

SS185.mp3

Edward Hoover- I am Edward Hoover, Episcopal Chaplain of Memphis state university. We met in the common room of (muffled) which is the Episcopal chaplaincy at he university.

Joyce Palmer- I am Joyce Palmer.

David Yellin- Joyce can you speak up a little louder?

Joyce Palmer- What do you want me to say?

David Yellin- That is fine.

Carolyn Yellin- I am Carolyn Yellin.

Joan Beifuss- I am Joan Beifuss.

Judy Schultz- I am Judy Schultz.

Virginia Hoover- Virginia Hoover.

David Yellin- David Yellin and this is May 19<sup>th</sup> 1968 and the 7 of us are gathered here each representing a day of the week...this whole place make me feel as if there should be a .

Joyce Palmer- Living Menorah here.

Edward Hoover- (Muffled) Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday would suggest a pagan background.

Virginia Hoover- The seven sacraments too.

David Yellin- That is alright sacraments alright and pretty soon we will get to know each other's voices and so will people listening to the tape. But we are gathered here for an expressed purpose and Carolyn would you explain why we are here.

Carolyn Yellin- Well all of us have marched at some point between February 12<sup>th</sup> in Memphis and April 8<sup>th</sup> in Memphis which was the day of the memorial march in Memphis that was to have been led, it was to have been a march led by Dr. Martin Luther King but it turned into a memorial march following the assassination of Dr. King. I think it would be interesting most of all to know how many people had ever marched or ever participated in other demonstrations or earlier marches. Which of the marches we did participate in here and just get that part straight. Ted?

Edward Hoover- Am I to start again?

Carolyn Yellin- Yeah.

Edward Hoover- Well I have marched twice before this. No including the march, in memory of Dr. King. Once I marched with the clergy of the city from St. Mary's cathedral down to mayor Lobe's office.

Carolyn Yellin- What day was that?

Edward Hoover- This was on the after the day that Martin Luther King was killed so on Friday that would be the 5<sup>th</sup> of April, yes. And we marched down about 200 strong to ask the mayor to relent on his doctrine of sovereign and unity and grant the strikers their recognition of the union and also their check off dues. And the second march the following Monday, yes, which we marched turned out to be in memory of Dr. King.

David Yellin- Now that first march I am still curious about that. Was that an impromptu thing or?

Edward Hoover- No as a matter of fact it was a rather interesting thing because it has a certain amount of background to it. The two minister's associations of the city as one would expect in Memphis one white and the other black had a meeting together one or two sessions, I was in the one the night as I recall it on Wednesday. Wednesday actually the day before Martin Luther King was assassinated. And at that point the negro ministers were tremendously concerned about the situation in the city and the white minister's association had met with them and we came simply to impasse because we couldn't figure out what we might do together. And at one point one of the minister's Methodist district superintendent Frank McClain stood up and said well I don't know what else to do why don't we all just march right down to mayor Lobe's office starting right now. And others demurred and the final resolution of the matter was that we would meet again at 10:00 on Friday morning and at that stage of the game we would determine if we were going to march but the idea was that if we were going to march we would march then and there. In the meantime some of the groups of clergy met individually, the Episcopal clergy met with our bishop who, we went over the matter with him and he said finally whenever we got into our position that he would not require us to march but anyone who did march would march with blessing and those who didn't march also stayed out of the march this blessing.

Carolyn Yellin- This is the Tennessee bishop this is bishop Vandeross?

Edward Hoover- Yeah Vandross.

Carolyn Yellin- Vandross I am pronouncing from reading rather than hearing.

Edward Hoover- Right that was on Thursday morning, on Friday morning at 10:00 we met again at the cathedral as we had agreed to. At this stage in the game the two ministerial alliances, the heads of them had gotten together and issued a statement, fairly civil statement calling the mayor to recognize the union and to grant the sanitation workers the check off on this union, with this union, union dues. And we began that day with the memorial service for Dr. King and then went over to the

Parish house cathedral and the statement was read and was adopted unanimously. We wanted some attempts to come in and modify a couple of phrase s and people were very impatient with this. And then we were told that those who wanted to march down to the mayor with a statement that the mayor was ready to receive us and that the march had been cleared with Frank Holloman the fire and policemen commissioner. So we walked down there with Dean Demmick carrying the cathedral cross ahead of the group. It was quite an interesting procession and...

David Yellin- How many of you do you remember?

Edward Hoover- There had been various estimates, I would say about 200. There have been estimates as high as 300 but I think that is probably as we would say in the game a preacher figure.

David Yellin- How many ministers in Memphis?

Edward Hoover- Oh heavens I don't know, I have no idea how many there are.

David Yellin- You asked the right place.

Edward Hoover- Yes I have.

Judy Schultz- There must be more ministers than gas station attendants.

Carolyn Yellin- There are more churches than gas stations.

Joan Beifuss- I believe about 500 Baptist churches aren't there.

Edward Hoover- Yes and I am not certain how many Baptist churches were represented because normally they don't have as active a part in ministerial associations as other groups.

Carolyn Yellin- I believe I read somewhere that there were two Baptists.

Edward Hoover- This could well be, I am sure there are some negro...

Carolyn Yellin- Including Brooks Ramsey, was he, was he not from the second Baptist church

Judy Schultz- He is the one who is in trouble with his church.

Joan Beifuss- Now were there nu ns marching with the clergy?

Edward Hoover- Yes there were nuns also. And I know this, how much more do you want on this?

David Yellin- Fine.

Edward Hoover- When we didn't, we were escorted by police cars and we carried on quite lively and friendly conversations with the policemen as they guarded us.

Carolyn Yellin- How many police cars do you remember?

Edward Hoover- There were 3 or 4 anyway I can't really say beyond this?

Carolyn Yellin- And they were just driving along slowly as you marched?

Edward Hoover- Yeah and with guns, you know, shotguns and all and other things in the car and they were dressed with...

David Yellin- Their masks?

Edward Hoover- Not masks but well helmeted and they had reserve people with them.

David Yellin- Why? Why? Did you ask or did they?

Edward Hoover- You see when we asked for permission to walk down the side walk from the cathedral to the mayor's office, this permit evidently they responded by deciding that we needed to be protected.

Carolyn Yellin- How far is it to the cathedral?

Edward Hoover- Oh I would judge about half a mile or something like that. The cathedral is the 6<sup>92</sup> Poplar so I assume that is roughly half a mile.

David Yellin- Which cathedral for the record?

Edward Hoover- St. Mary's Cathedral 692 Poplar.

David Yellin- This is the Episcopal cathedral?

Edward Hoover- Yes, anyway we went on down and when we got into the office we were cut up a little bit by the traffic at Poplar and Main the police cars didn't keep us from, you know we obeyed the traffic signals. We got in the office why the mayor stood up and receive us, and at that stage in the game although we had only planned to present our written statement.

David Yellin- Excuse me, before you got there on the march were there any incidents, did you get any response from bystanders?

Edward Hoover- No we got down in front of the city hall and Gwynn Awsumb and I am trying to remember I think it was Downing Pryor, I think those two were standing outside and several of the Episcopal clergy got out of liner to go up and shake hands with them, with them being two Episcopalians. (muffled)

David Yellin- But why they are only members.

Edward Hoover- But you know go shake hands he had recognized them. We are hand shakers David. Inside the mayor's office we went into an anti room first and there were some men, I took a policemen that was checking through the crowds to

be certain that all the people there were validly ordained ministers of one sort or another and they did call out 5 or 6 people that had come into the procession as it went down the street and I didn't check into this matter further I had been on the end of the line myself but I didn't check to see whether these people were valid ministers or not I suspect they were not and I think maybe they were just along for the walk, I don't know. And so the policemen did call them out and the rest of us went in. we expected only to make our formal statement which was very well done and extremely simple.

David Yellin- Do you recall who wrote it?

Edward Hoover- Oh I had known, I think it was a Presbyterian minister that was largely responsible for it.

Carolyn Yellin- Aldridge was it?

Edward Hoover- Yeah I think you are right I think it was Aldridge.

Carolyn Yellin- I wanted to ask you said there were some discussion about the wording. Do you recall what the discussion was or?

Edward Hoover- You know I don't because the Rabbi Wax who was presiding cut off the discussion very quickly. We have both of us agreed both sets of officers have agreed on this and this is not the time to carp over minor things.

Joan Beifuss- Can I ask who is the president of the ministerial alliance?

Edward Hoover- Rabbi Wax is of the white ministerial alliance.

Joan Beifuss- Yes and who for the negroes?

Edward Hoover- I don't know. And can I get back inside the mayor's office now.

Carolyn Yellin- Yes.

Edward Hoover- We came only to present our statement and Rabbi Wax began to talk tot eh mayor and he said sir we are very angry, very angry indeed. Or some of us are very angry and then he went off and said we demand human rights and a quite impassioned plea and some said later he sounded like an old testament prophet and then a negro ministers got down on his knees as I recall it and another one said he had the voice of prophecy and told what the mayor was supposed to do. There was some embarrassment in the crowds as this went on because some of us were very...in fact especially the Episcopalians were...

Carolyn Yellin- (muffled)

Edward Hoover- This for reasons which I suppose in as much as this is for history we ought to put down and that is because the mayor is Episcopalian and because a member of the councilmen are, we had been doing and we said this in our own session that all of us had attempted to do thing s as Episcopalians always do them.

That is to say that we had each of us individually gone to the people we known, gone to their offices and said look the situation has gotten to be taken care of this is not a minor incident this is major now. And something has to be done and the mayor is going to have to give in. And one of clergy I don't remember which one said in this meeting that it was said well we had done everything except to go to mayor Lobe's wife. We had gone every other route that we know how.

David Yellin- Now again, who went to mayor Lobe?

Edward Hoover- Um, now wait a minute, the bishop said that Ned Cook who was one of mayor Lobe's they approached Ned Cook on this and evidently Downing Pryor had been to repeatedly and other people of this sort, in other words attempts from the bishop's office and from other...

David Yellin- But no minister went to mayor Lobe at any time, (muffled) the Episcopalian.

Edward Hoover- Whether the bishop had actually gone to mayor Lobe or not I don't know.

David Yellin- This may be incidental, did we not hear that in that march, or was this the incident where mayor Lobe's former room mate is a minister?

Edward Hoover- This could be, this did not...

David Yellin- Who might it be do you know?

Edward Hoover- I don't know he is a member of St. John's church.

Judy Schultz- I said if it was his college room mate it would be somebody from Brown because he went to Brown.

Edward Hoover- From Brown and I don't know who that would be. At any rate we had, they said in the section that we hadn't been able to get anywhere and our question was whether or not this march would help mayor Lobe come to a new focus of things and a number of them said if we go into him real hard and heavy at it he will simply react by getting more firm than he has been.

David Yellin- You said this on the 4<sup>th</sup> when you had your meeting before the 5<sup>th</sup>..

Edward Hoover- Yeah that's right and we had tried to work this thing out and I think I was the one who said in that meeting that I had tried everything I knew in other words I had gone to Harry Woodbury, I had gone to the people that I had known within the administration and on one was willing to move at all and I was quite willing not to go on the march if someone would show me any other means of action at all. We finally agreed that we would go on the march and simply delivered a formal statement that the mayor might understand this and that if anybody tried any force in the situation or attempted to use any coercion in any sort in it that the mayor would only become increasingly opposite.

David Yellin- But this was never discussed before you went because obviously there was no plan about what to do when you got there.

Edward Hoover- Well as I said we the Episcopalians we knew what we wanted to do. We wanted to go there in a very dignified manner state the thing and leave. And so when Rabbi Wax and these other ministers got in and it did seem a little bit stronger than we wanted then why some of us, and perhaps I should only speak for myself, but extremely embarrassed about it because we felt this was going to undo...

David Yellin- You were embarrassed for reasons that it would be ineffectual.

Edward Hoover- Yeah, in other words we had worked so hard to do this in a very, in an extremely what do you want to say, in an unemotional way and we are starting to have some emotions come out.

Carolyn Yellin- One of the things, did you know that television cameras would be there because I remember seeing it televised and in fact I have heard that this scene was televised over in fact internationally that it was seen in Copenhagen, someone whose son was in Copenhagen, they saw it in Denmark.

Edward Hoover- I didn't know this but they did say that the news media had been told we were going down.

Carolyn Yellin- By someone from the ministerial alliance?

Edward Hoover- Yes, and so the whole thing was planned and then as I say the parts that were televised were largely Rabbi Wax and I think reverend Jackson.

David Yellin- And as far as I recall and this is not a dispute he did not get on his knees he did make an impressioned plea.

Edward Hoover- Yeah, but there was one of them that did get on his knees.

Carolyn Yellin- Maybe someone else did.

Edward Hoover- There were two or three things that happened in that period. By the way the actual statement as far as I know did not appear on television and actually did not appear in the newspaper until a full week later.

Carolyn Yellin- No.

Joan Beifuss- Rabbi Wax was what was picked up on television.

David Yellin- Oh the actual statement by the ministers was not recorded in the newspapers.,

Carolyn Yellin- They worked so hard and....

David Yellin- Was that ever delivered to the mayor?

Edward Hoover- Yes it was delivered and it was read to him.

Joan Beifuss- Jim let me ask you something else I had heard a story that at a meeting prior to the marching that one of your white ministers went down on his knees to one of the black ministers and said well my black brother forgive me, was that?

Edward Hoover- Yes I think this was, I believe, and I won't swear to this I think this was Father Veron. (muffled) when the formal statement was delivered and mayor Lobe said that he wanted to tell us first of all, thank us for coming. And he would take our statement under consideration and moreover he wanted us to know that he had a phone call that morning from the governor and as the result of the phone call he had asked the city attorney to go in and join with the King attorneys to make arrangements for the march on the King attorneys terms and so that march would be coming on Monday. And then he wanted to stop and one minister said we want to know sir are you going to do anything about this. He said well all I can tell you now is that we will consider this matter as fair as we can and it would not be right for me to make any statement further than this at this time. There was a little more back and forth kind of talk and finally one of the ministers said and I take it one of the leaders up and near the front of the room, I was in the back. Said something to the effect that we are grateful to you for our time and we are thankful to you for receiving our statement and we know you have other things to do and now if you will allow us we will excuse ourselves. And that staged the game and I had been talking, in just a little side conversation with Dick Moon, and he had just been talking to Mr. Lawson..

David Yellin- Were they both in the room?

Edward Hoover- Yes Lawson and Moon and I were very close together and I said something earlier to Dick Moon, I said I think this is as far as we can go on this. Dick Moon says pardon me and he said and I don't think I can quote him exactly but he said, this is the same sort of stuff we have been getting all the time Mr. Mayor. I intend to stay here in this office until you settle this matter and until you give in and any others that want to stay here with me will stay here and we will have a hunger strike until the mayor gives in. At that stage in the game, much embarrassment ensued and many left as quickly as they could. As I left the office of the mayor why Mr. Woodbury the commissioner of finance and institutions I think that is his right title but who is a communican here was waiting outside the office and I went over and shook hands with him. And said Harry I am sorry that we have to meet outside the office on the street on this but I do have some more arguments or you on your side if you would like to hear them. He said yes, we will make an appointment and get around to that one of these days and then we went on our way and that staged the game and I think this (muffled) to be down also. That we went over to Calgary church at, it was just almost noon at that point and the services at noon. Afterwards there was a luncheon and a meeting of the Episcopal clergy an official meeting of the (Muffled) which I chair. Which I did chair at that time and we were all and of course some of us had marched and some of us had not and the question came up with what we should say about this. There was much discussion because this had not



gone according to are, the way we had wanted it to go and yet we felt the statement was right. So we did make a resolution with which we concurred with the statement of the two ministerial alliances, or ministerial associations and then went on to say that and this was in our motion. That we did recognize the dignity of the mayor's office and we felt it had to be upheld in these kind of times. I was asked to right a letter to the mayor and also send a copy to the councilmen and the newspaper. And this I did do this and this was published but the intent of our resolution was to concur with the resolution but to, not to concur with everything that went on in the office.

David Yellin- Could you, do you have copies of your letter.

Edward Hoover- Yeah.

David Yellin- Ca we have them to turn over to the archives?

Edward Hoover- As a matter of fact it is in the...I think I can get you copies of the letter.

David Yellin- The original.

Edward Hoover- And the letter was published and yes you can have a copy of it.

Judy Schultz- It was published in the Sunday morning papers.

Edward Hoover- Yeah Sunday morning paper.

David Yellin- But we would like to have the original if we could. Now just to be real clear about this the Dick Moon statement followed Rabbi Wax and reverend Jackson.

Edward Hoover- Yeah.

David Yellin- I see.

Edward Hoover- Actually their statements were early and then the statement was made and it was after the mayor had responded and we were ready to leave in fact we had asked to be excused when Dick Moon said he was going to go on a hunger strike.

Carolyn Yellin- You mean Rabbi Wax and the emotional statements came before the formal statement was read?

Edward Hoover- Yes.

Carolyn Yellin- Oh I thought they had followed?

Edward Hoover- No they didn't.

Carolyn Yellin- They came first off.

Edward Hoover- And this was part of the thing the reason we were so antsy because we had rethought through mayor Lobe's psychology as far as we could and we were afraid that this sort of statement...

David Yellin- Ted this of course is after the fact but is there any reason that you can think of now that then you did not think to press your strategy?

Edward Hoover- Well we had no way of pressing because our strategy, the strategy of the Episcopal clergy had been to be simply dignified and not emotional and to handle the thing with all of the dignity we could handle. Of course when we got down there and these people who didn't understand the Episcopal strategy.

David Yellin- Well perhaps the Episcopal strategy had never been known.

Edward Hoover- Yeah, in other words we had simply assumed that because the statement was so clear and that they were going to...we had no idea that there was going to be any impromptu speeches, this was my first experience in this kind of a situation. Now I know when you get a bunch of people together you don't know what they are going to say. I only say David as Episcopalians we are used to walking in and saying let the lord be with you and other people say to us and with thy spirit and then we get to talk. We are not used to having people say things informally or get up and do this, this is not our normal way of dealing with things.

Carolyn Yellin- Ted what was the mayor like that morning?

