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Glenn Clark, 1968

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Download date	2026-06-10 19:12:00
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/10267/33773

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David Yellin- This is David Yellin and this is Tuesday June 4th 1968 and we Dr. Clark's office at John Gaston's hospital. Would you just say hello to the world.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Hello to the world.

David Yellin- And all I want to do is make sure we have got you. (Tape Break)

David Yellin- Fine Dr. Clark you can now tell us the story of your life if you would. I mean if you can go back to where you were born and how you came to Memphis?

Dr. Glenn Clark- I was born in a small town in Massachusetts. My father was a Methodist minister and we moved from town to town every 2 years most Methodist's ministers families do. I went to, graduated high school in Indiana and moved to Colorado at the age of 16 and lived there...

David Yellin- Where in Colorado?

Dr. Glenn Clark- (Muffled)

David Yellin- I didn't know if you were a mountain man or a sheep herder, or city boy.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I have lived in the mountains, worked in the mountains and I have lived in a small town called Fort Collins but most of my life of course in the army stationed at Summons hospital in Denver for 7 years and then I went to college and to medical school and my internship and residency and internal medicine in Denver. I went from there to Johns Hopkins for two years. I then went back to Denver on the faculty of the university for three years. I came here in 1957 to start a division of Rumatology. That is the part of medicine that takes care of people with arthritis.

David Yellin- Where you Fitzsimmons during president Eisenhower's?

Dr. Glenn Clark- I was at the university of Colorado and I saw him. In fact, his mother in law lived two doors from us.

David Yellin- Oh I see, well we are seeing you touched history in many ways. And you came here in 57?

Dr. Glenn Clark- In 1957 I started a clinic and research group in dramatic diseases an this has been my prime professional occupation ever since. I have also engaged in the private practice of medicine as a consultant and have a broad acquaintance with the people from Mississippi Arkansas and Tennessee, seeing private patients as well as seeing people that are poor and who come to our clinics. I have been chief of staff of a hospital for approximately 5 years and as chief of staff from and administrative point of view I have been interested in the development of dignified and readily available health facilities for those people with limited income. This has been concerned with the community health clinic which is a clinic that does not charge

and they are interested in people with chronic diseases. As one of their prime interests is family planning and helping people with limited funds have their children at a rate that they can afford to educate them and give them a cultural advantages which they need. I have been chief of staff of the hospital during the time that the hospital changed from a rigidly segregated hospital to one which has a reasonably good record as far as a relationship between the poor and people who have more in between people of various races.

David Yellin- Dr. Park excuse me, I would like to do 2 things, just put this a little closer, almost and now I am sure you are going to tell it in your own way and you are doing beautifully. Could you pin point it a little more about the change over how it was before you came with as much detail as you care to give us.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I would like to go back to the point in which I came here.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Could I ask one question, why was it you chose Memphis to set up this rumatoid clinic.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Because they didn't have one and it was one of the few universities where young men would have an opportunity to organize his medical program in his own way. It was of course Memphis has a unique opportunity for a doctor that loves medicine for itself because if you want to work at the city hospital one thing you will never lack is patients and gratitude. I also have a very deep interest in the science of medicine, specifically in epidemiology and finding out what causes diseases. If you have the responsibility for caring of large numbers of patients who do not tend to go other places for their care, you have the opportunity to study the progress of disease and find out what really makes people well rather than just guessing about it.

David Yellin- How did you come about this did they select you or you searched around?

Dr. Glenn Clark- I was a rumatologist at John Hopkins and also at the university of Colorado and I had been associated with the American Rumatoism Association and with the Arthritis Foundation for a good number of years. When Memphis the university of Tennessee decided that they would like not have a program in dramatic diseases they applied for a grant from the national institutes of health and went to the Arthritis foundation to try and find somebody who would be willing to move here and the person at the foundation was a friend of mine and he asked me if I would be willing to come down and talk to the people in Memphis about setting up a program. Of course during the time that I was being interviewed I had some very real reservations about whether or not I could function in a segregated society. Not so much from the point of view of pure riots, but I am a gregarious person and I don't like to live in isolation from my friends and I of course talk to a great number of the people who would be on the faculty and expressed my views regarding the rights of men and found some amusement that very little resentment. Being an

outsider I think that most of the people in town didn't expect much more of me than the way I felt about race relationships.

