocked a foreclosure sale in Cherokee, and farmers there formed a "council of defense" to stop future sales.

The Legislature responded positively when the Governor needed legislation to carry through on his decision to call a bank moratorium in early March 1933, in order to prevent anticipated bank closings and to impose a moratorium on mortgage foreclosures on landowners who could not make their payments. Once again, the Legislature responded with great dispatch to meet a serious state fiscal crisis after Tulsa and Oklahoma City banks threatened not to honor state warrants. The Legislature enacted Murray's recommendations to divert a portion of gasoline tax revenues in order to issue \$12 million in state treasury notes so that state services would not be disrupted.

To some of his detractors, Governor Murray appeared to be asking the Legislature for almost dictatorial powers similar to those given European fascist leaders. Indeed, he was not hesitant to use his executive powers in order to cope with the extraordinary challenges that Oklahoma faced at the time; but the Legislature balked when he asked it to give him extraordinary powers to reorganize state government.

During the 1933 session, Murray's support was strongest in the House. His influence in the Senate did not allow him to persuade them to attach the emergency clause on a series of revenue-raising bills that had been enacted. Without emergencies, the bills would likely never take

effect due to the expected referendum petitions being circulated by the Citizens League that would send the bills to a popular vote. Consequently, Murray was forced to call a special legislative session for May 24, 1933, primarily for the purpose of adding the essential emergency clauses to the tax bill.



Experts predict "horse trading" will dominate 1933 Special Session
Source: *The Daily Oklahoman*, May 24, 1933

From the outset, political observers believed that the Governor would have to be willing to trade to get the emergencies and that the session would be a long one. During House consideration of the Governor's bills, the beer lobby allied with the school bloc to obstruct the Governor's legislative program. The Beer for Oklahoma League was known to have the support of at least forty House members and eight Senators in its effort to eliminate the provision that had been attached during the regular session to a legislative referendum. The school bloc, in joining the coalition, sought more funding for public schools.

It was quickly apparent that the Governor and administration forces in the House would not be able to steamroll his program through the House. On May 30, Leon C. "Red" Phillips from Okemah demonstrated the strength of opposition forces by successfully pushing the adoption of an amendment to require 97% of the temporary one-cent sales tax be directed for public education. The amendment was passed on a close 46-44 vote, despite threats from House Majority Floor Leader John Steele Batson of Marietta that its adoption might result in the sine die adjournment of the session (probably an idle threat since it was believed that the beer and school lobbies had the votes to prevent adjournment). The special session went badly for Murray. While he got the emergency on the income tax increase that he sought, he did not obtain one on the three-cent cigarette tax increase, which as expected, was repealed by voters later that year. He was unhappy with the diversion of the sales tax to education, but he let it become law without his signature. The beer lobby had its scheduled vote, and members of the Legislature were reported to enjoy the newly-legal beer as they finished work on the special session that finally adjourned July 15.

Before the session was over, hostilities erupted between the Legislature and Murray. Upset over the treatment of his program in the Legislature, Murray openly threatened to work to defeat his opponents in the 1934 elections. In the House, a number of members charged him with slander and character assassination. Speaker Anglin and administration forces had to fight to prevent the rejection of one of Murray's messages by indignant House members on a 56-28 tabling vote.

On another occasion, House members subjected the Governor to stiff questions about his textbook legislation enacted during the regular session. He responded angrily by accusing those raising questions as coconspirators in a plot by *The Daily Oklahoman* and the state superintendent of public education to attack him. In defense of his program, he spoke in glowing terms of royalties that would go into funding a \$1 million Murray Foundation that would aid financially impoverished scholars. When one representative suggested that the program had the appearance of a form of

bribery, Murray believed his integrity was being questioned. Murray hotly responded that “I’ll put my integrity against yours in your own county, anytime.”

Despite the vigor of Murray’s efforts to cope with the Great Depression, his program marked no significant departure from traditional Oklahoma politics. In fact, Governor Murray was one of the most outspoken of the nation’s governors against the New Deal programs of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In this and other matters during the Murray administration, historians Danny Goble and James Scales conclude that:

From the moment of his startling triumph in the democratic primary of 1930, to the federal takeover of relief in 1934, the central issue in Oklahoma politics was “Murrayism.” Less a program than a personality, it had inspired the best of his administration—the farsighted tax proposals, the ending of the impeachment mania, and the imaginative actions to relieve distress. But the worst in his administration—the defeat of the firebells initiatives, the unrestrained patronage system, the constant bickering with any who crossed him—also flowed from the excesses of that same personality.

Governor Marland Versus Speaker Red Phillips

The change in administrations from Murray to that of Governor Ernest Whitworth Marland presented the voters and the Fifteenth Oklahoma Legislature (1934-6) a fundamental change in direction. In contrast to Murray, Marland, a wealthy Ponca City oil entrepreneur, campaigned on the platform of introducing the New Deal in Oklahoma.

For Speaker, Marland tapped Leon C. (Red) Phillips from Okemah. Red Phillips, described as a powerfully-built and humorless conservative politician, had been an independent Democrat in the last Legislature, but Speaker Anglin had frequently called upon Phillips to preside. At the beginning of the session, the new Speaker pledged that he would give Marland’s legislation program top priority. In fact, the two clashed from the opening days of the 1935 regular session, and for the next two years on the high costs of the Governor’s program.

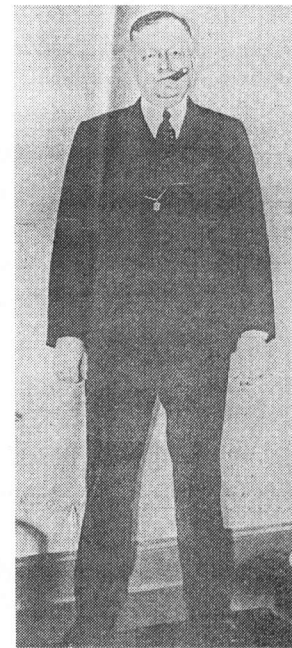
Although Marland was not inexperienced in government (he had served in the last Congress), he viewed the responsibilities of his office from the vantage point of his experiences as a corporate CEO. His biographer wrote of Marland’s delivery of his speech to the joint session of the Legislature when he delivered his legislative program for 1935:

As he stood before the members of the Legislature, he was the old executive and these men were his loyal employees. He had no doubt that they could see the soundness and importance of his programs. . . . Big Red Phillips, Speaker of the House, was a division manager, who, though able, had not learned about the ethics of cooperation in the corporate family.

Therefore, it was much to Marland's surprise that legislators, particularly "division manager" Speaker Phillips, were unwilling to follow his lead on implementing the Governor's campaign promises. In the House, the Minority Leader said of the Governor's legislative program that "we went in the hole some \$4,000,000 trying to raise a \$21,000,000 budget these two years. I don't see how we can raise \$35,000,000 for one year." Speaker Phillips tempered his remarks by committing first to balancing the budget and then looking at the remainder of the budget for funding the Governor's program. From this remark, the rift between Speaker and Governor grew into a breach incapable of being closed. By the end of the 1935 session, the state of Oklahoma had witnessed a tremendous personal battle between these two powerful leaders—one in which Marland did not fare well. He needed more tax revenues for his program, but the power to tax was in the hands of the House of Representatives and its Speaker.

Prior to funding new programs, the Legislature was confronted with another fiscal crisis as metropolitan banks again threatened to not cash state warrants. This was a serious situation which Phillips felt took priority over Marland's program. In the meantime, Marland lost his patience over the House's delays on considering his legislation; he had hoped to have a series of emergency bills passed so that when he went to Washington, D. C. in late February 1935, he would be in a strong bargaining position in asking for federal financial aid.

Marland was overmatched in trying to beat Phillips on ground more familiar to the Speaker. Instead, the Governor attempted to go around the Speaker and the House in early March in a statewide radio address. He told voters that their mandate for his programs was being ignored, particularly in the House of Representatives. "The Republican interests, the lobbies and the Murray Democrats are the dominating influence in the state capitol today." The Speaker replied, also on radio, that the Governor was not being completely fair. To the charge that the House had no program of its own, Red Phillips said: "We have one. We have been working on it and will complete it as soon as possible."



*Leon C. "Red" Phillips,
Speaker 1935 Session. Source: The Daily
Oklahoman, May 5, 1935*

Symbolic of the philosophical differences between Marland and Phillips was their attitudes to the Governor's proposal for the creation of a strong state planning agency and federal control of relief programs. Phillips was cold to Marland's plans to give a prominent role in state government to "schemers" and for the creation of five new state agencies to coordinate Oklahoma's war against the Great Depression. The Speaker believed that the Legislature was the responsible institution for state planning. On the transfer of relief programs from the county to the federal level, the Speaker led the House in its defense of Oklahoma's right to operate those programs. When that legislation was taken up by the committee of the whole, Phillips thundered that "this is the time for us to act in a deliberate and sensible way." Sandy Singleton, the chair of the Appropriations and Budget Committee, supported the Speaker by arguing "let's keep Oklahoma money under Oklahoma rule."

By the time the Fifteenth Legislature completed its work around 4:30 a.m. on May 1, 1935, a great deal had been accomplished despite the battles between the Governor and the Speaker. If these accomplishments fell far short of what Marland had asked for in his New Deal program, it was more than some might have predicted given the lack of cooperation between the Governor and Speaker. The debt crisis was fixed by the creation of the Oklahoma State Debt Funding Board empowered to issue notes bearing 3.5% interest. A compromise on the state planning program was reached by the creation of a flood control and soil conservation agency and a weak state planning board. Plummeting local property taxes were offset by an unprecedented \$16.4 million state commitment for public school spending that represented a major step towards the state replacing local revenue as the major source of education funding.

However, *Harlow's Weekly* wrap-up on the 1935 session conceded that Phillips had won the contest with Marland. Marland's New Deal Program had not been allowed to penetrate deeply in Oklahoma's political thinking.

This program met a resistance led by Speaker Phillips, who in his thinking and in his attitude towards government appears to be representative of the older governmental theory, to-wit, that government is not a source of benefits but a necessary burden upon the people, limited in its functions to the time honored tasks of keeping the peace, maintaining courts, educating the children, etc.

Though rumors had circulated during the 1935 session that Marland would replace Phillips with another Speaker more friendly to the Governor's programs, Marland preferred to wait until after the session. Within the House, members more willing to work with Marland late in the session tried unsuccessfully to pull the Speaker closer to their position, but they stopped short of defining themselves as anti-Phillips.

As the 1936 elections approached, Phillips and Marland, who had already lost his race for the U. S. Senate seat that year, picked up their fight where they had left it at the end of the 1935 session. They took opposing sides of the debate during the campaign for State Question 214, an initiative petition on a special election scheduled for September 24, 1935. The petition proposed a one-cent sales tax increase for old age pensions in Oklahoma that would be administered by a constitutional Commission of Old Age Pensions and Security. Phillips opposed the question's passage because he believed there was sufficient existing state funds for old age pensions and that Marland's lack of leadership was the only reason that the program had not been enacted in the 1935 regular session or in a special session that the Governor now refused to call. Marland fired back by blaming Phillips for the poorly drafted State Question 209, a legislative referendum, which was also on the same ballot. This question also dealt with old age pensions, but it was much more restrictive in that it imposed onerous residency requirements and strict benefit caps that were not contained in federal laws that provided matching monies to the state. The legislative referendum went down to defeat, and the Marland-backed measure easily passed (it was later ruled unconstitutional for being illegally submitted).

The clash over the state questions undoubtedly reminded Marland that the future of his administration would be at risk with Phillips as Speaker in 1937. It was well known in political circles that Phillips wanted the second term, with or without Marland's approval. Not only did

Marland withhold his support, he tried to defeat the Speaker in his House election campaign and, failing that, brought the power of the Governor's office to make sure he would not win the Speaker's race for the Fifteenth Legislature (1936-8). This was the only time in Oklahoma history when a Governor worked to defeat a Speaker chosen by him.

Marland campaigned against Phillips in his district during the 1936 primary. Marland blamed Phillips for the poor condition of area roads. The Governor also aided Phillips' opponent, a much older man than the Speaker and a much less effective campaigner, by sending one of the Governor's strongest political backers to Okemah to work against Phillips.

At the same time, Marland persuaded former House Speaker James C. Nance, then a Senator from Purcell, to give up his Senate seat to run for the House against anti-Marland Louie E. Beck, also from Purcell. Marland's interest in the race was to put Nance in a position where he could offset Phillips' influence by either winning the Speaker's race for himself or throwing his support to a successful candidate. Both Nance and Phillips won their House races thereby moving the clash to the Democratic caucus.

The Phillips and Marland-Nance camps were active in the summer months of 1936 after Marland lost his U. S. Senate race. Shortly after Marland's defeat, a meeting took place involving about forty House Democrats in Oklahoma City. Following the meeting, it was reported that Phillips had nearly enough pledges to win the Speaker's race. Nance, who now declared that he was not a candidate for Speaker, did not believe Phillips had more than thirty pledges and invited Phillips to join him in backing an alternative candidate.

Marland swung into action by using his control over patronage in state jobs to block Phillips. This ploy was effective in a number of cases, but not all. Joe Chambers of Tulsa, who some considered as a possible alternative to Phillips and who was known to be pro-Marland, threw his support to Phillips in seeming defiance to the heavy handedness of the Governor. The loss of patronage did not bother Chambers. He explained, "I have but three people on the state payroll, and I told them [Marland supporters] they could start firing—that I was ready."

In the end, J. T. Daniel from Waurika, viewed as an independent Democrat during the 1935 session, emerged as the victor in the Speaker's race with the assistance of the Governor and Nance in November 1936. Phillips withdrew from the race as his support dropped. Marland and Nance's strategy had proved effective, but not without a struggle. *Harlow's* concluded at the conclusion of the Speaker's race that "anyone who takes a House organization away from Red Phillips can realize that he has done a real piece of work, no matter what the instrumentalities used in the process."

Spending Sixteenth

Marland's defeat of Phillips did not give him control of the Legislature. In fact, real power passed to committee chairmen in the Legislature paving the way for a spending spree that earned the 1937 session its reputation as the "Spending Sixteenth." Historians Gobles and Scales have noted that "the inept Marland, his pathetic messages to the legislature routinely ignored, was reduced to the status of the state's chief clerk." The biennial appropriation totaled nearly \$64

million, which represented a 300% increase over the budget when Marland assumed office. More ominously, the budget was \$40 million over projected budget revenues.

On the positive side, the Sixteenth Legislature halted Oklahoma's opposition to federal New Deal programs. Destitute Oklahomans were able to benefit for the first time from the Civilian Conservation Camps and the Work Progress Administration. Moreover, state spending for public education and welfare now seemed an accepted responsibility of the Legislature.

However, the fiscal lack of restraint of the Spending Sixteenth became a rallying focus for conservatives. Legislative leaders by-passed the newly-created state welfare agency and, instead, sent the funds to the county welfare boards. The resulting national news stories of waste and patronage in Oklahoma's relief programs gave Oklahoma a black eye. Based on this, the *Tulsa Tribune*, a conservative newspaper critical of the Marland administration, called the Spending Sixteenth "the worst in the history of the state."

Stingy Seventeenth

Conservatives did not have to look far for their champion for the 1938 gubernatorial campaign. Former Speaker Red Phillips was prepared to capitalize on the "conservative counter reformation" by crushing his opposition in the Democratic primary and then the 1938 general election to become the first state representative elected Governor (Murray had served in Congress between his term in the Oklahoma House of Representatives and his gubernatorial election). It must have been a humbling experience for Marland to sit through Phillips' inaugural speech as he promised to correct the financial problems left him by the previous Governor.

In sharp contrast to Marland, Phillips understood thoroughly the legislative process and how to deal with legislators. He picked Don Welch from Madill as Speaker for the 1939 regular session. Phillips had no difficulty in organizing both chambers. In addition to Welch, Phillips chose John M. Holliman of Bartlesville, a fiscal conservative, to chair the House Appropriations Committee. He left nothing to chance in organizing the Legislature. He also was reported to have employed his own investigator who reported solely to the Governor the campaign plans of his opponents and the marital problems of maverick legislators.

In addition to demanding deep budget cuts and restoring the fiscal health of state government, Phillips won approval for his legislation to gain control of the Oklahoma Tax Commission and the Highway Commission. The Public Welfare Commission members at first refused to resign, but the relentless pressure from the Governor and the Legislature wore down the Commission's opposition and the entire Commission resigned by the end of January 1939. The House contributed significantly to the pressure with a resolution requesting their resignation and then an investigation of the Commission chaired by Louis Gossett of Pushmataha County.

The Governor's economy program was well received in the House. Representative Holliman worked closely with the Phillips forces to cut out 20% from the departmental and institutional appropriations. The two chambers led the way in demonstrating their commitment to reducing the cost of government by cutting the legislative staffs by nearly 100 positions from 1937 levels.

The real test in the 1939 budget writing came on school funding. The school bloc was determined to raise its annual funding from \$12.8 million to \$15 million, but the Governor wanted to slash it to \$8 million. In the end, both sides had to make concessions, but the \$25 million appropriated to public schools for the biennium along with the continued drop in local property revenues caused spending for public education to fall below their levels at the start of the 1930's.

Despite all the efforts put into cutting the budget, the Stingy Seventeenth failed to pass a balanced budget. It would be the last budget enacted not subject to the constitutional balanced budget State Question that Phillips pushed through the Legislature in 1941. The question was approved by voters in March 1941.

Merle Lansden, Speaker by a Knock Out

When Governor Robert S. Kerr called the Nineteenth Legislature into a special session scheduled for April 10, 1944, it was widely presumed that the same organization of the House of Representatives for the 1943 regular session would apply for the special session. Many House members felt it would be inappropriate to elect a new Speaker to replace Harold Freeman of Pauls Valley, since he was unable to obtain a furlough from his war-time military service. Others were interested in the Speaker's position if there was to be a change.

As the Democratic caucus met the day before the session at the Huckins Hotel, matters progressed as expected. Speaker Pro Tempore R. M. Mountcastle of Muskogee's motion carried to keep the 1943 organization. He then surprised the Democrats by moving that Merle Lansden from Beaver be nominated for Speaker. Mountcastle explained that Lansden, a Marine private, as Speaker would be appropriate since the major reason for the session was to pass legislation making it easier for Oklahoma service men and women to participate in the 1944 elections.

Not all the members were happy with this surprise change of Speakers. Kirksey Nix of McAlester blustered that he had never before experienced such a "conniving maneuver." He further complained of Governor Kerr's complicity in the proceedings: "I've served three terms in the Legislature and I'm tired of getting dilly-dallied around. The people are tired of seeing the Legislature and executive branches so intermingled that they can't tell them apart." He then nominated John Steele Batson as Speaker.

Lansden, who was on a three-week furlough for the session, defended Kerr's decision. According to him, "This wasn't any fast play. The Governor isn't trying to deal around anybody. . . . He is my good friend, and he just leaned over backwards to help me out."

With that said, Lansden who had traveled a long distance for the caucus then fainted and was carried away on a stretcher with a gash in the back of his head. This so moved the members that a potential major revolt in the House died, and the wounded Lansden took up his duties as Speaker the next day.



Speaker Merle Lansden, left, in his Marine uniform, examines the discharge button of Minority Leader Carl Morgan from Guthrie, 1944 Special Session. Source: The Daily Oklahoman, April 11, 1944

Lansden was the first Speaker from the Panhandle (Note: C.R. Board from Boise City, elected Speaker in 1947, was the only other Panhandle Speaker.)

Johnson Davis Hill, A Politician Who Keeps His Word

Johnson Davis Hill was another member who was interested in the Speaker's position before the 1944 special session. Although he was passed over then, Governor Kerr let Hill's Tulsa constituents know that if they reelected him, Kerr would support Hill for Speaker. So when Hill won, it was a foregone conclusion that he would be the Democrats' choice for Speaker for the Twentieth Legislature scheduled to meet January 2, 1945.

Hill had not been a strong Kerr supporter in the last Legislature, but the Governor hoped that would work to his benefit by uniting some of the dissident factors in the House. Ray Parr, the longtime *The Daily Oklahoman* capitol reporter, called Hill the leader of the "Knothole Gang" of House backbenchers. One of the other members of the Knothole Gang, J. A. Arrington from Stillwater, lamented about his new seat near the front of the chamber:

It is all very sad. Now that we can get recognized, we'll have to think up something to say. For all these years we've been trying to hear these speeches. Now that we can hear, I think it was a big mistake.

The new session inherited a politically thorny issue that had disrupted the 1944 special session. The issue was whether or not State Superintendent of Public Instruction A. L. Crable should be impeached for his role in the textbook scandals associated with Governor Marland's administration. The scandal had already caused the conviction of former House Speaker and state Senator J. T. Daniel. The joint legislative committee charged with the investigation during the 1944 special session found no smoking gun for Crable's impeachment, but the committee concluded that he was "wittingly or unwittingly" the tool of Daniel. When a motion was made on the House floor to impeach Crable at the end of the special session, it narrowly failed by a 50-48 vote. If four absent Republican members had been present, Crable probably would have been impeached.

Speaker Hill was a strong advocate for the impeachment of Crable. He pledged during his recent reelection campaign that if Crable was not impeached within the first thirty days of the 1945 session, he would resign.

During the months since the adjournment of the special session, a joint committee continued the Crable investigation. In its report filed in November 1944, Crable again was cleared of wrongdoing. The report's tone was considered evidence that interest in the Senate for impeachment was lacking.

Speaker Hill was tested early in the impeachment investigation. John Steele Batson moved to place the responsibility for appointing the investigating committee with the whole House



Johnson Davis Hill, Speaker in 1945 who resigned from the Legislature when the House failed to vote for Crable impeachment.

due to Hill's known pledge for impeachment. Before the motion was defeated 97-11, Batson pleaded, "you wouldn't permit a man to sit in a jury who was pledged to send the defendant to the electric chair before the trial opened." Former Speaker Merle Lansden supported the proposal and wished it had been in place in the special session. To that, Harold A. Toaz of Atoka responded with a touch of sarcasm: "I'm sorry, Merle, you didn't think you had brains enough to be Speaker, or we would have provided such a rule for you."

The General Investigating Committee, chaired by John T. Levergood of Shawnee, worked into early February 1945 before filing its report containing articles for impeachment of Crable based on wilful neglect of duty, violation of his oath of office, and general incompetence. The Speaker scheduled consideration of the articles for February 13, 1945, the twenty-seventh legislative day. Hill refused to participate in the debate. He said his position was well-known on the matter, and he felt it was not appropriate for the Speaker to make floor speeches.

Lined up against the Speaker on the Crable impeachment were powerful opponents, principally John Steele Batson and Purman Wilson of Purcell, both of whom had an interest in the post of Speaker if the House voted against impeachment and Hill resigned. The debate lasted three hours that first day and the outcome was predicted to be close. Thirty-one Democrats were waiting to be recognized to speak against Crable's impeachment.

When the House finally voted, the impeachment articles were defeated. The closest vote was 55-59. House members then looked to their leader to see what he would do now. Some thought he could offer to resign as Speaker to the Democratic caucus or the House of Representatives in a face-saving move, but that the resignation would be refused. Instead, he resigned from the House the next day, February 16, stating that "my action is entirely individual and without any criticism of what anyone else [in the House] has or has not done," and kept his pledge to his constituents. However, he publicly blasted Governor Kerr and the "political machine" of Oklahoma A&M President Dr. H. G. Bennett for orchestrating the impeachment vote. Kerr repudiated the charge and the existence of a Bennett political machine. Hill, the only Speaker from Tulsa in the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, made an unsuccessful run for Governor in 1946.

To replace Hill, Governor Kerr decided to pick a candidate more supportive of his legislative program. As a result, H. I. Hinds of Tahlequah, on February 19, 1945, was elected Speaker for the remainder of the 1945 session.

The Oklahoma House of Representatives' First Two, Two-Term Speakers

The 1950's were important in the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives in that for the first time, the House was led by its first two-term Speakers. Up to this point, it was a custom in the Legislature for presiding officers to serve only one term. In the early history of the House, it was not even a given that the House would maintain the same Speaker in a Legislature for the regular and the special session.

In 1953, James C. Nance from Purcell became the first two-term Speaker (he already shared with Tom Anglin the distinction of being the only men who were both elected to serve as Speaker and Senate President Pro Tempore) when he was chosen by Governor Johnston Murray to serve in that position. However, Nance's first term as Speaker was in 1929 when he then lived in Walters. Of course, it should be recalled that in 1929 he was not Governor Henry S. Johnston's choice for the job. Instead, he was one of the leaders of the irreconcilable Democrats who joined with the Republican caucus to elect a coalition Speaker in the regular session in order to impeach Johnston. Nance was also elected Speaker by acclamation in the 1929 special session.



*James C. Nance, Speaker
1929 and 1953*

Governor Johnston Murray picked Nance as Speaker for Murray's second Legislature. The intervening twenty-four years since he last led the House had not caused Nance to mellow much when it came to leading the House of Representatives. Governor Murray, the son of the first House Speaker and former Oklahoma Governor William H. Murray, proved to be a weak chief executive during the 1951 session. The 1953 session brought a repeat performance. His legislative plan was full of generalities, including the call for county consolidation without making it specific how it should be accomplished or which counties he wished to consolidate. Acting without leadership from the Governor, Speaker Nance took charge and worked out the details of the budget and other legislation with the Senate leadership. He appointed a fifty-member Committee on Governmental Reform chaired by former Speaker James M. Bullard from Duncan. At the end of January, the committee's recommendations became the basis for the House's thirteen-point plan that guided its work during the session. Oklahoma historians James Scales and Danney Goble dismiss Murray's role in the 1953 session as one of the worst in the state's history.

The Governor's vague economizing proposals had been junked altogether. For all the talk of consolidation and retrenchment, the only change that Murray saw through to completion was an innocuous measure to provide a central telephone switchboard for the capitol. . . . So weak was his authority that veteran legislators strained to recall Governor Marland's fate with the "Spending Sixteenth" as the closest parallel.

The relationship between Governor Murray and Speaker Nance was strained by the end of the 1953 session. The distance between the two was indicated by the Speaker's comment following a January 1954 speech by Johnston Murray to the Oklahoma Press Association. During his speech, the Governor criticized many state legislators as being "completely gutless" for their practice of earmarking state funds. Nance, present at the speech in his capacity as the publisher of the Purcell newspaper, called Murray a "do-nothing governor" and a "spineless misnomer." He concluded that it had been "wholly inappropriate for him to come down here and vent his spleen against other elective officials." As it turned out, Murray was only warming up to the topic.

On the opening day of the 1955 session and in his last address to the Legislature, he criticized a hostile group of lawmakers who he blamed for failing to follow his lead in modernizing Oklahoma government. He charged that Oklahomans were content to sit by as politicians heaped “one fool’s blunder upon another in our public affairs.” He concluded that Oklahoma voters accepted their fate.

We get bad government because we hold still to be skinned when we ought to get fighting mad. Our people have yet to acquire the fiery state patriotism which so marvelously serves our neighbor to the south. Many of our answers lie in the development of state pride.

When the thrust of his remarks were published later that session in a *Saturday Evening Post*, the anti-Murray reaction led to removing his name from what is today the Will Rogers Turnpike.



B. E. Bill Harkey, Speaker,
1955-7 Regular Sessions

The next two-term Speaker was more fortunate than Nance in his second term. B.E. Bill Harkey from Oklahoma City served under a more politically adept chief executive than Murray. Governor Raymond Gary, who was the Senate President Pro Tempore in the 1953 session, picked Harkey for both terms of the Gary administration. This made Speaker Harkey the first man to serve two consecutive terms as Speaker. It also marked only the second time in Oklahoma history, the other being the hours that Allan Street served as Speaker at the beginning of the 1929 regular session, that the state’s largest county was the home of the Speaker. Counting J.D. McCarty’s three terms, the House would be led by a Speaker from Oklahoma City for five of the next six terms (Clint Livingston from Marietta was elected Speaker between Harkey and McCarty in 1959).

Danney Goble and James Scales’ history of Oklahoma politics concludes that Gary’s control of his legislative agenda during the 1955 and 1957 sessions was the strongest since Governor Phillips in 1939 and 1941. His relationship with legislative leaders and rank-and-file legislators was also very good. Goble and Scales conclude of Gary’s legislative leadership:

Unlike Johnston Murray’s visionary demands, Gary’s recommendations did not risk futile confrontations with legislative blocs or local interests. Unlike his predecessor, Raymond Gary had the power—and the determination—to push them through.

It was under Gary’s leadership that he and the Legislature worked through the many tough steps in ending school segregation in Oklahoma that followed the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court landmark *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision. In Oklahoma, there was no massive resistance to the opinion that was associated with Governor Faubus in Arkansas and several other southern governors. The Legislature passed House Joint Resolution 504, a legislative referendum popularly called the Better Schools Amendment, proposing to end school desegregation in Oklahoma’s common education system. Voters approved the question in April 1956 by a 3-1 margin.

The breaking of the one-term precedence soon would lead to a series of three-term Speakers, starting with J.D. McCarty in 1961 through Glen D. Johnson who completed his third term in 1996. The only exceptions during the period were the partial term of Steve Lewis (part of the 1989 session, through the 1990 regular session) and Jim Barker who completed Draper's third term and was the only Speaker to serve four terms (including two partial terms).

The Knothole Gang Takes Control

For years, J. D. McCarty, the gifted Oklahoma City legislator, had sought to become Speaker, but each time the office would come open, a Governor would hesitate to choose McCarty despite all his legislative skills. Marty Hauan wrote later that James C. Nance was in large part responsible for thwarting McCarty's efforts in the past to take control. Nevertheless, McCarty did not lose hope. Instead, he capitalized on his independence by becoming the feared leader, the "Kingfisher," of the "Knothole Gang" backbenchers in the House of Representatives.

McCarty also had an ambition for the House of Representatives which when realized would fundamentally change its political dynamics. That is, he believed that for the House of Representatives to play its proper constitutional role in Oklahoma state government, the House had to put an end to the traditional deference to Governors on organizing the House and chose its own Speakers. We have already seen before that there were exceptions to this tradition, notably in 1921 when Republicans controlled the House, the 1923 and 1927 impeachment special sessions, and the 1929 regular session when a coalition Speakership was formed to impeach a Governor.

The opportunity availed itself once more during the J. Howard Edmondson administration of 1959-63. The Big Red "E" was elected Governor by the largest margin of any gubernatorial election in Oklahoma history. Youthful and energetic, Edmondson and his crowd of "crewcut boys" constituted the New Guard sent to Oklahoma City to rout the Old Guard in the Legislature. In particular, Edmondson believed his was a mandate to pass his reform platform that included the creation of the merit system and central purchasing in state government, repeal of prohibition, and the constitutional reapportionment of the Legislature.

McCarty campaigned hard for the Speakership in the 1959 session. Shortly after Edmondson won the Democratic nomination (and presumably the governorship), McCarty marshaled his support for the Speaker's race whose winner in those days was decided after the run-off. To his dismay, Edmondson selected instead Clint Livingston of Marietta. When the decision was announced to McCarty at his Biltmore Hotel headquarters, his disappointment was clear. "More than 40 members of the House of Representatives have just left my headquarters. We have no comment for publication at this time."

Edmondson's 1959 legislative program was ambitious. Although he was remarkably successful in pushing central purchasing and merit system reforms and a legislative referendum for the repeal of prohibition through the Legislature, his support among lawmakers was never as strong as it had been for Raymond Gary. Over the course of the 1959 session, "Old Guard" legislators

increasingly resented Edmondson's "bone dry liquor" enforcement program and their rough treatment by Edmondson and the "crewcut kids." Veteran House members like James C. Nance rightly noted that Edmondson would need the votes of Old Guard members.