Edward Hoover- Very dignified and extensively cordial. He was and he made by the way a very fine appearance of course he is a very large man. And he was back at his desk and these movie, or TV cameras were on him and he greeted us as if we had been people to come in and congratulate him on something rather than people coming in to deliver an ultimatum. He was very cordial.

David Yellin- He made no mention of Dr. King's death?

Edward Hoover- Only, I think he undoubtedly did make mention of it and say the events of the last 24 hours have changed things and very earnest things and then he went on to say this about governor Ellington phoning him so that this was part of his reception speech to us or at least his response to our formal letter.

Carolyn Yellin- but the mayor on Friday morning then was composed and not haggard after the night before?

Edward Hoover- No I frankly, admire him in the course of this whole thing. Although he withstood us he did it with great dignity. Frankly, I felt for the man under the circumstances, I mean I don't think I could have stood up to the kind of badgering he was taking.

Judy Schultz- Well he and Wax had run ins before hadn't they? Wasn't there a strong..

Edward Hoover- I don't know if there was or not, there were some things said afterwards and Rabbi Wax and Mrs. Wax in fact, we walked to the stadium of the Memphis Cares program which we haven't gotten in on this yet, but evidently the Rabbi Wax had a lot of backlash from his congregation and Mrs. Wax said that people were saying that he only spoke to the mayor like that because he left the Jewish church to become an Episcopalian after he was elected. However, I will only say that the little bit of back and forth speech it said it looks like me that one of us did a very good job.

David Yellin- I mean obviously this would come up. It would come up and it would be something.

Carolyn Yellin- I wanted to go back to something you said earlier Ted that we really didn't follow through on. Again as to your decision to march and you had said that you had gotten to the place was the only thing left to do was to go to Mrs. Lobe. Was any approach actually made to get a point of view across to the mayor through his wife?

Edward Hoover- As far as I know there was not. Mrs. Lobe was raised up here in Highland and Central in a house that is side is towards the bishop's house. And Russell Greg father in law is a good friend of the bishop's as a matter of fact a man who has contributed money here. There is a good cordial relationship between the bishop and Mrs. Lobe's family. But I think the comment was made only to indicate that the bishop and others had attempted everything they knew how to do and that our usual way of doing thing just hadn't worked.

David Yellin- Also indicating that it would be folly to go to Mrs. Lobe. The indication is quite clear.

Edward Hoover- Yeah. I think so.

Carolyn Yellin- One overall feeling at this point. How do you feel about that particular march, just overall, do you have any....

David Yellin- In relationship to the final settlement, did it impeded, did it delay?

Carolyn Yellin- And do you feel differently now than you did immediately afterward?

Edward Hoover- Yes, I think in the course of the march down there was a rather exhilaration to it and then there was this embarrassment when things did not go quite the way we wanted them to and even afterwards in our meeting of our own clerics, I think it was only after the air had cleared, I think probably by Sunday I think most of us felt, at least I felt very clearly that the march had been very wise and very good. Among other things that we picked up by way of just information that the negro ministers had felt that they were at the end of their own rope, that they had gone just as far as they could go and they were no longer able to maintain the leadership of their own people. And if the white ministers had not been willing

to march with them they probably would have lost control at this point. Our going with them gave them the kind of support they needed to go back and gain some control within their own community and to try to set things going to the future. And so we had this sense that we had given support. Also some sense where we had been able to do nothing before at least we had done that regardless how futile it appeared and now I have done two marches, and I am now convinced that marches do good and demonstrations are effective. But up to that point I was not certain of it I was afraid that it looked like pure silliness. For grown people to go marching down the streets and I don't even like parades and I will barely will have processions in church, I don't like this sort of thing but you know when you see they work whether (muffled) when you see something works you think (muffled).

Judy Schultz- Now do you think it works for the person observing the demonstration or the march or do you think it is a psychological kind of concept building from the people participating. You said that before you participated that you didn't think it did any good.

Edward Hoover- Judy you are now drawing a line which I have thought about. There were people that saw us and I think it had some affect upon them and it certainly had the effect of having this many ministers come into a room, one could hardly miss it. I think that the newspaper reports of this and some of the editorializing evidently it had some effect upon those who looked at it. But I will agree with you that if this is what you were trying to suggest that the effect upon us of marching together was extremely effective. And those that were in the march whenever we see each other we have a closer comradery than we did before and though we never speak of those that didn't go, yet they are not in on it you know what I mean.

Joan Beifuss- Were there many left at the cathedral who did not go?

\Edward Hoover- Yes and I saw two or three that I knew, as a matter of fact IU hung back towards the back and this is, I think this is a valid part of your history. I was in a rather awkward spot, my father had phoned just before we left the house and he was to be released from the hospital at 11 am. He had been at William Bold hospital, he is 81 and he was visiting us and had been in for surgery and this march started at about 11:00. Here I was supposed to go and get my 81 year old father out of the hospital and take him home. I went and I found Bill Zachary who is a graduate assistant in the psych department and asked him if he would go get my father and take him home. Then I decided that I better go phone my father and tell him I was sending over a proxy and my father who thinks that Louie the 14<sup>th</sup> was a little bit of a left is and he wouldn't approve of this march and I went back to the cathedral office to phone him but I felt like a traitor, even leaving the crowd that long. I went into the cathedral office and I made my phone call and then went back and told dad that I was sending someone in my stand I didn't tell him I was marching.

Virginia Hoover- No he would have had a relapse.

Edward Hoover- Then I walked back to find Bill and to tell him it was all alright and when I went back to the parish hall of the cathedral I saw oh maybe 8, 10 maybe more ministers there some of whom I recognized. And I did get the information to Bill Zachary and I went on and joined them but I was with in the last 4 or 5 all the way down so I was really there for the tail end of the march. But a very, a real corporate sense to develop out of this. We didn't hold hands, we didn't money march we just marched down the sidewalk I think 4 abreast or two abreast depending on the width of the sidewalk and some straggling that went on but lots of animated conversation and of course much hand shaking and much first naming. It was very interesting.

David Yellin- Just in your opinion do you think that the scene in the mayor's office becoming undignified in a sort of Episcopalian kind of a way.

Carolyn Yellin- It was down right un-Episcopalian.

David Yellin- Yes it certainly was. But you remember that mayor Lobe was something else for many many years and so he was probably used to this.

Edward Hoover- That may be, however he has been attending the Episcopal church I don't know for how long, but this is where he has been going to church for a long time.

David Yellin- Yes, did you think that it contributed towards his entrances or did you think it loosened him up or tightened him up any further?

Edward Hoover- I am not certain as I say looking back on the thing I, as I talked to Mr. Woodbury at a later time I suggested to him and I think our letter that we wrote also did, I suggested that at least we gave him an excuse, as a matter of fact one of the negro ministers said that day, blame it on us. We thought it gave him an excuse to back down, and also it gave him a way of coming back on the ministers to ask the ministers for help in terms of trying to solve some of the city's problems. In other words I think probably it may have helped a bit and it may have at least given an excuse or perhaps a good reason to change. As a matter of fact I thought myself at this early speech that he might indeed change at that point. That is to say that within 48 hours this would, with King's death, with our march that this might be enough so that he can say well under these circumstances I have to back down, of course he didn't but.

David Yellin- Could that have been in Rabbi Wax's mind? At least if he had made some overture or some acknowledgement of the events had they not only happened but they may have had some effect on him which he did not do?

Edward Hoover- Yeah I think the problem of the emotional responses of the time, is that they did have anger in them and they were directed at the mayor and this is where the bad feature of it. Nonetheless the overall effect it seems to me was salutary and even today when I was talking to Dean Demmick recently and he asked me if I was getting very much flack and I said yes I am getting a little bit angry are you getting any. He said yes, but I am getting more support from mine than flack. He

laughed in a very cute way and he said all of us are in trouble. At least those of us that marched have some reason for being in it.

David Yellin- That term flack is interesting. Has that become a ministerial term?

Edward Hoover- Yes this is the term for (muffled) I saw some guns that shot at the planes.

David Yellin- Where is the flack coming from below or above?

Edward Hoover- That is always one of the questions that we were never quite certain of.

Carolyn Yellin- Ted let me ask you one other thing was there any attempt to get the white ministers marching for instance in the first march the March 28<sup>th</sup> one?

Edward Hoover- I am not certain, I am a member of the ministerial alliance but I don't go to it. So my first time actually meeting with the ministers had been on that previous Wednesday. And we had been, I forget who urged us to come, I think it was Rabbi Wax asked us to come down to this meeting. And I did arrive late and I left early, you know how these things are but our own personal life was sufficiently confused at that point with my dad in the hospital. I know, I had a service out here at 4:30 that day and I had to get back to that but as far as that, that was the first meeting I had been at. With the ministers and the negro ministers did not ask us to march with them, it was a white ministers suggestion. That we all march down.

David Yellin- The previous day on the 3<sup>rd</sup>.

Edward Hoover- Yeah on Wednesday.

Carolyn Yellin- Well Joan now that you have brought up this business of the march 28<sup>th</sup> march which was actually led by Dr. Martin Luther King, the one that did erupt into violence and I believe you and Joyce both marched on that. I think maybe we are going back a little bit in time from the march that Ted was talking about but you being the only two that were on that, Joyce having marched on both. I would love to know what each of you your reasons for marching that day were, Joyce maybe you can tell us first and then we will get to the second march later, the memorial march. Had you ever marched before March 28<sup>th</sup>?

Joyce Palmer- No.

Carolyn Yellin- So this was your first decision, what brought you to this Joyce?

Joyce Palmer- It was quite sudden actually, I had been you know reading the papers and this kind of thing and I noticed that a day or so before I noticed that there had been a catholic nun you know marching with these little small marches they had been having. And I think the night before it said in the paper that the negotiations had broke down. And I just thought that I had to go down there and at least have

one white face in the crowd. I didn't know, well I knew the nun and much, I didn't know if there were any white people ever marching.

Carolyn Yellin- You made this entirely an individual decision?

Joyce Palmer- Well I had just moved here in December and I didn't know anybody and I will admit that I was apprehensive because I also have never known any negroes except for one couple that I met a couple of times in Minneapolis.

Carolyn Yellin- You moved here from Minneapolis in December?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

David Yellin- You mean you never knew negroes in Minneapolis?

Joyce Palmer- Except this one couple that worked at the company I did. So I wasn't sure what their attitude was towards white people and that was the main reason I was worried about going.

Carolyn Yellin- Now may I ask just for the record you said that you saw a nun was marching, are you catholic?

Joyce Palmer- Yes.

Carolyn Yellin- And so you felt..

Joyce Palmer- Well it wasn't because she was a catholic it was just that I knew she was probably white and she was a woman.

Carolyn Yellin- Yes.

Joyce Palmer- This was the thing, it didn't have anything to do with the religion part of it. And I thought if she can do it I can do it. Another thing is that I can remember when this (Muffled) was killed I had a friend that said, with 4 children she didn't have nay business going down there.

Carolyn Yellin- This was on the Selma march in 65?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah, and that has boggled me ever since because I don't know, it just has and I disagree and yet I kept thinking well, I was actually worried about what people would think. That was it.

Carolyn Yellin- Were you worried, did you give a thought to your own safety with I know you have three small children and you mention Mrs. Leeouzo when you made this private decision of conscious, did you consider that there might be some element of danger involved in it?

Joyce Palmer- I didn't really but my husband on the way I was driving with him and was going to leave him off at work and he brought up if there was any trouble be sure and get right out. And I said do you really think there would be any trouble?

And I didn't. Because they had been having these marches for quite awhile and there hadn't been any trouble.

Carolyn Yellin- Now before we get to where you were, in the march and what your experiences during that actual time where. Joan why don't you take it up.

David Yellin- Why don't we all kind of pitch in?

Carolyn Yellin- I wanted to get Joan's story too and then we can all ask questions, if Joan had ever marched before or if this was...had you marched in any of the earlier marches during the strike here?

Joan Beifuss- No the only time that I had marched before was two years ago in Oak Park Illinois for open housing but that was rather an Episcopalian type march we got all dressed up in high heels and....if it hadn't been a hundred degrees out, it was the 4<sup>th</sup> of July I remember and I was extremely impressed on that march and I will mention this because I am sure that this has had a bearing on my feeling for Dr. King towards open housing marches and doing the whole thing for over two years. That march in Oak Park was on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July and it was beastly hot, it was about 100 degrees and there was a large paper machete liberty bell that had been made and it stood about 6 feet and it was heavy it had to be carried by 4 men on sticks on their shoulders by 4 men. IU was marching at that time with the minister of a Christian church in Oak Park who was about to lose his pulpit because he had been marching for open housing. We had been staggering along in this extremely hot weather and the men carrying the bell had to keep stopping and then putting it down and then picking back up again. And the minister marching next to me said, it looks a lot like Christ carrying the cross doesn't it. And for some reason that is etched on my mind almost indelibly. Here was this kind of scraggly group of people with this paper machete liberty bell on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July, and in a very strong sense I can see it, I can almost see Christ at that point dragging the cross also in hot weather.

Carolyn Yellin- Was that a march, that was not a march led by Dr. Martin Luther King?

Joan Beifuss- That was not a Dr., King march no, that was a...that was a march the American (muffled) service commission was leading that march, that was before King came into Chicago for the open housing marches. I marched here on the 28<sup>th</sup> because in my mind there was nothing else left to do. We had spent an hour with the mayor, we had gone to see the mayor, we had spent an hour with him in March.

Carolyn Yellin- Now when you say we, would you say who the we? We had spent an hour, do you mean we as the tell a little bit about who went to see the mayor?

Joan Beifuss- Ok in February here we started a rear children workshop which was co-sponsored by the conference of Christians and Jews and the catholic council on human relations, the anti-defamation league. We had about 90 women attending this workshop and I think it was the 3<sup>rd</sup> session the workshop couldn't have been



held under worse circumstances in Memphis. It was the first time there had ever been one here, it was the first attempt to do anything like this, the week before the workshop started the garbage strike started, so that the workshop was held under all kinds of increasingly tense situations. We had both white and negro women at the workshop and the garbage strike kept intruding and intruding and intruding on it and every speaker that we had, Mrs. Maxine Smith spoke to us at the workshop the morning after she had been in jail. And she was angry and bitter so that every speaker we had kept going back to the garbage strike. At any rate then we had Lucius Birch, who is a lawyer here an old Tennessee family. Lucius Birch came in and gave us a little talk about the southern approach toward the negroes. During the course of his talk he said that Mayor Lobe a very proud man was sure he had his united white support and so I got up at the end of the meeting and I said do you think it would be feasible if some of us put on our white gloves and our high heels and went down to see Mayor Lobe that he would realize that his white support is not as solid as he thinks it is, that there is a crack in this white support. Lucius Birch said fine, he said fine, go ahead. So I said anyone that wants to go see Mayor Lobe sign the list and we got 18 women. So we went down to see Mayor Lobe.

Carolyn Yellin- All white.

Joan Beifuss- All white. We asked the negro women not to go with us because the point we were trying to make was that there was a crack in his white support.

David Yellin- White gloves.

Joan Beifuss- White gloves, all dressed, beautifully dressed and there was 18 of us.

Carolyn Yellin- White power.

Joan Beifuss- White power. So we tried that and we were people without power. We were not Gwynn Awsumb or Downing Pryor, we are not people who had access to the power people really. We were just a bunch of white house wives. So we went down and we spent an hour with Mayor Lobe. Charming, charming hour. Mayor Lobe, I don't know...

Carolyn Yellin- What date was this, excuse me?

Joan Beifuss- I don't know the date, it would be about in the middle of March on a Thursday afternoon, open house session. But at any rate in the Mayor's office for some reason it looks like his desk is raised about 5 feet, I can't I am not sure how I got this impression but all the light came in on the Mayor's desk and he just looked mammoth. And we just all kind of sat around him in a semi-circle sort of in darkness you know. I think there must be and in the back of the room we were all these shadowy people were, we had no idea who the people were in the back but there seemed to be 10 people in the back and we didn't find out of course until afterwards that they were, well I don't know whether they were secret service of the people guarding him but there had been a number of people staying with him constantly even in the middle of March he had this large force of people. So we sat down with

the mayor, and we said Mayor Lobe we are not so concerned with the rights or wrongs of the strike., I frankly did see no moral point on the dues check off this is immature immorally I think. The moral point was that the men wanted their own union and they were being stopped from getting it and so their own pre-choice was stopped and with morality. But anyway we said what we are concerned about is the deteriorating white and negro relationship. The mayor said well I have here these 9 points which the union and I have agreed and every time we brought up a point about the racial situation because by then it had become a racial issue in the city. And every time we brought up the racial situation he kept saying but let me tell you about point 8 where the union and I have agreed and on and on he went. We were talking across purposes.

David Yellin- It is like the woman at the well isn't it, in other words the story in the bible when Christ says one thing and the woman responds on another level, it is incredible.

Joan Beifuss- Although at this point I can't equate mayor Lobe with Christ even for the point of the...

David Yellin- Would about the woman at the well will you accept her.

Joan Beifuss- but the mayor was quite charming , he was extremely cordial and he as very, well toward the end of the interview her looked around at us and he said I am so very interested in accents. He said tell me where you al are from. And he pointed out the spokeswoman who obviously did not have southern accents. He picked me and Mary Dowdy from California, Kate Portman from Chicago. And finally, thank god he hit somebody from Dyersburg Tennessee and we were so excited. So anyway that was the trip tot eh mayor and we all shook his hand and departed. We had not, with the reporters there Joe Sweat and Clark Portius from the newspapers were there and I talked to them for 20 minutes or so afterwards. We wouldn't give them our individual names because we were afraid of what was happening to people of who were getting their names in the newspaper, they were getting all sorts of harassing phone calls etc. But the 18 of us all had to sign a list as we went into the mayor's office his reception list. So Joe Sweat printed the entire list of 18 names in the paper the next morning and we did get a few harassing phone calls. I don't know if they went down the list and called 18..

David Yellin- With addresses?

Joan Beifuss- Oh yeah. SO anyway that was the trip to the mayor and it was obviously useless. If he didn't believe there was a crack in this white support.

David Yellin- And he proved it didn't he. That is to say was this the business of asking you were you where you were from?

Joan Beifuss- Yes.

David Yellin- Because wasn't he actually wasn't really telling you...

Joan Beifuss- He was telling us that we were not his people, in a sense I think.