David Yellin- Did you take it as an indication that you probably wouldn't do this, or you couldn't do it, or did they welcome your intrusion?

Dr. Glenn Clark- I have been strangely enough accepted with open arms by the people of middle to relatively high class, high rate of income in this region. I think that things they might consider traitor or something of people that are born and raised here they merely consider it eccentric when somebody comes from some other part of the country. I was much impressed in my original interview in discussing my feelings about integration with the man who at that time was the professor of medicine. He said something that probably talked me into coming more than anything else, he said I don't understand the point of view of you Yankees. But he said, I claim to be a southern gentleman and although some of us might forget it sometimes being a gentleman entails the courtesy and the looking into the rights of others. I don't think that all of his fellow Mississippians have always followed this point of view but I think a great number of them do. I have found that the people of stature in the south have a view that is different than mine but they are objectionate and more moderate and probably more sympathetic to the need of the community and the problem of race relations and those who are having to fight for a living at the same level as the other poor people are they, I don't know whether you should put this on the record but I had one southern planter who was a multi-millionaire who was a patient and I was talking to him during the time that the Oxford strike was going on and he came into my office having just driven through Oxford. His face was red and he was short of breath and he had a blood pressure of about 200 over 300 which is close to the stroke level and I told him he better calm down and that there was no sense to him having a stroke over something he was not directly concerned with anyhow. He said I guess you are right the Kennedy's didn't even cause this it was that damn Lincoln that started it.

David Yellin- Nice to get of the root of it.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I was impressed also with a cultural element of society of which I feel is one of the biggest obstacles to true progress in race relations and that was that the people who had property and community leadership in general have a, had and still do have a very paternalistic or feudal attitude towards the negro. They made the great point that the good negroes they saw to it had and by good they meant I think subservient. Went to their own doctors. Their wives went over and nursed their children when they were sick. When they got into jail provided it was having an altercation with another negro they bailed them out and paid their fines and influenced the judges. All in all they overlooked petty thievery it is very common in Memphis at that time to talk about the fact that Darryl so and so was a good negro but she stole, but of course all the negroes steal so this is something that we had a great love for these people put up with that a Yankee would put up with. I don't know if I am making my point clear.

David Yellin- This is an excellent point, this is precisely, yes, because it certainly germinated to what had happened.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Then the other thing is that a feudal society offers a certain amount of security to the man on the bottom of the list as well as to the man on the top of the list. The negro is the ward of a an old Memphis family knows that he might not have a very good existence but he is going to be hospitalized, dead and buried on the bounty of the family even if they get into straighter circumstances. I was much impressed when I first came that this caused me administrative difficulty. As I became friends with a good number of people in town who were fine people and people of influence. I would get 2 or 3 calls a day that would say now you know you are a friend of mine, I am a taxpayer, I have good old aunt so and so and I am responsible for her and I want you to get down there and see that she gets a free bed at the John Gaston hospital and that the staff is nice to her because she is a good negro, this is what they said. (muffled) And so that they, this is another form of paternalism and as long as you have proper care for a segment of the community based one a dependent relationship on someone from the power structure you cannot develop a dignified democratic medical program and in fact the only real conflict I have had with most of my friends there in Memphis has been over my refusal to use their influence to determine what happens to a patient at the hospital.

David Yellin- I mean this of course is so, as I say the foundation of I think of what has happened and you have come right at the root of it. This is called the plantation paternalism of Memphis and indeed the mayor has been greatly publicized in that respect. you seem to have seen it early.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Dr. Clark did you tell these people who called to check on aunt so and so, alright you will do it or did you say well we are not set up to make special exceptions or...?