Nor was Edmondson satisfied with what had been accomplished at the end of the session. In what may have been the most politically costly strategy in the state's political history, Edmondson decided to prepare the remaining items of his legislative program not passed by the Legislature for a series of initiative petitions for the voters to approve in the spring of 1960. One political reporter from *The Daily Oklahoman* said of the Governor's plan:

Edmondson apparently realizes an initiative program would be a winner take all. If he wins, he will be in full charge in the next Legislature. If he loses, and the Legislature is organized against him, it could be a rough second session for the youthful Governor.

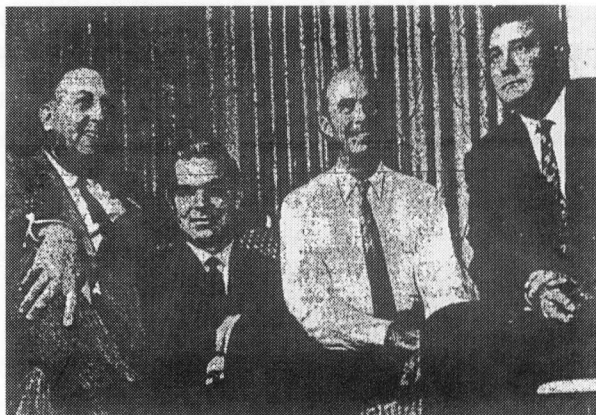
From the start of the campaign, Edmondson was hamstrung by the Democratic Party machinery which, outside metropolitan areas, opposed him and his initiatives. Two questions were particularly unpopular in rural Oklahoma: 1) state control of county road money and 2) legislative reapportionment. By the time voters decisively rejected the controversial questions in September 1960, they had already played a major role in his loss of control of the Oklahoma Democratic Party and the Legislature. Both chambers organized themselves, independent of Edmondson, immediately after the 1960 primary election when voters elected a large number of anti-Edmondson Democrats.



Speaker J. D. McCarty, 1961-5 Sessions, who ended the custom of Governors organizing the House

J. D. McCarty and the House Democratic caucus acted first. On July 7, 1960, after twenty years in the House of Representatives, McCarty was at last the heir apparent to the Speaker's office. He took with him several other members of the Knothole Gang, notably Delbert Inman of Coal County as Speaker Pro Tempore and Leland Wolf from Noble. Wolf humorously noted that in 1959, he was so removed from the action that "nobody could even find me."

McCarty made a major contribution to the history of the House, not only by breaking the Governor's power to organize it, but also by becoming the first three-term Speaker (he was



"The Big Red E" and his House Team for 1959 Session. From left to right: Speaker Clint Livingston from Marietta; Governor J. Howard Edmondson; Majority Floor Leader Frank Ogden from Guymon; and Speaker Pro Tempore Noble Stewart from Sallisaw

nominated for a fourth term, but was defeated by funeral director Vondel Smith in the general election). Ray Parr, *The Daily Oklahoman* reporter, testified to McCarty's political prowess at the time:

McCarty's power in the House has stemmed from knowledge of the legislative procedure and his knack of building a loyal personal following. He has gone out of his way to be a big help to new members, confused by the complicated House procedures. He has worked nights and days cultivating these personal contacts. He is one of the best hosts and story tellers in the Legislature.

Many observers of state politics view McCarty as the preeminent example of a strong Speaker. They also believe that the House held the upper hand in the Legislature to a greater extent than any period before or after McCarty's years as Speaker. Even Republican Governor Henry Bellmon, who fought McCarty all four years of his first term as Governor, conceded that McCarty, along with the Director of the Department of Institutions, Social and Rehabilitative Services Loyd Rader, were the strongest political figures in Oklahoma government during that time. So important was this six-year period in the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives that we will look at it from several perspectives in the next three sections.

Court-Ordered Reapportionment

No post-Second World War issue related to the Oklahoma Legislature was more emotionally charged than legislative reapportionment. In 1911 and 1921, the House of Representatives had complied with the Oklahoma Constitution's reapportionment provisions describing how districts should be drawn in the House. By the 1950's, the Oklahoma Legislature was ranked as one of the most badly apportioned legislatures in the country.

Until the U. S. Supreme Court's 1962 ruling in *Baker v. Carr*, most reapportionment proponents in Oklahoma focused on the need for the Legislature to redistrict itself according to the principals of "constitutional reapportionment." Essentially, this meant to draw a plan based on county representation as set forth in the Oklahoma Constitution. Each county with at least 0.5% of the state's population was entitled to at least one House seat. In the First Legislature, each county received at least one seat. Starting with 1911 and each session following the federal decennial census, new apportionment plans were required to be developed by the Legislature. Counties that fell below 0.5% of the state's population were to be joined with an adjacent county, and counties with more than 1.75% of the state's population would have more than one seat. However, no county (meaning Oklahoma and Tulsa Counties) could have more than seven seats.

Therefore, the 1911 redistricting plan joined Cimarron County with Texas County and Harper with Beaver County as required by constitutional reapportionment as a result of the loss of population in the Panhandle. Again, the Legislature passed a constitutional reapportionment plan in 1921. Cimarron and Harper Counties still remained the only two counties that fell below the population figure for their own seats.

However, in the 1930 census, there were eight counties with less than the 0.5% requirement. For the first time, the House failed to adopt a constitutional reapportionment plan. Not only were the six new underpopulated counties allowed to retain their seats, Cimarron and Harper Counties were also each given a seat. With the abolition of two-county districts and the addition of seats in counties where population growth warranted it (accept for Oklahoma and Tulsa Counties), the size of the House of Representatives expanded to 119 members for the 1933 session. Governor William H. Murray allowed the 1931 plan to become law without his signature.

The 1941 plan was merely a reenactment of the 1931 plan. The 1951 plan also failed to comply with constitutional reapportionment provisions, but it did attempt to correct significant inequalities in Payne, Garfield, Cleveland, Comanche, and Washington Counties which had been underrepresented by the two previous plans.

First African-Americans Elected to the Oklahoma House of Representatives since 1908

The 1964 reapportionment plan, with its additional urban seats, resulted in the election of the first three African-Americans since A.C. Hamlin in the Second Legislature. They were Archibald Hill and John B. White of Oklahoma City and Curtis L. Lawson of Tulsa. Unlike Hamlin, African-Americans elected to the House since 1964 have been Democrats. This reflected the realignment of African-American voters nationally as a result of the New Deal and civil rights agendas of the Democratic Party. Since 1981, there have been three African-Americans in the House, two from Oklahoma City and one from Tulsa.

Also, unlike Hamlin, African-American state representatives in the past thirty-five years have been active participants in the work of the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Certainly one of the most respected House members by her colleagues during her tenure in the House was Hannah D. Atkins from Oklahoma City. As a House member from 1968 to 1980, she became known statewide as an advocate for the rights of the disadvantaged and the Equal Rights Amendment. She was elected Democratic caucus secretary in tribute to the high regard of her colleagues for her fairness. In a recent article on her career in public service, Atkins recalled her friendship with John Monks of Muskogee, a conservative who some humorously called the "Okie from Muskogee," but a man she respected for the passion of his beliefs during the years they served together in the House and his integrity in fighting her on the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment:

It was funny, he was anti-feminist as much as he could be, but we were friends...We could sit in the [Capitol] cafeteria and have coffee and eat biscuits and sausage, and folks would say, "But you disagree all the time," and I'd say, "Well, you know he has the right to be wrong."



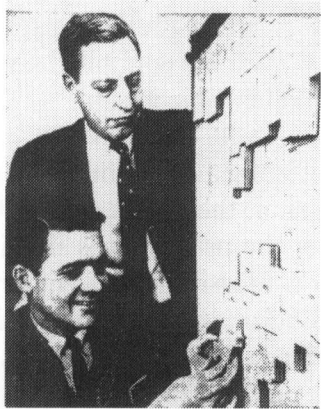
*Hannah D. Atkins,
First African-American woman elected to
the House of Representatives, 1968*

By the 1950's, the apportionment of the Oklahoma House of Representatives was clearly an issue of statewide concern. Representation in the House grossly underrepresented metropolitan

areas and favored sparsely populated rural counties. A University of Oklahoma study in the mid-1950's demonstrated that a person residing in Cimarron County was equal in terms of representation to 10.1 persons in Oklahoma County, 7.8 in Tulsa County, 5.6 in Canadian County, and 5.3 in Kay County. By the 1960's, 29% of the state elected a majority of the House members. Suits in state courts had not been successful in forcing the Oklahoma Legislature to comply with constitutional reapportionment requirements. The Supreme Court of Oklahoma, in one case, held that it did not have the power to compel the Legislature, as a coequal branch, to reapportion itself.

The 1961 House of Representatives redistricting plan also failed to comply with constitutional reapportionment. Instead, Speaker McCarty, attempting to develop a plan that would appease urban resentment, but not fundamentally alter the rural control of the House, supported a plan developed by Lonnie Howze of Seminole and O.R. Wilhelm of Erich. This plan prepared both as a bill and a constitutional amendment would have increased the size of the House from 121 to 126 members, with Oklahoma County expanding from seven to eleven seats and Tulsa from seven to nine seats. As a reward for the House's cooperation with Governor Edmondson during the 1961 session, Edmondson signed the House plan and vetoed legislation to reapportion the Senate. Speaker McCarty noted that the Governor was "in his heart. . . grateful for the position this house has taken in putting issues above personalities." Both chambers overrode the Governor's veto on the Senate plan, but voters rejected both plans in a September 1961 special election.

At this point, the federal courts entered the picture with the U.S. Supreme Court's 1962 landmark decision in *Baker v. Carr*. This decision established for state and local governments the principle of "one person, one vote" that undermined both the provisions in the Oklahoma Constitution and the current House plan basing representation on counties and limiting the number of seats in large urban areas.



Larry Derryberry from Altus and Tom Taggart from Oklahoma City work on congressional redistricting using magnetized counties, 1963

Events leading up to the 1964 general election took many twists and turns, and it is not the intent here to follow each one. Essentially, the Legislature tried once more to draw its own plans in the 1963 legislative session. A legislative referendum was approved at the May 1964 primary election, and candidates campaigned for the House and Senate upon the new plan. However, a three-judge federal panel in the *Moss v. Burkhardt* case vacated the results. The Court imposed its own House and Senate plans, drawn by future Oklahoma City mayor Patience

Latting, for a "sudden death primary" on September 29, 1964. The Latting plan utilized new guidelines issued by the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Baker v. Carr* case.

The Latting plan gave Oklahoma County nineteen and Tulsa County fifteen of the 109 House seats, thereby increasing the representation of those counties by nineteen seats. The almost inevitable result was that twenty House members were forced to run against each other in the September primary. Altogether, there were forty-eight new faces (including veteran state Senator Ray Fine who had won a House seat rather than run against incumbent Clem Hamilton) in the Thirtieth House of Representatives for the 1965 regular session. Upon the completion of the

primary, J.D. McCarty won his “second” Speaker’s race that year. He quipped on September 30, “running this TV program again for the fall showing is mighty nerve-racking” and lashed out at Patience Latting and all those responsible for the new plan which he termed “Latting-mandering.” He also made a plea for an end to the urban-rural war over redistricting. “We must dedicate ourselves to heal the wounds laid open by reapportionment, and perhaps this will be our greatest service to the people of Oklahoma.”

Justice for Sale?

The 1965 session was notable in that it was the first session since 1945 that the House of Representatives seriously considered impeachment articles against a state officer. In 1965, the officials in question were two sitting justices of the Oklahoma Supreme Court.

The origins of the impeachment proceeding lay in the 1964 conviction of the 80-year old Justice N. S. Corn for income tax evasion. While serving his federal sentence, Corn confessed to accepting a series of bribes related to cases before the Supreme Court. The most spectacular revelation in the lengthy document was that he had accepted \$150,000 from the CEO of the Selected Investments Corporation for a decision favorable to it in its case with the Oklahoma Tax Commission. From that, Justice Corn paid Justices Earl Welch and N. B. Johnson for their roles in rendering a favorable opinion to the company.

Before the session began, Justice Welch had also been convicted in a federal court on a tax evasion charge, but he continued to serve on the bench as he appealed his case. Meanwhile, a copy of Corn’s confession came into the hands of Justice William A. Berry (author of Justice for Sale that focuses on the impeachment), who was deeply offended by Welch’s continued service on the Court to the point that Berry would not attend meetings when Welch was present.

At that time, there were no remedies in state law for removing a Supreme Court Justice except through the impeachment process. At the start of the session, there was serious talk of impeaching Welch, but Justice Berry soon became concerned that the process was moving too slowly. He decided that to move things along, he had to show the confession to a member of the House of Representatives. He first tried Majority Whip Nathan S. Sherman of Oklahoma City, but he did not return Berry’s phone call. Next, he called Minority Leader J. T. Blankenship, also from Oklahoma City and a law school classmate of Berry’s. They met at Berry’s home where Blankenship copied pertinent excerpts of the confession.

Speaker J. D. McCarty defended the pace at which the House considered Welch’s impeachment during the opening weeks of the session, “I find the House equally divided on what the proper course is. If the research and investigating committee recommends impeachment, it will be a hard-fought thing on the floor.” There was a process that had to be followed before an impeachment could start. The first step was to obtain approval for an investigation from the Rules and Procedures Committee, which, under House rules, had to first consider a resolution for an investigation of a state official. The committee met on January 7 and again on January 21, 1965, to discuss the impeachment issue with the media applying increasing pressure on McCarty. At the last meeting, the Speaker outlined a series of alternatives for the committee, but it continued to hold the impeachment resolution.

After the last meeting, Blankenship decided he could no longer delay disclosing the contents of Corn's confession. He told his friend Tom Taggart, a Republican from Oklahoma City, shortly after the House convened at 11:00 a.m. on January 21, "Tom, I want you to know what is going to happen this morning, so if I don't ever leave the Chamber, at least somebody will know what this is all about." According to Justice Berry, Blankenship did not fear reprisals from House members, but he did fear it from others. That included some very powerful individuals whose careers and lives Blankenship was about to destroy. In addition, Blankenship, an attorney, placed his own professional career on the line when he rose to take personal privilege (which protected him against legal action) and read portions of Corn's confession to the House of Representatives. He explained:

I felt it necessary to speak out, for to me, next to a house of worship, the most sacred institution is and must be a court room. The very basis for the success of our form of government has been the unique and eminently successful separation of powers into the executive, legislative and judicial. The latter having separate and equal powers and responsibilities with the former. The honorable members of this honored profession are entitled to have the tarnish removed. More important still, the confidence of the citizenry as a whole, in their court system, is as important as the human rights produced by that same system.

With this bombshell, impeachment proceedings against Welch moved forward. The Rules and Procedures Committee sent to the House floor the investigating resolution authored by John McCune of Tulsa, early the following week. It was approved in short order, and the House Research and Investigating Committee began the investigation of Justice Welch followed soon by one of Justice Napoleon Johnson. The Committee's chair was Lou Allard of Drumright; for Committee Counsel, the Committee used House members Bunker S. Mordy of Ardmore and Nathan S. Sherman.

At one point, Welch offered the committee his promise that he would resign from the Supreme Court if his appeal was denied, but the committee refused to consider it. In mid-March, the committee sent impeachment articles charging both justices of accepting bribes constituting moral turpitude and corruption in office. Just prior to the reports being filed with the articles of impeachment, Justice Welch ended his career of more than three decades on the Supreme Court by resigning. Justice Johnson continued to fight. On March 24, 1965, the House approved the two impeachment articles against Johnson with only a handful of members voting against them. Speaker McCarty then appointed a five-member Board of Managers to prosecute the charges in the Senate, with Allard as the chair.



Minority Floor Leader G. T. Blankenship whose speech spurred the House to impeach two state Supreme Court Justices in 1965

On May 12, 1965, the Senate Court of Impeachment considered the articles. With only one name left to be called on the roll, the Board of Managers were one vote short of a conviction (it took thirty-two votes); however, Senator John Young of Sapulpa was the final vote for impeachment.

This was the last impeachment approved by the House of Representatives. There were additional consequences arising from the Supreme Court scandal. Judicial reform (which had been rejected due to the silent vote the previous November) was once again sent to the voters. On May 3, 1996, in a run-off primary, the voters approved, among other reforms, the creation of a Court of the Judiciary with the power to remove or compel the retirement of judges and the automatic suspension of judges convicted of a felony.

Oklahoma's First Prolonged Experience With Divided Government

Unlike 1921 when Republicans controlled the House of Representatives for one session, from the elections of 1962 through those of 1970, divided government in Oklahoma took the form of eight years in which the Legislature was solidly Democratic but the Governor's office was occupied by Republicans. This second experience in divided government turned out much better than the first, but its impact on the operations of the House of Representatives during that period was distinguishable by the personalities of the two Speakers.

First-term Speaker J. D. McCarty did not wait for the results of the 1962 Democratic primary to sew up the Speaker's race for the Twenty-ninth Legislature (1962-4). Concerned that former Governor Raymond Gary might win the nomination and attempt to organize the House, the House Democratic caucus met early to nominate McCarty for his second term as Speaker for the 1963 session.

Henry Bellmon, a former House member who had served with McCarty, was eventually elected Oklahoma's first Republican Governor. He viewed himself as the chief executive of the state, but lacked a significant legislative program for the 1963 session. For their part, the House and Senate Democratic leaders were reluctant to offer the new Governor their suggestions. In his autobiography, years later Bellmon recalled his initial impression of Speaker McCarty.

Over the years, J. D. became the Oklahoma prototype of the worst kind of politician. As Speaker of the House, he became loud, fat, power-mad, and heavy-handed in his dealing with those over whom he could exert either influence or authority.

Bellmon's opinion may be offset somewhat by his admission that the Speaker (who at one time called Bellmon the "hard-headedest man I ever met" and said that "if they used his head on the Berlin Wall, the East Germans would be in West Berlin tonight") was always willing to talk candidly and confidentially with Bellmon when he sought advice.

For McCarty, partisan politics aside, Bellmon's no-tax pledge during his race for Governor was a problem. The Speaker was firmly convinced that public services needed additional revenues. However, the Legislature in 1963 was able to put together an acceptable biennial budget using a combination of growth revenue and \$11 million in reserves Loyd Rader made available from the state's welfare agency.

The real fight between Bellmon and McCarty took place during the 1965 session. The Thirtieth Legislature (1964-6) was historic for several reasons. It was the first one since statehood in which both chambers were reapportioned. It also marked the first time for a three-term Speaker. Finally, Governor Bellmon launched his major initiative to improve financing of state government without a tax increase.

The Governor's Operation Giant Stride proposed the passage of a \$500 million bond issue and refinancing of existing turnpike bonds that would: 1) pay for an \$800 teacher raise for the biennium, 2) provide \$100 million in new revenue for state highways, 3) construct five new turnpikes, and 4) yield additional funding for various state programs. Speaker McCarty was cool from the outset about the Governor's initiative. "I'm like the old farm boy. I'm fer some of it and agin some of it." Nevertheless, he said the proposal would be considered in the House.

In fact, Operation Giant Stride was placed behind McCarty's own legislative program that called for a series of legislative referendums containing a one-cent sales tax increase and capital improvement bond issues. The sales tax increase would, if passed, add \$68 million for the biennium.

At first, the Senate was slow to sign onto the House program. However, its reluctance subsided when Bellmon charged, following the override in late February of his veto of a vo-tech teacher twelve-month salary bill, that McCarty obviously controlled three-fourths of both chambers. Therefore Bellmon said, it was "cowardly" for the Speaker to take his budget program to the people rather than sending it to the Governor and overriding the veto. An incensed Senate agreed to the McCarty plan, and plans went forward for an April 27, 1965 special election.

McCarty strongly spoke out on the importance of the questions for the future of Oklahoma. If they failed, Oklahoma, he warned, would have second-rate government services. "Within a decade the only professors we'll have are the dodos who couldn't light a fire in a forest with a blow-torch." He was not alone on this point. *The Daily Oklahoman's* front-page editorial shared McCarty's outlook on the importance of the election. However, the program was soundly defeated by voters. In the end, legislative leaders and the Governor worked over the next three months to write a constructive budget in a session that tied the 1961 session for the most legislative days (117) since the First Legislature. The final budget included a penny cigarette tax increase which, along with growth revenues, permitted a 25% increase in state funding for public schools.

Bellmon recalled with faint praise the struggle that he and McCarty had fought that session:

He was a wonderful public political enemy. Often without knowing what had happened in the Speaker's office, I would go to a news conference and be confronted with the fact that the Speaker had that very hour launched another assault against me. So far as I could, I made the most modest possible rejoinder to try to turn away the wrath. The result was that during the six o'clock news, there was a sharp contrast between the governor's calm appearance and the Speaker's tantrum.

The 1966 elections brought both a new Republican Governor and a new Speaker. Governor Dewey Bartlett and Speaker Rex Privett would, for the next four years, establish a more cooperative relationship than the one that had existed between Governor Bellmon and Speaker McCarty.

After J. D. McCarty's surprise general election defeat by Vondel Smith, an Oklahoma City funeral director, Rex Privett, from Maramec in Pawnee County, emerged as the victor in a brief Speaker's race. The new Speaker was inevitably be measured against McCarty. However, the two were different in many ways. Physically, the red-headed Privett was not as physically imposing as his predecessor. He was also much more reserved than McCarty. Jim Young, also reporting for *The Daily Oklahoman*, said of Privett that he was a "retiring, in-drawn type who seems to be a little awed by it all." But he had earned the respect of his colleagues as the Speaker Pro Tempore the past two terms. Following his winning the nomination for Speaker, Privett said he hoped to use his position to take the House in a new direction:

I will do my best to improve the image of the Legislature. I do not condemn the past Speaker. I have nothing but good words for the past Speaker, but the past is gone and the future is ahead.

From the start, Privett lived up to his promise. With the cooperation of his wife, he started a new House tradition at the start of the 1967 session by holding a "Speaker's Ball." It has become over the years an annual event and a major social event in the state's political calendar.

A different style produced similar results in terms of their leadership in the House. Political observers concluded that Speaker Privett had a firm control on the House, which met for the first time in 1967, as a result of voter approval of annual sessions in a May 1966 election that gives each regular session ninety legislative days to complete its work. Otis Sullivant, a veteran reported at *The Daily Oklahoman*, said: "Privett has operated with the rules committee and sounded the membership on a major legislation." Another reporter added: "Privett does not talk about the issues, but when time comes for decisions, his position is stated." Privett, for example, acted decisively on a congressional redistricting during the 1967 session when those attempting to work out a plan became bogged down and he was tired of waiting for a "consensus plan." Privett drew his own plan and announced that he would push it to the floor. In his explanation for why he saw fit to take control: "They came up with nothing. So now we've come up with a plan and we're going to pass it."



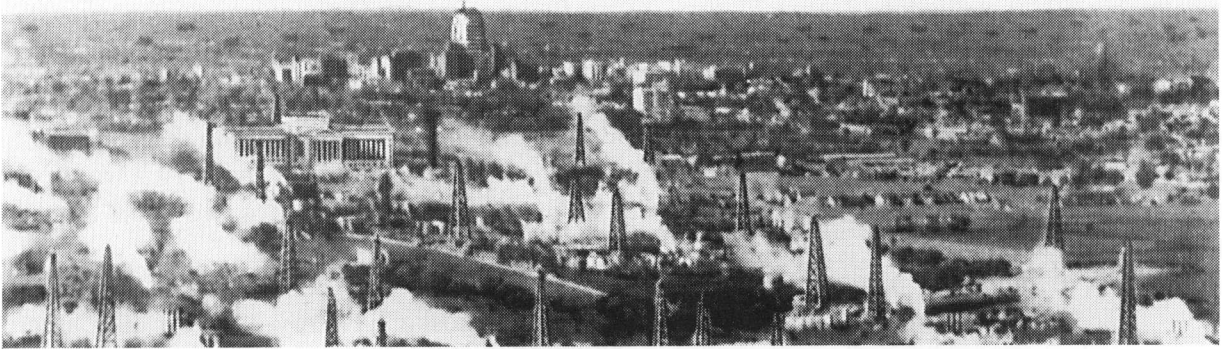
Rex Privett, Speaker from 1967-72

During the four sessions that they worked together, Governor Bartlett and Privett developed a cordial, warm personal relationship that reduced greatly the frictions that had been present between the House of Representatives and Governor the previous four years. Privett, for example, convinced Bartlett to sign a bill creating a documentary stamp tax, recently repealed by the federal government, despite his pledge not to raise taxes. The Speaker convinced the Governor that the legislation was not a new tax. The fact that Privett pledged to earmark the revenues for Bartlett's pet agency, the Department of Vocational and Technical Education, helped immensely in convincing the Governor to sign the legislation.

The 1971 Fair Share Program

One of the marks of a Speaker's leadership ability is whether or not he or she can obtain the votes on a major tax package. We have already seen that McCarty accomplished this for his sales tax increase (which was defeated in the special election). Governor David Hall in 1971 provided Speaker Privett with his opportunity to do the same.

Hall proposed in his first message to the Oklahoma Legislature a politically risky series of tax increases. There had not been a general tax increase for over three decades. The under-financing of public services McCarty had pointed out in 1965 had not been addressed. Growth revenues had been insufficient to keep pace with other states. In a decade, Oklahoma had slipped from eleventh in the nation in per capita state and local taxes to thirty-sixth. Moreover, the burden of those taxes was disproportionately high on lower income families. A family of four earning \$3,500 paid over 12.3% of its income in state and local taxes compared to only 5.2% for a family that earned \$50,000.



State Capitol surrounded by producing oil wells illustrates the power of the petroleum industry.

The Governor's Fair Share Program proposed an \$82 million tax increase. It included a simplified income tax, a new tax on oil and gas, and hikes in liquor and insurance taxes. He also sought to equalize taxes by removing the sales tax on drugs and many food items – a part of the program that did not pass.

Reactions in the House of Representatives were mixed. Minority Floor Leader Charles Ford of Tulsa accused Hall of failing the first test of leadership by going back on his campaign promises. On the other hand, Majority Floor Leader Leland Wolf of Noble supported the effort. "He ought to hit them with the whole ball of wax this time. He'll . . . near get it all now, but he's apt to get hardly anything if he waits until next year."

Outside the Legislature, the battle lines were also drawn. Industry forces, particularly the oil and gas industry, strongly opposed the business tax hikes. Organized labor and the Taxpayers Protection League, headed by former state legislators James C. Nance and Hugh Garnett, supported the Fair Share Program. Labor especially appreciated the fact that it did not propose a sales tax increase which falls heaviest on working-class families.

While the tax increases were divided into several bills, it was the oil and gas component of the program that was key to the success or failure of Hall's legislative program. Hall had proposed that \$39 million of the total increases come from tax increases on the fossil fuel industry, probably the most powerful segment of the Oklahoma economy. This part of the program was contained in House Bill 1181 by Representatives Mike Sullivan of Poteau and Leland Wolf.

Many realized that the Fair Share Program would in the end be trimmed considerably, but the Governor convinced the House leadership to pass it through the House unchanged and with the emergency. To do so, the striking of the title was required. The passage of the emergency was viewed as a raw test of Hall's power. In fact, he and the House leadership barely got the 66 votes needed for the emergency.

With the title crippled, the real test in the House was only postponed. In the Senate, the size of the tax increase was reduced. Although there was some grumbling about putting the House on the line for the complete package, the House leadership was willing to compromise on a reduced tax package. Speaker Privett, working through the Rules and Procedures Committee as he did on most matters, announced in late March that the House would support a \$49 million tax increase, with \$21 million from oil and gas.

On March 30, 1971, Senate amendments to House Bill 1181 were scheduled for floor consideration. Governor Hall, his aides, Speaker Privett, and House Democratic floor leaders went to work to get the votes that would be needed for the emergency clause. Getting the votes for the adoption of the Senate amendments and for final passage was comparatively easy. That was not the case on the emergency. For it, Privett was forced to keep the roll call open for two hours and forty minutes.

The Governor lost a key vote when Gordon Beznoska, a twenty-one year old Cameron College student who lived in Geronimo, stormed out of the capitol following his conversation with Hall without voting on the emergency. His was supposed to have been the sixty-sixth vote. First-year legislator E.C. (Sandy) Sanders from Oklahoma City had voted for the bill, but was only willing to vote for the emergency if he could be assured that the final vote was in the bag.

As Hall and Privett scoured the available Democratic votes (Privett was opposed by a group of six anti-Privett Democrats, of whom only Carl Robinson of Hollis voted for the emergency), they settled on William F. Poulos of Tulsa and David Boren of Seminole.

The Governor and the Democratic leadership attempted to see if Poulos and Boren would be interested in a deal in order to obtain their votes. They were. They obtained promises of \$1.5 million in additional tax exemptions for small stripper well operations and the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship of an interim committee to study the oil industry. With that, Sanders was summoned from the Chief Clerk's office where he had been carefully guarded, and the emergency passed 66-30. This was the decisive test of Hall's program. Speaker Privett and his leadership passed perhaps its stiffest test in six legislative sessions. Finally, the state's revenue system had its first major revision in more than three decades. The increases in tax rates made the strong growth in state revenues in the late 1970's and early 1980's possible.

A Civil Disobedience Lesson at the Oklahoma House of Representatives

Plans floated during the 1978 legislative session originating from the State Regents for Higher Education to close or consolidate Langston University (Oklahoma's traditionally African-American higher education institution) led Langston students to voice their concerns at the state capitol in late February 1978. However, sit-ins and meetings between student leaders and legislative leaders took a more serious turn on March 1.

At 5:15 p.m. that evening, a large number of students overcame the House's security and blocked the exits so that, with the exception of several House members with health problems, House members, their staff, secretaries, and young pages were not allowed to leave. When Speaker Bill Willis of Tahlequah called Lieutenant Governor George Nigh (the acting Governor due to Governor David Boren's absence from the scene) he hesitated to use the Highway Patrol and the Capitol Patrol to clear students from the chamber exits. Nigh, who was in a difficult political situation due to the potential impact that his handling of this event might have on his gubernatorial campaign which was well underway, preferred to negotiate further, while Willis and the House stewed. The Speaker explained to anxious members after talking to Nigh, "as hard as it is to believe, he has denied my request."

The lock-in lasted approximately four and one-half hours. While some House members found an element of humor in Senator Gene Stipe's efforts to negotiate an end to the lock-in. Said one House member of Stipe's intervention: "See, I told you he could walk on water." The situation could have been very serious as some outside agitators were reportedly attempting to arouse the emotions of the Langston students. In the end, police officers established a cordon creating an escape route from the north door at the rear of the House chamber, down the steps to the third floor and ultimately out the grand staircase to exit the building.

The incident was thereby concluded without violence, although several House members were reported ready to breach the lock-in on their own. By their action, Langston students caught the attention of the public and lawmakers. Not only did talk of closing the school or ending its history as an independent institution stop, additional state funds for the underfunded institution were provided by the Legislature in the 1978 session.



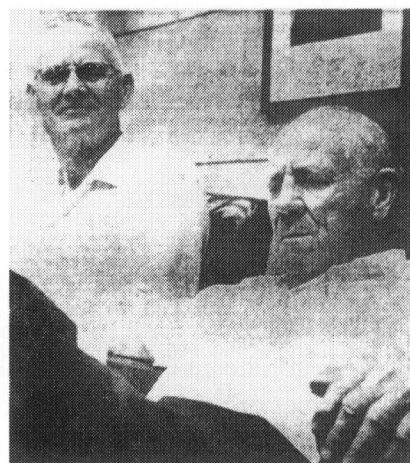
Langston University students' lock-in of House members and staff, March 1, 1978. Source: The Daily Oklahoman

Does Anyone Know What Time It Is?