Carolyn Yellin- It was followed up the next week by another group...

Joan Beifuss- We got then, we decided that we should keep this up and so each one of us got a substitute for the following Thursday and the following Thursday another group of women went down to see him with approximately the same results except that when they went, they were met by a counter group of women named by a lady name Mrs. Pew who lives out in East Memphis but I think they were kind of phonies they didn't really see the mayor they went down for the television, they had televisions cameras and they just went in and gave him a little petition of some kind and came back out and passed our ladies on the way out and handed out little pamphlets about return to your church home. So I don't really know what Mrs. Pew's group...but they, we understood they weren't terribly well dressed.

David Yellin- Did they have white gloves on?

Joan Beifuss- I don't think they had white gloves so we kind of wrote them off.

Judy Schultz- Probably had southern accents too.

Joan Beifuss- So that was the visit to the mayor and we had written to the mayor...

Carolyn Yellin- Would you, I just want could you just get one story that someone has told me and perhaps it was you of that second group regarding the stories on accents that there was somebody in that group,...

David Yellin- Jerry Beyer told you that.

Carolyn Yellin- That, do you know the story he asked someone in the group the same question someone who had a British accent or had lived in India I believe, and said something about where are you from?

David Yellin- Honey.

Carolyn Yellin- Honey. And implying that she was not a Memphian because of her accent. I live in Memphis, I pay taxes in Memphis, my children go to school in Memphis, my husband works in Memphis, I am from Memphis.

Joan Beifuss- Well had we been a little bit better primed when we went, for instance when we asked where we were from, we were just so stoned that all we could think to do is to tell him where we were from. By the time the second group went, we had kind of filled them in a little bit on the mayor.

David Yellin- You would like to say stunned as it comes out finally.

Joan Beifuss- But he was extremely gracious and he did he spent an hour with us. Which he certainly did not have to do and he shook hands very warmly and told us all to come back again.

Carolyn Yellin- The Episcopal handshake.

David Yellin- I don't know I think it may come out of his Jewish background as well.

Joan Beifuss- SO anyway after the second group of ladies met the opposing group of ladies we decided that as a tactic should be called off and that was obviously not going to get anywhere. But as U say we had written to the mayor, we had sent telegrams to the mayor, I am on the board of catholic council of human relations and we had taken a stand on the garbage strike supporting their demands, the same weekend that the black ministers came into the picture and then Kate Portman and I called and made an appointment to see Mrs. Gwynn Awsumb who is our council representative and spent a charming hour with Mrs. Awsumb. That would have been the week after we saw the mayor and spent an hour with her and got absolutely no place at all. She refused to consider the issue any more than just a labor dispute, she refused to be concerned, or she was concerned about the racial overtones of the thing, but she insisted that she could not make a move toward doing anything as far as the race situation went that what she was concerned with was the labor pictures. So by the time Dr. King came in and said he was going to march, as far as I could see there was nothing else to do other than go to the streets. SO I went to the streets.

David Yellin- Well and you r experience on the march, where were you with...

Carolyn Yellin- You didn't see Joyce did you?

Joyce Palmer- No, we didn't see, the only white people.

Joan Beifuss- The only white people we saw though we saw about 5 students from Southwestern and those were the only white people we ever saw in the march. We were toward the back.

Carolyn Yellin- Who were you with?

Joan Beifuss- I was with Pat and Dick Gilliam and Dick Moon's wife and another gal whose name I can't even remember. There were a number of white people up at the front. The clergy, the priests and the nuns were up at the front. There were some other white women up at the front of the march but we didn't see them at all.

Carolyn Yellin- Now how about you Joyce? When you got down there how did you join the march, were you, you were entirely alone?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah, I parked my car right on Linden. Just a little ways over when I finally got to it I was glad it was still in one piece.

Joan Beifuss- What time did you get there Joyce?

Joyce Palmer- Oh I would say about 10:30. I got out of my car and started walking up the street and there were people all over, all black and I really felt like everybody

was looking at me and I just felt really strange, but I just walked up the street and walked down and then I saw some...

Carolyn Yellin- Did you ever consider maybe I should just turn around and go home?

Joyce Palmer- No.

Carolyn Yellin- You never did?

Joyce Palmer- No.

Carolyn Yellin- Did you smile at people?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

Carolyn Yellin- Did you have some feeling of (muffled) when they saw.

Joyce Palmer- Not at first, not when I was walking from the car up I just felt like they were looking at me.

Joan Beifuss- Like you were a (muffled).

Joyce Palmer- I don't know what they were thinking but I felt strange I know that.

Joan Beifuss- I wish we would have found you.

Joyce Palmer- Then I saw a group of white and negro women together and I went up to this white woman and I said can I march with you, I told her that I was all alone. I had forgotten her name but she was the one that invited me to the workshop luncheon and all that.

Carolyn Yellin- Is that right.

Joyce Palmer- I have got her name written down. And so after that I began to feel entirely at ease, after, but I did have to find this white persons you see, I don't know why.

Carolyn Yellin- Well I think it is very natural.

David Yellin- You waited until the march started, it was delayed right?

Joan Beifuss- It was terribly delayed.

Joyce Palmer- Yeah everybody, at first everybody was having a good time it was fun and everybody was talking and laughing and eventually people got pretty restless and I kept wondering what was taking so long.

Joan Beifuss- There had been people there since 8:30 in the morning and the march didn't move out until a little bit after 11.

Joyce Palmer- What time was it supposed to start at 9?

David Yellin- At 9.

Joyce Palmer- That is what time I got there, I got there ok, I had forgotten.

Carolyn Yellin- Now were you standing right near the temple, right near Clayborne Temple?

Joyce Palmer- I was right in front of it before it started and that might tell you where I was.

Carolyn Yellin- That meant that you were farther upon the march than Joan was.

David Yellin- Alright when you started to march, the march started.

Joyce Palmer- Well first I have one other incident to relate. I was, I had not this little purse but a purse like this with a clasp on the top and a woman, a negro woman said to me to keep my purse in front under my sign like this. So I held it like that and pretty soon I forgot about it and I was just holding it down on my side and somebody said your purse is open and somebody else said I think they took your billfold and they told me he had on a red shirt or something. MY billfold was gone and I am telling you it was embarrassing because I started to bawl.

Carolyn Yellin- You did.

Joyce Palmer- I don't know why but it just upset me something terrible.

Carolyn Yellin- I can understand.

David Yellin- What did you lose how much money?

Joyce Palmer- Well Judy Schultz- 10 was all, it was the money.

Joan Beifuss- It was the principle of the thing.

Joyce Palmer- And my driver's license and credit cards and stuff.

David Yellin- Any use of your credit cards? You never gotten the bill fold back?

Joyce Palmer- No, I had to call the police and tell the people about my credit card and all that.

Carolyn Yellin- Did you tell them the circumstances under which ..

Joyce Palmer- Yeah the two policemen came out to my house. One would not even look at me he would not. I don't think he ever looked at me. He sat down at my kitchen table and the other man asked me a few questions and the other one...

Carolyn Yellin- Was he hostile?

Joyce Palmer- Not hostile but very disapproving. And the other one said, do you approve of that? I said well not rioting, I was just, I had no confidence in situations like that. And he said, well neither do I.

David Yellin- Tell me now had your credit cards ever been used or anything of this sort?

Joyce Palmer- No.

David Yellin- Any...

Joyce Palmer- As far as I know we called the places where I had credit cards and they got us new ones except I think it was an Amber's credit card they never changed ours but we never gotten a bill.

David Yellin- I don't think you have to worry about that.

Joan Beifuss- No.

Joyce Palmer- But especially the negro women around me just felt so bad about it and here I was bawling. I don't know what, it was just such a let down to have somebody steal there in this great cause you know and all goodness and justice and right and somebody took my billfold.

Carolyn Yellin- One other question was it the next day or that day that the police came out to check on....

Joyce Palmer- It was not even the next day because I didn't call the police but when I called about the credit cards they told me to call the police.

Carolyn Yellin- So it was sometime...

Joyce Palmer- The next week, probably Monday or Tuesday.

Carolyn Yellin- Even after, was it after Martin Luther King had died?

Joyce Palmer- No, no.

Carolyn Yellin- Ok.

David Yellin- One other thing and I don't know how much this is extraneous, you also were on the Martin Luther King Memorial March. Was this march on the 28<sup>th</sup>, how in the organization of it was there a difference.

Joan Beifuss- There was no question that march..

Joyce Palmer- there was no organization on the first march.

Joan Beifuss- That march on the 28<sup>th</sup> it was..

Joyce Palmer- It was terrible.

Joan Beifuss- I had not marched with Dr, King when he came to Chicago on the open housing marches, you know when they marched into Gage Park and they were attacked and all this sort of thing, but a number of my friends had marched with him and before they were even allowed to march they went through session after session on nonviolent philosophy and they were taught what to do and I am sure our incident about the purse thing, because an incident happened to me at the beginning of the march that I have never even told anyone. We came in and it was just a motley group of people, it didn't even look like a march it was just all kinds of people. And all kinds of people are on the edges and we parked about 4 or 5 blocks by the housing project down there and we walked up and there were a number of high school students there already and when I first got there I met Allegra Turner, Jesse Turner's wife whom I know and she told me about the incident that had happened at Hamilton High School that morning that the kids had walked out with Hamilton and that there had been a battle with police was the way she was telling it which of course proved to be not too accurate. But this was the rumor that was sweeping that crowd of people that there had been a battle at Hamilton high school, We at first were going to try to get up with Dick Moon because Linda Moon was with us but he was way up at the front so we gave that up. But we did try and move reasonably far away from the high school kids because I thought if trouble was going to come it would come out of the high school kids that were there. But anyway I was standing making jolly. I always feel like I have to make jolly conversation with the people around and I was making jolly conversation with this negro man and he said could he have a couple of cigarettes so I gave him a couple of cigarettes and I said this is going to be a long march and all this sort of thing. He looked at me and said when it is all over you will rest me up won't you. I was just appalled, I was absolutely horrified. I backed away and then kind of melted into the crowd.

Carolyn Yellin- What did he say?

Joan Beifuss- He said, when this is over you will rest me up won't you?

Joyce Palmer- I don't know what he means.

Joan Beifuss- I wasn't sure what he meant but I...didn't like it, it didn't sound like he was saying something like freedom now or the dues check off, anything like that. So I quickly got over by Dick Gilliam, and he kind of melted away. But there were the signs, the hand made signs that were in that march should never have been there and they would not have been in a march organized by Dr. King.

David Yellin- What do you mean by this?

Carolyn Yellin- What were some of them?

Joan Beifuss- One of them said mayor Lobe kiss my ass. Hand made signs and then of course there were the printed signs about I am a man. Dick Gilliam looked around and remarked that people were already taking the signs off the sticks, this is another thing, in this kind of a march you don't put things on sticks you just have cardboard signs. There were all kinds of signs on sticks and the kids were already taking them



off, the kids were running along the edges before we ever moved out, kind of waving the sticks around. The helicopters that kept going back and forth over head for some reason un nerved me.

Joyce Palmer- Me too.

Joan Beifuss- I think, I think that I wasn't surprised when the violence came.

Joyce Palmer- OH I was.

Joan Beifuss- I didn't really believe it would come I wouldn't have gone because I am kind of chicken, but I wasn't surprised really I don't think when it happened.

David Yellin- There as something in the air was there?

Joan Beifuss- It just wasn't right David and as I looked back we made little comments like the sticks this kind of thing and nobody paid much attention to those little comments.

David Yellin- Yeah so lack of experience in this you didn't know what will result?

Joan Beifuss- Well it wasn't like that when we moved out there was no attempt, there was no marshals for one thing.

Joyce Palmer- Nobody was telling anyone what to do and everybody just stood there in a big lumpy mass.

David Yellin- At the same time there was, I understand there was somebody trying to tell somebody to tell somebody what to do.

Joyce Palmer- Yeah but they would tell them but nobody listened.

Joan Beifuss- I saw two marshals, during the course of the parade.

Carolyn Yellin- Was there someone with a bullhorn or PA system making, or PA system of some sort.

Joan Beifuss- We didn't even hear that, we didn't even know that Dr, King had arrived except that the march started to move.

Joyce Palmer- I didn't either I never knew when he came.

Joan Beifuss- Never saw Dr. King didn't know he had gotten there.

Joyce Palmer- It is funny thought that I didn't notice some of these things because I didn't and no one else around me did, there was no comment about this kind of thing. You know that you might see a sign or...

Carolyn Yellin- You didn't see such signs?

Joyce Palmer- I didn't register with me as anything to worry about, I just thought oh how disorganized and that is all I thought, I didn't think of trouble in any way. Once it started that as we went through they would straighten it out and line it up and this sort of thing.

Joan Beifuss- but there were a lot of women with children, did you see all the women with children?

Joyce Palmer- Yes, yes.

David Yellin- Well what kind of children?

Joyce Palmer- Little children.

Joan Beifuss- (muffled) some smaller children but there were....

Joyce Palmer- There were some there, I saw one woman there with a baby in a stroller but she didn't march she was just standing there on the sidewalk.

Carolyn Yellin- I am trying to remember just at the point in time was this after Dr. King had suggested that people stay away from school and stay away from work and march with him that day?

Joan Beifuss- In point of time King had spoken...

David Yellin- It was the second march scheduled.

Joan Beifuss- Had spoken the proceeding week and called for the march that Friday and then was the snow storm.

Carolyn Yellin- And he had suggested then that people stay home from work and stay out of school, and march.

David Yellin- And they did because of the snow.

Edward Hoover- White power.

Joan Beifuss- So as far as the tension of the city went you had a great deal of tension built up to the night when the snow began and then it relaxed a little but because of the snow and I thought maybe the tension, maybe now it is relaxed and maybe it will stay a little bit relaxed but by the following week it was still right back up again where it had been before.,

Carolyn Yellin- And during that week there had been the attempt at negotiations or meditation and it had failed.

Joan Beifuss- Failed again.

David Yellin- That's when they walked out.

Carolyn Yellin- They had...

Joan Beifuss- No that was the following week, right before King was killed.,

Carolyn Yellin- Oh that's right. There had been no attempt until after this march and then there had finally been an attempt at mediation.

Joan Beifuss- Right.

Joyce Palmer- No, because I remember that I decided to march in that first march because I read in the paper, but possibly it wasn't a mediator..

Joan Beifuss- Frank Miles came in...

Joyce Palmer- but I was thinking it had been.

Joan Beifuss- Frank Miles was called in I believe after the March 28<sup>th</sup> march.

David Yellin- He was called in before.

Edward Hoover- He was called in on the original group.

David Yellin- Before the snow storm.

Edward Hoover- Yeah the other man that came in came in after..

David Yellin- Yes the Wednesday...Reynolds.

Joan Beifuss- But anyway at the time of the March 28<sup>th</sup> march I believe there were no negotiations.

David Yellin- The negotiations, the union had walked out. The union had walked out the Tuesday or Wednesday.

Joyce Palmer- I know that is what prompted me to go.

Joan Beifuss- I think you were terribly brave.

Joyce Palmer- No, because I wasn't afraid. If you are afraid and go then you are brave but I wasn't afraid.

Carolyn Yellin- Joyce you went back for the memorial march now and...

David Yellin- Now before that though I am interested in what happened when the violence broke out with you girls. It was fairly close to you I think.

Joan Beifuss- No I was in the back.

Carolyn Yellin- How about you Joyce, did you see that actual breaking of the plate glass windows?

Joyce Palmer- I was right on that block, I want on Main St. I was on Beale, right in the middle of Beale, that last block.

Carolyn Yellin- Between 2<sup>nd</sup> and Main?

Joyce Palmer- Yes. Yes. And so we were all marching and all of a sudden somebody broke a window and I am telling you my heart just thought I was just sick, I wasn't afraid, I was just sick. And then another one broke and I thought why doesn't somebody stop them?

David Yellin- Did you look and see?

Joyce Palmer- I couldn't ever see who was breaking the windows, but I saw the windows breaking because by then everybody was all over.

Carolyn Yellin- Were you in the middle of the street or...

Joyce Palmer- No.

Carolyn Yellin- Or were you more to the right or to the left?

Joyce Palmer- I was right on the edge.

Carolyn Yellin- On which side?

Joyce Palmer- On the right.

Edward Hoover- This again would not have been done in a march (muffled).

Joyce Palmer- And the women that I was with ran into this parking lot and took off towards the north.

David Yellin- The white women.

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

Carolyn Yellin- Did you go with them?

Joyce Palmer- No, I stood there and watched.

David Yellin- Why?

Joyce Palmer- I just was interested.

Joan Beifuss- As long as you are there.

Joyce Palmer- Maybe there is some thing of the adventurer the need for excitement or something in me I just wanted to, I was there and I just wanted to see what would happen.

David Yellin- You mean just a free and open choice.

Joyce Palmer- I did not feel at all endangered, I was not afraid, I felt sort of, it was sort of a feeling of watching on television. I mean you are seeing it but I didn't feel a

part of this at all. I was never threatened or anything it was all going on across the street or down the street or something.

Carolyn Yellin- Was there a lot of movement around you, were you pushed or jostled?

Joyce Palmer- Oh no it was scattered, and everybody kind of moved that way and I just kind of watched them go.

Edward Hoover- They were moving towards Main?

Joyce Palmer- No the other way, back, back and I saw that policemen that had his picture in the paper with the blood on him I saw that happen.

David Yellin- What did you see?

Carolyn Yellin- How did that happen?

Joyce Palmer- It was a persona that was looting out of the window and he was fighting with the policemen.

David Yellin- How did it happen?

Joyce Palmer- Well the policemen was trying to take him, I didn't see, I am not very good with details and this sort of thing I just saw them, the policemen and this other guy and plus I saw a whole bunch of other policemen coming. And all the policemen were beating on this guy but I saw the one policemen with the blood on him come out of it but I don't know how it got started.

David Yellin- (muffled) Nobody threw glass at him?

Joyce Palmer- Glass? I don't know? I was across the street and I couldn't see it that well.

David Yellin- But then the other policemen came and jumped on the guy?

Joyce Palmer- There were about 5 of them I think.

David Yellin- And they jumped on one man?