Dr. Glenn Clark- This will not be recorded in detail, I will tell you what I told him. Having accepted responsibility for this lady and I admire this and I will be delighted to take her as a private patient and take her to a private hospital and take care of her and you can pay for it.

David Yellin- Incidentally anything on this that you want edited and deleted I think you know we will do this.

Dr. Glenn Clark- You are not going to quote this. Well the thing I would have found is that many people who I consider to be liberal and working as hard as they can or as hard as they think they can in solving the problems, are polarized in ways that they don't even realize it. It is quite common to sit down and talk to someone in city government who will say, how can they say that we haven't been good to them. We have given them two jobs on the city hospital board and we even made one of them director of hospitals. We have built them schools, we are now letting them come to our schools and I don't, I think that inbred in the southern property owner is the idea he has given anybody else anything they have, that he is the one who owns the

community and is paying the taxes and who decides what other people get. I think that there is a great deal of resentment on the part of some of the more effective negro leaders to this idea that they have not gotten to be directors of the hospital because they are the most talented one available but because the white people gave it to him. This also spills over into the negro society in my opinion, because people that accept this puts bounty on the white part of the population immediately becomes, I believe that they are called uncle toms. People who have a....

David Yellin- I guess you might say acquiesced.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well they have become a middle class citizen by the bounty of the white people and they are no longer negros.

David Yellin- I think the next phrase is no longer uncle Tom they call them whitey.

_ think one of the funniest examples of this, Dr. Hollis Price who is the president of Lemoyne College and I were at a meeting at family planning one time and Dr. Price, we had made an effort to leave the impotence of this program among the citizen's who live in the poorer areas and Dr. Price got up and gave a talk about how the negros felt about family planning and there was a lady that got up and said Dr. Price you don't know how, anything about being a negro you are a college person.

Unknown Female Interviewer- I heard that too.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well, then the other things that I think are subtle. I think that the things you have done yourself are closest to your heart and when I, 5 years ago, I thoroughly enjoyed humor that was polarized, now this was not necessarily vicious humor, but I don't know exactly how to explain it. But a lot of people who are otherwise quite courteous feel that they can tell a story provided they say well the negro told me this and that makes it alright. But they use, and some of the things that are told are funny which makes them particularly vicious because they make people laugh about something that might not be laughable and I think that one of the worst failings of the people here and in places of leadership, is the telling of jokes which poke cultural fun at a segment of the community. I still, during this I occasionally laugh at some of them because these jokes are occasionally very funny and I think this is one of the things that is subtle which is driving our community apart. I would like to get back to some of the things on the positive side. When I came here the John Gaston hospital was divided into two halves. I had a white half and a colored half and even in periods of shortage of beds an acutely ill negro would not be hospitalized in a ward that was designated for white people. The wards were so labeled white and colored. All of the bathrooms in both the outpatient department and the John Gaston Hospital were labeled white and colored. All of the waiting rooms throughout the hospital was divided into two sections white and colored. The white employees ate in a fairly nice cafeteria on the 2nd floor of the hospital. The negros all ate in the basement with soot blowing off the steam pipes into their cafeteria. Both the negro patients and the negro employees wore, had either cards or labels which used their first name and identification, where as the

very poorest white patient had a Mr. or Mrs. On his card or name tag. In fact, I think that the hospital had all of the old southern ills of segregation with one exception. I do not believe that the white treatment areas or the white waiting rooms than those which were reserved for negroes. Now they may have been in the past but by the time I came here I could see no difference.

Unknown Female Interviewer- What about the ambulance situation? Is it just private ambulances come to that hospital?

Dr. Glenn Clark- No city ambulances come to this hospital, and now I believe that things are somewhat different, but I had a patient a lady with cancer who lived on the Lemoyne campus. She was a former employee of Lemoyne college. She was dying of cancer and wanting to send an ambulance out to get her and we couldn't get a so-called white ambulance to go to Lemoyne college because it was a negro college and we couldn't get a negro ambulance to pick up this lady because she was white.