The sine die adjournment of the 1978 regular session in the House of Representatives was one that was talked about for many years. Probably the most accepted version of the events is:

- The Legislature had adopted a resolution providing for an April 28, 1978, 5:00 p.m. sine die adjournment.
- At 4:59 p.m., in the best tradition of the Oklahoma Legislature, Bill Bradley of Waurika and E. C. (Sandy) Sanders from Oklahoma City covered the clock with a flag so the House could continue its work on an important water bill sponsored by Charlie O. Morgan from Prague. Covering the clock also gave Governor David Boren critical time to obtain votes for the water program and his workers' compensation bill scheduled to come up later.
- Bob Parris of Sallisaw, a leading opponent of the water bill "uncovered the clock" which then read 5:02 p.m., thereby forcing Daniel D. Draper, Jr. of Stillwater, who was presiding, to gavel the session's end.

In fact, the covering and uncovering of the clock, a very common practice in the history of the Legislature to that point, was immaterial to Draper. It was his opinion that a time had been fixed for adjournment and that once 5:00 p.m. came and a point of order was raised, he would conclude the session. Therefore, he advised Chief Clerk Richard Huddleston of what might and could happen, and Huddleston conveyed Draper's position to Speaker Willis, so the Speaker could take the chair. Draper said later that day, "I told him (Willis) that if he wanted to go on he had better get someone else in the chair because that was the way I was going to rule."



O.R. Wilhelm from Erick, left, and Red Andrews from Oklahoma City keeping the House desk open with clock covered, 1961 Session

Willis, who was finishing his third and last term as Speaker, apparently recognized that there were enough opposition votes to the last bills that he might lose an appeal of the ruling of the chair. He decided that he did not want to be overridden on his last ruling from the chair, so he permitted events to run their course with Draper presiding. Therefore, when Representative Charles Cleveland of Tulsa raised a point of order and noted the time, Draper did as he said he would. He adjourned the session, causing the defeat of the water bill and catching the Senate, which had covered the clock, and Governor Boren by surprise. This marked the last time that the House attempted to extend a session by covering the clock.

The Heyday of the Flaming Moderates

The election of Daniel D. Draper, Jr. as Speaker for the Twenty-seventh Legislature (1978-80) was achieved by cobbling together a coalition of rural, conservative Democrats whose champion was the politically tough Vernon Dunn from Loco and a young group of politically progressive, mostly metropolitan, members held together by Cleta Deatherage of Norman and Jim Fried from Oklahoma City. The Speaker's race was a competitive one, as five vied for the top

House post. Upon winning the race, Draper reached out to the Democrats who supported other candidates. For example, Don Davis from Lawton, who also ran for Speaker, retained his powerful spot as Appropriations and Budget Committee Chair until he took the presidency at Cameron University after the 1980 session.

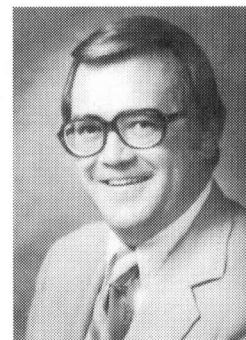
Draper proved during the six regular sessions that he served as Speaker to have a strong grasp on state policy, particularly fiscal matters. Moreover, he was a strong negotiator and won more than his share of battles with the Governor and Senate. During the first four years as Speaker, Draper and the House members he worked closely with gave the House a strong voice in state policy matters.

Over the course of the Draper speakership, a group of young, energetic legislators eager to make their mark joined with more experienced legislators, such as David Riggs of Tulsa and Hannah Atkins of Oklahoma City who shared their younger colleagues' enthusiasm for a reform agenda, to form their own political identity as "Flaming Moderates" (they shunned the liberal label). In addition to Fried and Deatherage, the Flaming Moderates included future political well-knowns such as Cal Hobson from Lexington, Don McCorkell from Tulsa, and Robert Henry from Shawnee that became a progressive force in the House of Representatives for the next decade.

Through the 1982 session, the opportunity for political creativity was never better. With the booming price of oil that exceeded \$30 per barrel (and most economists predicted the price would climb to \$100 before the year 2000), legislators in the late 1970's and early 1980's were able to cut the tax base and expand financial support for a variety of public programs. Teachers and state employees have never before or since had raises equal to those granted between the 1979 and 1982 sessions.

The impetus for nonfiscal reform was strong during those years, as well. In 1979, the committee of the whole in the House was abolished ending a practice that had existed in the House since statehood. This practice made accountability difficult for amendments and votes that are today easily traced in the daily House Journals. In 1980, Don McCorkell took on one of the state's most powerful political lobbies by passing his Nursing Reform Act. Also that year, Jim Fried, the chair of the House Education Committee, was the chief architect of legislation that made Oklahoma one of the first states to implement teacher testing, in addition to providing a significant salary increase for teachers. In 1981, the House took the lead in cracking the political stranglehold of Loyd Rader over the Department of Human Services. The sales tax earmarked for the agency's budget became subject to legislative appropriation.

Legislation was not the only reform target for the Flaming Moderates. Cleta Deatherage replaced Don Davis in 1980 as chair of the House Committee on Appropriations and Budget, who built a much stronger budget oversight function in the committee. The Flaming Moderates also convinced the Speaker that the time had come for reform in the Legislature's staff operations. They found an ally in the new President Pro Tempore



*Daniel D. Draper, Jr., Speaker from
1979-83 Regular Sessions*

of the Senate, Marvin York, for the elimination in 1980 of the Legislative Council. For the 1981 session, the House, which at the time had a research function composed of two staff, now added Research and Legal Divisions to replace services provided by the defunct Legislative Council. After that session, the House created a Fiscal Division to staff the Appropriations and Budget Committee.

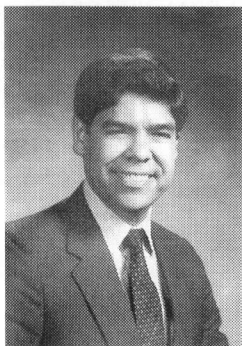
However, the 1981 session was marked by a series of major revolts as dissident Democrats and the twenty-eight member House Republican caucus cooperated to block the necessary emergency clauses to budget bills before the end of the session. The emergency clause on budget bills was essential so that agencies could fund their operations starting July 1, 1981. The 1981 revolt involved a core group of three anti-Draper Democrats (Howard Cotner of Altus, Bill Lancaster of Wagoner, and Charlie Morgan of Prague) plus the conservative John Monks of Muskogee after Draper stripped Monks of his administrative functions in the House. The Legislature was forced to recess several times in order for the Speaker to defuse the revolt.

For the small group of anti-Draper Democrats, the dissatisfaction with Draper was deep and long standing, therefore beyond repair. They also detested the Flaming Moderates in general and Cleta Deatherage in particular. In the case of the Republican caucus, the issues that drove it into the coalition were: 1) the refusal of Speaker Draper to give greater Republican participation on key House standing committees and the General Conference Committee on Appropriations (GCCA); 2) legislative reapportionment; 3) the Speaker's reluctance to support Republican tax cut proposals; and 4) the size of pay raises for agency heads. In addition, both the Republican and Democratic factions of the coalition complained about the large volume of bills being submitted without sufficient time to examine them. So it was not surprising that the coalition came together at the end of the 1981 session and that the session had to shut down until the roadblock could be removed. Threats of closing down programs in obstructing members' districts were reported by the coalition. As for the dissident Democrats, there was no reconciliation. They had previously been exiled by Speaker Draper to a suite on the fifth floor. Nothing seemed to shake their opposition. Lancaster said at the time, "I didn't come up here to be a rubber stamp for the leadership."



*Cleta Deatherage from Norman,
Appropriations and Budget Committee
Chair and Flaming Moderates Member*

The coalition was split by agreements reached between Draper and Minority Leader Neal McCaleb of Edmond. As part of the agreement, the Speaker agreed to giving the minority party additional seats on the House Rules Committee and GCCA. The dissident Democrats received nothing for their efforts. However, the threat of another coalition in the 1982 session continued.



*Minority Floor Leader Neal A. McCaleb,
leader in 1981-82 House revolts*

And reappear it did in May 1982. At the beginning of the session, Speaker Draper waved off the possibility of the coalition's reappearance. However, its key leaders did not seem to share his opinion. Morgan said "the speaker should be the spokesman for the House, not dictator." Again, the coalition

blocked emergencies on several important appropriation bills. The coalition this time demanded and received votes on key tax-cut measures. The result was enactment of a \$37 million individual income tax-cut that raised the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1,000 and passed along to Oklahoma taxpayers the savings from lower federal taxes.

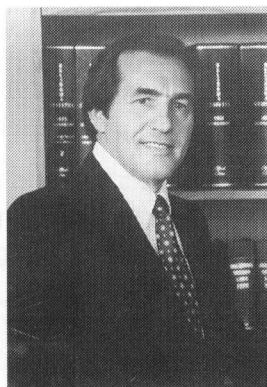
The Flaming Moderates retained their influence in the House until Speaker Draper left office following the 1983 session as a result of a federal felony conviction, later overturned, stemming from his father's unsuccessful House race in eastern Oklahoma. He and Majority Floor Leader Joe Fitzgibbon of Miami, who had also been convicted in the same case, were allowed by operation of law and the decision of the House to retake their seats at the end of the 1984 session.

New forces came forward in the administration of the new Speaker, Jim Barker of Muskogee, to take prominent places previously held by the Flaming Moderates. Perhaps the biggest casualty in the changing of the guard was Clela Deatherage who had been the target of many of the anti-Draper Democrats. It was clear very early that the Barker leadership had no intention of retaining her in a position of power such as she had during the Draper speakership. She resigned her post as Appropriations and Budget Committee Chair rather than have it taken from her by the new leadership.

In general, the Flaming Moderates supported the candidacy of David Riggs for Speaker. Therefore, their role in the Barker speakership was reduced. Nevertheless, the Flaming Moderates survived in a somewhat weakened state during the next five sessions under Speaker Barker's rule. They would regain center stage at the end of the 1989 session.

T-Bar Twelve

In replacing Draper, Speaker Jim Barker of Muskogee and his new leadership group inherited a fiscal crisis caused by the collapse of the oil boom and severe depression in the agricultural sector. This crisis would force him to raise taxes three times in order to prevent public service in Oklahoma from collapsing. Speaker Barker's legacy was to play perhaps the leading role in overhauling the state's revenue system which had become too dependent on fossil fuel revenue (in the early 1980's, the severance tax represented approximately 30% the state's general revenues, but only about 10% by the late 1980's) and the boom and bust cycles of that industry. This was accomplished by a series of other major tax increases. These difficult revenue changes gave Oklahoma a diversified revenue system. As a result, Speaker Barker earned the reputation as a strong Speaker and an effective state leader during one of Oklahoma's most trying times.



*Jim Barker, Speaker
from 1983 Special Session - 1989.
The House's only four-term Speaker*

However, the public often has a short-term memory which focuses on the most recent, rather than the most important, events. This tends to distort the image of the Barker Speakership. It is worth highlighting what an astute student of Oklahoma politics says about Speaker Barker. In

his autobiography, Republican Governor Henry Bellmon, who began his second term as Governor in 1987, compared Barker to J. D. McCarty, who any student of state politics would rank at the top of the list of strong Speakers. Of course, Bellmon could speak from experience about McCarty since he was Speaker during Bellmon's first term as Governor. Bellmon called on Speaker Barker soon after being elected. He said of the visit:

One of the first calls I made immediately after I was elected was on House Speaker Jim Barker, a Democrat, with whom I'd been somewhat acquainted during my service as director of the Department of Human Services. Due to the rough time I'd had in the previous term with Speaker J. D. McCarty, I had misgivings about my relationship with Barker. Unlike boisterous, overbearing McCarty, however, Barker was a mild-mannered, modest, almost retiring man. After we talked cordially for several minutes and discussed our mutual objectives. . . . He told me, in what I believe was complete honesty, that he had crossed party lines and voted for me in the general election. This was the beginning of a friendly and productive working relationship between myself and Speaker Barker.

Politics today are not always fair and politicians are not always treated fairly. Early in the 1989 session, *The Daily Oklahoman* blasted the Speaker and House Majority Floor Leader Guy Davis from Calera for calling on the carpet a state regent who took out a newspaper advertisement in 1988 criticizing the House's pork-barrel spending in higher education. Reports that they demanded a public apology from the regent evolved into a major state story. At this point, twenty-two House Democrats, including many of the Flaming Moderates, signed a letter expressing their opposition to the House leadership's actions in the controversy.

Soon after, a small group of House Democrats, mostly leaders of the Flaming Moderates, started meeting. All were concerned that the direction taken by Barker and his leadership team was detrimental to metropolitan-area Democrats who expected to face strong Republican opposition in their 1990 races. The goal of the initial meetings was to explore ways to open productive dialogue with the Barker leadership in order to make it more sensitive to their concerns. Few foresaw the final outcome of their actions.

Events from that point moved quickly. The gulf between the House leadership and the emerging junta increased when the Speaker appointed only two of those who signed the letter to the powerful General Conference Committee on Appropriations. Some of those excluded, such as Cal Hobson from Lexington, Carolyn Thompson of Norman, and Sid Hudson of Lawton, had major state institutions in their districts.

That was followed by a defeat in late April of a resolution containing what normally might have been considered fairly minor changes in the joint rules. The strategists in the Barker opposition bloc saw the vote against the resolution as an indication that many Democratic members wanted to send the Speaker a clear signal that they could not be taken for granted.

At some point, the group which would later be known as the "T-Bar Twelve" (a name derived from a popular Oklahoma City restaurant where they met on occasion) secretly concluded that its objective could only be recognized by a change in leadership. Quietly, the members of the T-Bar Twelve courted votes in the Democratic caucus and decided on Steve Lewis, from Shawnee, as their choice for the new Speaker. His experience as chair of the Appropriations and Budget Committee in the 1984-8 regular sessions would minimize the disruption of a leadership change in the waning weeks of the session. By mid-May, the T-Bar Twelve, which by now had expanded with the addition of Steve Lewis and freshman class leaders Jessie Pilgrim of Cushing and Gary Maxey of Enid, believed they had forty-five of the seventy votes in the Democratic caucus necessary for a leadership change. With confidence that the members of the Republican caucus would have no choice but to support a change, the plans were put into motion when at 10:40 a.m. on May 17, 1989, Dwayne Steidley from Claremore made the motion to vacate the office of Speaker. Thus began one of the most painful events in the history of the House of Representatives.

Barker and his supporters tried, without success, to retain control of the House. The galleries of the House soon were packed with people wanting to witness what took place. Both sides acquitted themselves well during the debate, but the T-Bar Twelve had done their homework. The vote on Steidley's motion was 72-25. For his part, Barker proved why he had been such an effective leader by keeping his composure throughout these proceedings and later pledging that he would not obstruct the new leadership. In his efforts to save his Speakership, he expressed a deep concern that his ouster would be viewed as a victory for *The Daily Oklahoman*. He also told the House:

Quite truthfully, as many of you know, I came into the Speaker's office like a man as a member of the House of Representatives, and if a majority of this great legislative body want a new speaker. . . you know, maybe an unprecedented fourth term was a mistake. You've got to know when to fold them.

Nevertheless, the pain was obvious. As he stood before the House, Barker made it plain that he would have preferred that the vote had been in a Democratic caucus. "I believe I deserved at least that much from you." The personal respect members had for their former Speaker remained strong in the House. During the debate and afterward, the members of the T-Bar Twelve attempted to make it clear that the change in leadership should not be construed in any way to take away from the high regard due Barker and his accomplishments. After the vote, Barker left the House chamber to a standing ovation.

The T-Bar Twelve, however, had not undertaken this risky course just to remove Barker. They wanted to see their candidate elected Speaker. They understood that one did not necessarily follow the other; and that the possibility existed for another Democratic candidate from Barker's wing of the caucus to be elected Speaker.

A recess motion made by Minority Leader Joe Heaton from Oklahoma City was a fortuitous one. The recess allowed time for the Democrats to meet and sort out what their next step should be. In the Democratic caucus, Guy Davis, who would shortly be replaced as Majority Floor Leader, may have made his most important speech during his legislative career. He urged the

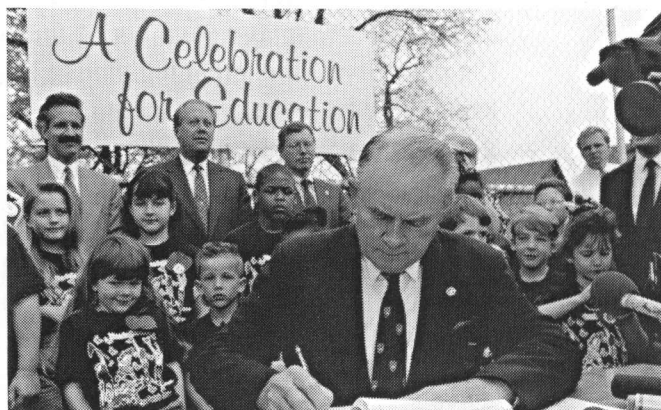
Democrats to unite behind their nominee. His speech had a redeeming effect on the members and encouraged the caucus to throw its support to Lewis. After the recess, Loyd Benson, a strong Barker supporter, made the motion to nominate Steve Lewis for Speaker. Lewis won on a straight party vote. As expected, members of the T-Bar Twelve moved into key legislative posts; such as Cal Hobson was named chair of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. Lewis also reached out to several members of the Barker leadership, most notably by naming Glen D. Johnson of Okemah as the new Majority Floor Leader.

The House moved on to pick up the pieces and finish the 1989 session suffering little in terms of final negotiations on the session's remaining issues. However, the pain was not so easily resolved. The emotions invested on both sides had been great. Carolyn Thompson, one of the T-Bar Twelve, said later of the events of May 17: "It was without a doubt the most difficult day I have ever spent."

House Bill 1017

In the summer of 1989, Republican Governor Henry Bellmon took the state by surprise by calling a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of improving the state's public school system. The session was called for August 14, 1989. In the House, the special session was viewed as a major opportunity for Speaker Steve Lewis to use education reform as an issue to separate him from the two other leading Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls, David Walters and Congressman Wes Watkins.

Two plans were advanced early in the special session. Of course, the first one was that proposed by the Governor. His rather complicated plan, that he later admitted was drafted hastily, involved a variety of tax changes that would be placed in a legislative referendum. If approved by the voters, it would have provided a \$280 million annual increase in funding for public schools to fund a \$5,000 teacher pay increase. The Bellmon plan was an early casualty of the special session when the Speaker assigned the bill directly to the calendar. It was defeated 96-1, with the only vote cast for it being the bill's author, William Vietch from Tulsa, a Republican with no plans to run again in 1990.



Governor Henry Bellmon at Tulsa signing of House Bill 1017. From top left to right are: George Singer, Task Force 2000 Chair; Senate President Pro Tempore Robert V. Cullison; and Speaker Steve Lewis. Source: Tulsa World

The second plan was one proposed by Speaker Lewis. His ten-point plan called for a tax increase in excess of \$300 million and a variety of education reforms, including a significant lowering of class size. His plan, in contrast to Bellmon's, was relatively simple regarding the source of funding in that it relied on increases in the corporate and individual income tax rates. Lewis said that the cost of a first-class public education system could be realized for less than the cost of a soft

drink per day for the average family. Lewis' plan, which met with stiff opposition from some House Republicans, appealed to Bellmon. He particularly liked the Lewis plan's reforms.

The Governor and legislative leaders decided to use Task Force 2000, a citizens' group created during the 1989 regular session, to polish the education reform package. George Singer, a Tulsa businessman, was selected to chair the Task Force which worked hard during the special session's recess between late August and early November 1989.

The Task Force's report was incorporated into House Bill 1017. The bill was authored by Speaker Lewis and Senate President Pro Tempore Robert Cullison and was introduced on November 6, 1989. The bill went through a significant revision process in the House Education and Revenue and Taxation Committees before it was sent to the floor the next week. There, it was revised further and approved on third reading by a narrow 55-46 vote, which included eight Republicans who Governor Bellmon persuaded to vote for the bill. However, the emergency failed 60-41 (68 votes required). Nevertheless, Speaker Lewis enthused that "within seven days, House Bill 1017 had been drafted, introduced, passed through two committees, debated fully on the House floor and passed with bipartisan support."

Governor Bellmon later wrote that Minority Floor Leader Joe Heaton of Oklahoma City, who voted consistently against House Bill 1017, played a pivotal role in this and later votes on the legislation, by not using his influence to lock the House Republicans into opposing the bill. Heaton's stance enabled Bellmon to lobby Republican House members for their vote. His efforts met with much greater success with the Tulsa House delegation where metropolitan media sources were more sympathetic to the legislation than was *The Daily Oklahoman*, which strongly opposed the bill. The bill's chances for success improved once the Speaker agreed to revise the revenue provisions in the bill to reduce the impact on businesses. A considerable number of business groups, including the State Chamber of Commerce, soon joined with education groups to endorse the reform effort.

For the House, the key vote came on the conference committee report which was filed January 27, 1990. The bill passed with the narrowest possible majority (51-50) on January 31, 1990, but the emergency clause failed by two votes (66-35), as two Republicans who Bellmon had counted on to vote for the emergency voted against it.

By the time the House adjourned at midnight that day, death and tragedy befell the House of Representatives. The mother of George Vaughn from Big Cabin and the mother-in-law of Harold Hale of El Reno had died. Moreover, Bill Brewster of Marietta, who was in the midst of a congressional race, lost two children in a tragic plane crash near Coalgate. A grief-stricken House decided to delay the vote to reconsider the emergency. The Speaker explained, "I've talked to several members and I have the sense that we may be in a situation where we may be close to losing our perspective on things here."

Efforts shifted to a behind-the-scenes search for the two votes required for the emergency. Democrat Tom Manar of Apache agreed to support the emergency when a situation dealing with a state agency was resolved. Bill Vietch also committed to vote for the emergency.

With those two votes, the Speaker reconvened the special session (regular session was also underway) on February 13, but the roll had to be kept open on the emergency clause for several hours as the grief-stricken Brewster made the long drive from Marietta to cast his vote. A plane was detailed to fly Tulsa Republican Rick Williamson to Oklahoma City as soon as he could leave a family member hospitalized for emergency surgery. The effort paid off as the 68 votes went up on the board; the precise number required. Speaker Lewis, in his understated way, summed up the bill when it was signed:

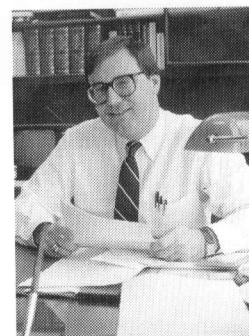
This bill became law because several people did what they are supposed to do. The Governor set the agenda as he is supposed to do. The House of Representatives wrote the tax law as it is supposed to do. The Senate deliberated over the reforms as it is supposed to do. By working together, the task was accomplished.

House Bill 1017 still had a long way to go. The Senate finally approved the emergency in late April. Not only did that clear the way for ending the longest special session in Oklahoma history, the Senate action also blocked a referendum effort by the Oklahoma Taxpayers Union. Even so, an initiative petition by the Oklahoma Taxpayers Union for repeal of House Bill 1017 resulted in a statewide vote in October 1991, and a concerted effort from state education and business interests to defeat the repeal was needed before House Bill 1017 was finally out of danger.

The House of Representatives As It Enters The Next Millennium

In the short history of Oklahoma, the economic factors that shape the state have changed perhaps more than during any comparable period in human history. Technology has revolutionized virtually every facet of life and forced political institutions to cope with issues that the writers of the Oklahoma Constitution and the members of the First Oklahoma House of Representatives could not imagine. A society largely dependent on agriculture has given way to one dependent on information technology necessitating the ability to cope with rapid changes.

The Oklahoma House of Representatives, under the leadership of Speaker Glen D. Johnson of Okemah (1991-6) and Loyd Benson of Frederick (1997-00), has sought to organize its operations so that it can respond to the challenges of this new world. In doing so, they have left to the leaders and members of the Oklahoma House of Representative in the next millennium an institutional framework capable of playing a leadership role as the state of Oklahoma strives to be a more active participant in the emerging international economy.



Glen D. Johnson, Jr., Speaker, 1991-96

It is interesting to note that Glen D. Johnson, the youngest Speaker in the nation when elected, was the second Oklahoma House Speaker from Okemah. The contrast between Leon C. "Red" Phillips and Johnson (whose father Glen D. Johnson, Sr. followed Phillips before winning a congressional seat) illustrates the tremendous change in the Oklahoma House of Representatives in

the intervening sixty years. As Speaker and later as Governor, Phillips fought the New Deal programs of Governor E. W. Marland. Fiscally conservative to an extreme, Phillips represented a political philosophy in which government plays a caretaker rather than a leadership role. On the other hand, Speaker Johnson, whose political philosophy, although appropriately conservative in a state where the Democratic Party views itself as conservative, envisioned the state as an active partner with (and frequently the arbitrator of conflicts between) business and labor.

The revival of the Oklahoma economy and its diversification has, to a large degree, been encouraged by the work of the Oklahoma House of Representatives. During Speaker Johnson's administration, the House played an extremely vital role in passing the Quality Jobs Act in 1993. This act has been successful in recruiting industries to the state which provide high paying jobs with excellent benefits. In its brief existence, the Quality Jobs Act has made Oklahoma a recognized leader among states in its economic development efforts and added nearly 100,000 jobs in both urban and rural areas of the state and over \$1.8 billion to the Oklahoma payroll.

In 1996, leadership came from the House for the popular Rural Economic Action Plan (REAP) that has provided much needed funding for infrastructure in capital-starved small communities across the state. The House's pro-business orientation under Johnson's leadership was also exemplified by the critical role it played in passing major workers' compensation reform legislation in the 1992 regular and 1994 special sessions. This legislation has helped to control workers' compensation costs for employers, eliminate some of the perceived abuses, and ensure that more of the awards go to the injured workers. In addition, the House supported the tort reform act that was also supported by business in 1995.

Johnson also accomplished a number of other important goals that have improved the image of the House. Under his leadership (and that of Speaker Benson), there have been no all-

House Pushes Through Juvenile Justice Reform

Public concerns over the increased severity of juvenile offenses had pushed juvenile justice reform to the top of the legislative agenda. However, juvenile reform is one of the issues that tends to sharply divide the public.

Nevertheless, Majority Floor Leader Loyd Benson took on the issue during the months leading up to the 1994 session. Working with colleagues knowledgeable on the issues involved, the House staff, and impacted groups, he developed House Bill 2640 that ultimately overhauled the state's juvenile statutes and divided juvenile offenders into those who needed some state intervention and the more difficult offenders who would now be placed under the jurisdiction of the youthful offender system. The Office of Juvenile Affairs was created to administer this system.

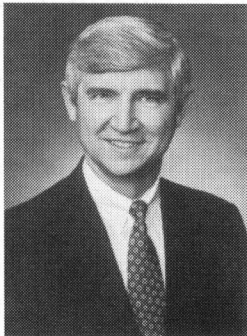
House Bill 2640 revamped and stiffened punishments for a variety of severe youthful offender crimes. Benson also took the lead in legislation to create a variety of community- and school-based programs designed to deter young people from dropping out of school and other risky behaviors and to prevent young people from engaging in youth crimes. In addition, this legislation committed the state to reforms designed for students who, for whatever reason, could not find success in traditional school settings and therefore were likely dropout candidates and prone to other forms of risky behavior. Today, students statewide have access to alternative education programs. In addition, a statewide plan offers vocational and technical education training to those students who would benefit from the training.

night sessions nor any sessions lasting beyond midnight. Speaker Johnson also established the practice of using a "leadership team," composed of Democrats from various sections of the state and political viewpoints whom he involved in the formulation of legislative policy. A not very public, but extremely important, Johnson reform was the establishment of a standing committee to review administrative rules. Prior to 1994, the oversight of these rules had been left to the standing committees which were already burdened with the press of legislation. But the creation of a separate standing committee, chaired since 1995 by Charlie Gray from Oklahoma City, has greatly enhanced the oversight function in the House and made agencies more cognizant of taking legislative intent into account when drafting rules and more concerned about the impact of new rules on the public.

Johnson also worked cooperatively with House Minority Floor Leader Larry Ferguson to reduce the partisan frictions that can disrupt sessions. That relationship continued when Loyd Benson became Speaker. Reduced partisanship enabled the House to more frequently take a united stand on major legislative issues and to provide a forum for seeking compromise rather than conflict.

In addition, Johnson established the practice of developing a legislative program before each session for the Democratic caucus (the Republican caucus has also developed its own programs). This practice has enabled the House to take the leadership role on numerous important statewide issues, such as environmental and juvenile justice reform. The ability to initiate its own legislative programs demonstrates the institutional maturity of the House of Representatives as it enters the third millennium.

The transition from Speaker Johnson to Speaker Benson in 1997 was comparatively smooth. The two had a close working relationship during Johnson's six years as Speaker, and there was a minimal number of changes in top leadership spots. What was new was the change in Democratic caucus rules to limit the number of terms that a Speaker can serve to two. This change anticipates the 2004 impact of term limits in the House and means that Speaker Johnson may be the last Speaker to serve three full terms.



*Loyd Benson, Speaker from 1997-2000,
the only Speaker from Western Oklahoma elected by
House since its independence from Governors.*

When Benson assumed his new post, he became the only Speaker from western Oklahoma since the House ended the tradition giving Governors the authority to organize the House leadership in 1961. He was also the first Speaker west of I-35 since Governor Turner chose C.R. Board from Boise City to be Speaker in 1947. A self-proclaimed conservative Democrat from the short grass area of southwestern Oklahoma where he has maintained a law practice and ranch since elected to the House in 1984, Speaker Benson proved during his initial term in the office that he can reach out to all factions in the House. He also shared with the previous Speaker a "subdued charisma" which has enabled him to effectively lead the House. During his first term, his long friendship with Minority Floor Leader Larry Ferguson from Cleveland helped immensely in resolving the partisan issues that are nearly always present in a legislative session. Ferguson said of Benson when he became Speaker:

We won't always agree on everything, but that's the nature of this business. Benson's a straight shooter; a real upright individual. He's reserved, but if he thinks he needs to be heard, he's the first to stand up and say his piece. Loyd's more likely to meet your challenge head-on than do it round about.

The 1997 session was one in which he demonstrated his head-on approach to a major issue. That issue was the 1997 road program. Prior to the 1997 legislative session, Senate leaders proposed a plan to provide \$750 million for state roads, focusing on new highway construction. The program would be a collaborative effort between the Department of Transportation and the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority using twenty-year bonds over a three-year period to finance \$750 million in construction. The Turnpike Authority would lease the roads back to the Department of Transportation, and the bonds would be retired by the Legislature from appropriations of growth revenues.

Although he had developed an alternative plan, Governor Keating generally supported the Senate's position. On the other hand, the House was strongly opposed to the Senate's plan. Speaker Benson and the House leadership favored a more sensible "pay-as-you-go" approach. Speaker Benson did not support the cost involved in the Governor's or the Senate's plans for debt retirement. The House also expressed concern that the use of the Turnpike Authority as the financing entity could result in additional toll roads. When the Governor accused the House of being too rigid, Benson replied that he was flexible, willing to negotiate, but not willing for the House to be "liberal big spenders."