Joyce Palmer- Right. What horrified me was they seemed so vicious about it, it seemed like policemen should be trained in being calm and cool you know. If they are going to be policemen, I can understand people getting excited and shook up and stuff but there were 5 of them and it seemed like they....

David Yellin- When did they stop?

Joyce Palmer- Huh? I don't know.

Carolyn Yellin- Well how long did you stand there?

Joyce Palmer- I just watched the people, I watched them breaking windows and pulling things out and the policemen coming down and that. Then I started walking down they were saying to go back to Clayborne Temple and I started walking down the street and I saw this policemen that was harassing this one guy that was walking down the street and I thought that was kind of ridiculous because he wasn't doing anything..

David Yellin- What do you mean harassing?

Joyce Palmer- He as kind of poking him with his stick saying get going, get going and the guy kind of snarled back at him he didn't appreciate begin treated that way.

Joan Beifuss- Nobody poled you?

Joyce Palmer- No. But then....

David Yellin- Was this a negro that he was...

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

David Yellin- did he say get going nigger?

Joyce Palmer- I don't remember the word? I have a terrible memory and...

David Yellin- You tell it in your own words it is much better. Tell it in your own we shouldn't even...

Joyce Palmer- No that is alright I just am very bad on details, so I got down to this corner and I wasn't sure if the temple was up that corner or down another block exactly. I knew the general direction so I saw a =policemen standing there and I asked him how to Clayborne Temple.

David Yellin- Pardon me officer (muffled)

(Muffled)

Joyce Palmer- I am very naïve I guess.

Carolyn Yellin- This was an instinctive thing, the policemen is your friend, you are lost and when in doubt you got the policemen ad you say pardon me officer, how do you (muffled).

David Yellin- Boy I would like to talk tot hat policemen.

Joyce Palmer- I knew they all disapproved of my being there but still I thought he would tell me and he didn't want me to get hurt you know and he would tell me where to go but he didn't.

David Yellin- He wouldn't even tell you were to go?

Joyce Palmer- No.

David Yellin- Was he wearing a mask?

Joyce Palmer- No.

Edward Hoover- Any mace used around you at all?

Joyce Palmer- No, the only time I got maced was trying to get into the temple.

David Yellin- Well you left the policemen then what.

Joyce Palmer- Then there was a negro girl walking down the street and I asked her which street the temple was on and she said she would show me and we walked together. She wasn't really friendly but she just walked on and I kind of trailed along behind her. Then I got up there and then they were having quite a bit of disturbance right at the corner of Linden and....

David Yellin- Hernandez.

Joyce Palmer- Right and there was a little filling station or some kind of thing on the corner and I went in there, but it was just roasting in there, I couldn't hardly stand it. So I got out of there and went into the building next to it. They had the doors locked and if you wanted in they would let you in.

David Yellin- Did the building next door?

Joyce Palmer- Both buildings.

Joan Beifuss- What was the building next door?

David Yellin- What was the building?

Carolyn Yellin- The minimum salary building?

Joyce Palmer- No, no this wasn't there...

Joan Beifuss- This is the filling station.

Joyce Palmer- Yeah it was over on...

David Yellin- And who was at the filling station were there white people there?

Joyce Palmer- no there were only negroes in there and at the telephone booth there was a bunch of white people that I think were all reporters all trying to use the telephone and there were a lot of policemen there, mostly policemen outside.

Carolyn Yellin- Did you hear, at that time, did you hear the announcement, or you say you heard an announcement to go back to Clayborne Temple?

Joyce Palmer- That started right away as soon as the windows started breaking they started saying everybody go back to the temple, go back to the temple and everybody,....

David Yellin- Did they turn around?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

David Yellin- Right away?

Joyce Palmer- Right, except the ones that went off to the side.

Joan Beifuss- They kind of turned around it was...

Joyce Palmer- I think some of them scattered sideways.

David Yellin- Ok yes, now you got out of this hot building...

Joyce Palmer- And into the other building and the people there were cordial to me.

David Yellin- What kind of people were there?

Joyce Palmer- Well just a few the ones that were running the place. I think one was a little restaurant and the one next to it was the filling station. I think the first one was a restaurant with little tiny thing..

Carolyn Yellin- Were they negros?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

Joan Beifuss- Were they people that had been on the march?

Joyce Palmer- No I don't think so. And I was trying to get some cigarettes and I didn't have any change and nobody had any change.

Carolyn Yellin- Because your wallet had been stolen.

Joyce Palmer- No I had forgot cigarettes and I needed one. So then I decided to go to the temple because it was quite calm out there, nothing was happening.

David Yellin- Weren't people running?

Joyce Palmer- Not at this time.

Joan Beifuss- You can't really explain it because there were kind of lulls.

Joyce Palmer- Yeah, this was a lull, there was really nothing and so I got out and walked across the street and walked down to the temple and as I was walking on that block where the temple is that is where all the mace was, right outside the temple there and I got that in my eyes and oh man that is bad. It really is.

David Yellin- You mean you walked into the mace?

Joyce Palmer- I went into it. They didn't shoot it at me.

David Yellin- Now where was the mace outside?



Joyce Palmer- Outside.

David Yellin- It wasn't in the temple?

Joyce Palmer- Unless once you got in, my eyes and stuff were already all burning I could tell in other words.

David Yellin- And what did you do when your eyes were burning, did you know what had happened?

Joyce Palmer- Well I figured it was tear gas or something I didn't know for sure.

David Yellin- So what did you do?

Joyce Palmer- I rubbed my eyes, and then they told us not too, they started announcing don't rub your eyes. Don't rub your eyes.

Joan Beifuss- Did you go into the temple?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah I stood there, I don't believe there was another white person in the temple. Again I was curious I wanted to see what they were going to say to the people and this kind of thing.

Joan Beifuss- Who was in charge in the temple?

Joyce Palmer- Reverend Lawson and most of the time there was nothing, there was whole bunch of people in the front...

David Yellin- Did you know he was reverend Lawson, how did you know?

Carolyn Yellin- He announced he was didn't he?

Joyce Palmer- Possibly I just remember and now I know I can't remember if I knew at the time, but I believe I did though for some reason. Maybe I had seen a picture of him, or seen him on television. And most of the time they didn't say anything and what they were doing was trying to locate lost people with people that were looking for them and they were just announcing the names over and they didn't really say anything. I think he gave one speech about how upset they were that this had been for the sanitation workers and that the whole purpose of this thing had been ruined.

David Yellin- This was reverend Lawson?

Joyce Palmer- Yeah.

David Yellin- Where was he speaking from?

Joyce Palmer- From the front.

Carolyn Yellin- Did they mention where Dr. King was then?

Joyce Palmer- No.

Carolyn Yellin- Martin Luther King was not mentioned that you recall?

Joyce Palmer- I don't remember that he was. There wasn't really much going on between, people were really busy up in the front and it was all mostly them talking to each other and every once in awhile someone would say something over the loud speaker the rest of the people sitting out and everybody was kind of milling around and pretty soon they start telling people to go home and go ride home and...

David Yellin- But what did you do with your eyes burning, what did you do?

Joyce Palmer- Just cried, tears.

Carolyn Yellin- And were you sitting down did you sit down in the...

Joyce Palmer- I..no I stood up on an aisle. And then I moved down to the front.

David Yellin- Was there still any white people there?

Joyce Palmer- No, I don't remember that there were.

David Yellin- Did you see any of the nuns?

Joyce Palmer- No, oh yes, when I walked in the rear was a nun standing in the doorway of the temple. But after I got inside I never saw her again.

Joan Beifuss- Well there were nuns, a number of the white nuns and priests went around the corner to St. Patrick's you know which is right around the corner of Clayborne Temple they join through the back there.

David Yellin- And then what did you do?

Joyce Palmer- And then, this is kind of embarrassing but, what I had in mind was I had heard a woman talk in Minneapolis who had been to some of these marches in Milwaukee and had been very impressed with the young men they had used as marshals. And so I wanted to talk to somebody up there about that. Somebody needed a little organization.

Carolyn Yellin- She is an outside agitator.

Joyce Palmer- I realize what they think about white people coming in and telling the what to do.

Carolyn Yellin- (Muffled)

Joan Beifuss- (muffled) tidbit.

Joyce Palmer- Then pretty soon everybody left the front except reverend Lawson and another young man were sitting up there in the chairs. So...I walked up there and I sat down next tot his other young man and I started to try to talk to him. He said oh I am too tired to talk. So I just sat there, I just didn't really want to get up and

walk out then. Pretty soon he said are you a reporter, and I said no I am just a housewife. Then he was warmed up a little bit and we just talked a little bit but he just didn't want to talk to me that is all there was to it. So they left and I still sat there and then another minister came and sat down beside me and he was friendly and he wanted to talk and he wondered why I was there and this kind of thing. I told him about the what farther (Muffled) the marshals made use the young people.

David Yellin- That he had used young negros?

Joyce Palmer- Yes.

David Yellin- Did you find out who this young man was you were talking to?

Joyce Palmer- He told me his name and I have forgotten and I wish I knew because he was really nice and then he asked me a question about something and I answered that and I said I am married and I said (muffled) he acted like he was interested in me. The minute I said I am married he just started to laugh and I couldn't figure that out and then I got home and my niece told me he thought I was trying to straighten him out to be too forward or something. He thought that was so funny. I mean I missed it all the time I didn't know...that's all and then I left.

Carolyn Yellin- How far did you have to go to your car and...

Joyce Palmer- Oh it was just right there at the corner of Pontotoc and..

David Yellin- Was it clear by then?

Joyce Palmer- Well there were a lot of policemen around still, a lot of policemen.

Joan Beifuss- Just what time did you leave the temple do you know?

Joyce Palmer- It was...no I don't, don't have any idea? About 2:00 or 3:00 in the afternoon.

Carolyn Yellin- Really? Was there tear gas in the temple?

Joyce Palmer- This I have heard that they used tear gas in the temple I wasn't aware of it. But I came after this supposedly happened.

David Yellin- Because you were in those other two places for a little bit.

(Muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- By the time that you had arrived at the temple were people leaving the temple as you went in were people coming out of the temple?

Joyce Palmer- The whole thing is very....people are just milling all the time. Everywhere, people going this way and that way.

Carolyn Yellin- But in that block at the temple you were aware that your eyes started smarting.

Joyce Palmer- Oh yeah, oh yeah that was...

David Yellin- Then you went to the next one.

Joan Beifuss- Yes then you went home.

Joyce Palmer- I think at the next one was the better organized, I especially ht ought maybe the sister I had talked to had gotten the word to Dr. King since that night he came out with a message about how they were going to work with these young people. No I am sure probably that he has had enough marches but you see he didn't have nay part in organizing this one that was the difference.

Joan Beifuss- Well you know for instance when the, when we marched out there was one marshal that said okay everybody get in a straight line, and everybody got in a straight line for about two feet you know and then they whole thing just kind of...it was just like a bunch of people walking out to a picnic really.

David Yellin- Now you take it up were you?

Joan Beifuss- Well was behind Joyce because we were back half a block from the temple to start and as I said it just kid of, my most vivid impression was that it was terribly cloudy that morning remember when we started out and then the sky got more and more gradually blue, it was a beautiful day by the time the march went out and the helicopters kept going back and forth and up by the temple, as you got by the temple then there was a marshal trying to organize the lines and it was really pretty jolly, quite a bit of banter going on.

Joyce Palmer- The atmosphere was sort of carnival like (muffled).

Joan Beifuss- And Gerry Fanion was standing just a little bit beyond the temple and we waved and yelled at Gerry Fanion who had just spoken a the work shop (muffled). And moved on and again it got Motley and got up by Handy Park, turned the corner by Handy Park and by then the whole, it didn't even look like a march at all there was space between the people where we were it wasn't closely packed march at all. And then we passed the park and there were lots of people standing and watching from the park, not marching but just kid of standing along the sidewalks and they waved and we waved and this kind of thing and we were about halfway into the first block of stores on Beale when all of a sudden the windows started breaking. I remember for instance a very well dressed negro woman hurried past us by Handy Park and she said oh I didn't have time to take of her high heels and she was hurrying along on these high heels. I never saw her again either., When it started to break, we got the noise from up front and then the windows started breaking around us and I think the first reaction was damnit, damnit they have ruined it.

Joyce Palmer- Right.

Joan Beifuss- They have just ruined the whole thing. But he had no instructions on what to do in case anything happened. Nobody had any kind of instructions on what to do, so we instinctively moved out of the middle of the street against, and flattened against the storefronts you know, well that was ridiculous because as soon as we got there the kids came along breaking the windows right by us you know, so then one of the people I was with...

Carolyn Yellin- What did the kids look like, were they happy, were they doing it in a spirit or were they angry, what did they break the windows with?

Joan Beifuss- I haven't the faintest idea I don't know whether they were happy or they were angry, all I know is they have sticks and they were breaking windows.

Joyce Palmer- I would say that was either, anyone of them could have been either way. I factored that it as partly for excitement and fun and (muffled).

Carolyn Yellin- Were they yelling at each other?

Joan Beifuss- Oh yes they were yelling back and forth across the street and coming on both sides and they were kind of yelling back and forth across the street.

David Yellin- Did they appear to be organized?

Joan Beifuss- I would have said not.

David Yellin- Where were you, you say on the sidewalk or you say flat against...

Joan Beifuss- We were out in the middle of the street and we moved up tot the sidewalk but that was wrong because that was where the breaking glass was occurring and then Dick Gilliam I guess said we have got to get inside one of the stores and that seemed entirely the wrong thing to do. I think what I was instinctively afraid of was being trapped somewhere, not being to get out with what was going on outside. SO we didn't go into the store and we started moving back towards Clayborne Temple, no body had told us to but we started moving back that way. And we got I guess to the corner of Handy Park in the open area and Dick Gilliam again said let's go North, you know let's get out and let's go north through town. That didn't seem right either, we were afraid of being cut off somewhere without the body of the marchers as disorganized as they were at least they were people. But nobody knew what to do and people were going off in all directions and then Jim Lawson came down the middle of the street and he was saying turn and go back to Clayborne Temple, turn and go back to Clayborne Temple.

Carolyn Yellin- With a bullhorn?

Joan Beifuss- He must have had a bullhorn.

Carolyn Yellin- Because you could hear him.

Joan Beifuss- Yeah we could hear him yes, and that is why afterwards when they said the march was deserted by its leaders it was not, because I myself saw Lawson come down. Then Glenda Moon wanted to go over and get with Jim Lawson. You know just anyone that you knew at this point but that was wrong too because Jim Lawson had enough on his hands without 5 frightened white people clinging to the back of him. So we didn't do that so we just kind of stood on the corner of Handy Park and this, really was the funniest thing ever, this negro man and I think there must be a ledge of rock along the edge of the park because he just looked huge. I am sure he couldn't have been as possibly as big as he looked. And he was waving what looked like a table leg. And he kind of rose up in front of us and he said you white folks better get out we are going to burn down this mother fucking city. At this point (muffled) kind of collapsed. I am sure probably if he was out for kicks I am sure the look on our faces halfway must have rewarded him.

David Yellin- He blew your brain.

Joan Beifuss- Absolute horror, so we are all clinging to each other and of course as you were terribly brave because there were 5 of us. And when we got back when we got in the car the only wound we had one of the girls had a cut on her arm where someone's fingernails had dug in. We were scared to death to let go of each other, we were hanging on to each other and we couldn't get separated we knew that.

David Yellin- Now that was Dick Gilliam and 4 women?

Joan Beifuss- Yes right, he is very tall. So anyway we went and people were running through the park then, the park was kind of, I don't know what they were doing but there were just groups of people running around in the park and I saw a negro girl and I felt very badly about this, she looked like a high school girl and she (muffled) and then she just kind of sank down into the grass and she started crying and cry and cry. She was just a kid or just a high school girl. So we kept on going and we went back towards the temple and again this was just a lull and there was nothing there were just groups of people going back to the temple, but we very once in a while a bottle would be thrown around and you never quite knew where the bottle was going to be thrown. So that was kind of frightening. So we got to the steps of Clayborne Temple, like Jim Lawson said, sanctuary, the instinctive reaction is to return to the church sanctuary, but standing on the steps of the temple was a guy with (muffled) all around him, so we were afraid that the kids who had been looting had gone into the temple and we were afraid to go into the temple. SO we kind of stood out.

David Yellin- Now I don't....who was standing in front there?

Joan Beifuss- A kid with folds of cloth.

Joyce Palmer- Looters from the stores.

Joan Beifuss- Looters evidently I assume.

Carolyn Yellin- How did he appear?

Joan Beifuss- No he was just kind of standing there with the cloth.

Carolyn Yellin- Was he looking in carnival spirit?

Joan Beifuss- He was just standing there with his cloth, he wasn't too close to me you realize.

Edward Hoover- He was trying their cloth.

Joan Beifuss- So that didn't seem to be the right place to go either. SO we stood there for awhile trying to decide what we should really, we really didn't know what to do. And then, just like a ray from heaven I heard this voice saying Joan, Joan, and I turn around and it is a friend of mine, a negro gal who is a school teacher, Betty Snowden. And hones tot goodness in the middle of all this she came just strolling up just as calm and cool as anything in her high heels and her suit she looked just lovely. She said well you might as well go home, she said it is all over down here. Might as well just go on home. So we went, we had to go five blocks to the car and, oh by the way, the policemen, there were no police along the march on the that first one there were policemen at the corners but interdispersed along the block there was no policemen. As we went back to the housing project where the car was parked there was still policemen kind of standing and there were kids, people were just running all over and especially when we got to the housing project area, where there was open land. People were carrying, people had looted some things, people were carrying I don't know what they were carrying, boxes and bolts of clothe and everything and they were just kind of walking along and all these little kids were running around and the policemen were just standing there they were making no attempt to stop them, or anything else. So that was all we got to the housing project and found the car and a negro sailor came up to us just as we were getting into the car and he said what is happening, what is happening back there? And we said, we didn't really know what was happening back there but we heard, we didn't see any mace or tear gas but we heard the popping which I assume is the tear gas canisters or whatever it is we heard that in back of us. Where we were the whole march turned and came back on top of us at once. So that some people were going frontwards and some p4eope were going backwards and people were going side ways.

Carolyn Yellin- Were people in panic? Did you see other than the negro girl you spoke of that cried, as people came by you and turning back to the temple were they running?