Unknown Female Interviewer- And what year was this?

Dr. Glenn Clark- That has not been all that long ago maybe 6 years ago.

David Yellin- But you came in 58 again just to...

Dr. Glenn Clark- 57.

David Yellin- 57, so it is 3 years past the supreme court ruling in any case.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yeah.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Can I ask a question about this segregated situation. What did you feel was the attitude then on the medical staff because of this physical situation.

Dr. Glenn Clark- The medical staff thought this was a perfectly normal way of doing things and there was no need to change. Actually it was not a court decision that brought about the change. The administrator of the hospital is a very efficient man and I think a very wise man and the board of trustees of the hospital I think has exercised a great deal of vision throughout the process of changing things. I pointed out to the board of trustees regardless of the moral questions involved it was inefficient to run a hospital in which you had half of it with one tent filled and the other half jammed to the walls with patients and a waiting list.

David Yellin- Now the full half is the negro half just to keep it straight in the record.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes, and at sometimes during the summer time there was just not enough white patients of inadequate needs who needed medical care.

David Yellin- Excuse me Dr. Clark just again to keep it straight can you describe the structure of John Gaston hospital what is it? A city hospital?

Dr. Glenn Clark- John Gaston hospital is operated by the city...

David Yellin- And has always been?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes, but the medical staff and all the professional matters are the concern of the university of Tennessee. And the university of Tennessee became integrated in 1959 I believe.

David Yellin- But the university of Tennessee is subject to the laws of Tennessee?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yeah.

David Yellin- So it is a city state institution in essence.

Dr. Glenn Clark- That's right and the city is represented by a board of trustees and the pinnacle school is also represented by a board of trustees and they both go on up to the mayor and the city council on one hand is the highest authority and the governor and the state legislature on the other hand is the highest authority.

David Yellin- Without getting too involved in this is there ever any time in which they both cross and somebody has to make a decision what do they do, call an arbitrator or are the lines clear about authority?

Dr. Glenn Clark- The authority is on the lines are usually established by negotiations. I would like to explain what my opposition is. I am chief of staff of the hospital by virtue of appointment by the board of trustees by the city of Memphis hospital. But I am also assistant dean of hospital affairs for the university of Tennessee and chairman of the medical board and as such I preside over the board that makes all professional decisions.

David Yellin- So you wear two hats but within one.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes I meet with both boards.

David Yellin- Yes, fine, now you were saying when you came here and you were talking about desegregated facilities.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well the first thing we decided was that the practical problem was there was a good number of negroes who were not getting, didn't have room to get care and we thought we would solve this problem first. So we just took every other white ward and made them negro wards.

David Yellin- When you say we doctor, you did it?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well, actually these determinations are made by the medical board and the administration that approved by the board of trustees. Wherever you can and I hope you don't think I am rude I am just trying to pin point it. Wherever you can if there can be a personal relationship an anecdote or related situation or how this happened, one Sunday at 6:00 would be just so wonderful for us.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well this, there were mass meetings of the house staff, the interns and residents objecting to this but they all passed off more or less accepting not

with good grace but the inevitable. And about this time of course we began to be able to blame things on the federal government and their laws. I admit to some (muffled) but it is easy to tell a group of people, well we might be able to debate this or perhaps two sides to it but the law is that we have to do it this way and that settles it.

David Yellin- Were there any resignations do you recall?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes, perhaps one. And oh this is perhaps a petty thing they, had one young man who was an intern here when they integrated the dining rooms who vomited every time he went into the room in which negroes were eating, I didn't bring up the fact that this really shouldn't bother him that much because he had food cooked by negroes all of his life. But he was completely unable to accept.

David Yellin- Did you ever consider taking him out for treatment?

Dr. Glenn Clark- No.