Once the two House caucuses reached a general position regarding several other major issues, such as higher education tuition hikes, they also were able to come to an agreement on the road program. Political wrangling over the funding mix for the proposed various plans and the lack of a consensus from the Senate and Governor gave House majority and minority leaders maneuvering room to adopt an approach that the House could overwhelmingly support. Relying less on future indebtedness and placing more emphasis on pay-as-you-go financing, the compromise position developed by the House was the basis for the final \$1 billion two-phase highway building plan. The first \$700 million phase of the state's largest infrastructure program used only \$300 million in bonds and the rest from the Constitutional Reserve Fund (Rainy Day Fund) and the General Revenue Fund. Initial concerns in the House that the program would favor urban transportation needs were addressed by requiring that 60% of the funds be allocated to rural projects. (Funding for rural areas was extremely important to the House which hoped to build stronger ties between rural areas and urban economies). The popularity of the House plan was validated as it passed the Legislature with only one dissenting vote. In announcing the compromise to the public, Speaker Benson stated:

This was an open and bipartisan process, and every member of the House had an opportunity to provide input. Equity was an extremely important factor in the negotiations, and our members have been unselfish in crafting this compromise.

A Century to Remember

In these pages, some of the more significant events in the history of the Oklahoma House of Representatives have been reviewed. In its history, the House played a vital role in many of the major developments of the young state, such as moving the state capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, the response to socialism in Oklahoma before America's entry into the First World War, and Republican Party control of the House for the first and only time since statehood during the 1921 regular and special sessions. Also, the House was in the center of Oklahoma politics during the 1920's when it impeached both Governor Walton and Governor Johnston.

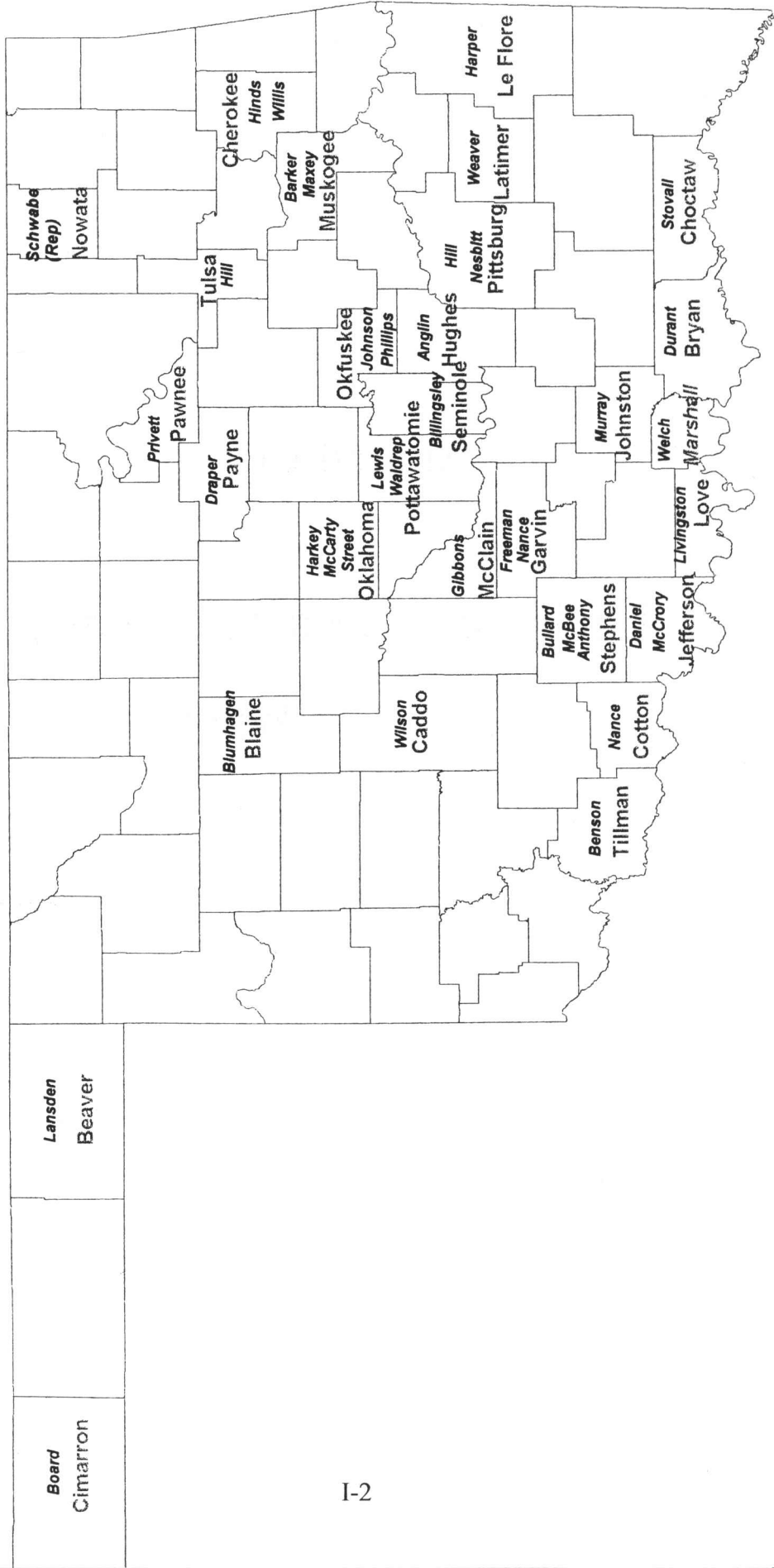
Despite the impeachments, the House (as well as the Senate) was, by custom, organized by Governors until the mid-term of the administration of Governor Edmondson when the House elected J.D. McCarty to the first of three terms. The 1960's were a watershed period in the history of the House of Representatives. In addition to the House becoming an independent body, it emerged from that decade, due to reapportionment, as a much more representative institution. The House's ability to set its own agenda and to fight for it was demonstrated during the years when the state elected its first two Republican Governors.

In the intervening years, changes in the House of Representatives have accelerated in order to accommodate the challenges of a world in which states must be able to respond quickly or fall behind. In the 1990's, the House succeeded in shaping major education reform and road construction programs in large part as a result of the leadership that has become an on-going characteristic of the Oklahoma House of Representatives. This is the product of the many individual and collective efforts of countless House members since statehood. This is a legacy in which Oklahomans can take pride and one that will enable, long after the present members have moved on, future House members to meet the challenges of the next millennium!

Appendix I

Map of Speakers by County
Oklahoma House of Representatives
1907-2000

Speakers, Oklahoma House of Representatives 1907-2000



Appendix II

Legislative Sessions, Party Membership, and Major Officers

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS, PARTY MEMBERSHIP, AND MAJOR OFFICERS

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
1st (Met in Guthrie)	12/2/07 - 5/26/08 160 days	93 Democrats 17 Republicans	William H. Murray Tishomingo	A.H. Ellis Garfield County	n/a	n/a	Charles H. Pittman
2nd (Met in Guthrie)	1/5/09 - 3/12/09 67 days 1/20/10 - 3/19/10 Special Session - 59 days	69 Democrats 41 Republicans	Benjamin F. Wilson Cereal (Cereal changed its name to Banner in 1911)	Benjamin F. Harrison Calvin	n/a	n/a	William H. Ebeey <i>Albert Shields Special Session</i>
3rd (Met in Oklahoma City)	11/28/10 - 12/16/10 Special Session - 19 days 1/3/11 - 3/11/11 68 days	81 Democrats 27 Republicans	<i>W. B. Anthony Marlow Special Session</i> W. A. Durant Durant	<i>N.J. Johnson Calvin Special Session</i> J. Roy Williams Comanche/Cotton Counties	n/a	n/a	<i>C.H. Pittman Special Session</i> G. A. Crossett
4th	1/7/13 - 3/17/13 70 days 3/18/13 - 7/5/13 Special Session - 73 days	79 Democrats 18 Republicans	J. H. Maxey Muskogee	Charles B. Emanuel Sulphur	n/a	n/a	Gus Pool
5th	1/5/15 - 3/23/15 78 days 1/17/16 - 2/22/16 Special Session - 37 days	75 Democrats 17 Republicans 5 Socialists	A. A. McCrory Ringling	W. A. Durant Durant	n/a	n/a	J. G. March
6th	1/2/17 - 3/16/17 74 days	85 Democrats 26 Republicans	Paul Nesbitt McAlester	Tom C. Waldrep Shawnee	n/a	n/a	C. C. Childers

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
7th	1/7/19 - 3/29/19 70 days 2/23/20-2/28/20 Special Session- 5 days	74 Democrats 30 Republicans	Tom C. Waldrep Shawnee	J. B. Parker Talihina	n/a	n/a	H. R. Christopher <i>W. A. Durant</i> Special Session
8th	1/4/21 - 4/2/21 67 days 4/25/21 - 5/21/21 Special Session - 24 days	37 Democrats 55 Republicans	George B. Schwabe Nowata (Republican)	Bailey B. Bell Tulsa (Republican)	n/a	n/a	Albert Ross
9th	1/2/23 - 3/31/23 77 days 10/11/23 - 1/14/24 Special Session - 52 days 1/15/24 - 3/15/24 Second Special Session - 53 days	93 Democrats 14 Republicans	Murray F. Gibbons Purcell <i>W. D. McBee</i> <i>Duncan</i> Special Sessions	Charles S. Brice McAlester <i>J. B. Harper</i> <i>Talihina</i> Special Session	n/a	n/a	C.H. Kendle <i>Isaac W. Gray</i> Special Session
10th	1/6/25 - 3/28/25 71 days	81 Democrats 27 Republicans	J. B. Harper Talihina	J. G. H. Windle Granite	n/a	n/a	C. J. Kendle
11th	1/4/27 - 3/24/27 61 days 12/6/27 - 12/29/27 Special Session - 22 days	87 Democrats 21 Republicans	D. A. Stovall Hugo <i>E. P. Hill</i> <i>McAlester</i> Special Session	J. G. H. Windle Granite <i>E. W. Snoddy</i> <i>Alva (Republican)</i> Special Session	n/a	n/a	Bert McDonel
12th	1/8/29 - 3/30/29 70 days 5/16/29 - 7/5/29 Special Session - 44 days	56 Democrats 47 Republicans	Allan Street Oklahoma City (resigned on 1/8/29) James C. Nance Walters Carlton Weaver Wilburton	J. Woody Dixon Marietta	n/a	n/a	Bert McDonel <i>Mabel Sherin</i> Special Session
13th	1/6/31 - 4/11/31 75 days	88 Democrats 9 Republicans	Carlton Weaver Wilburton	David M. Logan Okmulgee	n/a	n/a	W. A. Durant

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
14th	1/3/33 - 4/22/33 83 days 5/24/33 - 7/15/33 Special Session - 40 days	113 Democrats 4 Republicans 1 Independents	Tom Anglin Holdenville	Bob Fitzgerald Hobart	John Steele Batson Marietta	n/a	R. M. McCool
15th	1/8/35 - 4/30/35 83 days	112 Democrats 7 Republicans 1 Independents	Leon C. Phillips Okemah	Merton Munson Lawton	F. N. Shoemake Haskell	n/a	Richard H. Cloud
16th	1/24/36 - 1/4/37 Special Session - 27 days 1/5/37 - 5/11/37 87 days	114 Democrats 3 Republicans	J. T. Daniel Waurika	J. Kenneth Hogue Carnegie	James C. Nance Purcell	n/a	Andrew Fraley Succeeded by Harry Pennicker
17th	1/3/39 - 4/29/39 86 days	102 Democrats 13 Republicans	Don Welch Madill	Harold Freeman Pauls Valley	Murray Gibbons Oklahoma City	n/a	R. M. Massey
18th	1/7/41 - 5/23/41 96 days	114 Democrats 7 Republicans	E. Blumhagen Watonga	A. E. Montgomery Tulsa	Harold Freeman Pauls Valley	n/a	Frank Raab
19th	1/5/43 - 4/1/43 63 days 4/10/44 - 4/21/44 Special Session - 10 days	93 Democrats 24 Republicans	Harold Freeman Pauls Valley <i>Merle Lansden Beaver Special Session</i>	R. M. Mountcastle Muskogee	Kirksey Nix Eufaula	n/a	Lucien Spear <i>H.R. Christopher Special Session</i>
20th	1/2/45 - 4/26/45 74 days	98 Democrats 22 Republicans	Johnson Davis Hill Tulsa H. I. Hinds Tahlequah	H. I. Hinds Tahlequah Jack Bradley Wilburton	Streeter Speakman Sapulpa	n/a	H. R. Christopher
21st	1/7/47 - 5/8/47 75 days	95 Democrats 23 Republicans	C. R. Board Boise City Walter Billingsley Wewoka	Claud Thompson Antlers John W. Russell, Jr. Okmulgee	R. Rhys Evans Ardmore	n/a	Bob Barr
22nd	1/4/49 - 5/27/49 86 days 11/28/49 - 12/22/49 Special Session - 17 days	103 Democrats 12 Republicans			Joe A. Smalley Norman	n/a	Thomas P. Holt

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
23rd	1/2/51 - 5/18/51 83 days	99 Democrats 19 Republicans	James M. Bullard Duncan	James R. Williams Blanchard	A. R. Larason Fargo	n/a	A. Redford
24th	1/6/53 - 5/6/53 90 days	104 Democrats 20 Republicans	James C. Nance Purcell	James E. Douglas Durant	Glen Ham Pauls Valley	C.R. Nixon Tulsa	Eddie Higgins
25th	1/4/55 - 5/27/55 81 days	102 Democrats 19 Republicans	B. E. Bill Harkey Oklahoma City	Floyd Sumrall Beaver	James M. Bullard Duncan	W.A. Burton, Jr. Dover	Carl Staas
26th	1/8/57-5/29/57 83 days	101 Democrats 20 Republicans	B. E. Bill Harkey Oklahoma City	Arthur A. Kelly Frederick	James M. Bullard Duncan	Robert N. Alexander Tulsa	Ellen Wilson Bridges
27th	1/6/59 - 7/3/59 105 days	110 Democrats 9 Republicans	Clint G. Livingston Marietta	Noble R. Stewart Sallisaw	Frank Ogden Guymon	Denzil D. Garrison Bartlesville	Louise Stockton
28th	1/3/61 - 7/28/61 117 days	107 Democrats 14 Republicans	J. D. McCarty Oklahoma City	Delbert Inman Coalgate	Leland Wolf Noble	Carl G. Eiting Boise City	Louise Stockton
29th	1/8/63 - 6/14/63 92 days	96 Democrats 24 Republicans	J. D. McCarty Oklahoma City	Rex Privett Mareamec	Leland Wolf Noble	C. W. Doornbos Bartlesville	Louise Stockton
30th	1/5/65 - 7/22/65 117 days	78 Democrats 21 Republicans	J. D. McCarty Oklahoma City	Rex Privett Mareamec	Leland Wolf Noble	G. T. Blankenship Oklahoma City	Louise Stockton
31st	1/3/67 - 5/11/67 75 days 1/2/68 - 5/3/68 72 days	74 Democrats 25 Republicans	Rex Privett Mareamec	Joseph E. Mountford Miami	Leland Wolf Noble	James W. Connor Bartlesville	Louise Stockton
32nd	1/7/69-4/29/69 65 days 1/6/70-4/15/70 58 days	76 Democrats 23 Republicans	Rex Privett Mareamec	Larry D. Derryberry Altus	Leland Wolf Noble	James W. Connor Bartlesville	Louise Stockton

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
33rd	1/5/71-6/11/71 90 days 7/1/71-7/11/71 <i>Special Session- 1 day</i> 1/4/72-3/31/72 52 days	78 Democrats 21 Republicans	Rex Privett Maremece	Joseph E. Mountford Miami	Leland Wolf Noble	Charles R. Ford Tulsa	Louise Stockton
34th	1/2/73-5/17/73 79 days 1/8/74-5/17/74 76 days	75 Democrats 26 Republicans	William P. Willis Tahlequah	Spencer T. Bernard Rush Springs	Leland Wolf Noble	Charles R. Ford Tulsa	Louise Stockton
35th	1/7/75-6/6/75 87 days 1/6/76-6/9/76 89 days 7/19/76-7/23/76 <i>Special Session-5 days</i>	76 Democrats 25 Republicans	William P. Willis Tahlequah	Spencer T. Bernard Rush Springs	James B. Townsend Shawnee	Charles R. Ford Tulsa	Louise Stockton <i>Richard Huddleston Special Session</i>
36th	1/4/77-6/8/77 90 days 6/13/77-6/17/77 <i>Special Session - 5 days</i> 1/3/78-4/28/78 68 days	78 Democrats 23 Republicans	William P. Willis Tahlequah	Spencer T. Bernard Rush Springs	James B. Townsend Shawnee	Kent F. Frates Oklahoma City	Richard Huddleston
37th	1/2/79-7/2/79 89 days 1/8/80-6/16/80 80 days 7/7/80-7/11/80 <i>Special Session-5 days</i>	75 Democrats 26 Republicans	Daniel D. Draper, Jr. Stillwater	Mike Murphy Idabel	Vernon Dunn Loco	Neal A. McCaleb Edmond	Richard Huddleston

Officers							
Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
38th	1/6/81-7/20/81 90 days	73 Democrats 28 Republicans	Daniel D. Draper, Jr. Stillwater	Mike Murphy Idabel	Vernon Dunn Loco	Neal A. McCaleb Edmond	Richard Huddleston
	8/31/81-9/4/81 <i>Special Session-5 days</i>						
	1/5/82-7/12/82 86 days						
39th	1/4/83 - 6/23/83 90 days	76 Democrats 25 Republicans	Daniel D. Draper, Jr. Stillwater	Mike Murphy Idabel	Joe Fitzgibbon Miami	Frank W. Davis Guthrie	Richard Huddleston
	9/19/83 - 9/23/83 <i>Special Session - 5 days</i>		Jim Barker Muskogee (starting with the first 1983 <i>special session</i>)		<i>Vacant during first 1983 special session</i>		<i>Larry Warden (acting during the first 1983 special session)</i>
	11/28/83-11/30/83 <i>Second Special Session-3 days</i>				<i>Mick Thompson Poteau (starting the second 1983 special session)</i>		<i>Irene McConathy (starting with the second 1983 special session)</i>
	1/3/84 - 5/31/84 87 days						
40th	1/8/85-7/19/85 90 days	70 Democrats 31 Republicans	Jim Barker Muskogee	Lonnie Abbott Ada	Guy Davis Calera	Frank W. Davis Guthrie	Larry Warden
	1/7/86-6/13/86 90 days						

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
41st	1/15/87-7/17/87 90 days	70 Democrats 31 Republicans	Jim Barker Muskogee	Lonnie Abbott Ada	Guy Davis Calera	Walter Hill Turpin	Larry Warden
	7/6/87-7/6/87 <i>Special Session-1</i> day						
	7/7/87-7/14/87 <i>Special Session-2</i> days						
	1/5/88-7/13/88 90 days						
	8/29/88-9/2/88 <i>Special Session-5</i> days						
42nd	1/3/89 - 5/26/89 83 days	69 Democrats 32 Republicans	Jim Barker (removed 5/17/89) Muskogee	Jim Glover Elgin	Guy Davis Calera (replaced 5/17/89)	Joe Heaton Oklahoma City	Larry Warden
	8/14/89 - 5/2/90 <i>Special Session -46</i> days		Steve Lewis Shawnee		Glen Johnson Okemah		
	2/5/90 - 5/25/90 66 days						
43rd	1/14/91 - 1/18/91 <i>Special Session - 5</i> days	69 Democrats 32 Republicans	Glen D. Johnson Okemah	Jim Glover Elgin	Loyd Benson Frederick	Joe Heaton Oklahoma City	Larry Warden
	1/8/91 - 5/31/91 70 days					Larry Ferguson (second regular session) Cleveland	
	2/3/92 - 5/29/92 71 days						

Legislature	Session Dates/Legislative Days ¹	Party Membership ²	Officers				
			Speaker	Speaker Pro Tempore	Majority Leader ⁴	Minority Leader ⁴	Chief Clerk
44th	1/5/93 - 5/28/93 71 days	68 Democrats 33 Republicans	Glen D. Johnson Okemah	Jim Glover Elgin	Loyd Benson Frederick	Larry Ferguson Cleveland	Larry Warden
	2/7/94 - 5/27/94 66 days						
	5/23/94 - 5/27/94 <i>Special Session - 5 days</i>						
45th	10/3/94 - 11/4/94 <i>Special Session - 6 days</i>	65 Democrats 36 Republicans	Glen D. Johnson Okemah	Jim Glover Elgin	Loyd Benson Frederick	Larry Ferguson Cleveland	Larry Warden
	1/3/95 - 5/26/95 66 days						
	5/19/95-11/19/96 <i>Special Session - 6 days</i>						
46th	2/5/96 - 6/31/96 69 days	65 Democrats 36 Republicans	Loyd Benson Frederick	Larry E. Adair Stilwell	Tommy Thomas Atoka	Larry Ferguson Cleveland	Larry Warden
	1/7/97 - 5/30/97 71 days						
	2/2/98 - 5/29/97 69 days						
47th	6/15/98 - 6/19/98 <i>Special Session - 5 days</i>	61 Democrats 40 Republicans	Loyd Benson Frederick	Larry E. Adair Stilwell	Tommy Thomas Atoka	Larry Ferguson Cleveland	Larry Warden
	1/5/99 - 5/28/99 69 days						
	1/20/99 - 6/30/99 <i>Special Session - 15 days</i>						

¹ In many sessions, the date reported for the last day of the session did not reflect the actual calendar day of the session as clocks were covered in order for the work of the session to be completed.

² As reported in the House Journal on the opening day of session.

³ Session not adjourned sine die at time this publication was prepared.

⁴ House Journals did not list these officers in early years for many sessions.

Appendix III

**All Members of the Oklahoma
House of Representatives
1907-1999**

ALL MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1907-99

* Indicates elected to fill unexpired term.

** Indicates elected but did not serve.

A

Abbott, Lonnie L.
1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985, 1987
Abbott, Wm. T.
1907
Abernathy, E. C.
1925
Abernathy, Kenneth
1933, 1935
Abernathy, Oscar H.
1931, 1933, 1935
Abney, L. D.
1915
Acton, O. B.
1909, 1911, 1915, 1917,
1923, 1925, 1927
Adair, Frank C.
1927, 1931
Adair, Larry E.
1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999
Adams, E. Lee
1917
Adams, W. A.
1923
Adkins, Scott
1995, 1997, 1999
Admire, Eli L.
1921
Aikin, Oliver H.
1911
Akers, L.
1919
Albright, Chas.
1933
Aldridge, Bart
1925, 1927
Alexander, Robert N.
1947, 1951, 1953, 1955,
1957
Alexander, Sam L.
1947
Alexander, Stanley W.
1979
Allard, Lou S.
1947, 1949, 1951, 1953,
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1965, 1967, 1969, 1973
Allen, Aiden E.
1943
Allen, C. W.
1935, 1937
Allen, G. W.
1907
Allen, H. R.
1933

Allen, Harvey F.
1949
Allen, Merle D.
1939, 1941
Allen, R. O.
1929
Allen, W. B.
1929
Allen, William E.
1931
Allen, Winchester
1907
Ambler, Ed. B.
1919
Anderson, C. M.
1909
Anderson, Don
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987
Anderson, Holly L.
1939, 1941
Anderson, Lulu D.
1923
Anderson, Robert E.
1969*, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1979, 1981
Anderson, Thomas S.
1949
Andrews, Clyde L.
1939
Andrews, H. N.
1937
Andrews, Red
1953, 1955, 1957, 1959,
1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
1969, 1971
Andrews, S. H.
1949
Anglin, Tom
1919, 1933, 1949
Anthony, Calvin J.
1993, 1995
Anthony, W. B.
1907, 1909, 1911
Apple, Ed
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993
Arms, J. A.
1943, 1945
Armstrong, J. T.
1907
Armstrong, Luther D.
1933, 1935
Armstrong, W. H.
1907
Arnold, E. B.
1937, 1939
Arnold, Helen
1977, 1979, 1981
Arnold, Raney
1953, 1955

Arrington, J. H.
1943, 1945, 1947, 1953,
1955, 1957, 1959
Ash, A. R.
1945, 1947
Ashby, H. S. P.
1907, 1911, 1913
Ashby, S. G.
1909, 1911
Askins, Jari
1995, 1997, 1999
Atkins, Hannah D.
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1979
Atkinson, David D.
1961
Atkinson, Gean
1981, 1983
Autry, Dual
1947, 1949, 1951
Avey, Harlon S.
1953, 1959, 1961, 1963,
1971

B

Babb, James
1929, 1931, 1933
Bacon, Charles
1939, 1941, 1943, 1945,
1947, 1949
Baggerly, C. E.
1927
Baggett, Bryce
1959, 1961, 1963
Bailey, C. E.
1931
Bailey, Frank
1935
Bailey, Guy O.
1949, 1951, 1955, 1957
Bailey, K. D.
1953
Bailey, Robert L.
1955, 1957
Bailey, S. D.
1921
Bailey, Sam F.
1925
Bailey, Walter W.
1943, 1945, 1947, 1949
Baker, Alene B.
1981, 1983
Baker, John O.
1913
Baker, Jos. A.
1915
Baker, Thad
1917
Baldwin, Don
1945, 1947

Baldwin, George H.
1927, 1931
Baldwin, J. H.
1907, 1911
Balentine, Baysul T.
1941
Ball, A. E.
1915
Ballance, R. A.
1921
Ballard, P. A.
1907
Ballard, W. S.
1919
Ballinger, Paul
1941, 1947
Bamberger, Thomas A.
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975
Banks, Andy
1939, 1941, 1943
Banks, Wm. E.
1907
Barbee, L. N.
1915
Bardsley, S. J.
1917
Barham, J. S.
1911
Barker, Jack
1917, 1919
Barker, Jim L.
1969, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983, 1985, 1987, 1989
Barnes, Wendell B.
1951
Barnhart, E. R.
1945
Barnett, W. A.
1935
Barr, Robert L.
1939, 1941, 1943, 1945
Barr, Robert L.
1965, 1967
Barrett, C. F.
1911
Barron, Jack
1947
Barry, Raymond
1945
Bary, W. N.
1915, 1917, 1919, 1929,
1931
Baskin, C. H.
1923
Basolo, Jay
1939
Bass, John "Andy"
1993

Bastin, Gary C.
 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
 1993, 1995, 1997
 Bates, Bart S.
 1989, 1991
 Batman, W. D.
 1931
 Batson, John Steele
 1931, 1933, 1941, 1943,
 1945, 1961
 Battenfield, A. Lee
 1927
 Battenfield, Lincoln
 1939
 Baucum, Malcolm
 1937, 1939
 Baughman, Marvin
 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983
 Baum, W. C.
 1913
 Baumert, Herman L.
 1963
 Bayless, Wayne W.
 1923
 Beaman, L. V.
 1933, 1935
 Bean, Lewis
 1967, 1969
 Beard, Clinton
 1953, 1955
 Beard Mat X.
 1931, 1933, 1937
 Beattie, B. H.
 1917
 Beatty, W. G.
 1927
 Beauchamp, Donald W.
 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969
 Beaver, Austin
 1931, 1933
 Beck, Louie W.
 1935
 Beck, Paul V.
 1953, 1955
 Beck, T. E.
 1917, 1919, 1921, 1927
 Beck, Wm. B.
 1907
 Begley, Jack
 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
 1997, 1999
 Belew, Ben W.
 1929
 Bell, Bailey E.
 1921
 Bell, Dick
 1939
 Bell, J. S.
 1909
 Bell, John M.
 1923, 1927
 Bellamy, Harmon G.
 1945
 Bellmon, Henry
 1947

Belvin, J. H.
 1955, 1957, 1959
 Benge, Chris
 1999
 Bengtson, L. H., Jr.
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979
 Bennett, Dyton
 1933
 Bennett, J. B.
 1975, 1977
 Benson, Loyd Lee
 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999
 Bernard, Spencer T.
 1960*, 1961, 1963, 1965,
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973,
 1975, 1977
 Berry, Albert K.
 1923, 1927
 Berry, Jesse
 1949, 1951, 1955
 Berry, R. H.
 1913, 1917
 Berry, Roy
 1941
 Bethell, J. Gus
 1947, 1949
 Beum, E. M.
 1923
 Beutler, Randy
 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999
 Beznoska, Gordon
 1971, 1973, 1975
 Bickford, Harry L.
 1967, 1969
 Biddison, W. V.
 1919
 Bilbrey, A. E.
 1925, 1927
 Biles, Robert
 1931
 Biles, Roy
 1945, 1947, 1949
 Billings, Bryan
 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939
 Billingsley, Walter
 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947,
 1949
 Billups, R. A., Jr.
 1927
 Bilyeu, Earl W.
 1961, 1963
 Binns, Henry D.
 1941, 1943
 Bird, F. W.
 1927
 Bishop, W. A.
 1913
 Black, H. Everett
 1949
 Black, Owen
 1929
 Black, W. O.
 1943

Blackard, J. V., Jr.
 1917
 Blackard, Maynard E.
 1961, 1963
 Blackburn, C. R.
 1911
 Blackburn, Debbie
 1995, 1997, 1999
 Blankenship, G. T.
 1961, 1963, 1965
 Blankenship, Rucker G.
 1965, 1967
 Blaylock, N.
 1947, 1949
 Bliss, Jack
 1955, 1957
 Blocker, R. C.
 1931, 1933
 Blodgett, J. D. Jay
 1981, 1983, 1985
 Bluejacket, W. T.
 1925
 Blumhagen, E.
 1937, 1939, 1941
 Board, C. R.
 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947
 Boatman, Edgar R.
 1949
 Boatner, Roy A.
 1971, 1973
 Bobo, L. P.
 1917, 1919
 Boeckman, Steven Emil
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991
 Boettcher, Fred L.
 1970*, 1971, 1973
 Boggs, H. O.
 1935
 Bohannon, Wilford E.
 1949, 1951
 Bohr, Lewis H.
 1955, 1957
 Bolen, Hubert L.
 1911, 1913
 Bonar, John
 1909
 Bond, Edward L.
 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961
 Bond, J. M.
 1917
 Bond, R. I.
 1913
 Bond, William L.
 1957, 1959
 Bonds, Archibald
 1913
 Bonny, Jack
 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999
 Boren, David L.
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973
 Bound, Otto G.
 1939
 Bouse, J. E.
 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959

Bouyear, J. D.
 1925
 Bovee, M. W.
 1915
 Bowdre, Wm. H.
 1907
 Bower, Art F.
 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963
 Box, Dwain D.
 1947, 1949
 Boyd, Betty
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Boyd, Billy C.
 1983
 Boyd, Laura W.
 1993, 1995, 1997
 Boydston, Q. B.
 1929
 Boyer, Frank M.
 1923, 1925, 1933
 Boyle, Ed
 1907, 1909
 Braddock, David B.
 1997, 1999
 Bradley, Ed
 1959, 1961
 Bradley, Jack
 1941, 1943, 1945
 Bradley, W. D.
 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959,
 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
 1977, 1979, 1981
 Bradshaw, Mark
 1975, 1977
 Branan, Herbert L.
 1935, 1937, 1939
 Brannon, Marvin F.
 1947, 1949
 Branson, Fred P.
 1907
 Brazell, Ed
 1933
 Breckinridge, Flint
 1993, 1995
 Breckinridge, Peyton A.
 1965
 Breedlove, J. W.
 1911
 Bremer, J. W.
 1923
 Brewer, O. A.
 1927
 Brewer, R. W.
 1935, 1937
 Brewer, Wayne L.
 1949
 Brewster, Bill K.
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989
 Brewster, Joe
 1935
 Brice, Chas. S.
 1921, 1923