Joan Beifuss- Some of them were running.

David Yellin- Did you se the police run after anybody?

Joan Beifuss- No. The police were up further un the front. What happened in the front, there are kind of funny stories that came out of it. One negro woman I know

was marching with your rather aging mother and her mother couldn't run fast enough so she just ran off and left her mother there. I mean people react differently, the of us clinging together the thing we knew was that we couldn't get inside of anything and that we couldn't run. As soon as we ran we panicked as soon as we started to run we would panic so we had to just walk no matter what happened, so we walked.

David Yellin- Well now the next thing then came, the next after, were you determined that you would not march again or did you?

Joan Beifuss- One other thing, one other impression I have, as we were driving out we were out of the area by a little bit after 12 because we didn't stop at the temple. As we drove out the sirens were coming in from all areas which was a terribly eerie feeling. If there had been sirens along with the helicopters when the violence broke out, had there been sirens then too I think the whole thing would have panicked I think the whole thing of sirens kind of panics people like that. I was, I had a psychological reaction to the march, I think it is marvelous you didn't because I did. I was panicky when my husband marched in the Monday march, I was frantic, I was absolutely frantic the whole time he was down there. I knew it was well controlled and I knew there were practically as many guardsmen as there were going to be marchers that Monday, I knew all these things. And yet, I had sent his march that had been broken up by nothing more than a bunch of unthinking people. I don't think it was planned violence that day or anything else, I just think it was a bunch of unthinking people and I saw what they did to it.

Joyce Palmer- But I think as far as planned it could have been that a bunch of kids just said now somebody will start and we will all join in, it didn't seem like any kind of you break this window, I will break that window and anything like that.

Edward Hoover- No but I think Joan isn't it fairly well documented that this was organized? (muffled).

Joan Beifuss- I think Ted that after the fact some people have tried to claim credit for having organized it I think is probably what...

Edward Hoover- Well the reason I say this is that the people who organized the march on the 8<sup>th</sup> made a point that they had made a deal, that Dr. Lawson and the COME group had made a deal with the invaders. IN other words that they would not act up that they would...

David Yellin- Well the implication does not necessarily follow that they...

Edward Hoover- That this other group had to have done it I see.

David Yellin- it is more documented now that there were people there and I think Joyce hits it right on the nose, who were ready for whatever happened and all it needed was one little person to get it started and they were ready.



Carolyn Yellin- But Joan mentions having this feeling that something was wrong.

David Yellin- Well they had this feeling because at 9:00 the Hamilton thing had spread and the Hamilton rumor had spread what's more the Hamilton kids came downtown and wee...

Joyce Palmer- There was also a rumor that some child had been killed or something.

David Yellin- Yes that was Hamilton.

Edward Hoover- There was a girl hurt that morning.

David Yellin- Well that was the point that they said somebody in the police killed a girl at Hamilton. And Dr. King was an hour and forty minutes late.

Carolyn Yellin- And for the tape let's now say we have Chuck Palmer, Joyce Palmer's brave husband. We heard all her adventures your brave wife.

Joan Beifuss- Chuck is with us now, and the TV showing King arriving at that march was something that I have never seen on a King march the way King was jostled. The jostling King when he came into the front of the march which I didn't see and only saw later on television but this kind of thing doesn't happen.

David Yellin- As you said for an hour of 40 minutes was milling around and as soon as one person didn't obey the marshals then this disobedience spread around and the whole feeling of it was that this was a kind of a thing that didn't have any control and this was great. And don't forget this was downtown. During a school day and you know what a holiday that suggests.

Carolyn Yellin- I am going back to the question of what we have or have not heard, what is rumor and what is not rumor. But didn't we heard something to the effect that there was to be window breaking on Main St.?

David Yellin- We heard one time that it was all organized just as you had, that they had it all arranged as soon as it started they would all come out on Main St. and various spots and they all had their stores.

Joan Beifuss- If you had seen it at least where we were back on Beale St. It didn't look like any kind of ordered...

David Yellin- Now the only thing that could have gone wrong there if indeed they had that plan was that it started too soon.

Carolyn Yellin- That those who had organized to do to had never got a chance because the trouble makers had taken over or the unorganized elements had taken over on Beale St and the planned part never took place.

Joan Beifuss- I am sure this is the shortest march of any civil rights march if this must have been the shortest it couldn't have lasted more than well, it was about 11:20. We had hardly gotten started.

David Yellin- Well now go ahead Joan because we were aware of your panic as you may recall, when we recall our experience by calling you.

Joan Beifuss- Yes, sure. So that I have, I have been afraid ever since then and this is utterly ridiculous and I know it. I am afraid to drive down to the negro areas. I keep going down, I keep making myself go just to go because I know if I don't go I will really be afraid. I don't know what I am afraid of, I think that what I am afraid of are these unthinking people.

Carolyn Yellin- Had you ever had fear of this sort before to them

David Yellin- That is kind of interesting because this kind of fear that a lot of people blame on the (muffled) that exists. They are afraid of the Saturday night nigger.

Joan Beifuss- I don't know if it is so much the stuff, well I don't know what it is. I think nit will take me couple more months to get over.

Carolyn Yellin- But now your feelings about Martin Luther King didn't change, I mean you just wished he had.

Joan Beifuss- This had nothing to do with Martin Luther King or Jim Lawson or anybody else. It is how you, as I think back on it is all that blue sky and bright sunlight and the green grass in Handy Park and that mass of people running every which way. Frightened and the glass breaking and the popping noises in back of us evidently the canisters.

Carolyn Yellin- The mindlessness.

Joan Beifuss- The mindlessness I suppose, the uselessness of it the stupidity of the kids to have done that is just beyond me.

Carolyn Yellin- Do you feel anger at the kids, did you at that time? You said your first feeling was they ruined it.

Joan Beifuss- I think yes.

Carolyn Yellin- And you felt actually a certain amount of anger.

Joan Beifuss- Yes, because it could have been something good and it wasn't.

David Yellin- Of course now we called you after Martin Luther King died to find out about going to the service. You put a lot of fear in Carolyn and it was transmitted and Carolyn go really nervous and we weren't sure about going.

Joan Beifuss- No Mike said it was fine I talked with him afterwards. No that is what my poor husband you know they called Jack to be marshal the night before the Monday march and I practically had hysterics. And really I don't know why I had such a reaction of this but for some reason I sure as heck did. And when he was marching on that Monday march as I said I was at home and they I went out to (muffled) to buy a birthday gift and at Carondele during the Monday march they had

the radio on out there and all the people were shopping at Carondele and it was Abernathy was on the radio during Carondele and you couldn't tell what he was saying but you could hear the crowds and you could hear his voice but you couldn't distinguish what he was saying. It was eerie, it was one of the eeriest things and I can't explain that either except that obviously I had to go marching to get over this business.

Carolyn Yellin- Get right up and take off in that plane and fly again.

Joan Beifuss- but I didn't for instance and I don't mean to belabor this but this is coloring my reaction to the poor people's march in Washington.

David Yellin- Yes.

Carolyn Yellin- Do you have fears for that, this is now?

Joan Beifuss- I don't know because (muffled).

David Yellin- Let's get to the other march some of the others, this is interesting I think to tie it up, when Carolyn called you to find out whether it will be safe to go to the service at the congressional church.

Carolyn Yellin- Congregational.

David Yellin- Congregational Church. That is one for the record isn't it. Well called a few people and then I decided to call Lucius Birch. And he said that in his opinion it was quite safe and he didn't feel anything.

Carolyn Yellin- And this is just again referring to parents and how all of these, the personal concern so often take over. My parents arrived from Oklahoma, they had driven across the state of Arkansas on a Thursday, April 4<sup>th</sup> and they called about a quarter of 6 or a quarter after 6 saying that they were in Forrest City saying they would be into Memphis and would drive across the bridge and drive out Lamar on to...

David Yellin- Excuse me I said you dad called a quarter to six and said we will be in about an hour or so, we usually have come up Lamar can't we go through town I would like to see past the Lorraine hotel or something.

Carolyn Yellin- No this was, he wanted to see Beale St. He said should we drive by and see Beale St. where the riot was and we said no you better come right on through. But they drove off the bridge as the announcement that Dr. King had died and we had an uneasy time wondering if they had arrived safely. They had not been great fans of Martin Luther King's but that night they watched all of his speeches and his repeats and they were quite, they had a change of heart and the next day the reason we were inquiring about going to a service was my father who is North Carolinian even though after years in Oklahoma is still a North Carolinian by heart and he was

determined that he had to as an expression of his different feeling about Martin Luther King now. He had to go to a memorial service for him, so I called Joan.

Joan Beifuss- That was a mistake.

Carolyn Yellin- That was a mistake because he wanted to go with because we had discussed this over the years and we hadn't always agreed over such matters. And it was quite a moving or meaningful thing for him and we, I ended up not going but my father and my husband and our 13 year old, 14 year old son Tom went to this memorial service on April 5<sup>th</sup>. Even though Joan advised against going into the negro areas.

Joan Beifuss- Yeah did I advise against it or did I say I don't know because what I told people was I don't know.

Carolyn Yellin- Well in fact Anne Gary had too, she had said that she felt that she should not put the burden of protecting, we should not put the burden of protecting us on our negro friends.

Joan Beifuss- Now she was up in the front of the march, the March 28<sup>th</sup> march. She was right up there at the front where the gassing was.

David Yellin- Now the rest of us who went on the 28<sup>th</sup>, there was hardly any doubt that we would go.

Edward Hoover- Not the 28<sup>th</sup>.

David Yellin- The 8<sup>th</sup>, the memorial march. I think we can skip Memphis Cares for now or do you think that is part of it?

Edward Hoover- The only thing and let me....

David Yellin- Not that we don't want to capture it.

Edward Hoover- This had some effect on the march, the fact that the clergy had marched on Friday and we discovered really a considerable corporateness in some sense of purpose in it. And so was the Monday march began to talk about I became convinced that this was something we had to get white people down there, we had to get white people there in order to indicate the negroes were not all alone.

Carolyn Yellin- This is what Joyce had said was one of her reasons for going on the first march that she felt there should be white faces in the march and I think we all felt it.

Edward Hoover- And so I started phoning around to people and in a way it became very interesting as I talked to some of the faculty and some of the clergy and the university chaplains about this and told them I thought it was essential that we get out and go and that we who were freer than other people in the city were the ones that would have to do it and then somewhere in the afternoon, two or three o'clock I

had a phone call from (muffled) Watson who was my counterpart at UT Med unit. And he said will you come down to the school building and help us organize we are afraid that what is going to happen is what happened in Dallas and it is so terrible for the city and he put it on this level. That if we can't organize something here it will give a little indication of our earnest and a little way of our pulling together both whites and blacks, maybe you can do something. He said I don't know what you can do but will you come down here and see if you can fit yourself into the program . And this in a sense became Memphis Cares and I was able to drain off some of my concern about the Monday march. And also some of the people I have been calling you know to get the Monday march I was unable to say, you know won't you come to the thing on Sunday and they were so relieved I wasn't twisting their arm to go into the march for Monday. So that Memphis Cares part of that was in that and we were able to do a pretty fair job within the university set up of organizing people to go to Memphis cares. I don't know how many people we reached but we did sort of a chain letter deal.

David Yellin- Yes.

Edward Hoover- And so that was, this part I think maybe this much ought to be in the record.

David Yellin- I think so because I remember calling for Memphis cares and I wouldn't have called several of those people for the march because I felt that was kind of a paradoxical thing and you had to make up your own mind. But anyway the Memphis cares then as I remember Judy told me that you were going to be some kind of grand marshal and you would know about where it was and such.

Edward Hoover- As a matter of fact what it ended up being...

Judy Schultz- No I didn't tell you that because I wasn't in town?

David Yellin- Oh did you?

Edward Hoover- That's right you came back in town late that afternoon I think.

Judy Schultz- Yeah, Sunday afternoon.

David Yellin- But how did I know to call Ted that he was...

Edward Hoover- As a matter of fact I called Ed Angus thinking that a political science man would know how to organize things and well I called people I knew, I got Ed Angus to come on down and he tried to organize from the university.

Carolyn Yellin- It was Ed who called us. For Memphis Cares.

Edward Hoover- And we had little written speech about it and it was extremely effective and I was able to call one man that I have known a very long time that was a southerner who agreed to call his friends and also get hold of his(muffled) that he belongs to and things of this sort which were, people who were very much of the

city, people with southern accents Joan, to be called to call other people with southern accents and that where Memphis Cares where they would have been simply shocked I mean the march idea they couldn't have taken. There were people that were afraid to go to that Memphis Cares however. People who were scared to death to even go out, even go that far still.

David Yellin- Well then the march, I don't know let us just go around here.

Virginia Hoover- Well I don't know as I say I am a coward at heart and I thought about this march and first I was going, this is really over about a two day period. First I was going and then I would say no, I am the mother of 3 children I have a responsibility to my children. Because frankly, I think in the march they could let go of the submachine gun or get caught in tear gas. And so I thought perhaps there could be a danger in my involvement at least to me it seemed like. You could be statistically speaking caught in something that could be disastrous. And then I would go on the other side, frankly, and there is really fear in it I think for me. I would say no, you have to go.

David Yellin- Why did you feel you have to go?

Virginia Hoover- Well I think one of the arguments, I was arguing with my self, I hadn't reached the point where I started with others but I was arguing with myself. I would say what will your children say if you don't, you are here and somebody was supposed to do something in this era, why didn't you do something. That was one argument I used on myself. Another argument was alright, you supposedly, you are a Christian, these are the basic principles, if you are not willing to go out and die for them, what is your faith what does it amount to. So this was another argument I used for the pro side. Also I felt that really this is American, this is the right a people should have without having a march. If our democracy means anything then the white population has to get out and do something, so this is another argument that I used. I think some where supposedly quote (muffled) get my little piece of paper that says you are an expert in human behavior. {Part of the self-analysis is I think part of my training to examine human behavior.

David Yellin- Can you analyze yourself? In the same way that you analyze somebody else?

Virginia Hoover- Well I know Freud said that self analysis was very good and so this is something that I think is sort of a hobby for me to see how I react. I think that some of the, I suddenly realized how men feel. Now this fear that I had was totally unrealistic as it developed, but I suddenly had a kind of feeling about how men, how they go into battle, how they come out of it (muffled) or not, felt. But sometime or another you do what you have to do and you go ahead and do it.

Carolyn Yellin- I remember Virginia you appeared that day with a hat on and you said you had worn it with purpose.

Virginia Hoover- Yes as a matter of fact I think I really made up my mind about 7:00 that morning after I had got up and I was getting ready to go and I think Memphis care had bolstered my courage anyway. I attended that and it was very nice and nothing had happened and so I thought well...

David Yellin- You met some nice people.

Virginia Hoover- I met some nice people.

David Yellin- Was it because it came out safely or was it because what was done there bolstered you?

Virginia Hoover- Both I think that black and white came together and frankly, didn't have the courage to get out and everything went along smoothly and so that bolstered my courage a little bit, however I did put on my ripple soled walking shoes, they are track shoes so I can run. I wore a hat and I felt that at least this is going to give me some protection if somebody is going to whack me on the head and I brought my umbrella because I could brandish it...

David Yellin- You looked so casual.

Virginia Hoover- Then (muffled) they won't let you take an umbrella so I went back home and got my raincoat and we had been prepared not to take purses and so I left all my money at home and pinned my ID card on me. In case of, so they can identify me at the morgue. And I met Ted here at the church and he got out our last will and testament and gave it to his secretary.

Edward Hoover- You didn't know about that at the time though.

Virginia Hoover- So our secretary knew in even of our sudden demise to know how to dispose of the children.

David Yellin- How did you tell her that if she didn't know at the time.

Edward Hoover- Yeah a matter of fact you were all in here and I took her over one side, I said now let's get this down in case anything goes wrong, here is my will, my lawyer in Tulsa and what insurance policies I had and whether (muffled).

Joan Beifuss- How were you disposing of he children.

Edward Hoover- That is all taken care of in the will.

David Yellin- That is kind of interesting you know at the time we kind of laugh...

Carolyn Yellin- I was just thinking that our reactions now, had wee talked the day after the march there would have been a different reaction.

(Muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- And yes we are, we have relaxed enough already that we can laugh about some of these things but they were very real.

David Yellin- Obviously.

Virginia Hoover- Judy decided to join which I thought was another (muffled).

David Yellin- Especially so badly crippled recently.

Virginia Hoover- Oh yes and then I was sort of welcomed by Carolyn as along sister in the car. And we went on down which I think was sort of a carnival spirit. I think part of it was the nervous tension we were releasing by...

Edward Hoover- I felt that Bill Barton had a great deal of tensions that he was in the situation and it was taking again the department chairmen...

David Yellin- Yes I was quite surprised at this.

Edward Hoover- I had twisted his arm on Saturday and then let him off the hook because of the Memphis cares. And then he phoned me and then wanted to, (muffled). There was tension certainly and I think we were handling it with some humor.

David Yellin- And it was important for all of us to go together,.

Joyce Palmer- Now you know that is funny because I had a totally different reaction and I don't know what things had happened during those three days that I had as a result of being in Louisville Kentucky but on a debate trip, I had two students that were in college. And of course we had gotten to Louisville about 4:30 and we knew that King was supposed to make speeches and that they were supposed to get ready for the next march. And all of a sudden coming out of the restaurant having eaten dinner we were on our way to a movie and they made an announcement over the radio that King had been shot and at that point they did not know whether he was dead or what it was just a one statement he was shot. So we went to the movie very apprehensive and we came out and as soon as we got into the radio, came into the car and turned on the radio. They made the announcement that he was dead, and I was so stunned and of course these two boys were freshmen boys they had been born and raised in Memphis and my first concern at the time was that they understand what the significance was. MY immediate reaction was this is Dallas all over again. Because I had been in Dallas when Kennedy was shot and it was exactly the same kind of feeling you get this all of a sudden, a sudden drop in the pit of your stomach. Like you suddenly went down an express elevator you know in 3 seconds and I kept thinking what do I do. Because I feel in some way that I am responsible in helping thee kids understand what is going on because this is a critical point in their life and they may turn completely against understanding negros and whites and the troubles and so we talked about it and we went back to the hotel and we watched the television program and then I felt a great deal of embarrassment because I had to...it was bout 10:00 at night t hen and I had to appear at a coaches party and



people always ask where you are from and the minute I said I was from Memphis State there was a whole group of people standing around and wanting to know what was going on and what had precipitated all of this and I didn't feel any bitterness towards the city or feel like the city was responsible in anyway I just felt like we were responsible as citizen's for what had happened.