David Yellin- I don't mean to be facetious but this certainly would be of medical interest to somebody I would think. Obviously this was self brought on but he physically vomited?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes. This resolved eventually by at first he would get sandwiches and would eat somewhere else, but eventually he got to where he could tolerate this. I have a certain amount of sympathy for the southerner who is suddenly thrust into a situation that...the southern feels or did feel and perhaps still feels psychologically that there is something sordid about a social relationship with a negro. This is not a malicious thing and it is in my opinion a social illness of probably the Anglo Saxon race, to some extent. At least it is not as obvious in other populations. And even though people from an intellectual point of view can see the ridiculous product of segregation from an emotional point of view, a great number of southerners are uncomfortable and vaguely upset about being in social contact.

David Yellin- I had a couple of students of mine tell me separately that they were taught from early age that the negroes were worse than animals and that they weren't even human and that every once in awhile they found relief and relived themselves this training would come back and they would be aware that this was in their mind and I can, I think it is the same thing.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I have a friend who was raised in a Kosher family, who has subsequently intellectually changed his presentation in his religion and is now in a more liberal segment which does not insist on obeying the dietary laws. But since he was raised in a Kosher family he still can't eat pork, he can't stand the sight of it.

Unknown Female Interviewer- About this sorted nature, (muffled) this attitude, yet historically and practically we understand that sexually this experience has always been in the community.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I have heard this time and time again mostly in jokes. But they, and as I said I have lived here 10 years and have heard all of these jokes, but I have never heard a respectable white male of this generation in our community who would admit to having sexual experience with a negro. I am sure it goes on but probably the rest of the country over estimates the urban white middle class males sexual relation with negro women.

David Yellin- I think it is a rural....

Dr. Glenn Clark- It may be.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Well the products are with us.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I am not denying what you say but you asked for my own personal observations and I can just say that never have I had a white Memphis male that I respected in any way that even as a child had engaged in sexual experience with a negro. Now when I was in the army I met several rural southerners who boasted and told stories about this type of thing.

David Yellin- I think that really has something to do with more urban/rural because I have found and Dr. King's respect it is just a matter of real estate in the city there is not as much freedom and privacy in the city.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well yeah, perhaps I just had a Memphis segment of the city...

Dr. Glenn Clark- Or perhaps people don't talk about that generally.

Dr. Glenn Clark- But anyhow, we have had quite a stormy time medically in getting the hospital integrated. The easiest part was in establishing superficial integration. The hardest part is with the bilateral ill will and the tendency to give only lip service to the letter of the law as far as integration is concerned. We have very few members of the house staff who would address a negro as a nigger. It is quite likely that anybody who would do this if it were brought to the attention of the proper authorities would be fired. However, when house staff and the staff are together and alone, it is perfectly acceptable to use this term in polite conversation. I think it is progress that the average white physician will look around and make sure that there are no negroes in the room when he uses this term, ten years ago he didn't care, he didn't know any other word. There has been also an increasing amount of animosity on the part of negro employees. I think there is a measureable increase in ill will, that is not necessarily based on race relations but has a, I think a real part in it anyhow. I think that part of it is the fact that they have nots in the bottom of the heap in general are stirring. The students are stirring up against the faculties, the workers are stirring up against the management and the have nots are stirring up against the property owner. I think part of this is based on a revolution at all levels. I don't believe, oh then there is also the question of professional recognition, the nurse and the physicians and everybody else are striving for autonomy. There is conflict between most medical staffs and the administrative staff in terms of who is going to run the place, and who has, who occupies what position on the totem pole.

And it so happens that in nursing you have a built in situation for conflict because you have a level of at least 4 well recognized levels of nursing. That is a nurse with a B.S. degree, a nurse who is a R.N. but has a certificate, the licensed practical nurse with two years or less of training, and the nursing assistant who has just a few weeks of on the job training. The general tendency on the part of LPN's who are mostly negroes is to feel they get less pay and do most of the work and get very little courtesy from either the RN's or the medical staff.