Brickell, Ben
 1949
 Bridges, John H.
 1909
 Briggs, Claud
 1927, 1929
 Briggs, Dale J.
 1951
 Briggs, Geo. W.
 1907
 Brinkworth, Frank
 1919
 Briscoe, Bill
 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
 1973, 1975
 Briscoe, James E.
 1977*, 1979
 Broadbent, H. W.
 1919, 1925
 Broaddus, Bower
 1933
 Brooks, J. M.
 1931
 Brooks, W. H.
 1911, 1913
 Broom, Charles W.
 1907, 1911
 Browers, Clyde E.
 1969
 Brown, Ben
 1981, 1983
 Brown, Bob L.
 1985
 Brown, Dale
 1935, 1937, 1939
 Brown, Earl A.
 1927, 1929
 Brown, Easter
 1947
 Brown, Ernest R.
 1931
 Brown, Frank E.
 1949
 Brown, Kelly
 1915
 Brown, Lonnie W.
 1947, 1949
 Brown, Q. T.
 1907
 Brown, T. J.
 1913
 Brown, Tot
 1965, 1967
 Brown, U. S.
 1911
 Brownlee, Richard C.
 1909
 Brubaker, Ross
 1911
 Bruce, Alvin
 1935
 Brumley, D. A.
 1923
 Brunton, Paul D.
 1975, 1977, 1979
 Bryan, Milton
 1907, 1909
 Bryant, James Sears
 1993
 Bryant, John
 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
 1997, 1999
 Bryant, Loris E.
 1915
 Bryant, R. B.
 1927
 Brydia, Fred F.
 1923
 Buckler, Bucky
 1957, 1959
 Bull, Bill
 1963
 Bullard, James M.
 1939, 1943, 1945, 1947,
 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
 1957, 1959, 1961
 Bumpus, John
 1987
 Bunch, John
 1929
 Burger, A. C.
 1923
 Burger, James W.
 1963
 Burkett, William R.
 1961, 1963
 Burkhart, Bill
 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951
 Burkhart, William A., Jr.
 1951*, 1953
 Burleson, W. S.
 1923
 Burnett, W. W.
 1963, 1965
 Burnette, S. C.
 1909
 Burnham, Fred N.
 1933
 Burnham, James F.
 1959, 1961, 1963
 Burton, C. W.
 1931
 Burton, W. A., Jr.
 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953,
 1955
 Busey, Ralph L.
 1929
 Bushyhead, D. W.
 1933
 Bushyhead, Dennis
 1941
 Butler, Henry M.
 1907
 Butler, J. H.
 1917
 Butler, James P.
 1921, 1927, 1929
 Butler, Percy
 1965
 Butterfield, S. S.
 1917, 1919
 Butts, A. J.
 1909
 Bynum, J. W.
 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967
 Byrom, Marvin
 1935
 Byrum, J. Knox
 1929
C
 Caldwell, E. A. Red
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
 1983
 Caldwell, H. S.
 1925
 Caldwell, Tony
 1993
 Caldwell, W. S.
 1921, 1925
 Calhoun, J. P.
 1909
 Calkins, Bernard E.
 1955, 1957
 Callahan, J. W.
 1923
 Calvey, Kevin
 1999
 Camp, John N.
 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949,
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
 1959, 1961
 Camp, George
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
 1981
 Campbell, George
 1947
 Campbell, Grover
 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993
 Campbell, J. B.
 1911, 1917, 1919, 1921,
 1927, 1929
 Campbell, O. K.
 1935
 Campbell, Terry L.
 1973, 1975, 1977
 Cannon, Joe R.
 1949
 Cantrell, D. C.
 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941,
 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949
 Card, William L.
 1949, 1951, 1953
 Cardwell, C. Leslie
 1927
 Carey, C. H.
 1937*
 Carey, Harold R.
 1945, 1947
 Carey, Joe
 1955, 1957
 Carey, Leonard
 1935
 Carleton, LaVerne
 1935, 1937, 1939
 Carlile, Paul V.
 1939
 Carlile, W. A.
 1925
 Carlton, A. L.
 1971
 Carmack, S. W.
 1929
 Carmichael, Frank
 1927, 1929
 Carmichael, H. F.
 1941, 1943, 1945, 1949,
 1953, 1955, 1957
 Carmichael, J. D.
 1935, 1937
 Carpenter, Frank
 1915
 Carr, W. B.
 1943, 1945
 Carr, Wm. O.
 1913
 Carrier, Floyd E.
 1937, 1939
 Carrier, S. J.
 1939
 Carson, Wm. S.
 1907, 1909, 1911
 Cartwright, Buck
 1955, 1957
 Cartwright, Earl
 1957, 1959, 1961**
 Cartwright, J. R.
 1929, 1931
 Cartwright, Jan Eric
 1971, 1973
 Cartwright, Keith
 1947
 Cartwright, Wilburn
 1915, 1917
 Case, Bill
 1995, 1997, 1999
 Case, W. H.
 1913, 1923
 Cash, Bryant
 1915, 1927
 Casteel, Frank L.
 1907, 1909
 Cate, Lee
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973
 Cavins, Bob
 1933
 Cavitt, R. A.
 1933*
 Chambers, H. E.
 1957
 Chambers, Joe
 1911
 Chambers, Joe
 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937,
 1941, 1955

Chambers, Ralph M.
1929

Champion, J. B.
1911

Chandler, Robert P.
1943

Chapman, Sidney L.
1931

Chapman, W. L.
1917

Chappell, Gilford A.
1925, 1927, 1929

Chappell, Will H.
1907

Charles, John B.
1909, 1911, 1913

Chase, Robert N.
1935

Chase, W. A.
1913

Chastain, C. C.
1947

Chastain, J. B.
1907

Cheatham, William L.
1917, 1919

Cheatham, Wm. L.
1937, 1939

Cheek, Roy
1931

Cherry, Claude W.
1941

Childers, C. C.
1913, 1915

Childers, Sloan
1931

Childers, Wayland
1931, 1933

Choate, Ben P.
1945

Choate, Ralph J. Butch
1981

Christian, H. N.
1911, 1913

Christian, R. L.
1927

Christian, Sebe A.
1927

Christopher, H. R.
1917

Chunings, Edward L.
1955

Clark, Bill
1983, 1985, 1987

Clark, Ed
1909, 1911

Clark, J. J.
1915

Clark, J. W.
1911

Clark, Kenneth
1927

Clark, Martin
1957

Clark, Robert E.
1959, 1961

Clark, Thornton
1921

Clark, W. T. (S)
1911

Clarke, W. H.
1911

Claunch, Forrest
1995, 1997, 1999

Clayton, G. E.
1911

Clemons, A. J.
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971

Cleveland, Charles
1975, 1977, 1979

Cline, William H.
1933, 1941

Clothier, Marion
1919, 1923, 1925

Cloud, Henry L.
(Kingfisher) 1923,
(Oklahoma) 1925

Cloyd, Richard H.
1929, 1931, 1933

Cobb, Joe B. (S)
1927

Cochran, E. E.
1927

Cocke, J. Roy
1955

Coe, William O.
1933, 1935, 1937

Coffee, Gary
1987, 1989

Coffey, George A.
1939

Coffin, Donald
1969, 1971

Coker, Bascom
1937, 1939

Coldiron, Earel
1943

Cole, Ed
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973

Cole, Helen (S)
1979, 1981, 1983

Coleman, Carolyn
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999

Coleman, Dick
1943

Coleman, Jack
1947, 1949, 1951

Coleman, Roy
1935

Collins, D. S.
1933, 1941

Collins, E. Jan
1985

Collins, George R.
1951, 1953, 1955

Collins, Glen C.
1951, 1953

Collins, Vernon J.
1951

Collins, Wallace
1997, 1999

Collums, D. B.
1917, 1919

Combs, Gene D.
1978*, 1979, 1983, 1985,
1987, 1989, 1991

Comfort, K. G.
1923

Compton, Chas. M.
1909

Conaghan, Brian F.
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
1971, 1973

Conaghan, Dorothy D.
1973*, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983, 1985

Conch, J. B.
1907

Condon, Glenn
1917

Connell, George W.
1911

Conner, Frank
1937, 1939

Conner, Leslie
1933

Connor, James W.
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969

Converse, Kenneth
1959, 1961, 1965, 1967,
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1983, 1985, 1987

Cook, Charles A.
1909

Cook, I. L.
1913

Cook, Jim
1953, 1955, 1957, 1959,
1961, 1963, 1965

Cook, Rowe
1935

Cooksey, Robert I.
1959

Cooper, E. M.
1925

Cooper, Henry (S)
1939, 1941

Coover, Jerry
1919, 1921, 1923, 1925

Cope, Milton B.
1907, 1909

Copeland, Geo. H.
1933

Coppock, Roy O.
1925

Cordell, Harry B. (S)
1913

Cordray, W. E.
1943, 1945, 1947, 1949

Corn, Kenneth
1999

Corson, Ed. E.
1935

Cotner, Howard Paul
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995

Couch, Penn (S)
1935, 1937

Coughlin, Walter L.
1911

Council, G. L.
1915

Covey, H. P.
1909

Covey, James E.
1997, 1999

Cowan, Ted M.
1975, 1977, 1979

Cox, Barbour
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
1971

Cox, J. D.
1915

Cox, Julius W. (S)
1933, 1935

Cox, K. C.
1911

Cox, Kevin
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Coyne, Peter J. (S)
1909, 1911, 1913

Cozort, H. Wayne
1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
1993, 1995

Craig, Kenneth P.
1977

Craig, Milton C.
1961

Craig, Raymond O.
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959, 1961

Craighead, David
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987

Crane, Frank
1943, 1945

Crane, W. D.
1919, 1921

Craver, A. E.
1917, 1919, 1921

Crawford, Date
1919

Crawford, John P.
1911, 1913

Crawford, Johnson
1915

Crews, Robert
1941

Crocker, Ed
1991, 1993, 1995

Crockett, W. A.
1921

Crow, T. N.
1941, 1943

Crowley, P. R.
1925, 1927

Crutcher, Bill J. (S)
1977

Cullison, Robert V. (S)
1975, 1977

Cullop, James A.
1911

Culp, A. H. (S)
1923

Culver, Bob Ed
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999

Cummings, James R.
1973, 1975, 1977

Cummings, O. L.
1913

Cummings, S. E.
1919

Cummings, T. F.
1921

Cunningham, A. Joe
1985

Cunningham, Oval H.
1975*, 1977, 1979, 1981

Cunningham, Robert O.
1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
1957

Cunningham, W. I.
1923, 1925

Cunningham, W. T.
1939

Curmutt, H. M. (S)
1925, 1931

Curry, Frank Z.
1913

Curtis, Wm. L.
1913

D

Dabney, Edwin
1919, 1921

Dale, Don
1951, 1953

Daniel, J. T.
1927, 1929, 1931, 1933,
1937, 1941

Daniel, Jesse C.
1953, 1955, 1957, 1959

Dank, Odilia
1995, 1997, 1999

Darks, Herman
1933

Daugherty, Tracy
1957, 1959, 1963

David, W. S.
1919

Davidson, James G.
1949

Davidson, S. S.
1911

Davis, A. L.
1921, 1923, 1925, 1945

Davis, Arleigh
1927, 1935

Davis, Ben F.
1927

Davis, Don C.
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979

Davis, Ella M.
1933*

Davis, Fletcher
1925

Davis, Frank W.
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997, 1999

Davis, Geo. H.
1935

Davis, Guy
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983, 1985, 1987, 1989

Davis, J. N.
1915

Davis, Jeff
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959

Davis, Porter
1983

Davis, Ralph M.
1931, 1933

Davis, Ray Lewis
1963

Davis, W. S.
1913

Davison, George E.
1921, 1925, 1939, 1941,
1943

Day, Curtis R.
1907

Deaner, J. J.
1913*

Deardorff, J. B.
1927

Dearing, W. S.
1913

Deathage, Clea
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983

Deaton, Austin R.
1935, 1937

Dees, Carl
1937, 1939, 1945

Defenbaugh, George
1951, 1953

DeFord, C. H.
1911, 1913

Denman, Don Curry
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983

Denney, John Q.
1921

Densford, James W., Jr.
1947

Derryberry, Larry Dale
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969

Deutschendorf, Abe
1995, 1997, 1999

Devereaux, H. O.
1911

Deyerle, John B.
1907

Dickenson, Newt
1917

Dickerson, J. T.
1915

Dickey, J. O., Jr.
1965, 1967

Diel, M. A.
1961, 1963

Dillon, Jack
1945, 1947, 1949

Disney, R. L.
1915, 1917

Disney, W. E.
1919, 1921, 1923

Disney, Wesley V.
1949

Dittmer, Herman
1929

Dixon, J. Woody (S)
1923, 1925, 1927, 1929

Dixon, Robt. J.
1909

Dizney, Geo. M.
1913

Dodd, William
1921

Dodson, J. H.
1919

Doggett, Walter M.
1935

Dolan, Tom
1917

Dolezal, Henry
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963

Doornbos, C. W.
1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
1969, 1971, 1973

Dorsett, J. R.
1943, 1945

Doty, Laton L.
1945, 1947, 1949, 1951

Doty, V. A.
1935

Douglas, Ben W.
1949

Douglas, James E.
1949, 1951, 1953

Douthat, C. A.
1931, 1933, 1939, 1941,
1943

Dowd, W. Timothy
1963

Drake, B. E.
1929

Drake, Howard M.
1915

Drake, John Whitfield
1965

Drake, W. T.
1921

Draper, Dan D.
1939, 1941

Draper, Daniel D., Jr.
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979, 1981, 1983

Draughon, Jas (S)
1917

Duckett, Ross
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987

Duffy, W. M.
1915, 1919

Duke, A. F.
1933

Duke, Carlisle
1949, 1951

Duke, Don
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987, 1989

Dukes, Joe L.
1927

Duncan, Earl D.
1939

Duncan, Noel
1937

Dunegan, James H.
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999

Dunlap, E. T.
1947, 1949, 1951

Dunlap, James R.
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995

Dunn, Ed L.
1909

Dunn, Vernon
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981

Dunn, W. K.
1915

Dunn, W. R.
1935, 1937, 1941, 1943,
1945

Dunn, William R.
1947

Dunning, Harry H.
1929

Durant, Frank
1943, 1945

Durant, W. A.
1907, 1909, 1911, 1913,
1915, 1917

Durham, Wm. F.
1907, 1909

Durst, John W.
1907

Dyer, James, Jr.
1921, 1923, 1927, 1929,
1947, 1949

Dyer, Martin E.
1959, 1961

E

Eakins, J. A.
1917

Earle, E. J.
1907, 1909

Earley, A. T.
1907

Easley, Kevin A. (S)
1985, 1987, 1989

Easley, Mary L.
1997, 1999

Eason, T. W.
1933, 1935

Easter, A. C. (S)
1925, 1927

Easterly, Ben B. (S)
1947, 1949, 1951, 1953

Eastridge, H. G.
1923

Eaton, Walter
1915

Ebey, W. H.
1919, 1927, 1933

Eby, Seth G., Jr.
1933, 1935, 1937

Eddins, Joe
1995, 1997, 1999

Edgecomb, J. L.
1951, 1955

Edgington, A. L.
1909

Edmister, Stanley C.
1913

Edmondson, W. A. Drew
1975

Edwards, C. Plowboy
1943, 1945, 1947, 1951,
1953, 1955

Edwards, C. T.
1923

Edwards, H. H.
1911

Edwards, Joe A. (S)
1913

Edwards, Paul
1937

Eidson, A. F.
1961

Elam, Richard
1923

Elder, Charles
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979

Elder, S. M.
1917, 1919

Ellis, A. H.
1907

Ellis, Ben F.
1933, 1935, 1937, 1939,
1941

Elmore, Leroy
1921

Emanuel, Chas. B.
1911, 1913

Engler, Joe
1951

Ervin, Mike
1995, 1997, 1999

Ervin, William J.
1973, 1975, 1977

Erwin, Randall Lee
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Estes, Glenn E.
1955

Estes, R. F.
1941

Etling, Carl G.
1953, 1955, 1957, 1959,
1961, 1963

Eubanks, Luther B.
1949, 1951

Evans, E. J.
1955

Evans, John R.
1907

Evans, R. Rhys
1943, 1945, 1947, 1949

Everhart, L. A.
1915, 1917, 1919, 1921,
1923

Ewell, A. E.
1909

Ewing, Amos A. (S)
1915, 1917, 1919

Eylar, Mrs. Elma
1929

Ezzard, John T.
1907

F

Fair, Michael E. (S)
1967, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985

Fallin, Mary
1991, 1993

Farmer, Russell
1943**

Farr, J. H.
1929

Farrall, Jas. T.
1913

Farrar, Ralph
1947

Faulk, David L.
1925, 1927, 1929, (D. L.)
1931

Faulkner, J. V.
1907, 1909

Fawks, C. F., Jr.
1925

Feddersen, Donald D.
1979, 1981

Ferguson, Clifford W.
1929

Ferguson, D. Jo
1947

Ferguson, Larry R.
1985*, 1987, 1989, 1991,
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Ferguson, Leslie Guy
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973

Ferrell, J. Fred, Jr.
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975

Ferrell, W. Warren
1923

Fesperman, James E.
1953, 1955

Field, J. Robin
1941

Field, Leon B. (S)
1947, 1949

Fields, LeRoy O.
1945

Fields, Lloyd L.
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Finch, Heber, Jr.
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
1971, 1973

Fine, Ray (S)
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971

Finley, Ira M.
1923, 1925, 1931

Fischer, Harry
1939

Fischl, Louis A. (S)
1929, 1931

Fisher, Chas. C.
1907

Fisher, Lon
1911

Fitch, Stona
1961, 1963

Fitzgerald, Pat
1939, 1941

Fitzgerald, R. R.
1915, 1917, 1919, (Bob)
1933

Fitzgerald, S. J.
1917

Fitzgerald, S. Z.
1919

Fitzgibbon, Joseph E.
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983

Flanagan, Charles
1937, 1939, 1943, 1945

Flint, C. R.
1925

Flowers, Herbert D.
1941, 1943, 1945

Floyd, Glenn E.
1975, 1977

Focht, Floyd D.
1945

Fogarty, Dick
1959, 1961, 1963

Foley, E. W.
1937, 1945

Folsom, Rudolph
1955

Folsom, S. J.
1911

Ford, Charles R. (S)
1967, 1969, 1971, 1973,
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981

Ford, Robert W.
1959, 1961

Forehand, J. Nealy
1927

Formby, Jim
1983, 1985

Forrester, Jim
1982*

Forsythe, Grant G.
1949, 1959, 1961

Foster, Earl, Jr.
1955, 1957, 1959

Foster, Horace S.
1925, 1927

Foster, William E.
1973

Fowler, J. B.
1961, 1963, 1965, 1967

Fox, P. A.
1917

Fraleley, Andrew
1933

Fraleley, Martin C.
1927, 1931

Frame, Bobby
1997, 1999

Franks, Walter H.
1923

Fraser, Chas. A.
1907

Fraser, Ted
1937

Frates, Kent F.
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977

Frayner, Darwin
1935

Frazier, Bruce L. (S)
1951, 1953

Frazier, R. W.
1935

Freeman, Harold
1935, 1937, 1939, 1941,
1943

Frey, E.W.
1911

Fried, Jim
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983

Frix, Carl
(Sequoyah) 1941, 1943,
(Muskogee) 1945, 1947

Frix, Mike
1965, 1967

Fronterhouse, Jess J. (S)
1949

Fry, E. E.
1929

Fry, W. R.
1927

Fuller, G. M. (Caddo)
1911

Fuller, G. M. (Oklahoma)
1953, 1955, 1957, 1959

Funkhouser, E. M.
1923

Furr, Manuel
1951

G

Galbreath, Robert
1931

Galt, J. L.
1919

Garber, Martin
1945, 1947

Garland, R. C.
1933

Garner, John F.
1923, 1925

Garner, W. L.
1915

Garrett, A. R.
1917

Garrison, Denzil D. (S)
1957, 1959

Garrison, Don
1983

Garrison, J. S.
1921

Garvin, Harold (S)
1949

Gates, Bob
1991, 1993

Gear, George Russell
1963

Geb, Leonard G.
1941

George, Danny Bruce
1985, 1987 (Resigned)

George, E. V. (S)
1925

Gibbons, Murray F.
1921, 1923, 1935, 1937,
1939

Gibbs, Q. D.
1945

Gibson, Herbert
1937

Gibson, J. I.
1933

Gibson, John H.
1917, 1919

Gibson, W. B.
1929

Gibson, W. D.
1923*

Gilbert, Darrell
1997, 1999

Gill, Ed
1937, 1939

Gill, Wm.
1919

Gillespie, F. C., Jr.
1937, 1939

Gillespie, J. I.
1911

Gilliam, Jack
1951, 1953

Gilmer, W. F.
1927

Gilmer, Wm. F.
1909

Gish, Larry
1984*, 1985, 1987, 1989,
1991

Gish, Rollin E. 1917

Glasco, E. E.
1913, 1915, 1919

Glasser, Harry D. (S)
1919

Glen, Scott
1931, 1933, 1943

Glenn, Ronald F.
1987, 1989

Glover, Jim R.
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Glover, R. L.
1909, 1911

Goodfellow, Robert L.
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969

Gooden, William J.
1969, 1971, 1973

Goodpaster, Craig (S)
1941

Goodpaster, Francis
1937

Goodrich, L. E.
1923

Goodwin, G. W.
1915

Goodwin, Sam J.
1935

Gooldy, W. T. Bill (S)
1943

Gordon, Joe
1983, 1985, 1987, 1989

Gorman, Thomas F.
1921

Gossett, L. G.
1921

Gossett, Louie
1937, 1939

Gotcher, Willard M.
1957, 1959

Graham, J. C.
1921

Graham, Robt. C. (Bob)
1925, 1927, 1929, 1931,
1933

Graves, Bill
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Graves, Ralph W. (S)
1955, 1957, 1959

Graves, W. T.
1917, 1919, 1921

Gray, Charles
1979, 1981, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Gray, Gordon (S)
1923

Gray, J. T.
1931, 1933

Gray, Twila Mason
1981 (Mason), 1983

Graybill, J. B.
1953, 1955, 1957

Grayson, Frank
1939, 1941, 1951, 1953

Green, A. E.
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961

Green, E. L.
1911

Green, Guy
1925

Green, Luther E.
1931

Green, Warren E. (S)
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975

Greenhaw, Don R.
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
1971

Greenhaw, Ripley S.
1939

Greenwood, Joan
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Gregory, Ellis V.
1935, 1937

Greennell, E. B.
1943

Grey, Mike
1965, 1967

Grieser, Emil
1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
1991

Griffin, Dale
1949, 1951

Griggs, J. B.
1913

Grisso, W. D.
1931, 1933

Grubb, Millard F.
1917, 1919

Grunert, Arthur
1933

Guffy, Ward
1943

Gulager, J. D.
1923

Gullett, Ben
1943, 1945, 1947

Gungoll, James H.
1963

Gunnison, Laurence W.
1963

Gurley, Bill
1987, 1989

H

Hager, James
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997

Haile, Tom G.
1915, 1917, 1933

Hailey, W. E.
1931

Hale, Harold
1983, 1985, 1987, 1989

Haley, J. R.
1919

Hall, Clarence
1941, 1959

Hall, J. R., Jr. (S)
1951, 1953, 1955

Hall, Tom
1983

Halsell, R. R.
1913

Ham, Glen (S)
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959

Hamilton, J. C.
1917

Hamilton, James E. (S)
1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
1993, 1995, 1997

Hamilton, Jeff
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993

Hamilton, Ralph W.
1963

Hamilton, Rebecca
1981, 1983, 1985

Hamlin, A. C.
1909

Hammer, Raymond Bruce
1963

Hammers, Charles O.
1953, 1955, 1957

Hammond, S. E. (S)
1937, 1939

Hammond, William
1911

Hammons, Mark
1973, 1975, 1977

Hancock, Richard E.
1969, 1971

Haney, Enoch Kelly (S)
1981, 1983, 1985

Haning, James F.
1951, 1953

Hansen, Fred
1923

Hansen, Larry
1991*

Hangar, Roy F.
1925

Hankla, John R.
1933, 1935

Harbin, Frank
 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985
 Harbison, J. Horace
 1941, 1943
 Hardesty, Jim W.
 1973, 1975, 1977
 Hardie, Ralph C.
 1921
 Hargis, Sam H.
 1915
 Hargrave, Bob
 1957, 1959
 Hargrave, C. G. (Jerry)
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973
 Hargrave, George Jr. (S)
 1965
 Hargrave, Rodney George
 1979, 1981
 Harkey, B. E. Bill
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957
 Harkey, Paul
 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953
 Harlin, A. V.
 1923
 Harman, J. W.
 1921
 Harp, Jesse A.
 1933, 1937
 Harp, Roy V.
 1921
 Harper, Bill T.
 1961, 1963
 Harper, Bob E.
 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
 1979, 1981
 Harper, J. B. (S)
 1917, 1919, 1923, 1925
 Harrington, Floyd
 1937, 1939
 Harris, Eckles L.
 1911
 Harris, I. L.
 1917, 1919, 1921
 Harris, Kenny D.
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987
 Harris, Leo
 1907
 Harris, Robert T. "Bob"
 1985, 1987
 Harris, T. D.
 1953
 Harrison, Benjamin F.
 1907, 1915, 1919, 1921
 Harrison, Jack M.
 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
 1971
 Harrison, Luther (S)
 1915
 Harrison, Wm. H.
 1907
 Harrower, W. H.
 1929
 Harshbarger, Joe
 1943, 1945, 1947
 Hart, Irving W.
 1907
 Hart, Mason
 1933
 Hart, Orley
 1931
 Hartenbower, A. J.
 1917
 Harvey, J. Bruce
 1983
 Harvey, Raymond
 1929
 Harvey, Roy (S)
 1917, 1919
 Harvison, Geo. D.
 1913
 Harwell, J. A.
 1937
 Hastings, Chris
 1995, 1997, 1999
 Hastings, Joan King
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
 1983
 Hatchett, Texanna L.
 1967, 1969, 1971
 Hathcoat, H. C.
 1945, 1947
 Hawkins, Logan
 1907
 Haworth, Bill (S)
 1949, 1951, 1953, 1959,
 1961
 Hawthorne, Edd C.
 1945, 1947, 1949
 Hay, J. H.
 1919
 Haymes, F. L.
 1909
 Haynes, J. M.
 1913
 Haynes, Ralph C.
 1935, 1937
 Hays, James M.
 1933, 1939
 Head, John
 1929
 Headley, Henry W.
 1915, 1917
 Headrick, V. L.
 1923
 Heaton, Joe L.
 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991
 Heberling, F. A.
 1921
 Hefner, Jerry W.
 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
 1997, 1999
 Heim, George O.
 1909
 Helm, F. C.
 1941, 1943
 Henderson, M. M.
 1925
 Henderson, Nat
 1931, 1933
 Henderson, O. W. T.
 1925, 1927
 Hendon, R. R.
 1915
 Hendrickson, J. L.
 1907, 1917
 Hendrix, Joe G.
 1965
 Hennings, A. E.
 1947
 Henry, Charles T.
 1961, 1973, 1975
 Henry, Claudette
 1987
 Henry, H. D. (S)
 1919
 Henry, Ray D.
 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955
 Henry, Robert H.
 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
 1985
 Henshaw, James E.
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
 1989, 1991, 1993
 Hensley, T. F. (S)
 1915, 1917
 Herod, E. A.
 1921
 Herschberger, C. E.
 1929
 Hert, Robert L.
 1941, 1949, 1951
 Hesser, Jake E.
 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
 1969
 Hester, C. C.
 1925, 1929
 Hibdon, Mina
 1973*, 1975
 Hickman, J. R. (S)
 1925
 Hicks, H. A.
 1917
 Hicks, Leon
 1943
 Hiatt, Todd
 1995, 1997, 1999
 High, Bill
 1939, 1941
 Hill, Archibald B., Jr.
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971
 Hill, Ben H.
 1969, 1971
 Hill, Bennie F.
 1939, 1953, 1955, 1957
 Hill, Bert E.
 1917, 1919
 Hill, C. C.
 1913, 1915
 Hill, C. L.
 1933
 Hill, Dutch
 1937, 1939, 1941
 Hill, E. P. (S)
 1913, 1925, 1927, 1941
 Hill, G. R.
 1919
 Hill, Johnson D.
 1943, 1945
 Hill, S. W.
 1915
 Hill, Walter E.
 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
 1987
 Hilliard, Danny
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Hinds, H. I.
 1943, 1945
 Hinds, Iredelle
 1931, 1933
 Hinds, Roy C.
 1917
 Hines, Ed W.
 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929,
 1943, 1945
 Hobdy, E. J.
 1907
 Hobson, Cal (S)
 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
 1987, 1989
 Hodges, Bert C.
 1917, 1919
 Hoffsommer, J. C.
 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947
 Hogg, T. J. (S)
 1933, 1935
 Hogue, J. Kenneth
 1937, 1939
 Hoke, Geo. A.
 1925
 Holaday, T. W. Bill
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979
 Holcomb, Homer R.
 1961, 1963
 Holden, A. C.
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987
 Holden, Wayne (S)
 1963
 Holder, Joyce Leon
 1961
 Holland, Cicero L.
 1907
 Hollam, J. W.
 1919
 Holliman, John M.
 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939,
 1941, 1943
 Holmes, C. H.
 1915
 Holt, James D.
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991, 1993, 1995
 Holt, Thomas P.
 1945, 1947
 Hood, David Craig
 1975, 1977