David Yellin- We the citizens of Memphis?

Joyce Palmer- Yes. And the failure to comprehend and do something about the problems in order to forestall some kind of problem like this. So in the next two days I did a lot of soul searching and thinking about well, how much have I done and we left Louisville Sunday morning about 7:30 to drive back to Memphis. And of course the whole time we couldn't get any news about Memphis and we didn't know what was going on and that was a very scary feeling to be driving back into a city and you don't know what is going on and on the way back there are tanks and helicopters coming out of Fort Campbell Kentucky on the highway in front of you. You have a feeling that you could be on South Vietnam Highway number 1. It is a, the scariest feeling in the world to think here are tanks and planes moving into your city and it could be Saigon.

Carolyn Yellin- Or Sodom or Gomorrah.

Joyce Palmer- Yes, or....many others.

David Yellin- or Memphis.

Joyce Palmer- So driving back every once in a while the boys wanted to talk about it and they had made the announcement that the march was still going to be held.

David Yellin- This was Sunday?

Joyce Palmer- Now this is Sunday yes. That it was going to be a memorial march, I guess this was about noon, we had just come across the state line. And I thought to myself that I have to go down to that march and I have never been one to believe in marches. I had, I don't believe they do any good and even tot his day I don't believe they do any good except for the people that are participating. But it was a personal thing, I wasn't trying to say anything to anyone else, I wasn't trying to force somebody else to do some thing that I wanted them to do. It was simply that I was going to be there and be counted. I really didn't intend to go down with anybody else, I intended to do it all on my own. Because I thought this is some thing I am not going to do because my friends are going down, I am not going to do it because certain people would expect it. I am not going to do it because I want to impress my students with the fact that I am liberal or I am concerned or this kind of thing, I am just going not do it for me and for whatever kind of renewal or recommitment or whatever word you might put on it. But then as soon as we got into town and I had a strange reaction from a gas station man right outside of town and so immediately I wanted to find out what was going on and so of course I went to the Yellins and

found out what was going on. And by that time they were already talking about going to the march.

Edward Hoover- Will you back up and (muffled) reaction was because I think this is, you said it...

Joyce Palmer- Well we were coming in on highway 240 out of Nashville to a Memphis and we got right tot eh highway and I had to pull off and get some gas. And so there is one right across the road form each other. In one gas station was a trailer with one of those army helicopters on it so I chose the other filling station and this man of about 50 or 60 maybe came out and asked can I help you. I told him what I wanted and well we still hadn't gotten any news as to whether there was even a curfew and I knew I had to get these boys home, particularly if there was a curfew. So I was asking him what was going on and he was very chatty and telling me all about he tanks that had been rolling in all day and the helicopters and he said yeah they are going to hold that march too. There is not going to be any trouble they will know how to cope with it. So I just kept asking him questions and pumping him and finally I said well is there a curfew tonight. And all of a sudden he stopped, he was standing a the door and he was ready to hand me my ticket for me to sign and he just stopped and he looked at me and he said are your car plates from out of state and he started to walk up to the front of the car. And I said, no they are not because by then he was up there and he looked. I turned to the boys and I said we are some of those outside agitators. But that was the strangest, he looked at me so funny. And without a pause in the conversation he said are our license plat4es from out of state.

Virginia Hoover- I think one thing you want to get in about the march, the sense of time to me was fantastic. Because we were there the whole day and there was this pause in (muffled) and yet these times were a very sort of relative sort of thing and actually time passed very quickly, I really had no sense of time while we were in the process of this.

Edward Hoover- Except David. He kept one thing was he wasn't near as concerned about getting away when we were considering leaving earlier.

David Yellin- No sir.

Edward Hoover- Well who was it then, somebody was down there was trying to get us away a little early, this was the only thing I had. I thought I had to stay?

Carolyn Yellin- Was it Bill Barton?

Joyce Palmer- No Bill was with me. Bill and Tom and I were on one side.

Edward Hoover- Who was it then, somebody in our crowd was....

Joyce Palmer- Was it Diane?

Edward Hoover- Yeah. No it wasn't.

Joyce Palmer- Well those were the only ones that....

Edward Hoover- Then this is the word I was getting then was that neighbor's were concerned for your son.

David Yellin- no sir in fact I remember it was quite the opposite I was determined to stay there.

Edward Hoover- I stayed until the end and I don't know who was feeding this to me then, so this again is...

Joyce Palmer- I think once we were in the march it was somewhat well organized, we really felt quite safe and secure about the whole thing.

Virginia Hoover- I never was afraid it is strange.

Carolyn Yellin- When I think of it at this point I can't remember Dave, when we decided to go on the march but there was never any question that we would go on this march from the moment that we heard about it. I think possibly it was my own disappointment as far as I was concerned that I hadn't gone with my father and my husband and my son to the ....

Joan Beifuss- I am sorry.

Carolyn Yellin- They came back in a way I don't think, well exalted is the wrong word, but it was a triumphant feeling that there had not been trouble and the feeling of solemnity and a feeling of great happiness that there had been at least, this was clear over on Walker somewhere well into South Memphis and that there had been at least 75 of the three hundred people..

David Yellin- I guess I passing I must comment on that service. It wasn't an exaltation, what was comforting...

Carolyn Yellin- Well that is the wrong word I realize.

David Yellin- I don't know what the word is now because it is so hard to say, well several things I was involved in and I was involved in mostly but I knew I had to go and I am not, I would go along with most of you girls and say that physically I am a coward. I mean I don't like to get involved in violence and I don't believe in it and I don't want to get it, but I never for the first time in my life and it sounds awful, even when I said it then and I don't know how deeply I believed it. I didn't realize how deeply I believed it but I would have gone to something that was violent and I would have gone something in which I might have been killed, it was the strangest feeling.

Carolyn Yellin- Yes because when you spoke Joan of being scared and worried when Jack, you husband went to the Monday march. When I saw these three men in my life off to this march, I mean to this service on Friday it was really a feeling that you

know that I could again like you taking out the will. And my mother was with me, you see my mother we, and I decided that I would stay with my mother and she would have gone too had there been no danger, because she had this feeling as strongly as my father did that I suppose they anticipated expiation, something to say we are sorry we didn't know Martin Luther King, until this moment. It definitely was a feeling of reconciliation between the generations, we all were so aware of it and when they finally left Memphis the next day which was Saturday, my mother said I think we were supposed to have been in Memphis when this happened.

David Yellin- She also said something less, something that you taught us something whatever that meant but at the moment it seemed to me something.

Carolyn Yellin- Well there was a feeling that, there was a creative feeling about this, that in this, in these events something could come from it, something that was good. Well I think that Saturday this so strongly, there was a such a strong feeling of personal reconciliation in my own family this immediate thing happening out of this terrible tragedy, I almost had to go and say thank you Dr. King it was as simple as that as far as I was personally concerned.

David Yellin- Well the feeling about the service was that Mr. Gilmore was there and that my son Tom had an opportunity to participate in this kind of thing because he wanted to. But I was, I can't say I was disappointed in the service.

Carolyn Yellin- It was just the matter of going.

David Yellin- Because I had no reason to be disappointed, to be proven anything it was "their service" in a way. But by the same token it was not their service, it was I must confess a white man's service. I because it was kind of interesting the only time that I was moved and I felt, because I got a sixth sense from long years of training about the audience too. The only time the audience seemed to respond was when they sang a negro spiritual and they sang a negro spiritual once. The rest were all what I called in deepest respect protestant hymns. You know that were sedate and I have heard some of them in the Unitarian church and so on but when they sang that, that was it.

Carolyn Yellin- Oh that brings up one other question.

David Yellin- I felt that for Dr. King they should have done more, maybe not the audience would have been too moved or it would have been too emotional or so on.

Carolyn Yellin- I have to bring in one other thing since we are all talking about the Episcopalian and I don't think there is any doubt either in my own mind that as a Unitarian I had such involvement in the fact that the Unitarian minister here is probably the only Unitarian minister in the country who is very much against demonstrating and marching and anything. I think it goes back very directly to the Selma march which was the year after we moved here, when the Unitarian minister James Reed had been killed at Selma. And when Mrs. (muffled) went down and James Reed was a Unitarian minister, and the following Sunday our Unitarian

minister her preached a sermon here entitled who killed James Reed. And his conclusion was that martin Luther King was responsible for the death of James Reed. And this was a terrible crisis in my religious life.

David Yellin- It was then that I left it.

Carolyn Yellin- David has not been able to attend that church since, and I know that there are a number of people there who are concerned about it and I felt that I wanted to keep going and I do keep going, but early on in the strike, this same minister had preached a sermon, he had done away with his regular sermon. He had put it aside and said that the thing was getting so bad as far as the sanitation strike was concerned that he would have to preach a sermon particularly on that and I attended a sort of self flagellation knowing that it would be upsetting but again a feeling that I must know, I must know and the gist of his sermon was that the men who were organizing this entire thing were revolutionaries and he didn't use the word communist but he used the word revolutionary in a sense that seemed to mean more than the negro revolution as such. He then proceeded to his conclusion which was the time has now arrived when we must curtail free speech and freedom of assembly in order to protect our liberty.

Edward Hoover- The were revolutionaries by type of person then.

David Yellin- James Lawson.

Carolyn Yellin- To me this was saying that we have got to destroy that town to save it. So I think that I was reacting from this feeling of having found a unity with my own family that was long overdue but I also must say that it was a feeling that some 3 or 4 members of the Unitarian church back at the time of the Selma march there had been a NAACP organized march probably the only other one in Memphis at that time. Where they had marched from Confederate Park to City Hall I believe. And it was mostly negroes but a number of Unitarians had gone and it was honoring James Reed. Or honoring, it was supporting the civil rights movement in Selma at the time, and it was protected by the police and quite safe and no passions aroused but I had not gone on that march and that is perhaps the only march. It never even occurred to me to go on that march and then I read later that certain Unitarians had gone and I felt I should have. Well after this then I didn't go on the March 28<sup>th</sup> march, I didn't even consider going on that the one. Because then I never thought of myself as a marcher but there was never time that I didn't know I was going on this march, I had every reason in the world and I was never, I am thankful that I did, I wouldn't have missed....

David Yellin- Were you scared?

Carolyn Yellin- Yes.

David Yellin- Yes you were.

Carolyn Yellin- I was very scared I giggled and I quivered.

David Yellin- She was so nervous.

Carolyn Yellin- I chattered all the time. Not once we were there.

David Yellin- I had a feeling I think I spoke to you about it Ted, a double feeling, one of considerable anger at the indignity of this.

Joyce Palmer- Yes just to have to do this.

David Yellin- Just to have to do this, walk down the street and have these people gape at you, and gape at you.

Edward Hoover- Then you are not a true soldier then.

David Yellin- No that is true. And then the other thing was somewhat of an exhilaration that where we had a country in which you could do it, because certainly in Germany you couldn't do it.

Carolyn Yellin- A paradoxical feeling.

David Yellin- Yes and it was a strange feeling and the only victory I had throughout all was passing on Main St. one of the spectators who smirked as we came by obviously in our mixed line and I looked him right in the eye and he diverted his eyes first. It was a victory and I could have stayed there for 40 hours, my feet were killing me.

Joyce Palmer- I was much more uncomfortable in the Monday march than in the Thursday march.

Joan Beifuss- Why?

Joyce Palmer- I believe it was because we were all bunched together.

Carolyn Yellin- In the Thursday march?

Joyce Palmer- In the Thursday march and I felt sort of anonymous like in a crowd. And in that Monday march they had us in lines that were completely separated and I just felt out in the open and just really embarrassed.

David Yellin- Sort of the exposure.

Joyce Palmer- Just very embarrassed.

David Yellin- That is true I hadn't thought of this there was a feeling of exposure.,

Joyce Palmer- This time in the Monday march I was again alone and I just went all the way to the back of the line which we were all supposed to do and it was very organized this time and I ended up, I didn't see a white person around me and so I was supposed to be inside and I was in between two negro men with all negroes

around me and when they had us lock arms and here I am walking down the street and all these white guardsmen are standing there you know...I felt terrible.

Edward Palmer- Is that what you meant by brave I sent her alone?

Carolyn Yellin- Yes.

Joyce Palmer- I think I (muffled) a lot the day we had a neighbor that lives a couple of doors up the street, that tells the typical negro joke and where is the confederate tie for a necktie, a confederate tie for a necktie.

David Yellin- Oh.

Joyce Palmer- He was standing there taking pictures and I think the look on his face when I waved and said hi neighbor to him...

David Yellin- No kidding, oh no I don't wish I had seen that.

Edward Palmer- That was embarrassing.

Joan Beifuss- There were not many spectators were there?

David Yellin- Oh yes Oh yes. There were. All over.

Carolyn Yellin- I didn't have the feeling that there were at all.

Joan Beifuss- No.

Joyce Palmer- I didn't either.

David Yellin- According to what you mean by many there was hardly a whole down Main St. that there weren't people standing along.

Carolyn Yellin- You know I had a feeling that the streets were absolutely deserted.

David Yellin- Really. You were more frightened than I thought.

Joan Beifuss- There were no sight seers.

Carolyn Yellin- Very few places where people were standing out in front of a store.

David Yellin- On Main you mean?

Carolyn Yellin- Oh as compared with of course maybe....it sure wasn't the St. Patrick's Day parade in New York.

Edward Hoover- I think again this is Judy's point that the demonstrations for the people were in. None the less by the time we got to let's see Monroe St. I am trying to think where it is, Madison, in that area the sidewalks were at least full and of course they did have us spread out at that point and I saw, oh I suppose half a dozen

maybe 10 or 12 business men that I know and they looked at me and I waved at them and called them by name and...

Joyce Palmer- You didn't shake hands did you?

Edward Hoover- No because I am holding hands with people either side, but this was the only place where we were exposed in this sense I think its true. And by the way I have something I need to get in the record and I think it ought to be in there for honesty's sake. Tell it like it is. When the matter came up about the minister's march. I looked around the room at the Episcopal clergy and I realized the way some of them were talking that for some of them to go would really mean to put their jobs entirely on the line and it was going to take all the courage they had to go. I realized that some of them didn't have that much courage, just couldn't get it. I knew for example that Henry Lobe's own rector could not go and I was nearly certain our own Bishop would not go. I started thinking about my job and essentially I had done my job here that if I were going to stay there is a new job that I have got to do the old job is done because the building is built. Therefore, I could risk going as a matter of fact it would even be a feather in my cap if I went on that minister's march.

David Yellin- You had an Indian group?

Edward Hoover- Yeah, yeah, from Oklahoma and all that. But when it came, that march was so successful and the comradery in that one and of course this business of realizing how much strength the negros got just from simply having somebody there, and it seemed to me our best hope of maintaining any civilization was somehow or other to have civilization reach out and bring the negros into society rather than have the whole thing all break up which seems to me is a real possibility even now. That at least I could do this and the symbolism of my collar this was important.

Carolyn Yellin- I felt it was important to that there be white people from Memphis there. Or I was aware of it after we were there. And we saw these busloads of people that were from other parts and you remember the Episcopal minister from San Francisco we met and I...

Joyce Palmer- And the labor people from the various place in Detroit and...

Carolyn Yellin- The teacher sand so forth.

Joyce Palmer- And the actors.

Carolyn Yellin- And the, to be able to say that you were from Memphis and get a pleased response from out of town people, I felt this in itself was a necessary thing to do.

David Yellin- I don't know I am trying to remember and this sounds awful but these are things I think you are rationalizing but my own feeling was that I went for myself and I feel like Judy IU would have gone by myself....

Carolyn Yellin- I went for Dr., King.



David Yellin- Well.

Virginia Hoover- I didn't, what good would me be going for him do?

David Yellin- And then for Tom, and I would have gone almost for Tom.

Carolyn Yellin- I went for nonviolence. I went to say that this is alive and that Martin Luther King may be dead but his theory of nonviolence is in grave danger that this march must happen and this march must succeed and it must be solemn and dignified and that if this march, I really felt this, if this march doesn't come off peacefully our country is doomed.

Joyce Palmer- Yes.

Carolyn Yellin- To me it was that...

David Yellin- Moment, and it was going to be doomed I wanted to be there.

Joyce Palmer- Maybe being here and living through the tension of the three days built up to the march must have caused people to feel more fear. Because I never, never even thought about violence and never worried about it and maybe it was just because I was removed and I had just come back into the city and the next morning we went down and marched, I never felt any kind of fear or tension.

Carolyn Yellin- There is one other thing that is interesting this whole period we had another strange thing happen in the course of that well between the first march and the memorial march. We left town and Dave was on his way to Chicago, Dave was to speak at one of the broadcasters convention in Chicago that was going on. We left the Thursday of the 28<sup>th</sup>, we left in the afternoon and drove past Beale even as the march was, people were still in Clayborne Temple and we drove down and across the Arkansas Bridge and up, and we arrived in Chicago the next afternoon. If you will remember that Friday afternoon we came in from Memphis just as the fire engines were all over Chicago our 3 department stores were burning in Chicago as we arrived. And then we left and came back here and...

David Yellin- As I said it last week I want to go to Detroit and be peaceful.

Carolyn Yellin- Johnson's speech came that Sunday while we were still in Chicago announcing he was leaving the presidency and this series of events, these, you had the feeling...

David Yellin- The postponement of the kid's play.

Carolyn Yellin- Yes our children in the children's theatre, which...

David Yellin- probably the greatest of all.

Carolyn Yellin- But it is cataclysmic events all taking place.

Joan Beifuss- Well I think Memphis was under at least to me had been under a great deal of tension for a very long time and still is as far as that goes, that for instance when King was killed here for that Monday march to have gone off well here was a far greater thing than say if they had held the Monday march in San Francisco because there were two months of tensions that built up to that point.