David Yellin- LPN's are the?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Licensed Practical Nurses. And of course the...like everything else there is some moment of truth in this but it is not a complete fact. There are a good number of talented RN nurses that get in and do as much work as anybody else.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Would you explain the racial situation of the medical staff or the....in other words do you have negro physicians on your staff?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes we have had negro physicians ever since the first 2 or 3 months that I got to be chief of staff.

David Yellin- This was 5 or 6 years ago?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yeah.

Unknown Female Interviewer- But not until that time?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Not until that time but this was not necessarily a race problem, in fact I think that we have gone the other way to some extent. Let me explain the staffing structure in order to be on the staff of the city of Memphis hospital, you have to be a member of the faculty of the university of Tennessee medical school. And so that this means that you have to be employed by the university as a teacher and a researcher and to have competitive talents in these regards. People on the faculty are not hard to take care of patients or they don't volunteer to take care of patients they volunteer to teach and do it and engage in other academic pursuits. So that it is possible for a man be he white or colored to be an excellent practicing physician and to be board qualified in some specialty but not necessarily be an attractive member of a faculty of the university.

David Yellin- Why was that instituted do you recall? Is there any specific reason or when was it?

Dr. Glenn Clark- This relationship?

David Yellin- No this proviso that you had to be on the faculty of UT in order to be...

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well it was established by contract in 1926 and there is a very real reason for this and that is that it is almost impossible to operate a good medical teaching program unless the medical school has complete control of the faculty and medical policies and the laboratory work and the teaching of interns and residents.

You cannot take a young man, well our senior residents in thoracic surgery have after they get through medical school have had up to 8 years of specialty training and like Ben Casey on television have reached a stage of quite well-defined responsibility in the care of patients. They do almost all of the surgery or at least supervise it and you cannot have a situation in which a person who might be a thoracic surgeon is brought in who is on the staff. If he is on the staff he automatically outranks every house staff member and is supposedly qualified to teach this 5th or 6th year resident how to operate. The bald facts are that there are very few physicians in Memphis who can match up in stature and talent to our senior residents and to our faculty.

David Yellin- What about the function of the hospital itself, it is a place where people come to get treated, That place, the way I understand it plays secondary importance to the ability of somebody to teach, I mean is there a differentiation between a physician's ability to perform and he may not want to teach psychologically or whatever the reason is I am just trying to get that clear in my mind.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well in my opinion he has no place in a university hospital.

David Yellin- Yes, so this is essentially a university hospital as opposed to a city hospital it is a matter of definition.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes it is by definition the teaching hospital of the university of Tennessee.

David Yellin- I see.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Although it is operated by the city.

David Yellin- So the thrust here is not as a city hospital for city, medical care alone, so that has to be real clear.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Of course I would like to state that academic medicine and this type of medicine where you have a chief of service and faculty members under him and residents and interns and medical students all taking care of patients and all seeing what everybody else does and where you practice your medicine and where your decisions are clearly open to peers, furnishes a type of intellectual activity, intellectual combat, intellectual competition to do the best of the patient and to show other people how well you can treat patients. This in general produces the best medical care in the country.

David Yellin- I see, yes I didn't want you for one moment to think there is a comparison in that the one is against the other, just so we define our terms and know what kind of institution this is so that it is real clear, excellent.

Dr. Glenn Clark- There are many differences, for instance the city of Memphis hospital has a house staff of 263 interns and residents all of whom are actively concerned with taking care of patients.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Excuse me how many of those are negro do you know?

Dr. Glenn Clark- We have no negro interns and I believe 2 negro residents. They, but again I can tell you for sure that we have never turned down a negro applicant. That the big problem is not in race relationship it is trying to get negro doctors and they...

David Yellin- Is the snag for the negro doctor the fact that they have to go through the university of Tennessee?

Dr. Glenn Clark- No.

David Yellin- It is just that they don't go that route?