Hooper, J. M.
 1925
 Hooper, Roy B.
 1937
 Hooper, Roy B., Jr. (S)
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
 1983, 1985
 Hoover, D. S.
 1919, 1921
 Hoover, Wm. P.
 1929
 Hope, Herbert (S)
 1939, 1941
 Hopkins, Robert E. (S)
 1959, 1961, 1965, 1967,
 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
 1977, 1979, 1981
 Hornbeck, Walter A.
 1919, 1921
 Horton, Guy K.
 1947, 1949, 1953, 1955,
 1957, 1963
 Hotchkin, Ebenezer
 1941
 Houston, Dick
 1939, 1941
 Houston, O. E.
 1917
 Houston, V. G.
 1929
 Howard, Babe (S)
 1929
 Howard, C. J.
 1937, 1941
 Howard, Denton I.
 1967, 1969
 Howard, Gene C. (S)
 1959, 1961
 Howard, James D.
 1991
 Howe, Lee
 1913, 1915, 1937
 Howe, John C.
 1959, 1961
 Howe, R. F.
 1909, 1923, 1925
 Howell, Vernon
 1935
 Howze, Laurence P.
 1959, 1961, 1963
 Hoyt, Fred B.
 1913
 Hoyt, Lester D.
 1935, 1937, 1939
 Huddleston, Don
 1971, 1973
 Huddleston, Frank
 1907, 1909
 Hudgins, L. A.
 1953
 Hudson, George D.
 1907
 Hudson, Sid
 1987, 1989, 1991
 Hudson, Wash (S)
 1915
 Huey, Ben
 1935, 1937, 1939, 1943,
 1945
 Huff, Ila
 1941, 1943
 Huff, J. W.
 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
 1957
 Huff, Thos. J.
 1941
 Hufstedler, S. M.
 1925
 Huggins, A. H.
 1915
 Hughes, D. C.
 1909, 1917, 1933
 Hughes, Wallace G. (S)
 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943,
 1945
 Hultsman, B. N.
 1917
 Humble, Squire
 1917
 Humphreys, Ira D.
 1951, 1953
 Humphreys, J. M.
 1909
 Hunt, George H.
 1935, 1937
 Hunt, Harry G.
 1935, 1937
 Hunt, Wesley B.
 1941, 1943, 1945
 Hunter, Dan T.
 1941
 Hunter, Harold V.
 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969
 Hunter, Lewis
 1915, 1917
 Hunter, Michael J.
 1985, 1987, 1989
 Hunter, Thos. W.
 1913, 1915
 Hurst, Elmo B.
 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959,
 1961, 1963
 Hurst, L. R.
 1917
 Huser, O. S.
 1935
 Huser, Stanley, Jr.
 1957, 1959
 Hussey, T. J.
 1939, 1943, 1945
 Hutchcroft, Kevin
 1987, 1989, 1991
 Hutchens, David
 1965, 1967, 1969
 Hutchings, T. J.
 1933
 Hutchins, S. W.
 1909
 Hutchins, Walter
 1963, 1965, 1967
 Hutchinson, Geo. A. (S)
 1929, 1931
 Hutchison, Joe
 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999
 Hutson, C. T.
 1923
 Hybarger, David C.
 1927
I
 Immell, E. D.
 1929, 1931
 Impson, Hiram
 1944*, 1945
 Ingham, C. H.
 1915
 Ingmire, Terry L.
 1997, 1999
 Inhofe, James M. (S)
 1967
 Inman, Delbert
 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961
 Irby, Bayless (S)
 1943
 Ireton, Henry
 1909
 Isaac, Jim L.
 1989, 1991, 1993
 Isch, Earnest
 1973
 Istook, Ernest Jim
 1987, 1989, 1991
 Ivester, William J.
 1951, 1953
J
 Jackson, Bert
 1915, 1917, 1919
 Jackson, W. C.
 1911
 Jacobs, Isaac
 1909
 Jacobs, Walter E.
 1929
 Jahn, Geo. E.
 1909
 James, Richard
 1951, 1953
 James, T. O.
 1911
 James, Willis
 1927
 Jamison, Geo.
 1911, 1913
 Japp, Amil H.
 1907, 1909
 Jarman, John H., Jr. (S)
 1947
 Jarrett, H. M.
 1907
 Jayne, E. E.
 1911
 Jeffords, W. H.
 1911
 Jelks, Tommie (S)
 1941
 Jennings, Al
 1949
 Jennings, D. O.
 1921
 Jennings, Harry
 1921
 Jerkins, John T.
 1921
 Jesse, Elmer V.
 1907
 Jessee, L. A.
 1931, 1933
 Johnson, A. Visanio
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973,
 1975, 1977, 1979
 Johnson, C. B.
 1917
 Johnson, Don
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
 1981, 1983, 1985
 Johnson, Earl F.
 1937, 1939
 Johnson, Frank C.
 1921
 Johnson, Fletcher M.
 1943, 1945
 Johnson, G. T.
 1919, 1923
 Johnson, Glen D.
 1941
 Johnson, Glen D.
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991, 1993, 1995
 Johnson, J. A.
 1927, 1933, 1935
 Johnson, Joe (Dist 3) (S)
 1973, 1975
 Johnson, Joe E.
 1955
 Johnson, N. J.
 1909, 1911, 1925
 Johnson, Rob
 1989, 1991, 1993
 Johnson, Robt. M.
 1907
 Johnson, S. L. (S)
 1915
 Johnson, Tom
 1927
 Johnson, Walter B.
 1933, 1935
 Johnson, W. J.
 1943, 1945
 Johnston, A. B.
 1949
 Johnston, Alexander, Jr.
 1959, 1961
 Johnston, Jeff (S)
 1975, 1977
 Johnston, W. P.
 1935

Joiner, Fred
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983
Jolly, Harry (S)
1925, 1927
Jones, A. D.
1931, 1933
Jones, C. G.
1907, 1909
Jones, Cham
1911, 1929, 1931
Jones, Charles P.
1931, 1937
Jones, D. L. (S)
1943, 1945, 1947
Jones, F. B.
1923
Jones, Hugh C.
1921
Jones, Kelsie
1959, 1961
Jones, Lawrence
1941
Jones, M. L.
1917
Jones, Tad
1999
Jones, Tupper
1935, 1937
Jones, Will C.
1929
Jones, William G.
1967, 1969
Jones, William L.
1949, 1951
Jordan, Garland
1947
Jordan, Huby
1937
Jordan, W. L.
1941
Joseph, H. V.
1913
Joyner, Thos.
1913
Jumper, Virgil
1955, 1957, 1959

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Kamas, Lewis M.
1967, 1969, 1971, 1973,
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983, 1985, 1987
Kane, Robert M.
1975, 1977, 1979
Kardokus, James M.
1959, 1961, 1963, 1971,
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979**
Karnes, G. H.
1959, 1961
Keating, Frank (S)
1973
Keegan, Ed G.
1915, 1917

Keenan, Bruce L.
1921, 1929
Keim, H. E.
1921
Keith, Claude
1931
Kelly, Arthur A.
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957
Kelly, D. L.
1937
Kelly, Jack
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985
Kelly, S. C.
1917
Kenan, Dan C.
1933
Kenison, Elmer L.
1929, 1931
Kennedy, Billy F.
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979
Kenton, Joe W.
1919
Kerr, Aubrey M.
1935, 1937
Kerr, B. B.
1937, 1939, 1941, 1943,
1945, 1947
Kerr, Bob
1979
Kerr, Eugene M.
1911
Kessler, Eddie G.
1951
Key, Charles
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997
Keys, Chester A.
1935
Keys, George C.
1961, 1963
Kidd, Burton
1923, 1925, 1929
Kight, H. Tom (S)
1919, 1927, 1929, 1931,
1933, 1937, 1939, 1943
Kiker, V. L.
1935, 1937, 1939
Killam, O. W. (S)
1911
Kilpatrick, Don W. (S)
1971, 1973, 1975
Kimerer, W. P. (S)
1919, 1921
Kincheloe, Maxine
1981, 1983, 1985
King, Ed (S)
1931, 1933
King, Geo. L.
1911, 1913
King, Henry Clay
1933, 1935
King, Henry R.
1907, 1909, (H. R.) 1921,
1923, 1925, 1929

King, Milam M.
1937, 1945, 1955, 1957
King, T. Bone
1941, 1943
Kinnamon, Don
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999
Kirby (McConnell), Ron
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999
Kirkpatrick, Ben O.
1931, 1933
Kirkpatrick, D. C.
1915
Kirkpatrick, Glade R.
1935, 1937, 1939, 1941
Kite, Dale
1955, 1957
Klinglesmith, T. K.
1945, 1949, 1951, 1953
Knapp, W. E.
1939, 1943
Kneeland, G. N.
1911
Knight, C. A.
1921
Knight, Jas. R.
1911
Knox, Jas.
1909
Koppel, Donald T.
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987
Kouba, Tony
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999
Kouns, Jim
1947, 1949
Kramer, Phillip J.
1925
Krieger, C. L.
1951, 1953

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Ladd, Wm. J.
1915
Laing, D. H., Jr.
1949
Lancaster, Bill
1975*, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983
Lance, A. J.
1949, 1955, 1957, 1959,
1961, 1963
Landingham, E.
1933
Lane, C. T.
1927
Lane, Jimmie (S)
1967
Langley, Edwin
1949, 1951
Langley, Fred
1929
Langley, W. H.
1941, 1945, 1947, 1949,
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959
Langmacher, Ron
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999
Lansden, Merle
1941, 1943, 1945, 1963
Larason, A. R.
1935, 1937, (A. R.) 1947,
1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
1957, 1959, 1961
Larason, Linda H.
1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
1993
Larch-Miller, Burke
1943
Laskey, Anna
1923, 1925, 1927
Lassiter, John D.
1987, 1989
Latting, Wm. F.
1939, 1941
Lauer, Clayton H.
1961, 1963
Lawson, Curtis L.
1965, 1967
Lawter, J. Mike
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985
Lee, Fred S.
1925
Lee, Porter R.
1953
Leecraft, A. N.
1927, 1929, 1931, 1933,
1937, 1939
Leftwich, J. W.
1911
Leftwich, Keith C. (S)
1983, 1985, 1987
Leist, M. C.
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997, 1999
LeMarr, David M.
1939
Lemon, J. E.
1913, 1915
Lenox, J. M.
1911, 1913
Lester, Pres. S. (S)
1929
Lester, R. C.
1991
Levergood, John T.
1941, 1943, 1945, 1947,
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959, 1961, 1963, 1965*,
1967, 1969
Lewis, Chas. D.
1923, 1925
Lewis, G. W.
1909, (Sr.) 1911
Lewis, Grady
1929

Lewis, Leonard D.
 1913
 Lewis, Stephen C. (Steve)
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
 1989
 Liebmann, Paul G.
 1963
 Lightner, E. H.
 1925
 Lightner, I. M.
 1923
 Lincoln, J. H.
 1909
 Lindley, Al
 1997, 1999
 Lindley, J. Howard
 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955
 Lindsey, J. C.
 1923
 Lindsey, R. W.
 1911
 Lindsey, W. M.
 1907, 1933
 Lindstrom, Jack L. I.
 1969, 1971, 1973
 Liotta, Mark Richard
 1997, 1999
 Little, Nelson
 1981, 1983, 1985
 Littlefield, Rick M. (S)
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991
 Livingston, Clint G.
 1951, 1953, 1957, 1959
 Locke, Victor M., Jr.
 1921
 Lockwood, Jas. H.
 1907, 1909
 Logan, Bill (S)
 1939
 Logan, David M. (S)
 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931
 Logan, Jay
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989
 Logan, O. J.
 1911
 Logsdon, Krit
 1933
 Lohman, Clarence
 1927
 Lollar, Robert C. (S)
 1957, 1959
 London, Chas. M.
 1907
 Long, Charley W.
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957
 Long, Con
 1935, 1937, 1941, 1943,
 1945, 1947, 1953, 1955,
 1957
 Long, G. S.
 1923
 Long, Isaiah H.
 1925

Long, J. Cecil
 1949
 Long, Wm. E.
 1915
 Louthan, M. B.
 1921
 Lovelace, Lon
 1909
 Lowrance, Oscar K.
 1927, 1929, 1933
 Lowry, L. R.
 1923, 1929
 Lucas, Frank D.
 1989, 1991, 1993
 Lucas, Raymond H.
 1939, 1941, 1943
 Lumpkin, W. B.
 1937, 1941
 Lynch, R. H.
 1959

M
 Mabon, J. S.
 1913, 1919, 1923
 Madden, C. H.
 1907
 Madden, Perry
 1911
 Maddox, Jim
 1989, 1991, 1993
 Maddux, Elmer
 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
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 Madrano, D. M.
 1943, 1945
 Mahan, Frank (S)
 1937, 1939, 1941
 Major, J. C.
 1931, 1937
 Mallory, J. H.
 1933
 Manar, Tom J.
 1979*, 1981, 1983, 1985,
 1987, 1989, 1991
 Manning, Frank
 1927
 Manning, Joe R., Jr.
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981
 Mansur, Algernon
 1917
 Manus, Jos. L.
 1907
 Maris, Lester A.
 1909
 Marker, Jerry R.
 1929
 Marsh, J. A.
 1915, 1917
 Marshall, O.
 1911
 Marshall, W. J.
 1933
 Martin, A. G.
 1907

Martin, Ben.
 1931, 1933
 Martin, D. E.
 1935
 Martin, Fred W.
 1953
 Martin, John F.
 1921
 Mason, Floyd
 1951, 1953
 Mason, Twila
 1981, 1983
 Mass, Mike
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
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 Massey, Guy B.
 1931, 1933, 1941, 1943
 Massey, John (S)
 1961, 1963
 Matherly, H. G.
 1929
 Matheson, Mandell L.
 1973, 1975, 1977
 Mathis, C. C.
 1909
 Matlock, Terry J.
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
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 Matthews, D. C.
 1941
 Matthews, R. H.
 1921
 Matthews, Walter H.
 1913
 Mauk, W. L. (S)
 1929, 1931, 1935
 Maxey, Gary
 1989, 1991
 Maxey, J. H.
 1909, 1911, 1913
 Maxey, N. B.
 1915
 Maxwell, L. O.
 1927, 1929
 Mayfield, S. A. (S)
 1917
 McAdoo, W. O.
 1929
 McAdoo, Wm. C.
 1907
 McAlester, W. B.
 1935, 1937
 McArthur, V. D.
 1927
 McBee, W. D.
 1923
 McCabe, Fred
 1939
 McCaleb, Neal A.
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981
 McCalla, John R.
 1907, 1909
 McCance, E. O.
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McCants, J. F.
 1907
 McCarter, Ray
 1997, 1999
 McCarty, J. D.
 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947,
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 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
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 McChristian, Tom
 1961, 1963
 McClean, C. B.
 1947
 McClintock, Robt.
 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931
 McColgin, Bessie S.
 1921
 McColgin, S. S. (S)
 1947, 1949, 1953
 McCollister, J. O.
 1915, 1917
 McCollom, J. W.
 1935
 McCombs, T. M.
 1925, 1927
 McCord, Marvin M.
 1915
 McCorkell, Don, Jr.
 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
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 McCrorey, A.
 1913, 1915
 McCubbins, Robt. R.
 1945
 McCue, Pat S.
 1961, 1963
 McCuiston, C. S.
 1939
 McCune, John W.
 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965,
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 McDermott, Richard B.
 1947
 McDonald, W. B.
 1941, 1943, 1945
 McDonald, Walter R.
 1985, 1989
 McDougal, D. A.
 1931
 McDuffee, J. W.
 1909, 1911
 McElhaney, H. M.
 1907, 1909, 1911, 1933
 McLemore, Thos. H.
 1915
 McFadden, A. L.
 1939, 1941
 McGahey, Jack E.
 1949, 1959
 McGraw, Joseph R. (S)
 1965
 McGuire, Frank H.
 1913

McGuire, Lloyd H.
1947

McIntyre, Bernard J. (S)
1971*, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979, 1981

McKee, Marvin E.
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
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McKenna, Kenneth F, Jr.
1985, 1987

McKenzie, W. H.
1943

McKeown, J. L.
1915

McKinley, Joe Tom
1943

McLaury, Guy L.
1927

McMahan, Cannon B.
1943

McMahan, Thomas G.
1913, 1915

McMillen, John
1985, 1987, 1989

McNabb, L. C.
1919

McNally, R. W.
1943, 1945

McNeese, James A.
1947

McPeak, Lonnie P.
1953

McTaggart, J. B.
1919

McVicker, Edgar L.
1937, 1939

Meacham, E. J.
1917

Meacham, Holland
1959

Meads, E. W.
1945, 1947

Means, J. T.
1939

Medearis, Wilburn H.
1947

Medearis, Robert P. (S)
1987, 1989

Medlock, Virgil B. (S)
1941, 1943, 1945

Meigs, Clarence W.
1947, 1949, 1951

Melton, Wm. J.
1939, 1941

Mentzer, Don
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987, 1989, 1991**

Metcalf, William W.
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963

Merrick, Edward
1909

Milacek, Robert
1977, 1979, 1981

Milburn, W. J.
1911

Miles, C. F.
1945, 1947

Miller, C. L.
1911

Miller, C. W.
1923

Miller, Doug
1995, 1997, 1999

Miller, H. O.
1915, 1917

Miller, Jas.
1921

Miller, John H.
1923, 1925

Miller, O. R.
1925

Miller, Val R.
1951, 1953

Miller, W. P.
1911, 1921, 1923

Miller, Walter
1939

Mills, C. L.
1941, 1943, 1945, 1947

Millsap, A. J.
1909

Milton, Susan M.
1985

Misenheimer, M. L.
1933

Miskelly, John, Jr.
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975, 1977

Miskovsky, George (S)
1939, 1941

Mitchell, Billy Joel
1985, 1987, 1989, 1991,
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Mitchell, Dan
1953

Mitchell, Edith
1923

Mitchell, George E.
1921

Mitchell, Samuel M.
1957, 1959

Mitchell, W. B. M.
1913

Mitchell, Woodward R.
1929

Mitchelson, Grace
1945, 1947

Moad, Jodie S.
1951, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963

Moffett, Ed B.
1935, 1937

Monks, John L.
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985, 1987, 1991, 1993

Monlux, Harold D.
1977, 1979

Monson, Angela (S)
1991, 1993

Montgomery, A. E.
1935, 1937, 1939, 1941,
1945

Montgomery, Henry H.
1955

Montgomery, J. L.
1923

Moon, Charles A. (S)
1927, 1929

Mooney, Bob
1933, 1935

Moore, Clint
1909

Moore, H. M.
1913

Moore, E. A.
1907

Moore, James K.
1911, 1915

Moore, John M.
1909, 1911

Moorehead, F. H.
1951, 1953

Moothart, G. W.
1923

Mordy, Burke G.
1963, 1965

Morford, Tom H.
1953, 1955, 1957

Morgan, Carl (S)
1939, 1941, 1943, 1945

Morgan, Charlie O.
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987

Morgan, Fred
1995, 1997, 1999

Morgan, Gideon
1913, 1919

Morgan, Harold D. (S)
1961, 1963

Morgan, J. A.
1925

Morgan, J. M.
1917, 1919

Morgan, Jim
1987

Morgan, R. J.
1913, 1915, 1917

Morris, Joe W.
1925

Morris, Lon
1919

Morris, Michael D.
1985, 1987

Morris, O. M.
1913

Morris, Walter
1945, 1947, 1949

Morrow, J. A.
1935, 1937

Morse, Wilbur L.
1933, 1935

Morton, Howard
1935

Moss, John S.
1911

Mountcastle, R. M.
1941, 1943, 1945

Mountford, Joseph E.
1959, 1961, 1963, 1965,
1967, 1969, 1971, 1973

Munger, Thomas O.
1935, 1937

Munroe, Thos. I.
1925

Munson, Merton (S)
1933, 1935

Munson, Otis
1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
1957

Murdock, Wm.
1907

Murley, Dan G.
1907

Murphy, J. W.
1925

Murphy, Mike
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985, 1987, 1989

Murphy, S. W.
1909

Murray, Cicero I.
1915

Murray, Wm. H.
1907

Murrow, A. L.
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
1965

Musgrave, Joe E.
1943, 1945, 1947, 1951,
1953, 1955, 1957, 1963,
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971

Musser, Alice
1989

Mustain, Carl Thomas
1955

Myers, Cecil A.
1935, 1939

N

Nairn, James
1927

Nall, Roy T.
1949, 1951

Nance, James C. (S)
1921, 1923 (Stephens),
1927, 1929, 1931 (Cotton),
1937, 1953, 1957, 1959
(McClain)

Nance, John
1999

Nance, Kenneth R.
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977

Nash, O. P.
1927

Nations, Bill
1999

Neal, Tom W.
1917

Neely, S. A.
1921

Neff, L. E.
1917, 1919

Neill, Sam E.
1933

Nelson, W. B.
1953, 1955

Nesbitt, B. F.
1911

Nesbitt, Paul
1915, 1917, 1919

Nevins, James (S)
1957

New, W. H.
1911

Newberry, Horace J.
1929, 1943

Newby, Gene
1985

Newman, P. Z.
1921

Newport, Jim
1997, 1999

Newman, Porter
1917, 1919, 1921

Nichols, Allen G. (S)
1959, 1961

Nichols, E. D.
1961, 1963

Nicholson, J. T.
1917, 1919

Niemi, Bruce E.
1991

Nigh, George P.
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957

Nigh, William L.
1965, 1967

Nix, Kirksey M. (S)
1939, 1941, 1943, 1949

Nixon, C. R.
1947, 1951, 1953, 1955,
1957

Noble, Geo. W.
1929

Noble, Lloyd
1925

Norman, Chester
1941 ..

Norman, Lynn W.
1955

Norris, Charles J.
1955, 1957

Norris, Floyd H.
1937

North, A.
1915

Northcutt, Delmas L.
1961, 1963

Northcutt, E. O.
1917

Norton, Jesse B.
1915

Norton, Mead (S)
1937

Norvell, A. S.
1917

Norvell, Woodson E.
1907

O

Oakes, Francis D.
1973

O'Brien, Edward P.
1935

O'Brien, Joe
1923

O'Bryan, Tom P.
1925, 1927

O'Dell, Homer
1935, 1937, 1939

Odell, O. E.
1925

Odell, Willis C.
1929

Odom, Jack
1963

Odom, Martin
1959, 1961, 1963, 1965,
1967, 1969

Odom, V. H.
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975

Oerke, Lewis F.
1945

Ogden, Frank
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961

Ogden, L. D.
1925, 1927

Ogle, J. H.
1921

O'Neal, Mike
1995, 1997

Oliphant, George W.
1937

Oliver, Richard T.
1949

Olmstead, E. A.
1919

Olmstead, W. H.
1913, 1915, 1917

O'Neal, Geo. W.
1907

O'Neill, F. B.
1933, 1935

O'Neill, John
1919

Orcutt, A. D.
1907

Orendorff, C. H.
1929

Orner, Frank C.
1929

Osborne, George H.
1981, 1983, 1985

Ostrander, Phil
1997, 1999

Otjen, Wm. J. (S)
1923

Ottesen, T. H.
1933

Ottinger, T. C.
1921

Owens, O. O.
1927, 1929

Ownby, A. J.
1945, 1949

Ozmun, Charles G.
1941, 1947, 1949, 1951,
1953, 1955, 1957, 1959

P

Page, Bert F.
1961, 1963, 1965, 1967

Page, Roy H.
1937

Palmer, Herbert M.
1931, 1933

Pardoe, W. F.
1917

Parker, Chas. B.
1929

Parkhurst, Chas. B.
1913

Parkinson, T. A.
1919, 1921

Parks, S. F.
1931, 1933

Parris, Bob
1973, 1975, 1977

Parrish, William
1941, 1943, 1945

Parsons, H. T.
1909

Partridge, George W.
1909

Paschall, Jos. L.
1907, 1909

Patchell, O. W.
1911

Patrick, Dale
1985

Patten, Gordon L.
1957

Patterson, Frank G.
1959, 1961, 1963, 1965,
1967, 1969

Patterson, J. A.
1929

Patterson, M. B.
1939

Patterson, Ruth M.
1965, 1967

Paul, Homer (S)
1927, 1929, 1931

Paulk, William R.
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Pauls, George
1935, 1937, 1939

Paxton, W. W.
1931, 1933

Payne, Gary Edison
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975

Payne, James D.
1951, 1953

Payne, Jay E.
1953, 1955

Payne, M. R.
1923

Payne, Tom
1927

Payne, Tom, Jr. (S)
1953, 1955

Payton, Joseph
1955

Pazoureck, Jean L. (S)
1947, 1949, 1951, 1953,
1955, 1957

Peak, L. B.
1949

Pearson, L. A.
1919, 1921

Peebly, R. L.
1911, 1915

Peery, Cliff V.
1913, 1915

Peltier, Wanda Jo
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995

Pendleton, Richard T.
1941

Pendleton, W. S.
1921

Pendergraft, W. C.
1907

Perry, Dan W.
1911

Perry, Fred
1994*, 1995, 1997, 1999

Perryman, A. S.
1929

Peters, Chas. B.
1911, 1913

Peterson, Charles R.
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
1983

Peterson, Jerry B.
1967, 1969

Peterson, Ray L.
1965

Peterson, W. J.
1931, 1935, 1937

Petry, Everett
1917

Pettigrew, Wayne
1995, 1997, 1999

Phillips, Emerson R.
1935

Phillips, Ferman (S)
1929, 1931, 1933

Phillips, J. B.
1919, 1923

Phillips, Leon C.
1933, 1935, 1937

Phillips, Richard
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Piatt, Greg
1999

Pierce, Jerry T. (S)
1971

Pilgrim, Jessie
1989, 1991, 1993
(Resigned 4/27/93)

Pinkham, C. L.
1913, 1915

Pitcher, George P. (S)
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957

Pitezal, Frank F.
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
1989

Pitman, Valdhe F.
1949, 1951, 1953

Platt, Chas. C.
1917, 1919, 1921

Plummer, Harold
1943

Plunk, Bob
1995, 1997, 1999

Poe, L. M.
1935

Pollock, T. J.
1923

Pomeroy, J. B.
1927

Pope, Clay
1995, 1997, 1999

Pope, H. Everett, Jr.
1953

Pope, Tim
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Porta, A. Francis
1939

Porter, Jos. M.
1907, 1909, 1911

Porter, Perry (S)
1925, 1927

Portwood, S. L.
1919

Poteet, William E.
1935

Potts, Jeff
1989

Poulos, William F.
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981

Powell, Wendell
1989

Powell, Wm. T.
1915, 1917

Powers, J. G.
1939, 1941

Poyner, Kenneth J.
1959, 1961

Pratt, W. O.
1921

Prentice, Charles J.
1973, 1975

Prentiss, M. B.
1913

Price, Arthur L. (S)
1943, 1945

Price, Prentiss
1909

Price, Robert
1957

Priebe, Milton W.
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963

Pritchett, N. D.
1915

Privett, Rex
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971

Pruett, Theo. (S)
1913

Pryor, W. V.
1911

Pryor, W. W.
1919

Pugh, M. T.
1935, 1937

Pugh, M. W. (Commarron)
(S)
1917

Pugh, M. W. (Stephens)
1941, 1943

Pullen, George W.
1915

Pullen, Jess L. (S)
1921, 1923

Putnam, I. M.
1907, 1909

Q

Quinn, W. T.
1947

R

Raasch, F. E.
1935, 1937

Raibourn, D. D.
1965, 1967, 1969

Rainey, R. M.
1907

Ramsey, Dan
1995, 1997

Ramsey, G. A.
1915

Randall, Hugh A.
1913

Randle, Rodger Allen (S)
1971

Ratcliff, E. N.
1909

Ratliff, Edgar
1907, 1909

Ratliff, J. M.
1909

Rawls, Clarence
1933, 1935

Ray, Leslie I.
1923

Redburn, S. M.
1919

Redman, Manville
1961

Reece, J. W.
1913, 1927

Reed, Arthur
1943, 1945

Reed, Jean R.
1935

Reed, Raymond William
1963, 1965

Reeder, Lloyd
1949, 1951

Reese, Jim
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997, 1999

Reeves, C. R.
1927

Reeves, L. L.
1907, 1909

Reid, David C.
1955

Reigner, J. H.
1915

Reily, F. H.
1927

Reimer, Rollin
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985

Reinwand, A. M.
1925, 1931

Remund, Carl W.
1931, 1933

Reneau, Frank
1959, 1961

Renegar, James F.
1951

Renfro, A. J.
1911

Reudy, Lloyd M.
1957

Rexroat, U. T. (S)
1911, 1913

Reynolds, Norman E., Jr.
1949, 1951, 1953

Reynolds, Robert H., Jr.
1949

Reynolds, Russell C.
1951

Rhoads, Karroll G.
1989, 1991, 1993

Rhoades, Ralph S. (S)
1963

Rhoads, Githen K.
1953, 1955

Rhodes, Chester Dusty
1987, 1991, 1993, 1995

Rice, Austin H.
1921

Rice, Larry
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997, 1999

Richardson, Robert E. Lee
1959

Richardson, Sam
1961

Rickerd, R. L.
1931

Richeson, O. E.
1957, 1959, 1961

Riddle, Albert S.
1907, (A. S.) 1913

Riddle, Virgil E.
1927

Rider, T. L. (S)
1907, 1909, 1913

Rieger, Homer
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987

Riley, Fletcher
1917

Riggs, Dick
1941, 1947, 1949

Riggs, M. David (S)
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987**

Rigsby, Clive
1963

Rives, Bob
1957

Roach, Russ
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997, 1999

Robberson, J. M.
1921

Roberson, Curtis
1949

Roberts, David C., Jr.
1925, 1933, 1935, 1937

Roberts, Henry R.
1959

Roberts, Hollis E.
1975, 1977, 1979

Roberts, Larry D.
1984*, 1985, 1987, 1989,
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999

Roberts, W. L.
1913

Roberts, Walt
1987, 1989, 1991

Robertson, Clarence D., Jr.
1963

Robertson, Ida L.
1925

Robertson, Rex C.
1931

Robertson, W. W.
1917, 1919, 1921, 1923

Robinson, Bill
1975, 1977, 1979, 1981

Robinson, Carl
1969, 1971

Roe, D. L.
1927, 1929

Rogers, Chas. L.
1927

Rogers, Cleeta John (S)
 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959
 Rogers, Harry H.
 1917
 Rogers, Remington
 1921
 Rogers, Tom
 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
 1977
 Rogers, Will (S)
 1939, 1941
 Rogers, Wm. S.
 1909
 Rogers, Willie F.
 1979, 1981, 1983
 Roggow, Curt
 1999
 Roland, J. J.
 1911
 Rollins, O. G.
 1915
 Romang, Richard E. (S)
 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
 1957, 1959
 Romine, M. W.
 1919
 Rone, Ira
 1935
 Roper, Clay M.
 1929, 1931
 Rorschach, Jack L. (S)
 1939
 Rose, Flavius P.
 1911, 1913
 Roselle, Joe L.
 1965
 Ross, A. F.
 1907
 Ross, Don
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Ross, Leslie P.
 1909
 Rossiter, Joseph P.
 1923
 Rotenberry, J. J.
 1909
 Rowe, Prentiss E.
 1945
 Rowland, J. E.
 1917
 Ruby, Russell
 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
 1963
 Ruby, W. T.
 1913
 Rupard, Wm. M.
 1925
 Rush, LaRue
 1939
 Rushing, John D.
 1965, 1967
 Russell, Bert
 1987

Russell, H. L.
 1913
 Russell, John W., Jr. (S)
 1947, 1949, 1951
 Russell, Mona Jean
 1945, 1947
 Rust, Max
 1963
 Ruth, Chas. H.
 1919
 Rutherford, R. B.
 1913
 Ryan, Wm. J.
 1925

S
 Sadler, Al
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997
 Sadler, Ewing C.
 1935
 Salter, Leslie E.
 1921, 1923
 Saltsman, E. F.
 1923
 Sampsel, G. A.
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957
 Sams, Eldon E.
 1915, 1929
 Sanders, E. C. Sandy
 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985
 Sanders, Newt
 1923, 1925
 Sandlin, Hugh M. (S)
 1953, 1955, 1965, 1967,
 1969, 1971, 1973
 Sands, Abel J.
 1907
 Sanguin, Wayne
 1961, 1965, 1967, 1969,
 1971, 1973
 Sare, Clyde W.
 1959, 1961
 Satterfield, Shelby D.
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997
 Savage, Alex C.
 1909
 Savage, Jas. J.
 1909
 Scarbrough, Bob
 1957
 Schiegel, B. H.
 1929
 Schroeder, Larry J.
 1985
 Schwabe, Geo. B.
 1919, 1921
 Schwoerke, C. W.
 1935, 1937
 Scofield, W. A.
 1921
 Scott, A. Dean
 1941
 Scott, Folsom M.
 1953

Scott, Jimie
 1947
 Scott, John N.
 1917
 Scott, John W.
 1919
 Searcy, Geo. T.
 1911, 1913
 Sears, Clyde L.
 1929
 Segrest, D. A.
 1945, 1947
 Seids, F. C.
 1949
 Seikel, Mark
 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
 1997, 1999
 Sellers, John
 1999
 Selvidge, Wm. M.
 1939, (Bill) 1941
 Semple, Wm. F.
 1909, 1911
 Settle, Bill
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Settles, Garfield
 1961, 1963
 Sewell, Frank A.
 1927
 Sexton, C. E.
 1909
 Shackelford, H. C.
 1939
 Sharp, E. G.
 1921
 Sharp, N. E.
 1913
 Shaw, Frank V.
 1925
 Shaw, L. A.
 1931
 Shearer, John S. (S)
 1907, 1909, 1911
 Sheegog, Ed
 1917
 Shelton, E. H.
 1943, 1945, 1947
 Sheppard, Ronald Gary
 1979
 Sherman, H. H.
 1913
 Sherman, J. R.
 1907, 1909
 Sherman, Joe
 1929
 Sherman, Nathan S.
 1965
 Sherman, Robert H.
 1943, 1945, 1949, 1951
 Sherrer, Gary L.
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987