Carolyn Yellin- I remember one other thing that we discussed of course all the way driving to Chicago, right after the march where Joyce's wallet was stolen. We kept saying and I kept having the feeling that this solved nothing, that all this does is merely intensify everyone's original feelings that everybody could say you see, I told you so, I told that if you didn't settle the strike this would happen, or I told that if those negro ministers kept agitating this would happen or I told you...there was not a thing that was not made more serious by that.

David Yellin- It built it up.

Virginia Hoover- I think one thing that is interesting is the humor, the (muffled) over developed sense of humor but Jacob was on his spring vacation at that time at her grandfathers (muffled). So this banter that was going on just before the meeting.

David Yellin- Identify who you are talking about?

Virginia Hoover- My daughter.

David Yellin- How old is she?

Virginia Hoover- 14. And so she said laughingly as we left to her grandparents she said mother is going down to get herself into a new spring outfit today. And she said father said bring us back a colored television set.

Carolyn Yellin- Right after you break the store window.

David Yellin- Did you get any lot?

Edward Hoover- Well I don't know if this is I think this is...

Virginia Hoover- I think after we came back we told her about it and she said well I wish I had gone and after time I said I wish you had too.

Carolyn Yellin- Well the most eerie feeling was when we turned on the 5:00 news that night having marched past and all the television sets and so forth and the first news that comes on here in the evening it is 5:30 on the NBC and CBS stations but at 5:00 on the ABC station and here comes the news whatever it used to be Peter Jennings and the news.

David Yellin- Robert Young.

Carolyn Yellin- And they called me hurry up here it comes I was out starting to get dinner. And I came in and before I even had time to turn around when he was saying was the little lead in to the news, In Memphis today thousands of Memphians

marched and look, look, look, and there in the middle of the screen was Judy Schultz, Tom Yellin, and Bill Barton, that side of the line. And...

David Yellin- On the cutting room floor.

Carolyn Yellin- There they were, we were on the other side of the line they were.

(Muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- The next day at White Station our son Tom had many people had seen him on television and he had a couple of experiences no really, mostly amazement, you did? No kidding. But there was one boy at least one boy that he was amazed and he came up and said I am so glad that you marched and I didn't know anybody else felt this way but I would have marched if I could have.

David Yellin- That is pretty good out of 1,900 students.

Carolyn Yellin- Yeah.

Joan Beifuss- What was your reaction when Abernathy was speaking, when you were in front of city hall?

Joyce Palmer- I was kind of turned off.

Virginia Hoover- Yes definitely I felt that this, his power was completely out of place.

Carolyn Yellin- It was embarrassing.

Virginia Hoover- Yes.

David Yellin- Well..

Edward Hoover- You know the thing on this which I think was good, at least I was fascinated with, I have been maintaining for some little time you see that the, if they had not had this kind of slave religion, in other words if they hadn't had this Christianity with its capsule of revolution in it which they carried for all these hundreds of years, then they never could have gotten out of it. And there he was dealing with Moses and the promised land and tying all these things together and finally getting to the new testament part of it and sometime I will tell you a little more about my theological reflections on this but I was interested in this part. I was embarrassed he was saying, how was saying it in the indicative but he was really pleading with them to let him run the show and this is embarrassing.

David Yellin- Well you call it embarrassing, I see I think you have got to remember to whom he was really addressing himself and he was not talking to you and me, the white people. He was talking to the negroes and he was talking to the negroes under the bible and as a Baptist preacher plus the other thing, he can't top Martin Luther King and the only thing he can do is get the word from the Lord that he is to replace Dr. King and that is what they understand. And so he had this choice of standing in this great big open platform with a lot of white people judging him on their level and

first of all I don't whether the man is capable of this anyway. But he was not talking to us and so I was not embarrassed Joan and I realized that I felt, I realized what he was doing I felt a little sad for him that he was also doing an impossible job and he is not the man to replace Martin Luther King.

Carolyn Yellin- That was the embarrassment, I think the embarrassment was for him.

Joyce Palmer- We had pre-judged him because we had talked to the colored preachers in town about Abernathy. The reason King had come back was because Abernathy was involved in, according to him some sort of scandal and so King had to come back and take over Abernathy wasn't supposed to be capable enough to do it and then he was up there trying to seize power at this point. Had I not had this other information about him I wouldn't probably have been so harsh towards him.

Joyce Palmer- I think I listened to his speech and I am sure I listened with an overly critical ear. Because being a speech teacher, teaching public speaking and debate you can't help but listen to every speech with a certain element of that and as I listened to his speech and also having sat through some 20 plus years in a Baptist pew before changing to the kneeling bench and the dignified way that Episcopalians have.

Carolyn Yellin- You are like Henry Lobe.

Joyce Palmer- Yes.

David Yellin- (Muffled)

Joyce Palmer- I was, I realized that his speech showed to me that he didn't have the qualities to take Martin Luther King's place and at best he couldn't even become a new kind of leader. He doesn't have to be the same kind of man that King was, he is better off not trying to be but the point was that he couldn't be anything else which I thought was very unfortunate because at this point they have to have a new kind of leadership with some kind of freshness because you can't keep doing King over and over again.

Joan Beifuss- Did you get any kind of reaction from any of the people standing around?

David Yellin- They seemed, well I think it was a matter of fatigue more than anything. He went rather long, he spoke too long and they responded as much as they could and I think too they were playing a role.

Carolyn Yellin- The most interesting reaction to that came from (muffled) Cook, our maid, whom we did, of course that was an amazing coincidence with those thousands of people that Luella who had marched in the March 28<sup>th</sup> march and who had been frightened but from then on was ready to die she said and she went back

to the Monday march and we saw here and so she joined us. And this was, this was quite an experience.

Virginia Hoover- Ye I remember that.

David Yellin- We decided not to try to get together because it would be too complicated but then she came and there we were.

Carolyn Yellin- And she had come alone, she said that her sons didn't march, she rather wanted them not to march because she was afraid about young people being in the march she was worried about her teenage sons. But Louella the next day as we were talking this all over and the reactions we spoke of Mrs. King and Louella said something that I should have known and been aware of at the time she said, she didn't cry a single tear. She said oh Mrs. Yellin if she had cried a single tear I don't know what we would have done. We would have gone crazy Mrs. Yellin. And there I was aware then that the tension that Mrs. King must have been under realizing that really on her own composure, she must surely have been aware of this, that on her composure rested the composure of this great group of people ready to follow her lead and she must have been aware of it don't you think?

David Yellin- Well I didn't feel at all in that crowd around city hall any tension whatsoever.

Virginia Hoover- No I think the people were fatigued to the point to kept them from doing anything.

David Yellin- The whole atmosphere was so wide open, the sky was up high this tall building here it was wide enough, it wasn't that crowded. Nobody pushed in.

Carolyn Yellin- I was looking at the windows at the tall, I still...

David Yellin- You were still nervous.

Carolyn Yellin- I was still scared I was looking for the shotgun sticking out of one of those office windows I was looking for the Texas (muffled).

Joan Beifuss- Did you catch it on televisions afterwards the shot of Holloman walking next to Mrs. King and he kept looking up at buildings on television as they walked along. Watching it on television they broke in every hour with film clips of you all marching. What they would come on and say, well the Memphis march hasn't erupted into violence yet, every hour they would say that....it is still calm.

David Yellin- Yeah well that is of course why we were called the backwater river (muffled) because nothing happened. The news people were quite disturbed in fact Reverend Jackson said that. He said I, those news people are mad at us they aren't getting any news.

Edward Hoover- I feel compelled to move back to something Judy said and indicate some of the atmosphere here, I think this is important. Say that Palm Sunday was a

real day here and here in this little congregation of 20 or 30 or 40 people at the most. And I knew in the congregation would be Harry Woodbury who stood right by mayor Lobe every bit of the way. Whether because it was his responsibility to do so or out of personal commitment I don't know because Harry is the kind of man you wouldn't know this from. But I suspect this is how he feels. And I expect him to be and I also expected a number of people then in the March 28<sup>th</sup> march and others.

David Yellin- This is April 7<sup>th</sup>?

Edward Hoover- Yeah. And I threw away my notes on this day, I knew you were looking for history but I felt my notes were so inadequate. But what I attempted to say now look people here is the holy week gospel and it talks about death and I don't have to be embarrassed to talk about body and blood around college people anymore. Death, this is something which we know now and regardless how you have felt about Martin Luther King in the past, he is a symbol today of certain things and I think we need to see them clearly. Nonviolence, racial justice and so forth and the white people's best hope is that the spirit of this kind of a spirit can be picked up by our negro citizens so they have some thing with which to find some unity and with which to go forward in a positive direction. It matters very little what you thought about Martin Luther King before. If the people said they are trying to make him martyr, this is not a question of him being made a martyr, he is a martyr. Now I said this it must be clear what he stood for and what he was martyred for. And this is our best hope and so I did this kind of an utterly ultra conservative sermon you see,. Arguing that it may be a good (muffled).

Carolyn Yellin- Enlightened self interest,.

Edward Hoover- Yeah this is all I intended. And this was the general tenor. It was a full day with Memphis Care and I had another appointment and some other things. By evening at 6:00 even when the undergraduates normally gather there was a larger number than usual and I thought for a moment they were turning to religion and then I remember that the curfew didn't, well wasn't on church groups. And this is one place they could come, enlightened self interest.

(Muffled)

Edward Hoover- I know my people and I know my sheep and I called them by name, and some times the names have 4 and 5 letters. Now, it was a quiet evening and people were talking Diane Collar instructor of the English department who did the march with us was here and she was making her plans for the march. And she kept telling us all the things we shouldn't take. And this was rather amusing because In finally said to her Diane have you ever marched before, and she said no but I read about it. She shouldn't take money, you should take one ID card and just enough money so you don't get picked up for vagrancy and don't carry a pocketbook and all this other thing, And we really got to be a little jittery and I was not trying to get any undergraduates to go because I thought this was, and I did this and this was bad business. Faculty, yes, clergy, yes, but not undergraduates if they tagged along ok,

but I wasn't going to try getting them to go. But anyway Diane was sort of talking this way and making people feel jittery. It must have been about 9:00. I looked over and suddenly and there against that fireplace wall was a boy about 13 years old, hiding and sort of shivering and I thought well he is here a younger brother of one of the kids that is here. Then no one else, then other people looked at him and no one seemed to recognize him and I went over and said what is the matter son. He said the campus fuzz are after me. And he had said from his own story he lived on Cowden and he had gone over on Midland to see some friend breaking the curfew and was trying to make his way back and the campus policemen had seen him and had taken off after him and we looked out the windows and here were the police marching 4 abreast with guns in his hand marching up and down this street looking for this boy. And of course I didn't realize at the time but did you notice the great big post put in at each of the entrances of the university with chains so they could close off these batons, all chained off and I talked to president Humphreys on Friday night, no Saturday. And he said that he did not know yet if he made the right decision in closing down the school at this point but that people were already taking their kids away and they had to do something and they reacted quite strongly about this thing and they put up these chains...

Carolyn Yellin- You mean the security people?

Edward Hoover- Yeah, security people, the campus police and they were going up and down the street. I might say parenthetically that over in the veteran's village they had some problems because the men over there had armed themselves. and were outside with their guns on and it was all very tense over there, I didn't know it at the time. So this boy was here and I didn't know what to do with him. So finally this table was over there and I said you go sit in that chair in between those windows and no one can look in and here I am an example, a law abiding citizen. But I hardly was going to turn that 13 year old kid to these guys that were marching up and down with those guns.

Carolyn Yellin- This was sanctuary.

Edward Hoover- Yeah. Now I felt this had to be sanctuary. So I said we will just talk here for while and you will enter into the conversation and all they will see is us. And about half an hour later one of the girls said I think it is safe now for you to go home and my car is out here so I will take you home. This was the kind of feelings you need it was this kind of a situation of tension and people didn't know what to expect so I think this is fair....

Joyce Palmer- Yes also I think we were downtown the night he was killed down at the, I don't, one of the private clubs downtown having a drink and as we were walking towards the place coming down Main St. must have been half dozen squad cars racing pt he street which we thought was a little strange at 6:00 that night. And met the our hostess and then got the ne3s while we were having...with that we said we have got to get home and we tried to call home, because the children were home alone and we couldn't get through.

Edward Hoover- Nobody could.

Joyce Palmer- And so finally we just broke into the operator and said we have got to call over now it is an emergency and they did. (Muffled)

Joan Beifuss- Judy before the Friday after the death before the Memphis cares thing or before the march weren't you just exhausted. By the time that King was finally killed we were so tired just so tired.

Joyce Palmer- Of course you have been much more active in it, involved in it.

Carolyn Yellin- And you had been involved in your workshop the rearing children of goodwill.

David Yellin- So you had been frightened, I am trying to remember ..

(Muffled)

David Yellin- Disappointed at the school being closed.

Joan Beifuss- I was going to say let me throw in one other thing while we are speaking religious services, a bishop came in from N Ashville that Saturday a catholic bishop and there was a mass for King that Saturday at immaculate conception church which was quite nice. For the people that had to have a religious proagation or religious consolation. This was very effective as an interracial but of course it was the same old almost impersonal requiem mass.

David Yellin- Well I don't know do you think that the march or can we make any judgment on, when I say the march did good, I don't know really what I mean.

(Muffled)

Joyce Palmer- The memorial march I don't think it did anything.

Virginia Hoover- In some respects it hardened the opposition.

David Yellin- Well what else could you have done.

Joan Beifuss- Yes but once you have marched you have marched. Once you have taken that first step in that march....

David Yellin- Of course think we must put this in perspective however that this march was not scheduled as a march as a result of Martin Luther King's death. It had been scheduled before his death and what it was it was a resolution, it was a carrying through of it.

Joyce Palmer- Well those people that had decide to march before King was shot but it was a no idea for those of us that had no idea to march until it became a memorial march. So for a lot of us it was like anew march.



David Yellin- But do you think it served any purpose.

Edward Hoover- Yes.

Joan Beifuss- I think it did.

Edward Hoover- And I am going to disagree pretty violently here, nonviolently. The thing I think that it served and I was and let's go back up a little bit. But the King machine was crumbling I don't think there was any question of this at all, I think that the 28<sup>th</sup> business indicated this. What I was telling about the ministers they were losing their control, all of this was happening and that Monday march gave a solidity, a unity to the negroes especially, the people that were there and I think if you remember and I don't know what speaker it was got up and talked about what they were going to boycott and you remember the responses, the responses were they were going to boycott, they were going to boycott Hart's Bread, they are going to boycott (muffled) cola, boycott the what was the 3<sup>rd</sup> one?

Joyce Palmer- Dean's Mill, (muffled).

Edward Hoover- Seal test mill test and if this doesn't work and they are going to hit Sear's. And the response from the group and I, it was at this point I felt that the sanitation workers were bound to win. In other words there you had a solid community backing and this was enough to break that strike, it was there and it was there clearly. Again, when Walter Ruther spoke, again he spoke in a group and I still don't know if he can deliver, but the Judy Schultz- 50,000 check which was very, it speaks out of rhetoric. Yes indeed he didn't speak long but he also indicated that he was going to open the union to negroes. Now whether he can produce this I don't know but this is the level of society which the negroes can move into society and this makes it, this would be all the difference in the world and this would be extremely important too. Now this is on different level, not on quite the same feeling.

David Yellin- Of course some thing had to happen in Memphis.

Edward Hoover- Yeah.

David Yellin- And the march or this event or ceremony if it hadn't been there it would have been an awful vacuum.

Joyce Palmer- Oh yeah.

Virginia Hoover- Yeah I think this trouble also speaking of the colored Episcopal priest in town, up until this is actually a garbage strike I never knew a more nervous and frustrated man in my life. And since this strike he has come up with his afro haircut and mustache and...

David Yellin- Which he calls black power.

Virginia Hoover- But I think for the first time in his life in this situation he has felt useful and he has found his place for the first time.

Joyce Palmer- His purpose.

Edward Hoover- He says this, he says for the first time in my life I have a reason for living.

Joyce Palmer- So it has transformed him I guess.

Joan Beifuss- If nothing else it laid a lot of ministers on the line, the Monday march.

Edward Hoover- Well the thing....

David Yellin- Go ahead what do you mean by that? The white ministers?

Joan Beifuss- The white ministers yes.

David Yellin- What do you mean it laid them on the line?

Joan Beifuss- I am speaking specifically of monsignor (muffled) at St. Louis church.

David Yellin- Well I don't understand what do you mean?

Carolyn Yellin- Is he, did he march or did he not march?

Joan Beifuss- He did march in the...

Carolyn Yellin- He did?

Joan Beifuss- Of course he marched.

Joyce Palmer- IN the memorial march?

Joan Beifuss- He said he had a marvelous time he was like a kid down at the march.

David Yellin- Now this is a new thing for him.

Joan Beifuss- But the flack has come back well you can imagine St. Louis Parish the flack has come back out there had been incredible.

David Yellin- Oh really.

(muffled)

Joyce Palmer- Oh I thought you meant from Whitehaven.

Joan Beifuss- Oh no.

(Muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- Wasn't again, did Brooks Ramsey march? That was the minister's march.

Edward Hoover- I am not certain.

Joyce Palmer- No Brooks Ramsey was in the memorial march.

David Yellin- Was he?

Joyce Palmer- See I used to be a member out there and this week I was talking with a girl whom I know that still goes to church out there, and she said that, well she doesn't think that half of the church was against him but pretty close to half is ready to pick up and form a new church.

Joan Beifuss- What is happening here to the churches is fascinating but that is another entire story. But anyway the fact that those ministers marched on Friday and more, in fact I don't think (muffled) went on Friday?

Edward Hoover- I don't think so.

Joan Beifuss- (muffled) and monsignor did march on Monday.

Edward Hoover- Well I think the thing on this which is important about having the white ministers involved in it is not simply that you get their witness which is fine in terms of the negroes but it is in terms of their own congregation.

Joan Beifuss- In terms of the white.