Dr. Glenn Clark- Can I be perfectly candid.

David Yellin- Please do.

Dr. Glenn Clark- The snag starts in grammar school. In the rural communities. Now this is not so much true in Memphis but there only 7 or 8 negroes from the state of Tennessee who apply and are accepted to any medical school in the country every year.

Unknown Female Interviewer- From the state?

Dr. Glenn Clark- From the state.

Unknown Female Interviewer- 7 or 8.

David Yellin- In fact the university of Tennessee doesn't accept students from Tennessee colleges I understand. Now is that an incorrect statement?

Dr. Glenn Clark- That is an incorrect statement. They have not accepted them.

David Yellin- That's right they did not up to a certain point.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well, no. It is not the policy of the university of Tennessee not to accept students from Tennessee state. The policy of the university of Tennessee is well defined and that is that anybody who makes an average of 85 or better at any state college in Tennessee is eligible for admission and in general they are all taken unless there is some more obvious moral...Now these are determined at their school and not here. But we have had, we have I guess about 15 negro medical students. 3 or 4 each year and they, we have had some that we wanted to intern here but there are several reasons why they don't. One is the tremendous competition for interns. If Harvard medical school, if we have a top student and he would be one we like to have here and he gets, we encourage them to go to other institutions. And if he can get into Johns Hopkins or Harvard and come back we encourage this. They, I, number one I am sure that there is no discrimination on admission. Number 2 I am sure there are a good number of negroes that would like to go to medical school and who would like to be doctors who are not qualified to compete even in college after

their high school education and without boasting it is difficult to pass a medical course, in fact it is probably too difficult.

David Yellin- So that is why you made that statement that it goes back to grammar school...

Dr. Glenn Clark- Now the same is true in nursing that the drop out rate even if they are accepted into nursing school which they are currently getting ready to close at the Crump hospital with some 70%. Only a third of the young ladies who would start nurses training could pass the courses and I don't believe this was a matter of intelligence at least nobody has ever proved it. It is a matter of beginning and cultural environment and succeeding to second rate education, and then superimposed upon this I think is a sense of frustration. Many of them feel that even if they, here I am them. Many negroes feel that even they did get educated it wouldn't do them much good because they would still have these other problems in the community.

David Yellin- I think where we made you go, not astray but we asked you to fill in some footnotes, some necessary footnotes. Back when you came and you started to integrate the services or desegregate the services if you can recall.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Organize them for efficiency. Although my game was not to produce a social change at that time it was to produce better medical care and more efficient hospital.

Unknown Female Interviewer- I would like to ask a question about this small percentage of white indigent patients. The poverty level in this city is not that unequal and I wondered where the indigent white patients seeked services in the city.

Dr. Glenn Clark- St. Joe's Methodist. The poverty people in the surrounding counties and the other states primarily go to the Baptist hospital. In general there has been a division.

David Yellin- Is there a purely city hospital without any affiliation or are there city hospitals? They are all affiliated with the university of Tennessee with primarily the same kind of arrangement.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Yes I am chief of staff of all of the.

David Yellin- All of the, so that there is no city hospital as such exclusive of the state of Tennessee.

Dr. Glenn Clark- No sir. The John Gaston hospital is for the lowest income and it is the ward hospital. The Crump hospital which used to be a private hospital for negroes and negro physicians is now a part pay and semi private room type hospital.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Well what if now, if indigent white people got o St. Joes and then this essentially what we have is a segregated situation down there at

John Gaston hospital is reserved for indigent blacks? Or is this an oversimplification?

Dr. Glenn Clark- I think it is an oversimplification. I have been much interested in the poverty areas, the 20 census tracks in this city which have median income of less than \$2,500, 19 are almost totally populated by negroes and one of them Curt Village is primarily a white population. I think that the percentage of people in these low income census tracks that come to the John Gaston is relatively the same regardless whether they are white or colored. It is also interesting to me that the rate of illegitimacy and the crime rates and everything else in the poorer white communities are the same as the poorer colored communities.