Shibley, William K.
 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953,
 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
 1963
 Shilling, Marvin F.
 1921
 Simmons, J. H.
 1909
 Shipley, Bill
 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947,
 1955, 1959, 1961, 1963
 Shipley, E. E.
 1937
 Shirley, Silas M.
 1917
 Shoemake, Ceph
 1937
 Shoemake, F. N.
 1933, 1935, 1937
 Shoemake, Shockley T.
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
 1959
 Shores, Roy
 1917
 Shotts, Ron
 1973, 1975
 Shumate, Wade H.
 1945, 1947, 1949
 Shurden, Frank D. (S)
 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985
 Sibley, W. S.
 1945
 Sigler, Guy H.
 1923
 Sill, Steve
 1983
 Simmons, Earl L.
 1957
 Simpler, John
 1925
 Simpson, J. Horace
 1921
 Simpson, J. W.
 1923
 Simpson, John A.
 1915
 Sims, Charles A.
 1949, 1951
 Singletary, R. A.
 1923, 1925, 1927
 Singleton, Ewell Sam
 1945
 Singleton, Sandy H.
 1933, 1935, 1937
 Sitton, Henry W.
 1915
 Skaggs, Jack R.
 1959, 1961, 1963
 Skeith, William H.
 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
 1971
 Skeen, C. A.
 1907

Skinner, R. W.
 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931,
 1935
 Slater, John M.
 1957
 Smaligo, John
 1995
 Smalley, Joe A. (S)
 1947, 1949
 Smalley, Joe H.
 1933
 Smalley, Phil (S)
 1965
 Smallwood, J. Arthur
 1921
 Smith, Bill
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991, 1993, 1995
 Smith, Dale
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Smith, Dave L.
 1949, 1951
 Smith, David (Tulsa)
 1993
 Smith, David L. (Washita)
 1907
 Smith, Dean H.
 1951, 1953, 1955
 Smith, E. W.
 1965, 1967, 1969
 Smith, Elias
 1925, 1927
 Smith, George W.
 1911
 Smith, Harold D.
 1957
 Smith, Harvey H.
 1913
 Smith, Herbert D.
 1955
 Smith, Hopper Thomas
 1997, 1999
 Smith, Howell
 1907, 1909 (Custer), 1913
 (Dewey)
 Smith, J. B.
 1919, 1921, 1927, 1929
 Smith, J. C.
 1915, 1917
 Smith, Jerry F.
 1981, (Jerry) 1983
 Smith, Jerry L. (S)
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979
 Smith, Joe (S)
 1909
 Smith, Joseph
 1907, 1909
 Smith, Lee B.
 1907, 1909
 Smith, Louis
 1951, 1953
 Smith, Marshall L.
 1923
 Smith, Norman A.
 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
 1969
 Smith, Otto
 1921
 Smith, Percy M.
 1941, 1943
 Smith, Richard
 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953
 Smith, S. J.
 1911
 Smith, T. W.
 1919
 Smith, Vondel L.
 1967
 Smith, W. G.
 1907
 Smithey, Roger L.
 1965, 1967, 1969
 Snelson, A. J.
 1907
 Snider, George D.
 1987
 Snider, Woodie
 1943
 Snoddy, E. W.
 1927, 1929, 1931
 Sokolosky, Jerry D.
 1965, 1967
 Sparger, Rex
 1957, 1959
 Sparkman, Mattison E.
 1947
 Sparkman, Wiley
 1951, 1953, 1957, 1959,
 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
 1977, 1979, 1981
 Sparks, H. L.
 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963,
 1965
 Speakman, Streeter
 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945,
 1947
 Speakman, Streeter, Jr.
 1949, 1951
 Spear, Fred
 1933
 Spear, Lucien C.
 1935, 1937, 1951, 1953,
 1955, 1957, 1959, 1963
 Spearman, C. H., Jr.
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971
 Speck, Burr (S)
 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939,
 1941
 Speer, J. P.
 1915, 1917
 Spencer, Ralph
 1935, 1937, 1939
 Spengler, J. L.
 1913
 Spicer, Elizie S.
 1941, 1943
 Spraker, George Dick
 1959, 1961
 Staats, Carl W.
 1953, 1955
 Stacy, Gaylon L.
 1985, 1987
 Staggs, Barbara
 1995, 1997, 1999
 Stagner, George H.
 1907
 Stahl, Rick
 1981
 Standley, Roger E.
 1943, 1945
 Standridge, J. A.
 1935
 Stanley, Fred
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Stanley, R. H.
 1929, 1931
 Starr, Orange W.
 1943, 1945
 Staten, James M.
 1947
 Steen, J. W.
 1911
 Steffen, J. W.
 1919, 1921
 Steidley, Dwayne
 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
 1995, 1997
 Stephenson, Ira
 1937
 Stephenson, Tom R.
 1975, 1977, 1979
 Stettmund, H. G.
 1907
 Stevens, Frank
 1907
 Stevens, Tom
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965
 Stevenson, Alfred (S)
 1917, 1919
 Stevick, F. D.
 1931
 Steward, Jerry
 1977, 1979
 Stewart, M. A.
 1933
 Stewart, M. Shawnee
 1951, 1953
 Stewart, Noble R.
 1955, 1957, 1959
 Stewart, Paul (S)
 1923, 1925
 Stilwell, R. F.
 1913
 Stilwell, Robert
 1931
 Stinson, Boyce
 1951
 Stipe, Gene (S)
 1949, 1951, 1953
 Stites, J. T.
 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
 1999
 Stivers, James E.
 1907
 Stockton, T. H.
 1911
 Stokes, M. I.
 1919
 Stokes, Virgil L. (S)
 1935, 1937
 Stone, Thos. P.
 1925, 1927
 Stone, W. B.
 1907
 Stoner, Elbert S.
 1937
 Storms, C. S. (S)
 1919
 Story, Joe
 1943, 1945
 Stottlemire, Gary
 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989,
 1991, 1993, 1995
 Stovall, Amos
 1939, 1941, 1943
 Stovall, D. A.
 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925,
 1927, 1929
 Stovall, Jesse
 1941
 Stratton, David
 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975
 Strauss, Arthur J.
 1927
 Strayhorn, J. F.
 1921, 1925
 Street, Allen
 1919, 1923, 1925, 1929,
 1931
 Streetman, F. M.
 1941, 1943, 1945
 Streets, George
 1937
 Strickland, Otto
 1925, 1929, 1931, 1933
 (Pontotoc), 1957 (Atoka)
 Strickland, Rex
 1933
 Strickland, Tom E.
 1961, 1963
 Strong, Wm. A.
 1925
 Stull, Arthur A.
 1909
 Sturgell, G. B.
 1933
 Sugg, H. P.
 1947, 1949
 Sullins, Walter D.
 1931
 Sullivan, J. J.
 1909
 Sullivan, Jerome, Jr.
 1963, 1965

Sullivan, John
1995, 1997, 1999

Sullivan, L. C.
1943

Sullivan, Leonard E.
1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
1995, 1997, 1999

Sullivan, Mike
1969, 1971

Sullivan, P. D.
1925, 1927

Sullivan, Sam
1933, 1935, 1939, 1961

Summers, Owen
1947

Sumner, Laverne
1947

Sumrall, Floyd
1949, 1951, 1953, 1955,
1957

Surry, C. M.
1931

Sutherland, Jack
1933

Swan, J. Harry
1937

Swank, Chilton
1953

Sweeden, Joe
1999

Sweeney, A. F.
1939

Sweeney, Clarence
1953, 1955, 1957

Swengel, Edward
1907

Swinton, Judy
1975, 1977

Sykes, Jas. H.
1915

T

Tabor, Pauline
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969

Tabor, Wm.
1907, 1911

Taggart, J. Thomas
1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
1969, 1971, 1973

Taliaferro, Jim (S)
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959, 1961, 1963

Talley, Denver
1979, 1981, 1983, 1985,
1987, 1989

Tandy, John F.
1907

Tankersley, Clarence
1937, 1939, 1944*, 1945

Tarwater, William R.
1967, 1969, 1971

Tate, Ernest W.
1941, 1943, 1949, 1951,
1953

Tate, H. M.
1909

Tate, Tom D.
1961, 1963

Taylor, B.
1919, 1921, 1923, 1925,
1927

Taylor, Gary S.
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Taylor, Jessie E. (S)
1935, 1937

Taylor, Nat (S)
1931

Taylor, Owen B.
1945, (Owen) 1947, 1949

Taylor, Richard F.
1963

Taylor, Robert S.
1951, 1953, 1955

Taylor, Stratton (S)
1979, 1981

Taylor, T. D.
1923

Taylor, Tom G.
1913, 1915

Tehee, Houston B.
1911, 1913

Temple, D. E.
1939, 1941

Tener, H. O.
1913

Terral, J. E.
1909

Terwilleger, O. H.
1925

Testerman, E. T. (S)
1911, 1913, 1915

Thirsk, J. E.
1919

Thomas, Alfred
1963

Thomas, Drew B.
1937

Thomas, G. C.
1927

Thomas, G. H. A.
1917

Thomas, George W.
1929

Thomas, Harold
1961, 1963

Thomas, J. E.
1924*

Thomas, John J.
1927, 1931

Thomas, R. B.
1919

Thomas, Tommy
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

Thomes, C. H.
1913

Thompson, Carolyn A.
1985, 1987, 1989, 1991

Thompson, Claud
1941, 1943, 1945, 1947

Thompson, David L.
1993

Thompson, Donald D.
1975, 1977, 1979

Thompson, James M.
1923, 1925, 1927

Thompson, Joe
1947

Thompson, Mick
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983

Thompson, Price
1923, 1925

Thompson, R. J.
1913

Thompson, Ralph G.
1967, 1969

Thompson, S. J.
1945

Thompson, Will M.
1927

Thorn, Paul C.
1925

Thornbrugh, C. Michael
1993, 1995, 1997, 1999

Thornhill, Lynn
1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
1971, 1973, 1975

Thornhill, Wm. A.
1925, (W. A.) 1931

Thornley, C. E.
1923, 1925

Thornsborough, W. B.
1923

Thornton, Murrell H.
1935, 1937

Thrash, J. M.
1911

Thurmond, J. A.
1917

Ticer, N. A. J.
1917, 1919, 1923

Tiffany, William E.
1947, 1949

Tillery, A. Duff
1929, 1932**

Tillotson, J. A.
1907, 1909

Timmons, Henry C. (S)
1931, 1933

Tinker, Virgil B.
1955, 1957, 1959, 1961,
1963, 1965

Tipps, John T.
1955

Toaz, Harold A.
1943, 1945, 1947

Todd, B. W.
1931, 1933

Todd, Flake
1991, 1993

Tolbert, H. G.
1951, 1953

Tolbert, Ike
1944*, 1945, 1947, 1949,
1951

Tolbert, James R.
1923

Tolle, Dwight
1947

Tompkins, Elmer
1939, 1941

Tooley, A. W.
1909, 1911

Toure, Opio
1994*, 1995, 1997, 1999

Townsend, James B.
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979

Townsend, Owen
1939

Traw, B. J.
1935, 1937

Traw, Tom
1957, 1959, 1961, 1963

Treadway, H.
1915, 1917, 1923

Treadwell, Fred
1945

Trent, Bob A. (S)
1949, 1977, 1979, 1981

Trent, Ray
1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
1973

Trent, W. R.
1927, 1929

Trevathan, J. L.
1919, 1921, 1943

Trimble, Glenn W.
1919

Trout, K. T.
1939

Tucker, J. F.
1909

Tucker, Ray
1961, 1963

Turlington, M. M.
1917

Turner, Dale
1997, 1999

Turner, J. D.
1931, 1933

Turner, Jan
1973

Turner, M.
1907, 1909

Tuxhorn, Scott Edward
1963

Twidwell, Carl
1935

Twidwell, Carl, Jr.
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983

Twist, Glenn J.
1953

Tylee, Clarence L.
1921

Tyler, Mike
1989*, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999

U

Ulmark, Arthur W.
1933, 1935
Underwood, W. H.
1943, 1945
Upchurch, G. G.
1947
Utterback, Harvey
1907, 1909

V

Vaden, J. W.
1917
Vanatta, Benny F.
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
1989**
VanDall, G. I. (S)
1923
Vandever, J.
1907
Vandeventer, A. F. (S)
1907
Vandiver, Ralph
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1959, 1961, 1963
VanDyck, Charles D.
1939, 1941, 1943, 1945
VanHooser, Ray
1959, 1961
Vann, Charles W. (S)
1967, 1969
Varnum, Wilbur F.
1923
Vaughan, J. F.
1919
Vaughn, George
1973*, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
1989, 1991, 1993
Vaughn, Ray
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999
Veatch, Andrew A.
1913
Veitch, William A.
1987, 1989, 1991
Venters, Harley E.
1955
Vernon, W. S.
1923
Virtue, Nancy
1983, 1985
Vogle, Henry L.
1909, 1911
Voorhees, John N.
1923, 1925, 1927
Vosburgh, E. G.
1911, 1913
Voskuhl, Sean
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997

W

Wadley, Robert L. (S)
1953, 1955
Waggoner, John
1947
Wagner, Bob
1929, 1931, 1933, 1939
Wagner, John E.
1949
Walden, Asa E.
1915, 1917, 1919
Waldrep, Tom C. (S)
1915, 1917, 1919
Walker, Don W.
1931
Wallace, Bill
1943, 1949
Wallace, Creekmore
1939, 1941, 1943, 1945
Wallace, Robt.
1909
Wallace, W. R., Jr.
1949, 1951
Wallace, Wayne
1949, 1951
Wallace, Wilson
1937, 1939, 1945, 1947
Walton, F. L.
1925
Ward, Earl
1945
Ward, Henry
1909
Ware, Lewis G.
1927
Warhurst, Harry P.
1931
Warren, R. K.
1917
Washington, Paul
1941, 1943, 1945, 1947
Wasson, Clark
1929
Waters, C. W.
1943
Watkins, H. P.
1947
Watkins, L. E.
1923
Watkins, Ralph
1959, 1961, 1963, 1965,
1967
Watrous, Eugene
1907, 1909, 1911
Watson, Frank
1927
Watson, J. A.
1927, 1933
Watson, J. E.
1927
Watson, J. L.
1923
Watson, L. C.
1923

Watson, M. M.
1921, 1923, 1925, 1929
Wayland, Russell
1969*, 1971
Weaver, Carlton
1931
Weaver, Elbert R.
1937, 1939, 1941, 1943,
1945
Weaver, L. W.
1925
Weaver, Robert E.
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995,
1997, 1999
Webb, Anderson A.
1919
Webb, Dan
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997,
1999
Webb, M. L.
1911
Webb, Paul E.
1939, 1941
Webber, C. D.
1927, 1929
Webster, Hugh
1927
Weese, Don
1991, 1993, 1995, 1997
Weichel, Jerry
1973, 1975, 1977, 1979,
1981
Welch, C. A.
1917
Welch, Don
1935, 1937, 1939
Welch, Don E.
1951
Welch, Hal
1945, 1947, 1949
Welch, Lee
1951, 1953, 1955
Welch, Mort A.
1951, 1953, 1955, 1957,
1963
Welch, Thos. J.
1915
Wells, Dale W.
1993*, 1995, 1997, 1999
Welty, D. B.
1913
West, Robert E.
1917, 1919
Wettengel, H. P.
1925
Whayne, John R.
1909
Wheatley, J. A.
1944*
Wheatley, Richard L., Jr.
1959
Wheeler, Syd J.
1917, 1919
Whitaker, Chas.
1921

Whitaker, Joe M. (S)
1929, 1931
Whitaker, Samuel G.
1935, 1937
White, Clark F.
1947
White, Clinton
1947
White, E. O.
1931
White, E. P.
1923, 1925
White, Edward F.
1925
White, J. T.
1921
White, John B.
1965
White, Lyman W.
1909
White (Rankin), Vickie
1987, 1989
Whitehurst, George C.
1907
Whiteneck, O. R.
1939, 1941
Whitford, Chas. A.
1933, 1941, 1943, 1945
Whitman, S. F.
1911, 1913
Whitson, Thos. C.
1907, 1909
Whitt, O. H.
1929, 1935
Whittett, Gladys
1925
Whorton, J. D.
1969, 1971, 1973, 1975,
1977, 1979, 1981, 1983,
1985
Wickersham, Victor E.
1971, 1973, 1975, 1977,
1988*
Widener, Bill
1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
1989, 1991, 1993, 1995
Wiedemann, Anna Belle
1969, 1971
Wilcox, Jack
1951
Wilcox, John W.
1941
Wilcox, Roger S.
1959
Wilder, Webster, Jr.
1935, 1937
Wiley, J. M.
1943, 1945
Wilhelm, O. R.
1961
Wilkerson, John C. (S)
1959
Wilkes, T. G.
1915

Williams, A. E.
 1943, 1947
 Williams, B. L.
 1945, 1947
 Williams, Ben T.
 1907, 1909
 Williams, Carl
 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963
 Williams, Charles
 1915, 1931 (Cimmaron &
 Texas), 1933 (Texas)
 Williams, Danny
 1989, 1991, 1993
 Williams, Freddy H.
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987,
 1989
 Williams, G. J.
 1935
 Williams, Howard D.
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
 1973
 Williams, J. E.
 1919
 Williams, J. Don
 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959
 Williams, J. Roy
 1907, 1911, 1913
 Williams, James R.
 1949, 1951
 Williams, James W.
 1961
 Williams, Joe L.
 1923
 Williams, Penny (S)
 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987
 Williams, T. O.
 1911
 Williams, W. B.
 1913
 Williamson, Allen
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973
 Williamson, James A.
 1981, 1983, 1985
 Williamson, Richard
 1987, 1989
 Willingham, Elmer
 1937
 Willis, Maurice L.
 1959, 1961
 Willis, Willard O.
 1963
 Willis, William P.
 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965,
 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973,
 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981,
 1983, 1985
 Wilmot, M. W.
 1933
 Wilson, Basil R. (S)
 1951
 Wilson, Ben F.
 1907, 1909
 Wilson, C. D. (S)
 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957
 Wilson, Charles M. (S)
 1951
 Wilson, D. A.
 1927, 1929
 Wilson, G. L. (S)
 1909
 Wilson, George A.
 1941
 Wilson, Jimmie
 1931
 Wilson, Purman
 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945,
 1947
 Wilson, Robert (Bob)
 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979
 Wilt, Mike
 1997, 1999
 Wimbish, Moss
 1939, 1941
 Wimbish, Robt. J.
 1917, 1929
 Winchester, Susan
 1999
 Windle, J. G. H.
 1923, 1925, 1927
 Wingo, G. H.
 1933, 1935
 Winn, Wayne (S)
 1977, 1979
 Wiseman, William J., Jr.
 1975, 1977, 1979
 Wismeyer, L. A.
 1917, 1919, 1921
 Witcher, Harold L.
 1953, 1955
 Witt, J. D.
 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971,
 1973
 Witt, James B.
 1939, 1941, 1961
 Wixson, Douglas C.
 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969,
 1971, 1973
 Wolf, Leland
 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959,
 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967,
 1969, 1971, 1973
 Wolf, W. Hendrix
 1943
 Wolfe, Lewis F.
 1949, 1951, 1953
 Wolfe, Stephen C. (S)
 1967, 1969, 1971
 Wood, David
 1947
 Woodard, W. G.
 1913, 1917, 1919
 Woods, E. E. (S)
 1917
 Woodson, D. S.
 1911
 Wooten, D. T.
 1923
 Wooten, Marvin
 1933, 1935, 1937
 Worthen, Robert D.
 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993,
 1995, 1997, 1999
 Worthington, Henry W. (S)
 1937, 1939, 1943
 Worthington, Monte C.
 1933, 1935, 1937
 Wortman, C. S.
 1909
 Wortman, Thos. B.
 1907
 Wren, T. H.
 1923, 1925
 Wright, J. Carl
 1935
 Wright, John
 1999
 Wright, John H. (S)
 1911, 1913, 1915
 Wright, Karl V.
 1945
 Wright, Thomas Z.
 1933, 1935
 Wyand, J. E.
 1913
 Wyatt, B. B.
 1931
 Wyatt, Tom
 1941
 Wyly, Percy II
 1935
 Wynn, Leo H.
 1971, 1973

 X

 Y
 Yates, Tommie J.
 1963
 York, Gary R.
 1991, 1993
 York, Marvin B. (S)
 1969, 1971, 1973
 Young, Howard (S)
 1951
 Young, James A.
 1915
 Young, Virgil (S)
 1951, 1953

 Z
 Zabloudil, Jake
 1915
 Zimmerman, Jim
 1987

Appendix IV

**Oklahoma House of Representatives
Then and Now**

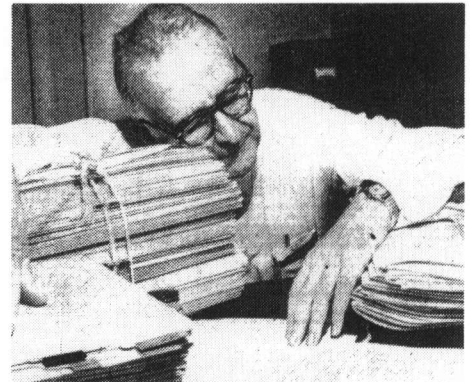
In the preparation of this historical perspective, there are a number of extremely important aspects of the Oklahoma House of Representatives' history that deserve to be preserved that could not easily be included in the major text. One of the more satisfying aspects of this effort has been the opportunity to preserve parts of the House's history that otherwise soon would have vanished. Much of the material in this appendix is for an audience with a serious interest in the evolution of the House of Representatives. Parts of the following were made possible only through conversations with persons who were involved in the legislative process during the 1940's and 1950's.

Sessions

The writers of the Oklahoma Constitution had a vision of a Legislature that would be part-time in nature, composed of citizen lawmakers who would come to the state capital and perform their legislative duties in a three- or four-month period in the odd-numbered year following their election, and then return to their normal occupations. Certainly, there would be rare times that they might be called back for a special session.

Although the original Oklahoma Constitution did not put any length restrictions on regular sessions, it did provide strong financial incentives to keep the length of sessions to a minimum. The salary of legislators was set in the Constitution at six dollars per day for sixty days, after which their pay dropped to two dollars per day. During the two-dollar days (frequently referred to as the "hamburger diet days"), rank and file members became quite anxious to wrap up the session. In some sessions, when it became apparent that the work would need to continue much longer than the sixty days, the Governor and legislative leaders would agree to a special session so that members would again receive the six-dollars-per-day salary. The only other compensation that members received was ten cents per mile for their travel to the capital. There was no provision made for lodging and meals as there is today.

For many years, the interpretation of the law was that members received the six dollars per day for the first sixty calendar days. Later, it was paid on a working-day basis, so sessions could be extended a little longer before the "hamburger diet days" began.



*Russell Ruby from Muskogee, Chair of the Committee on Appropriations and Budget, at end of 1959 session.
Source: The Daily Oklahoman, July 4, 1959*

Compensation and the length of sessions remained an issue for nearly four decades as the purchasing power of six dollars eroded. Three times before 1948 (1920, 1926, and 1938) legislative compensation state questions were referred to voters and defeated. The approval of State Question 329 in 1948 raised legislative compensation to fifteen dollars per day for up to seventy-five legislative days in a regular or special session and one hundred dollars per month after that. Regular sessions from 1948 until the 1967 session used the entire seventy-five days and more.

The next major change in legislative sessions occurred in 1966 when voters approved annual ninety-day legislative sessions. By that time, inadequate legislative compensation had once again become a source of concern for lawmakers. However, voters again rejected three attempts (first in 1960 and twice in 1964) to raise compensation before the last compensation amendment to the Constitution was approved in August 1968. State Question 462 established a nine-member Board of Legislative Compensation, with five members appointed by the Governor and two each by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Senate President Pro Tempore. This Board was given the constitutional authority to set legislative compensation. The Board set legislative compensation that fall at \$8,400 per year. House members elected during the 1968 campaign received \$1,000 for the first three calendar months and \$600 per month thereafter. Later compensation increases established by the Board have come at more regular intervals. In addition to increased compensation, members who had to live away from home during the session started receiving a per diem to cover meal and lodging expenses in 1976.

Much like the age-old plea of college students for their parents to send more money, a consistent complaint of House members has been the long days and crush of legislation and insufficient time to read the bills at the end of sessions. The legislative sessions, when limited only by the ninety- legislative-days limit (and more so when there was no limits before 1966) frequently stretched well into the summer months. During the Speakerships of Clint Livingston and two of the three sessions of Speaker J.D. McCarty, regular sessions ended in July. Not counting the first session of the Legislature in 1907-8, the 1961 and 1965 sessions tied for the record of 117 legislative days. Moreover, with rare exceptions, most sessions of the Legislature until the 1990's ended in the late hours of the night. It was quite common for both chambers to "cover the clock," until the practice ended in 1978, in order to work past the time set for sine die adjournment. On numerous occasions, the desk would be held open for hours or days, with members taking shifts in the chamber, before work could be completed.

Since 1989 when voters approved an initiative petition pushed by Governor Bellmon, sessions must end by 5 p.m. on the last Friday in May. The shortened session amendment also has caused the session to start the first Monday in February rather than the first Tuesday after the first Monday in January (which is now used only in odd-numbered years for a half-day organizing session). Shorter sessions (in 1999 there were only sixty-nine legislative days) have caused the House to seek measures to compensate for fewer legislative days. For example, bill request and introduction deadlines have been moved up so that House committees can meet to review the legislation in the last two weeks of January.

Voters Won't Approve That!

When Oklahoma voters approved State Question 435, a legislative referendum proposing annual legislative sessions on May 24, 1966, there were fewer surprised citizens than the House leadership. Senate Joint Resolution 7 was one of the key reform planks for modernizing state Legislatures. However, Speaker Pro Tempore Rex Privett recently said that the House leadership agreed to vote the measure out of conference as a courtesy to Senate President Pro Tempore Clem McSpadden, the Senate author who had worked with the Oklahoma League of Women Voters on the legislation, but House leaders expected voters to disapprove the question. The House author was J. W. Bynum of Locust Grove. The resolution was approved in the House 91-0, and voters changed the operations of the Legislature dramatically by narrowly approving the question.

Still, the complaint about the volume of legislation and the flood of bills at the end of a session remains. By way of historical contrast, this was perhaps as much a problem in early Legislatures when there were no legislative deadlines to manage the bill workload. Bills could be introduced at any time. This included the departmental and institutional appropriation bills (the major appropriation bills for many decades) which might only be introduced in the last weeks of a session.

Beginning in 1961, the Legislature adopted joint legislative deadlines to bring greater rationality to the legislative process. At the time, legislative deadlines were advocated as reform to improve legislative performance and to avoid the “physical and mental exhaustion” and “chaos” at the end of sessions. The authors spoke from experience since the joint resolution was passed near the end of a session that tied for the most legislative days since the First Legislature. This first attempt at establishing deadlines was conservative by today’s schedule. The deadline for introducing bills was the fiftieth legislative day. Of course, the deadlines have changed a great deal, particularly regarding bill introductions. For the 2000 session, the deadline for requesting bills is in mid-December and bill introduction in mid-January.

While deadlines may have helped to rid the legislative process of some of the problems House members complained of, the dramatic increase in the number of bills introduced has been a continuing source of complaints. In the 1990’s, the number of bills and joint resolutions introduced ranged from a low of 1,238 in 1992 to a high of 2,032 in 1997. The House responded to the concern over too many bills in the 1998 session by adding an eight-bill per-session limit (with exceptions for certain measures such as appropriations bills). As a result, there was a reduction in House measures introduced from over 1,200 in 1997 and 1998 to just over 800 in 1999. In addition, recent rule changes have enabled members to have more time to read legislation. Computers give members almost instantaneous access to various versions of bills as they change through session.

Special sessions have become somewhat more frequent in the 1990’s, partly because of the new restrictions on legislative sessions. The House has had thirty-one special sessions since statehood. Six of those were called in this decade.

Committees

From statehood, standing committees in the Oklahoma House of Representatives have played a vital role in its history. In the First Legislature, there were fifty-three House standing committees. Many of those were designed to work on specific legislation needed to implement portions of the Oklahoma Constitution, such as the Committee on Prohibition Enforcement. Others focused more directly on the legislative process of the House’s operations such as the Committee on Engrossment, Committee on Miles and Mileage, the Joint Standing Committee on Legislative Printing (later sessions would use a House committee to handle the House’s printing contract) and a Committee on House Expenses and Accounts. The rural and agricultural nature of the young state was reflected in the creation of separate standing committees on agricultural education; general agriculture; cotton warehouses and grain elevators; and levees, drains and ditches and irrigation. Members were also focused on intergovernmental relations, so the House had a Committee on Federal Relations, a Committee on Interstate Relations, and a Committee on Relations of the Five

Civilized and Other Oklahoma Tribes. As a portent of things to come, there was also a committee on Investigation of Judicial and Executive Departments. Finally, there were the powerful Committees on General Appropriations, Revenue and Taxation, and Rules and Procedures.

In addition to the standing committees, the House's initial rules created the committee of the whole. Until it was abolished in 1979, the committee of the whole played an extremely crucial role in the House's consideration of legislation. This committee included the entire membership of the House and was used as an intermediate step between the reporting of bills from standing committees and the actual floor vote on third reading. As a matter of course, the House would go into the committee of the whole to amend, debate, and vote on legislation, none of which appeared in the daily House Journals. In effect, the committee of the whole made third reading mostly a pro forma matter. Those who supported the abolishment of the committee of the whole believed that it would increase House members' accountability for their votes.

Certainly, one of the characteristics of the House's history was the large number of standing committees in its early years. In 1929, the number of standing committees had been reduced to twenty-nine, but gradually the number increased. In 1961, there were thirty-nine committees. Since then, efforts have been made to reduce the number of standing committees. In 1968, the number had been reduced to thirty-five, then to thirty-one in 1979, and twenty-eight in 1999. The anomaly was in the 1969 -70 sessions when Speaker Privett used only fifteen committees, but he reverted back to thirty-two in the next Legislature (1971-2).

Not all committee assignments were equally attractive. In the 1947 session, for example, the committees were divided into three groups, A-C. In the "A" class were major substantive committees (education, appropriations, agriculture, natural resources, revenue and taxation, and transportation. In the "C" group were three committees dealing with House matters, such as employment, plus the Committee on Rules and Procedures. The "B" group contained the other sixteen standing committees. Members could serve on one of the "A" committees and three "B" committees. There was no limit to the number of "C" committees to which a member could be appointed so that House leaders served on several of those.

University of Oklahoma political scientist Samuel A. Kirkpatrick's *The Legislative Process in Oklahoma* (1978) noted that a 1972 survey of House members reported that House committees were less important than the House's leadership in the legislative process. The reverse was true of the same survey of Senate members. This reflected the power of the House leadership and the Rules Committee which was controlled by the leadership. For many years, the Rules Committee established the order in which bills would be taken up on the floor.

Today's House committee structure has changed considerably since that of early statehood in order to adjust to changes in the state's economy. There is now a single Committee on Agriculture. Legislative interest in economic development has been accompanied by the creation of a standing Committee on Economic Development in the mid-1980's and the 1997 creation of a standing Committee on Small Business.