Edward Hoover- Because this really shakes the people and now it makes them awfully mad but it also makes others begin to question their own position and I think that the clergy in this town were unable to deal with this situation. From the pulpit they could say things but no one would hear them but this was something that began to shake them. I think there is something about this march that, and I don't want to get too mystical about it but his death was a pretty horrible thing and the fact that he was obviously killed for what he believed in this is as clear as it can be. And I think that too simply mourn a good man's death is one thing but I had a sense of a solidarity in the march which was on a feeling level and I think it is something which most people miss but the experience of Pentecost is put in Acts, is put in such terms that you can't possibly get it. It tells you about (muffled) on heads and a sound like the wind and so forth and then they went out and they talked to people and everybody understood in his own language. Well you read the thing over a few times and you begin, it smells on that level. And then you begin to realize that the Pentecostal people have got a point and this was probably was talking in tongues. Simply enthusiasm that could be expressed, but you still wonder how could they do it because this was a day that changed the history of the world, what happened. Well I know what happened now, because at the King march there was a deep sense of solidarity, there was a feeling that moved through that thing that picked people up.

David Yellin- Within the march?

Edward Hoover- And if you had talked to people, all you have to do is talk to people who are in the march white or black and there pretty sure of themselves and they

know pretty well where they are going now. And you talk to the people that weren't in the march and they are still scared and isolated and they don't know where they are going. This is something which I, which I continue to feel and I continue to talk to people. Most of the white people that I talk to are still very much divided from their neighbors, they don't know quite what is going to happen, they are shaking, some are reacting negatively you know getting guns and we will line up the nigger and shoot them down. But some of them are saying well we just don't know what to do and they are kind of push cushion this way or that way and some are simply saying well we just can't do anything.

David Yellin- Well is it a self righteousness that the people in the march feel?

Joyce Palmer- No it is a counter conditioning.

David Yellin- Ah.

Virginia Hoover- I think that this solidarity comes in part from everyone's determination to make sure that it was nonviolent, now you would hear people say there better not be any violence today.

David Yellin- Not better as a challenge but almost as a prayer.

Virginia Hoover- Yeah well it wasn't a challenge you know we will hit the people who were violent.

Joyce Palmer- Particularly after the march was over there was a great tremendous feeling of relief.

Carolyn Yellin- The march back to the church was wonderful. There was, I can't remember the name of the young man, the young negro teacher who had once taught at Melrose and was now going to Southern Illinois but there was a such a sharing and I had this feeling that you are talking about. I think some of this, it wasn't just the white people that felt it, I think it was, I had some...

David Yellin- By the same token not to take it away I think you are right, I had that feeling but isn't it because most of us who were in the march came there with something of that anyway.

Joyce Palmer- No we came with fear and I think we left without fear.

Edward Hoover- I think we came with fear I think we did.

David Yellin- Oh.

Edward Hoover- And this again is not there is a physical fear. At that stage in the game I think I could of, I would say you know (muffled) it is alright now, I mean this is crazy but this is the sense I picked out of this...

Carolyn Yellin- Well you know another thing I don't know if you spoke with her as much as I did she was over on our side, Mrs. Sanders.

Joan Beifuss- Oh who was that now?

Carolyn Yellin- Yes, the negro teacher who as we lined up and they put the men to the outside, and there was this negro couple there and so I was with Tom and Dave. Well Tom then moved to the outside, our 14 year old son moved to the outside with, 15 year old excuse me he keeps getting older. But so the negro wife moved in and was walking by me until Louella showed up and then it was the 3 of us. But I had long enough to get well acquainted with Mrs. Sanders and she told me that she was a teacher and so forth but then we, after about 30 minutes or so while we were talking about why we were there, when we decided. She said well I had to march today, I marched for Dr. King in Montgomery when I was 18 years old.

Joyce Palmer- She was on the bus when Rosa Parks was there.

Virginia Hoover- Well she was on the bus when Rosa parks was arrested.

Carolyn Yellin- The way she put it was I witnessed the arrest of Mrs. Parks. It was almost this biblical or religious, I witnessed the arrest of Mrs. Parks and so I had to come and she said this with such an air of, it wasn't momentous or anything it was just...

David Yellin- I was surprised, and much of this may be a post mortem rationalization or Monday morning quarterbacking of the production of city hall, but I was surprised at the lack of sensitivity of the people involved. Because I think the thing didn't call for these speeches, I think it called much more for a kind of an emotional commemoration.

Edward Hoover- Simple testimonial.

David Yellin- Instead of all of this here is Harry Belafonte come on ole Harry and here is t his fellow. And I felt that had they gotten a real kind of production with Mahalia Jackson or somebody equivalent to sing these songs and not say the words that put it on another level, and that was part of Abernathy's problem. See we came there on a completely other level all of us. And then he brought it back to the everyday world in which they were involved in but this was not the place to talk about it.

Joan Beifuss- No I am not sure of that I am not sure if you would have let it go the other way.

(Muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- I was going to say it would be the thing if Mrs. King had cried a single tear.

Joyce Palmer- Right.

David Yellin- Well alright I (muffled) when we got to city hall the thing dropped. We just stuck it out to be polite.

Carolyn Yellin- In relation to this I think Dee Taylor our friend who went to Atlanta shortly the week after and this is, she is in fact a member of our group and is in fact an interesting person. She is a Vietnam war widow and her husband was studying for the ministry for the Presbyterian ministry so she has friends that, a Presbyterian minister who is in counseling of some sort in Atlanta. And although he is not a member of the southern Christian leadership he knows many of the people involved and she came back reporting from Atlanta that there had been even that night of the death, there had been, I think it was the planning for the Atlanta funeral. And the long delay, the long period between the death and the funeral the many many marches, and Mrs. King flying here all of this, that it was almost tactical, or a strategic thing to contain the emotion to make it long and to get people exhausted, to toss up this and that this was really actually a part of their strategy in order to keep violence. To violence from the mind.

Joyce Palmer- That is understandable.

Carolyn Yellin- and the description of the, and the length of time that the Atlanta funeral and the march went on and the long speeches and the many many speeches. Joyce Palmer- I felt like they were afraid the whole thing was going to collapse and so their primary objective was to let everybody know that this thing isn't going to be stopped by this and so they kind of played down King and played up the....

Joan Beifuss- Kind of ongoing.

Edward Hoover- I think I will take my stand with the ladies in this statement. The and I had a tremendous sense of freedom and I don't know if this is a word, I am suing in an ordinary sense of not during those speeches. It was about 4 hours of them I think, it was awful long.

David Yellin- It was not quite that long.

Edward Hoover- It was a long , long deal.

Joyce Palmer- (Muffled)

David Yellin- It would have been 4 hours though.

Edward Hoover- But the thing that is, was impressive to me was, and of course....

David Yellin- Did you say impressive or depressive?

Edward Hoover- impressive to me and I am just young enough to never have been in these all day oratory sessions my father talks about them, other people do but by the time (muffled) but we had radios and therefore it was a different thing and I had never been at a full day of oratory and some of it was good oratory, some of it was magnificent. And there was a freedom in the thing in which I had never experienced before in dealing with speeches and that is to say we were participating in the speeches and you got to participate as you wanted to in them. That is to say that instead of just having to listen at hay shoveled out at you, listen to the metaphors,

instead of just having to take it you took what you wanted to take and a guy would say something and you would applaud or you would say something. Shot back, or it was some thing you didn't like you didn't have to say anything. You didn't have not move and it was real participation going on individuals responding to the speakers, sometimes groups and sometimes they talked about the white man's disease and all the negroes around would look at me and my disease, our violence. This was, I thought was very freeing though in other words you didn't have not take what the speaker said if you didn't want to but if you wanted to respond you could and this kind of dialogue went on through out which I found a refreshing and a freeing experience I liked it.

David Yellin- I don't want to defend it because I don't know how strongly I felt about it then, I feel about it a little more strongly now, so this may be, But I know I had a feeling sometime during there that this was another case, first of all they were getting away from Martin Luther King because they were talking about other things and secondly, they were using this as a platform for everybody to get on the bandwagon, and thirdly they were really nauseating the already cynical among the negroes by all of these again promises which either they could not keep or didn't intend to keep and so on and I am using that from a simple point of view.

Carolyn Yellin- Who was promising?

David Yellin- Everybody, everybody, everybody, you see and they had no reason to you see. And I had felt that and this is not pandering to your dignity and so on but at the same time the main thing here, was that this ceremony however it should be should come off without one stroke of violence and now I see the word dignity in the way that I think it should be used and with the dignity and somewhat the solemnity of what this man and what he represented stood for instead of all of this oratory, the only way I can say it is to get on the bandwagon. Now, I don't know how anybody else took it, I didn't take it this way because I must confess that I either have stability or the lack of ability two things. I fall asleep on trains, busses, and most any place. That is part of my character and secondly when some thing like this becomes involved and it is bigger than I am I immediately get impersonal about it. I was completely impersonal about this. My own personal desires needs, I had no needs as far as I was concerned. My conscious didn't hurt me any more than it did before or any less, so I didn't feel I had as much as you can control yourself, any personal axe to grind and while they should satisfy their suit this is what I will, whatever they were ready to do I was ready to stay there and be part of the group. And if they wanted me to march upwards and backwards and sideways and I am not easily led, I would have done it. So that I had no strong feeling about it then but just a sense then which has sense concerned me more, so I don't want to defend. I don't know I hope it never happens again and I don't want not bring in this comparison but the greatest thing about the John F. Kennedy funeral was not what anybody said but it was the goal marching next to the King or the Prince and the people from all of the countries and we saw them. They didn't say a word,. It would have been so wrong for everyone them to get up and give a speech and that is what happened here.

Joyce Palmer- I did share your feeling on that, I was a little uncomfortable with all the speeches for some reason.

Edward Hoover- Well probably there is one reason on this and I think maybe this is part of the place where we are all not part of the culture.

Joyce Palmer- Right, that is it, it was different.

Edward Hoover- I can only tell you that when, and this is the only southern gang that when our maid's husband died we went to the funeral and I had to sit up on the platform because I had my collar on backwards and I had to make a speech and mine was only one of half a dozen speeches and it lasted about 3 hours. And there was music in it and it was...

David Yellin- You may be right.

Edward Hoover- So I think you are missing the cultural..

(Muffled)

Edward Hoover- I would buy that.

David Yellin- If that is the reason I would buy it.

Carolyn Yellin- I was going to make the same point, how often that Martin Luther King himself had been part of these great oratory bouts in which he was the final speaker after they had led up to it and he was the most impassionate one.

David Yellin- They walk that long lady and this is what they wanted.

Joan Beifuss- Yes I and I think too that Monday march was not for us...

David Yellin- Not for us that is true.

Edward Hoover- Nether was the funeral either.

Joan Beifuss- That is true.

Carolyn Yellin- I wanted to mention one thing about, you say the solemnity, to me the march itself was so solemn. The silence and I believe some mention ahs been made of it either in the stories that I read but I, weren't you aware of the silence as we marched?

David Yellin- Oh yes.

David Yellin- To me it was like a silent movie. And when I say this...

David Yellin- Well it allows you to be personal, I think it allowed you to keep your own thoughts.



Carolyn Yellin- But the hush, that fact that we had been talking with these people and the march to city hall was silent. This is the contrast the march back from city hall we were all talking and chatting sharing feelings and so forth.

Edward Hoover- Waving at the former mayor...

Joyce Palmer- Yes that was so funny mayor Ingram...

Carolyn Yellin- Mayor Ingram sitting on the park bench, yes as we passed by.

Joyce Palmer- Sort of smirking like I am glad it is Henry's problem.

Joan Beifuss- In a kind of civil way too, this was the place where the negro community could come out into the public because Memphis Cares, impressed me as being very much a white man's ceremony.

David Yellin- Yeah it was.

Carolyn Yellin- How did you feel, we are skipping around, I felt a certain tension at the Memphis Cares thing, I felt a tension when Ben Hooks spoke...

Edward Hoover- I was afraid.

(Muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- And more than that the national guardsmen or the policemen...

Joyce Palmer- They started moving in right.

Carolyn Yellin- And then you heard sirens.

Joan Beifuss- Sirens.

Carolyn Yellin- And you heard the sirens moving in and these both came after Ben Hooks and Lawson's speeches that especially then..

Joan Beifuss- I am glad to hear you say that because I was tense all the way through that.

Carolyn Yellin- Well I was tense about when I looked down and saw that (Muffled) that police had moved from way over in the corner of the stadium right to the end, standing right by the goal posts there.

Joan Beifuss- What was the disturbance down on the left hand side?

Edward Hoover- (Muffled).

Joan Beifuss- There was some kind of a movement of people.

David Yellin- People moved, they left.

Joan Beifuss- No, no, this was a (muffled).

David Yellin- Oh yes I know what it was. It was a woman going...

Edward Hoover- (muffled)

David Yellin- And then the cameras came over by then and she was not far from us. TO the left and a little below.

Edward Hoover- Two cents on Memphis cares, the tension I didn't notice nay particular tension going in and sitting down the whole day other than people were sitting there counting white and negro and seeing their relationship to city and the other person and all that sort of thing. And then the first couple of speakers didn't do much (muffled) at all and then came along a fellow named Powell from then on they never quit there was tension from then on. Because people started leaving.

David Yellin- White people.

Joyce Palmer- Negros left too.

(Muffled)

Joan Beifuss- There was a speaker between Hooks and Lawson..

David Yellin- Oh yeah the Irish fellow.

Joyce Palmer- The Irish man.

Edward Hoover- When he came on that began to stop the flow. But it began immediately and it was both white and negro.

David Yellin- Well I think we have come to the end of the tape and probably the end of our (muffled)

Edward Hoover- We haven't really gone over the march as we did the other one and that perhaps is an error.

Joan Beifuss- I would like to know one thing before we close, in the marshal's meetings did you go to the marshal's meetings.

Edward Hoover- No, none of us were there.

David Yellin- What do you mean Ted we didn't go over what march?

Edward Hoover- Well we didn't over this memorial march in the same way, the same chronological thing as we did the other one.

Carolyn Yellin- Because one thing we have forgotten to mention and this is going back if we had done it chronologically, but our parking problem. I thought it was very interesting where we parked do you remember that?

David Yellin- Yes.

Joan Beifuss- Where did you park?

Carolyn Yellin- Right exactly by a tank. There was a nice parking place right exactly next to the national guard and obviously not many people who planned to march were going to park there so we parked figuring that was the safest place of all and we got some rather strange stares from the national guardsmen except I remember Ted your, you said a very nice thing then as we passed there and you spoke, you know you didn't shake their hands.

Joyce Palmer- You would have.,.

Carolyn Yellin- Very friendly smile and then you said they are going to get some tough stares today and I became aware of the guardsmen as people as you said that. That we should not assume that every single guardsmen was disapproving of our doing it.

Joan Beifuss- Could I ask one more thing. How many, how were the guardsmen spaced along the march?

Joyce Palmer- Depends. Gun to gun.

David Yellin- At every street corner.

(muffled)

Virginia Hoover- Up to Main St. they were all the way along weren't they?

(Muffled)

David Yellin- I don't think so.

Edward Hoover- (Muffled) it is shoulder to shoulder.

David Yellin- NI don't think they were along Main St. they were at intersections and York Arms they were.

Joan Beifuss- Another thing was there people in the building the tall building?

David Yellin- No everything was closed.

Joan Beifuss- Everything was closed.

David Yellin- But there was people there. The offices and stores were closed.

Joyce Palmer- What was that hotel across..

David Yellin- Oh yes the Claridge.

Joyce Palmer- Yeah there were a lot of people in the Claridge looking out the windows...

David Yellin- Some of them had a sign I am a man, one sign. One window had a sign.

Edward Hoover- I went over and went through the 100 N. Main building and over to the next street because I didn't want to go through the guardsmen and I knew a way through that building and I went over to make a phone call to be sure everything was alright at home. But it was a pretty tense in the street, lots of people were out there, I mean the business men and I ran into one clergymen who was over there and obviously not wanting to be identified by the crowd, not wanting to miss the occasion.

Carolyn Yellin- I also wanted to get on record that Dianna (muffled) with all of her talk of preparations and so forth that she did come well supplied with food and in the middle of the 4 hours of speeches we sat down and leaned up against the pillar and ate little cubes of cheese that she had cut the night before and put in a little plastic bag.

David Yellin- So if you are going to march be prepared.

Carolyn Yellin- Things of cheese it was wonderful for marchers.

Joyce Palmer- Well I think one thing that was a big decision to me, was about sitting on the ground, there is something about a lady sitting on the ground.

Joan Beifuss- Well especially since you had your hat on.

David Yellin- With out a (muffled).

Virginia Hoover- I couldn't because of my knee, so Bill Martin stood up with me the whole time.

Joyce Palmer- I would like to talk one minute about how I felt strange in this, during the speeches and this kind of thing. What hit home with me there was the fact that, I want to be friends with negros if they will belike I am. This is the feeling that I get and if they are different I feel strange. And I wasn't used to this kind of thing and this kind of talk and this kind of speech and this kind of anything and I felt utterly alien. And to me this is one of the big problems that we are having even with the levels that they want the negros to behave in a way that they decide they should.

David Yellin- The the liberals decide?

Joyce Palmer- Yes.

David Yellin- So your problem is what to adjust the way the negros?

Joyce Palmer- Right.

Edward Hoover- But you don't have to adjust.

David Yellin- Just be cognizant.

Joyce Palmer- To be able to not feel strange with this kind of thing.

David Yellin- Well how do you think you can do it Joyce?

Joyce Palmer- Well I think you can just get used to it really, I think if you just don't run away right away when you feel uncomfortable.

David Yellin- Well from what you said I don't believe you have run away.

Virginia Hoover- No.

David Yellin- I think you are a good example...

Carolyn Yellin- I think you are going to make it...

Virginia Hoover- I think Joyce one thing if you will be down here for 4 or 5 years I have suddenly discovered the southern accent sounds very natural to me.

Joyce Palmer- It does to me already, I said when I first came I was so aware of my speech being different now I forget that it is different until somebody says you aren't from here are you? And I remember again.

Edward Hoover- One thing about southern language and that is to hear a civil rights speech with a southern accent. I really love that.

David Yellin- Yeah. Well I think this is a kind of a good note to end it and I think Joyce you will get used to it and you won't run away. And maybe you have hope.

Edward Hoover- Maybe. Remember the girl, the negro girl in line with us and I asked her name and she told me and I introduced myself and said what I did, and I said what do you do and she said I work. And you know I was suddenly all alone....

David Yellin- Well Ted my...(Tape End)