David Yellin- So the correlation the un-variable is poverty, obviously.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Well yeah poverty and all of its implications, cultural implications. Perhaps a lot of it is related to the factors that make poverty, I am not sure but from a statistical point of view, regardless of what the cause and the effect is the statistics are the same.

David Yellin- Do you have these statistics in any statistical form or any that we might have for the records that we could copy? Were they ever published in any form.

Dr. Glenn Clark- No they are incorporated into some grant applications. I would not release the illegitimacy figures at least and had them attributed to me because illegitimacy figures are gathered primarily through physicians and I think it would be extremely unlikely that if my daughter had an illegitimate child that it would show up in the health statistics.

David Yellin- Well two things come up there, one, how could we get figures that in your opinion would be reliable so that if we sued them in our study or turned them over to the archives which incidentally we want to do they would be recognized as fairly legitimate if I can use that phrase.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Could I have a day or so to dig some of these things out? I have some census track maps of Memphis which are marked with the areas and have...

David Yellin- I am making a note to ask you that.

Dr. Glenn Clark- And the mid-south association...

David Yellin- I will just stop this a moment.

(Tape Break)

Dr. Glenn Clark- The schooling, the level of schooling, illegitimacy, crime rates..

David Yellin- Mid-south...

Dr. Glenn Clark- Medical council.

David Yellin- And these will be available to us do you have anything that might be more...

Dr. Glenn Clark- I have a report from them I will send it to you if I can, I am pretty sure I can find it.

David Yellin- Fine and this would give us a pretty accurate or as accurate as you can get because some of these are not reported.

Dr. Glenn Clark- I can give you some statistics regarding maternity. There are approximately 7,000 babies delivered at the John Gaston primarily from the poor census tracks a year. The, I don't know what the illegitimacy rate is because I don't want to sit in judgment or have a punitive attitude. I am not really interested if a person is married except that it promotes social problems.

David Yellin- Is it true doctor, now I am going to say this badly, that when a negro child is born and there is no marriage certificate held by the mother and the child is declared illegitimate...

Dr. Glenn Clark- This has some element of truth in it and has been a (,muffled) of contention with me for some time but it is not as bald as it might seem because in order to get help from social services to establish responsibility for payment of bill, they don't demand a marriage certificate but they do demand that some man admit he is the father of the child. We have a tremendous problem in record keeping in that we have one patient at least who has 14 married names in the delivery of children. But here again I think the administration has agreed very recently within the matter of the last few weeks that there is no point to these served by hazing people about their marital status. And so I think this either has been discontinued or is being discontinued.

Unknown Female Interviewer- Is that part of the question concerning a person after they are married they must bring their marriage certificate in order to have their records changed? Is this part of the same problem?

Dr. Glenn Clark- They tried to do this and you have, and I am not defending it, I don't believe this is right but the record people do have a problem. That is, that they have several hundred thousand records down there they have to correlate. They go through the process of trying to update them and especially to change a birth certificate or a death certificate this is quite a terrible problem and if you are asked to do this several hundred times a day it becomes a real problem. Then there are some people and this is hearsay and in arguments with the record department they have stated that there are some people who wished to change the name of a child every month for a period of years.

David Yellin- Now are these negro people who do this?

Dr. Glenn Clark- They are poor people. I don't believe that I come from poor Irish ancestry from Boston and some time when I was very young 75% of crime,

illegitimacy, and drunkenness in Boston was produced by poor Irishmen. I have also lived in Denver where they have two depressed populations of which the negroes are not the most depressed the Spanish Americans are on the bottom. The same, the negro population in Denver just a few years ago was a relatively stable middle class population. Whereas the Spanish Americans were accused of being animals and created all the crimes and filled the city hospitals.

David Yellin- We are coming to the end of the tape and this might be a good time.

Dr. Glenn Clark- Oh I would like to say...(Tape End)