Voting History

The way that the House votes on measures has changed considerably over the years. For many years, House rules called for a rising vote on amendments whereby the presiding officer would simply ask members to stand up first if they were for an amendment and then if they were against it (of course, the votes on amendments and the bill in the committee of the whole were not recorded in the House Journal). A voice roll call, at least in theory, was used on final action. However, it was a long-time practice to use the “attendance roll call” whereby those who were in attendance at the day’s session would be marked in favor of a bill, unless they indicated otherwise. This practice appeared to have ended some time before 1950.

Durham’s Manual

Most senior members and staff would never pass this trivia question: what manual of parliamentary procedure supplemented the House rules for the longest length of time? The answer is Durham’s Manual, written by W.F. Durham of Shawnee (a House member in the first two Legislatures). It was used by the House from sometime in the 1920’s through the late 1960’s. Durham had worked for the House, at least in the 1931 session, when Governor William H. Murray arranged for him to assist Chief Clerk W.A. Durant and Speaker Carlton Weaver on parliamentary matters that session.

Prior to Durham’s Manual, the House had also used Jefferson’s Manual and Roberts Rules of Order. More recently, the House has used Mason’s Manual.

The major changes in voting practices came in the 1970’s. First, electronic voting began in 1973, so that members were able to cast their votes by operating the voting device from their desks.

The second major change was the elimination of the committee of the whole. With this change, the number of recorded votes was greatly expanded and more accountability achieved in the voting process

The Gunfight

In preparing this history, I have noted the interest taken in fights and riots in the House of Representatives. The one that tops all others has to be the May 7, 1947, shooting of former Speaker and then Senator Tom Anglin on the Senate floor by Representative Jimie Scott, both of Holdenville. The incident occurred about 2 p.m., just before the Senate session started, and appeared to be related to the representative’s divorce case. Anglin’s law firm was representing Scott’s wife.

Anglin, a Speaker during Governor William H. Murray’s administration and one of only two men to hold both that office and the office of Senate President Pro Tempore, was at first joking with Scott. He then drew his revolver and shot Anglin in the area of his left hip. Anglin then pulled his gun, but reports of the day are unclear as to whether he got a shot off before Scott ran into the fourth floor men’s room. There he was apprehended by Senate sergeants-at-arms and Senate President Pro Tempore James C. Nance (the other man who had been elected to both that office and that of Speaker) ordered them to take Scott to the Oklahoma County jail. The jailed Scott missed all the action the next day as the House finished its work. First-term legislator Scott was replaced in the next Legislature by the man he shot.

Decorum

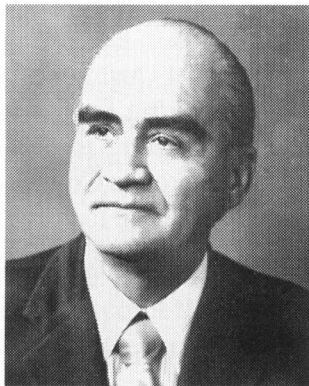
Decorum encompasses a variety of matters, some relatively simple as how a member is recognized to speak on the House floor, to much more serious matters such as the disruption of the House due to unruly behavior. Certainly, during the first five decades of statehood, the House could be counted on, at least once in most sessions, to erupt in

violence. On more than one occasion, this publication has noted that the members rioted on the floor. With a rare exception, those days had passed by the mid-1960's. The political writers, who delighted in writing stories about brawling House members, clearly noted the changes. By the 1950's, the press would complain that the House was becoming "boring."

During recent decades, improvement in the House's decorum has been an important concern of House leaders and members. In fact, decorum provisions have been expanded and given prominence with an entire section of House rules devoted to this subject. Early provisions against the use of obscenities or indecent language (adopted by 1949) are found there, along with rules in place (but not, one suspects, always strictly enforced) against members use of intoxicating beverages. The rules have been expanded to include drugs, a dress code that was imposed in the 1979 session, a recent rule banning canned or bottled food or beverages on the floor, and, in the last decade, rules limiting the use of tobacco products have been added. Smoking on the House floor, which had been banned briefly in 1923, was again banned in the 1990's and extended to staff offices, the House lounge, and areas frequented by pages. Gone also are the cuspidors used for "spit tobacco" which various members found offensive in those legislative sessions when "spittoons" were common. In addition, the House acted to public criticisms of long sessions by adopting rules that prohibit sessions of the House or convening earlier than 8 a.m. or lasting past midnight.

Diversity in the House of Representatives

Until 1920, the Oklahoma House of Representatives was an entirely male institution. Women had been denied the vote in state elections by the Oklahoma Constitution. However, women were given the vote in 1919 when the Nineteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution was ratified. The first woman was elected to the House in the next general election, but the number of women remained small for the next fifty years (there were no women in the House for the entire decade of the 1930's).



Bill Willis, Speaker, 1973-78

While it is almost inconceivable for there not to be any women in the House as the state enters the twenty-first century, the women's caucus in the Oklahoma House of Representatives remains relatively small compared to most states. The nine women at the start of the 1999 session includes five Democrats and four Republicans. In a recent study of women in state legislatures, University of Oklahoma political scientist Cindy Simon Rosenthal concluded that the small number of women legislators in Oklahoma (only Alabama has a lower percentage) has prevented them from having a major impact on the decision making of the House of Representatives.

African-Americans and Native Americans made their debuts in the House of Representatives before women. Native Americans had a significant representation in the early years. One of the most important figures in the first five Houses was W. A. Durant, Speaker during the 1911 regular session, who was also a leader in the Choctaw nation. According to *Harlow's Weekly* that year, the House had at least eight Native American members—three Cherokees, four Choctaws, and one Creek.



*Larry E. Adair, Speaker Designee
of the Democratic Caucus*

It is also worth noting that the first Speaker elected in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (assuming Larry E. Adair of Stilwell, Speaker-designee of the Democratic caucus for the Forty-eighth Session, is elected Speaker as expected) will be Native Americans. William H. Murray, the first House Speaker, was a member of the Chickasaw nation by virtue of his marriage to the daughter of the niece of Chickasaw Governor Johnston. Adair, a member of the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma, is the product of a Native American family which settled in Oklahoma during the 1830's. Adair would become at least the fourth Native American Speaker in Oklahoma history, joining Murray, Durant and Bill Willis from Tahlequah, a member of the Kiowa Tribe, who was Speaker from 1973-8.

African-Americans also made an early appearance in the House with A. C. Hamlin's one-term in the Second Legislature (1908-10). Since reapportionment in 1965, African-Americans have held at least two seats in the House, with three seats since the 1981 reapportionment (two in Oklahoma City and one in Tulsa). African-Americans, like women, have had few of the top posts. In the 1999 session, however, each of the three had important committee chairs or a chair of a subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and hold considerable power in the House.

There Oughta Be a Law

The fourth item in the House of Representatives' daily order of business is "petitions and memorials." Today, it is rare, if ever, that there is anything on that item, but this was not always true.

At statehood, local petitions were commonly filed with the House. For example, on January 6, 1908, there were petitions from: the Anti-Horse Thief Association of Cushing asking for legislation to make the stealing of domestic fowl a crime; Ottawa County asking for increases in constable and justice of the peace fees; Cimarron County asking the Legislature to enact laws regarding the classification and sale of school lands; the town of Pomm in Muskogee County asking to be made a court town; and the Farmer's Union of Comanche regarding legislation to grade cotton and make trading in futures a felony.

The Era of Two-Party Competitiveness

Ten years ago, political scientists classified Oklahoma politics as a one-party dominant system. In other words, the Democratic Party controlled state politics. However, it appears that as Oklahoma prepares to enter the twenty-first century and nears its centennial, Oklahoma politics are now characterized as a competitive two-party system based on 1995-8 elections, despite the fact that Republicans in the state Legislature (with the exception of the House of Representatives in 1921), have not been in the majority in the state's history.

On the other hand, voters have elected Republican Governors in three of the last four elections. The current Governor, Frank Keating, is also the first Republican elected to two

consecutive terms. For the only time in the state's history, all the members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation are Republicans. Republicans are also competitive in terms of winning secondary statewide elected offices.

The Oklahoma House of Representatives has been strongly impacted by the increased strength of the Republican Party. This has been the case in terms of the size of the House Republican caucus and the vigor of the minority members in pursuing their agenda and supporting Governor Keating's legislative program. Since 1995, the House Republican caucus has been sufficiently large that it alone can block the passage of emergency clauses and prevent the override of gubernatorial vetoes (none of Keating's vetoes have been overridden, despite the fact that he has vetoed far more legislation than any previous Oklahoma governor).

For House Republicans, the 1990's has been a period of rising expectations. The strong national showing of the GOP during the presidential off-election year of 1994 increased the number of Republican seats in the House by three. This gave them their largest number of seats (thirty-six) in the House since 1929, when they held forty-seven of one hundred thirteen total seats. In the most harshly fought set of House campaigns in recent memory, Republicans in 1996 talked of winning enough seats to take control of the House. Final election results showed no gain in 1996, but the minority caucus made another strong showing in the 1998 campaign by reducing the Democrat's control of the House to 61-40. Republican hopes for ultimate future control of the House now reside in the 2001 redistricting of the House and the impact of term limits in 2004 when many veteran Democratic House members will be forced to retire due to the twelve-year limit on legislative service.

Bill Drafting

The bill drafting process has changed dramatically since 1907 both in terms of technology and individuals responsible for the handling of the bill-drafting process. Bill drafting in the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature had been the primary responsibility of the Attorney General's office. The practice continued into statehood. In a report to the Governor and the Oklahoma Legislature in 1929, the Attorney General said it had statutory authority "to draft, formulate and prepare. . . bills for the various members of both branches of the Legislature upon request." By 1937, the demands of providing research and legal services to the Legislature had grown to the point that it was formalized with the creation of the Legislative Reference Service in the Attorney General's office.

The legislative reference function was shifted in 1949 to the Oklahoma State Library. The enabling language for the Legislative Reference Division gave the Division responsibility for maintaining legislative reference materials, offering research to all three branches of state government and the public, and drafting of legislation. In carrying out its duties, the Legislative Reference Division was prohibited from making suggestions or recommendations to anyone regarding legislation.

In 1939, the Legislature made its first step towards developing its own bill-drafting capacity by creating the Oklahoma Legislative Council. However, the Council developed slowly.

The initial legislation authorized the Speaker to appoint fifteen House members and the Senate President Pro Tempore to appoint ten Senators to the Executive Committee of the Council. However, only \$7,500 was appropriated to the Council, so its operations did not truly impact the work of the Legislature until 1947, when the position of a full-time director of the Legislative Council was created and meaningful appropriations enabled the Council to employ staff for the various interim Legislative Council Committees.

The Legislative Council, under the capable administration of Jack Rhodes for most of the Council's history until his death in the late 1970's, would ultimately supplant the Attorney General's and Legislative Reference Division's roles in bill drafting. At first, Council staff were restricted to the formulation of bills arising from the work of the Legislative Council. However, from the beginning, the Council's staff desired to take over bill drafting for the Legislature.

In the Council's first biennial report issued in December 1948, the Council's Committee on Legislative Methods, Practices and Procedures drew heavily on the Council's research staff study of other states' bill drafting practices for the committee's recommendation to create a legislative bill drafting agency. The study also noted that Oklahoma's Attorney General reported that his office was burdened by legislative bill drafting requests and that he supported the transfer of these duties to the Legislature.

In 1965 and 1969, the Legislature clarified the role of the Legislative Council staff to include legislative research and bill drafting service on a permanent basis. The 1969 changes created separate divisions for research and legal services. By the 1970's, all bills were drafted by Legislative Council staff (with the notable exception of appropriation bills which were prepared by the State Budget Office).

Before the 1981 session, the House added its own legal and research divisions to replace the recently abolished Legislative Council. Before the 1982 session, a fiscal division was added so that all bills, including budget bills once they were introduced (and in some cases before), were prepared by the House's staff. This bill drafting arrangement has remained in place since 1982.

Over the years, the way bills were drafted has also dramatically changed. In the early years of the Legislature, there was little consistency to the drafting of bills. A survey of old bill files finds that:

amendments, corrections or changes were made directly onto the 'original' bill either written above the sentence, on the side of the page or as an additional page. Scribbled out lines and cut pages, deleting entire sections were common. . . . Bills were both handwritten and typed. The handwritten bills, though few, often included smears and fingerprints from messy fountain pens. Typewritten bills were in blue or black ink and typed on then onion-skinned paper. Carbon copies, if made, were often in blue carbon ink, blurred and overall difficult to read.

By the 1920's, the art of bill drafting had improved somewhat. The first bill drafting manual for the state was developed by the Oklahoma Legislative Council in 1948. The *Oklahoma Bill Drafting Manual* was prepared for legislators and staff, as well as those outside the Legislature who prepared drafts of legislation.

Once a bill was ready to be produced, House members took their drafts to a House typing pool, which was an office of twenty or more secretaries. The typists, who also prepared members' correspondence, typed an original and eight copies of each bill, all for introduction. Only the original was prepared on lined paper.

The introduction of computers and sophisticated word processing revolutionized the bill drafting and amendment process in the Oklahoma Legislature. At first, the technology was cumbersome and required sophisticated, trained encoders to ready bills for introduction. As late as the early 1980's, the Legislature used the Department of Human Services as the site for its on-line bill drafting. Legislative Council, and later House staff literally would use a "cut and paste" drafting process which would then be encoded by the Council's bill processing staff (later Joint Bill Processing Office).

Today, the much more user-friendly personal computers permit bill drafters to prepare drafts of legislation and to electronically transfer drafts to the House bill processing office. Staff and House members can also electronically access statutes and bills in order to more easily prepare amendments.

Computer technology also had a tremendous impact on several other critical areas of the legislative process. The engrossing and enrolling clerks of the House since statehood have been responsible for: 1) incorporating House amendments into a House measure before the engrossed measure is forwarded to the Senate, 2) organizing house amendments to a Senate measure for Senate consideration, and 3) the preparing the final version of the bill.

As early as the First Legislature, when Speaker William H. Murray voiced concerns about potential irregularities which could result in the engrossing and enrolling process, legislators were told to be on their guard against clerks adding or deleting important matters from legislation. On many important bills, the Speaker would assign a group of members to oversee the preparation and even take it to the Governor to guard against improprieties. Until 1980, legislative committees oversaw the engrossing and enrolling process by requiring that each page of the engrossed or enrolled bill in the House be signed. Stratton Taylor, the current Senate president Pro Tempore from Claremore, was the last chair of that committee in 1980.

***Legislature Criticized in Report
for Governor E. W. Marland***

"The output of the legislature is, normally, the final test of legislative effectiveness. Effectiveness is assuredly lacking when desirable bills, for one reason or another, are not passed; when laws conflict; when obsolete provisions remain; workable system of law. When such rests are applied, the law of Oklahoma becomes subject system to serious criticism. Legislative ineffectiveness in turn spreads waste throughout the entire administrative organization. In particular, it clogs the courts with needless litigation and thus creates unnecessary expense for individuals and the state."

Source: *Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institute, Report on a Survey of Organization and Administration of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1935)*

All this might sound excessive by today's perspective when computers allow for the easy handling of amendments, but it was not so in the context of the early years of the Legislature. Before 1929 when the engrossing of amendments became more formalized, amendments were attached loosely by paperclips or other means. The opportunity for amendments to be lost (or suspicions that they were deliberately discarded by legislative enrolling and engrossing staff) are obvious. This issue, in fact, erupted during the 1915 session in the case of a House bill proposing to raise some county officers' salaries in Muskogee. For some now inexplicable reason, a Senate-passed amendment was not enrolled when the House accepted Senate amendments. The omission so enraged the Senate that it created a special committee to investigate the matter, and the committee subpoenaed House employees in search of the responsible culprit. Tension between the two chambers reached an extreme as the House which believed its integrity was being questioned blocked the investigation by adopting a resolution prohibiting its employees to appear. *Harlow's* reported:

As they [bills] go flying about from one clerk to another with the amendments, often of the most serious import, merely attached to the bill by a slender clip, it is the easiest matter in the world for them to be lost or for anyone interested to remove one or ten or all the amendments. This permits the bill to be engrossed [or] enrolled in such form as the clerk sees fit, and then be signed and made into law.

Special and Local Legislation

The authors of the Oklahoma Constitution clearly did not want the Oklahoma Legislature to be burdened, as many state legislatures have been and are, with special or local laws. Article V, Section 59 of the Constitution says, "laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operator throughout the State, and where a general law can be made applicable, no special law shall be enacted." Yet, there is a cumbersome process for passing special or local laws also set out in the Constitution involving the publishing for four consecutive weeks a nature of intent in newspapers of general circulation in the area impacted.

In fact, for approximately fifty years, the requirement, with the notable exception of the 1925 regular session when Dave Stovall of Hugo chaired the House Legal Advisory Committee and attempted to stop the practice of considering local and special legislation (called by *Harlow's Weekly* "the most condemned one in the history of Oklahoma legislatures"), was hardly ever observed. Stovall proved unable to stop the practice, but for that one session at least the publication requirement was met.

Chapter 65 of the 1931 Oklahoma Statutes contained a long list of special and local acts. Many of them dealt with municipal incorporations. Others are much more specific. For example, the 1917 Legislature enacted this special law:

That the town of Custer City, Oklahoma, is hereby authorized to expend the sum of \$10,000 voted for water works extension on March 4th, 1915, for the purpose of erecting and equipping an ice plant for the manufacture and sale of ice by said municipality.

Other such acts give no clue today as to what locality was to be effected, but they clearly were drawn with a narrow impact. For example, a 1913 law stated:

That all towns in this state, having a population of not less than 475, and not more than 500 according to the Federal census of 1910, or any Federal census thereafter taken, and who voted the sum of nineteen thousand dollars (\$19,000.00) for waterworks construction on July 1st, 1912, may and they are hereby authorized to expend the same for the purpose of erecting and equipping an electric plant for the convenience and benefit of said municipalities.

As a result of an Attorney General opinion, the consideration of local and special acts is no longer common. In the rare instance that such legislation is requested, the requesters are advised they need to advertise them.

Journal Preparation

Until 1941, House members were paid for the preparation of the permanent House Journal following the sine die adjournment of the Legislature. The Speaker, who was frequently involved in the preparation, would authorize certain members to participate in the indexing and other aspects of the project. Those members, pursuant to the legislative resolution, would receive six dollars for each day spent on the project.

From time to time, objections would arise over the practice. Governor Cruce, angry at Speaker Maxey and the House for directing so much energy during the 1913 session in investigations of the executive branch, tried to block their payments. However, the Attorney General found them to be legal.

In 1941, Speaker Blumhagen finally ended the practice of involving House members in the preparation of the Journal. He decided it would be preferable for the House staff to be completely responsible for the Journal.

Printing Contracts

In the early history of the House of Representatives, decisions regarding who would receive its printing contracts were important. On several occasions, it appeared that the recommendation that House Committee in printing to the house was made on the basis of political favoritism. This was most notable in the excitement caused when the committee in 1923 recommended that the contract be given to the Oklahoma News, a Socialist paper favored by Governor Walton and the Oklahoma Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League. The recommendation was defeated, one of the early signs that Walton and Speaker Murray F. Gibbons would be unable to control the House. Today, the issuance of the printing contract is an administrative matter and not a political one.

Staff

The evolution of the House of Representatives has been accompanied by the expansion of its staff and the emphasis on its professionalism. In contrast to the staff who served in the House during early statehood, today's staff is nonpartisan and employed on the basis of merit rather than patronage.

The staff well into the 1920's was relatively small, ranging from under fifty for the 1907-8 session to more than one hundred in the 1920's. Among the positions filled in that first session was that of Chief Clerk, Chief Sergeant-at-Arms, House Chaplain, doorkeepers, janitors (including the first African-American in the House staff, Jim Noble), pages, private secretary to the Speaker, Chief Committee Clerk, committee clerks, official reporters, stenographers, mail carrier and clerk messenger, engrossing and assistant engrossing clerks, night watchmen, cloak room attendants, bill clerks, House Auditor, stenographer to the Speaker, record and information clerks, reading and assistant reading clerk, enrolling and assistant enrolling clerks, assistant sergeant-at-arms, House ushers, and postmaster.

Over time, the House's staff would grow primarily by expanding the number of the above positions. The first nonclerical committee staff was C. W. King, an attorney who had considerable experience in tax law from his eleven years of service in the Attorney General's office, who was hired in 1927 to advise House committees on finance matters. That experiment did not bear fruit, so legal staff assistance was obtained primarily when the House embarked on an impeachment effort.

Despite the salaries offered (six dollars per day for the first Chief Clerk), staff appointments were highly sought, and they were made on a patronage basis the first several decades after statehood. Chief Clerks rotated each biennium until the 1950's. Of course, most positions went to the majority caucus (including 1921 when Republicans were in the majority), but through at least the early 1920's the minority party was given several positions. This practice stopped at some point and was not revived until Speaker J. D. McCarty agreed to give new Minority Leader James W. Connor of Tulsa a full-time assistant starting in the 1967 session (McCarty, of course, was defeated in the 1966 elections, but Speaker Rex Privett honored the commitment).

By the late 1940's, the House staff made major progress in terms of taking on a more professional outlook. Employment practices were no longer based on political patronage, but on merit (not to be confused with the merit system created in 1959). Key positions in the Chief Clerk's office became full-time, allowing for continuity and expertise to develop. Beginning with Louise Stockton in 1949, the House has had tremendous continuity in the Chief Clerk's office. Besides Stockton (1959-75), Richard Huddleston (1975-83), and Larry Warden (1983-present, except for Irene McConathy during the second 1983 special session) have had long tenures as House Chief Clerk.

Committee staff for House committees became common in the 1950's, as research and legal staff of the Oklahoma Legislative Council gradually began providing staff assistance to legislative committees after 1947. Finally, the splitting of the Oklahoma Legislative Council before the 1981 session resulted in the creation of nonpartisan research, legal, and fiscal divisions in the House of Representatives. At first these divisions reported to the Chief Clerk (and for a brief time to the Speaker), until Speaker Barker created an Executive Director for the three divisions.

Why Can't I Be a Page?

The Oklahoma House of Representatives' page program has greatly changed over the decades. For many years, male pages were hired for the entire session. This gave way eventually to the current system of weekly pages, but for years it was limited to boys fourteen years or older. This changed in 1973, when a resolution whose principal author was T. W. Bill Holaday from Oklahoma City removed the gender restriction to allow girls to serve as pages.

Electronic technology has greatly shaped the staff services in the House over the past fifteen years. Computers and other electronic information systems are not only used for bill drafting and word processing, the House staff provides members and the citizens of Oklahoma with a rich variety of information systems. An expanded media function, and a new information services division, demonstrates the House's commitment to making access to information much easier.

A website on the Internet provides a wealth of information about the House and makes it easy for browsers to send electronics mail messages to House members. More importantly, for the first time outside users were given for the 1999 session access electronically to the Legislature's bill tracking system, full text of bills, and floor votes.

Physical and Fiscal Operations of the House of Representatives

The Oklahoma House of Representatives until the 1960's fit the characterization of a "sometimes government" coined by study at that time of state legislatures by the Conference of State Legislatures. Meeting only for a brief period at the beginning of each biennium, the House of Representatives would nearly cease to exist after sine die adjournment. Most of the staff would leave, and committees could not meet. The major interim activity was the preparation of the permanent House Journal.

The space that the House of Representatives now occupies on the west side of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth floors was occupied by a variety of state agencies. The Insurance Department and Labor Department operated year round in offices on the fifth floor. Other agencies would be briefly displaced during the session. During session, House members and staff were crammed into offices. Many new members were not even given offices, so they worked at their desks in the chamber and used the phones in the lounge (until they were moved into the west foyer). Typists would bring their correspondence to them on the floor.

By the 1970's, matters had improved. New state office buildings permitted agencies to locate outside the capitol building. Most members still shared offices and secretaries, but usually with one other member. However, for the 2000 session, the long-term goal of providing members with their own private offices and secretaries during the session (members share in the interim) will be achieved.

The same early pattern noted regarding the physical operations of the House of Representatives applied to its budget. At statehood, Democratic leaders of the House were sensitive to Republican claims that their control of the Legislature would be marked by free spending. The opposite was the case. *Harlow's* examined the payroll costs of the House in its first five years. The total staff payroll for the 1913 regular session was budgeted at only \$24,750 (\$263.50 per day). The practice of appointing a Committee on House Accounts and Expenses and an accountant to monitor expenditures had been the custom since the First Session.

Nevertheless, the budget of the House expanded as did the size of its session staff. In 1945, \$245,000 was appropriated to the House of Representatives for the preparation of the 1945 session permanent journal and for the members and staff salaries in the 1947 session.

Annual sessions and the two compensation increases voters approved for members increased the House's budget to \$1.3 million in 1968, part of which was to cover a shortfall at the beginning of the 1968 session. The House ran out of funds at the beginning of that session due to the Legislative Compensation Board's salary increase for legislators and could not meet its January payroll for House members and staff. Aides had to rouse an ailing Governor Bartlett on January 10 to sign the bill. This demonstrated that the House continued to operate on a session-to-session basis as it had during biennial sessions.

Of course, that is no longer the case. The House today operates year round and maintains a permanent staff (as well as a session-only staff), with a sufficient budget to handle unanticipated events, such as special sessions. The "sometimes government" of the House has long ago passed.

Lobbyists and the House of Representatives

The Oklahoma House of Representatives initially inherited from the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention a cool attitude to the function of "legislative counsels" and "legislative agents" of special interests. This was quite natural given the prevailing public suspicion of railroads and "robber barons" decried by journalists voicing the concerns of the progressive and populist movements. Moreover, at the House's helm for the first session was the President of the Convention, the populist William H. Murray. Murray throughout his public career exhibited a distrust of the influence of lobbyists.

Therefore, the House rules during early statehood days contained very restrictive provisions against the practice of lobbying. The House rule on lobbyists stated that it was:

against the best interests of the people, for any person employed for a pecuniary consideration to act as legislative counsel or legislative agent for any person, corporation or association to attempt personally and directly to influence any member of the House to vote for or against any measure therein pending, otherwise than by public addresses, or by written or printed statements, arguments or briefs, delivered to each member of the House.

Lobbyists were also required to deliver copies of the written communication with the Chief Clerk before they were given to House members. Lobbyists, naturally, were prohibited from going on the floor except by invitation. Violators of these provisions could be punished for contempt of the House and be banned from appearing in the House or communicating with any House member. Violators had their names posted on a list, and further violations could result in the offender being brought before the bar of the House in open session for contempt of the dignity of the House.

Lobbyists and representatives of business interests chafed under these rules. Many felt they were put at a disadvantage to other persons seeking to influence actions of the House. It is likely that this distrust of lobbyists contributed to the anti-business reputation of the Legislature.

Over time, the House of Representatives relaxed both its rules (but not until 1951) and relationships with lobbyists, perhaps to some too much so. One of those concerned with the too easy access of lobbyists to legislators was Governor William H. Murray who made his position abundantly clear in his first speech to the Legislature in 1931. Murray's biographer, Keith L. Bryant, noted that the new Governor had always been concerned about the activities of lobbyists and thought they made "use of women, particularly those of careless and loose character." His solution to the lobbyist problem was to keep the legislators out of the hotels where they might be tempted. To Murray, the hotels were "filled with lobbyists, who used poker games, liquor and women and even money for bribery." In 1931, he asked for an appropriation to build a dormitory for legislators near the capitol. There they could work on bills, hold committee meetings, and do their work without interruption. Needless to say, the members did not appreciate the statewide media attention directed to this portion of the Murray legislative program. The Governor's comments caused great concerns at home where their wives (there were no women in the House in 1931) and constituents questioned members about their conduct. Although the dormitory idea was dropped by members during that session, a House special committee was created to look into the role of lobbyists. Little was accomplished, except that lobbyists tended to shun the House and concentrate their efforts in the Senate. This caused one of the most demonstrative rebellions against the Senate in the history of the House later that session.

The incident arose over consideration of Murray's proposal to create a corporate income tax. When it passed the House, it contained a graduated tax of 2-10% on incomes over \$10,000, with relatively few exempt industries (the most notable exemption being the oil industry). The Senate amendments lowered the upper tax rate to 5% and loaded the bill with additional exemptions. When Representative Scott Glenn of Shawnee moved to accept Senate amendments, one of the biggest tirades against the Senate in the House's history erupted. According to *Harlow's*, which usually characterizes discussions of the acts of one house of the Legislature by another, was disregarded as House members "vented their feelings, and shot their shafts of criticism at the Senate and the activities of the 'vicious lobby.'" Speaker Carlton had difficulty maintaining control, but he later commented about the Senate's amendments that "had I known, this would represent the endeavors of the Thirteenth Legislature, I never would have been a candidate for the House." Other members urged that the bill be prepared with Senate amendments in italics so that it could be used to campaign against incumbent Senators. In the end, the bill went to a conference committee where it died, as did much of Murray's 1931 tax program.

The original restrictions in House rules did not change substantially until 1951 when the provisions that were so hostile against the corrupting influence of paid lobbyists were removed. Lobbyists then were simply to make application with the Chief Clerk for a permit to lobby. The permit would be approved by the vote of a majority of the members present and voting. Lobbyists still were barred from the House floor, and violations of the lobbying provisions made the offender subject to contempt of the House and reprimand before the bar of the House. This process was altered in 1965 when Speaker McCarty grew concerned that lobbyists in some cases were intimidating members and staff. To remedy this, the rules were altered so that the Committee on Rules and Procedures took control of reviewing lobbyist applications. This gave the committee an

opportunity to look into the concerns that caused the rule change before the permit was referred to the House for its approval.

This practice was replaced in 1978 by legislation that transferred the regulation of lobbyists first to a Joint Legislative Ethics Committee (abolished in 1980), and then the State Election Board, and today the Ethics Commission. The 1978 legislation also tightened up lobbyist practices.

Corporate lobbyists were not the only powerful lobbying influence with which House members had to contend. Once the Legislature authorized the creation of state institutions, there an “institutional bloc” became a powerful force in the legislative process seeking funding for those institutions. Once the Legislature began funding public schools, the institutional bloc was joined with the “education bloc” that also lobbied for appropriations and legislation affecting common education. Many governors, particularly before the 1941 adoption of the balanced budget amendment, saw their budget plans undermined by the strength of these two influential forces in the Legislature.

Whose a Big Mouth?

Not all that takes place at the House of Representatives is without humor. The House has its traditions, such as the Speaker’s Ball, that provide opportunities for members to enjoy the camaraderie of House members. One of the traditions since 1975 has been the awarding of the annual Carl Twidwell Mouth of the Year Award. The award started by Carl Twidwell from Midwest City (who was the 1981 recipient) was first awarded in 1975.

Those selected for this award are generally relatively junior members who have distinguished themselves by taking an active part in the activities of the House. House members who were past recipients make the award at the end of each session. Other winners are:

1975 - Guy Davis	1984 - Kenny Harris	1993 - Laura Boyd
1976 - Glen Floyd	1985 - Dale Patrick	1994 - Opio Toure
1977 - Mike Lawter	1986 - Frank Shurden	Fred Perry
1978 - Jerry Steward	Ken McKenna	1995 - Clay Pope
Cleta Deatherage	1987 - Vickie White	1996 - Chris Hastings
1979 - Don McCorkell	1988 - Russ Roach	Mark Seikel
1980 - Helen Arnold	1989 - Danny Williams	1997 - Ron Kirby
1982 - Frank Harbin	1990 - Kevin Easley	1998 - Ray McCarter
Walter Hill	1991 - Ernest Istook	1999 - Phil Ostrander
1983 - Bill Lancaster	1992 - Don Weese	



Restored Oklahoma House of Representatives' Chamber, January 1, 2000



Front Entrance to House Of Representatives Chamber, March, 2000. Top is "We Belong To The Land" mural by Jeff Dodd added in 1999.