

LAWRENCE, 1970: A NARRATIVE
AND ORAL HISTORIES SURROUNDING THREE CRISES

by

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AND ORAL HISTORIES SURROUNDING THREE CRISES

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University of Kansas, 1990

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The project focuses upon the era of turmoil and protest in Lawrence in 1970. The narrative article and appendix of oral histories provide background and accounts of three crises: the University of Kansas Student Union fire on April 20, 1970, and the three-day curfew; the shooting death by a policeman of Rick "Tiger" Dowdell; and the shooting death of Harry "Nick" Rice during a disturbance at which police weapons were fired. During the April and July crisis periods, vigilantes, students, white protesters, blacks and police readied their guns. The city's response was the Police-Community Relations Program, a conflict resolution/sensitivity training program. This master's project includes the perspectives of many factions identified in the conflict.

This narrative article draws from the six oral histories in the appendix, additional interviews, newspaper articles, a Dowdell inquest transcript and other written materials. The weaknesses in the oral history/cultural journalism method have hopefully been corrected in this project through the narrative, the editing, the comparison of sources, the selection of materials, the notes included in the oral histories and the balance of materials taken together. The oral histories provide personal accounts, anecdotal experience and current perspective on those experiences in the sources' own language. This project only begins to fill the gap of material published on Lawrence in 1970, and upon the deaths of the two former KU students and the Union fire.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Rick Musser, my committee chairman, for his encouragement and assistance with this project. He and committee members Tom Eblen and Dr. Tim Bengtson made the process an enjoyable experience.

Many sources listed in the bibliography granted lengthy interviews about the death of Rick D. "Tiger" Dowdell; the death of Harry N. "Nick" Rice; and the University of Kansas Student Union fire and curfew. I wish to thank them for their willingness to talk about those trying times.

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INTRODUCTION
TO NARRATIVE ARTICLE,
ORAL HISTORIES AND INTERVIEWS

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The purpose of this project is to provide an introductory narrative of three crises in Lawrence in 1970, along with a selection of oral history and interview transcriptions.

The three events chosen for the project focus are the University of Kansas Union fire on April 20, 1970, and the three-day curfew that followed; the death of D. Rick "Tiger" Dowdell, July 16, 1970; and the death of Harry N. "Nick" Rice, July 20, 1970.

These three events, which occurred during the April and July crisis periods, were selected because they were deemed by the author of this project to be the top local news stories of the year. A closer look at them is a window into an era that is not quite far enough away to

be history, and yet close enough to allow a perspective that is a combination of history and journalism.

The narrative article provides a context in which to place the oral histories in the appendix. Some of the interviews provide national and local historic context. Others rely heavily upon the narrative for such context.

More time was spent in writing and researching the section of the narrative article on the Dowdell death than on the Union fire and Rice stories. Behind this decision was the fact that 20 years later the war in Vietnam was over. Agitation over the war contributed directly to the climate in which the Rice death occurred. The newsworthiness of the fire and curfew were largely due to the same factors. But many of the far-reaching conditions that may have contributed to the Dowdell death and the aftermath may, in part, still linger in Lawrence.

The police story of 1970's two crisis periods is given a special section in the narrative. The era posed stresses for police, stresses about which all who were interviewed on the topic, black and white, expressed some awareness.

The narrative also includes a section on the Police-Community Relations Project, which focused on breaking down the labeling, polarization and resulting dehumanized view of blacks; the police; the so-called "street"

population; the so-called "vigilantes;" the business community; and the various administrations. The section was not intended to suggest that the program was responsible for the end of the tensions, nor that all grievances brought to the sessions by the representatives of factions were addressed.

The edited transcriptions were chosen for their ability to elucidate the issues, clarify the salient points of view active in Lawrence at that time, provide background information and recount personal experiences that exemplify the turmoil of the era. Taken together, they represent one balance of views.

Six oral histories were selected for inclusion. Gerry Riley was a student out of school and working during the two crisis periods of 1970. He is now a drug abuse intervention specialist and master's student in the KU School of Social Welfare.

Bill Simons served as the director of an agency that provided recreation and job opportunities for black youths in north Lawrence in 1967 and 1968. Dowdell lived with the Simons family during that time. Simons is a research assistant in the KU School of Social Welfare.

Verner Newman, a police lieutenant in 1970, was one of three blacks on the force then. He is now an

administrative officer in facilities management for the State of Kansas.

Richard Beaty was a gas station attendant and a member of a the Minutemen in 1970. He is now an employee of the St. John's Catholic Church.

Dick Raney was a pharmacist and former mayor in 1970. He employed Dowdell when Dowdell was in high school. Raney helped to design the concept for the Police-Community Relations Program. He is the owner and manager of Raney Enterprises.

Numerous additional interviews were conducted to help in writing the narrative article and to verify information in the oral histories. More than several of these were worthy of inclusion in a collection of oral histories on the Civil Rights and Vietnam War protest era. But the interviews included in the appendix were judged to relate more specifically to the three crises of 1970. Many relevant quotes and summaries of material from the tapes that were not included in the appendix have been used in the narrative. Newspaper articles, magazine articles, chapters in books, unpublished papers, unpublished material from files, a Dowdell inquest transcript, and two coroner's reports also were among the materials used in the process of writing the narrative and editing the oral histories.

The year 1970 occurred in a period of extreme factional and racial polarization. The white-owned newspaper accounts of events may have limited the public's access to a broad spectrum of minority viewpoints. To help correct for this possibility, more interviews were conducted with blacks than with any other group.

Only one oral history with a black source was included in the oral history appendix, perhaps a weakness in the project. Newman was chosen because he spoke from within about the climate on the police department, the Police-Community Relations Program, the Union fire, the curfew and the racial climate in the city for an extended period of time before the crisis periods.

The transcribed interviews also were edited for relevance and length, hopefully leaving material that fairly represents the views sources expressed at the time of the interview. Subjective judgement concerning relevance was unavoidable.

In some cases, material that could not be verified or presented with a balance of opposing views was excised, presented with changed words placed in brackets or with notes from the author placed in brackets. For example, a small sample of frequently-heard versions and beliefs concerning the night of Dowdell and Rice's deaths

were transcribed as spoken; others were edited, with changed words in brackets or followed by explanatory notes in brackets. This was done to avoid leading readers to believe the views were substantiated facts. While some might criticize inclusion of these opinions, others might criticize the brackets and notations as overly cautious.

Interviewer questions were shortened and deleted without ellipses where these deletions aided the flow and did not distort meaning. Many names were concealed by the sources. Others were edited out when they were not clearly relevant to the focus of the project or when information about these people could not be verified. Material that was clearly at odds with verified dates and facts was excluded or noted in brackets. The challenge was to balance journalistic standards with a desire to document the source's view.

The study is also incomplete on the document level. Requests for some relevant records, such as investigative reports concerning the two shootings and the Union fire, were refused by local authorities and the Kansas Bureau of Investigation.

This project only begins to fill a huge gap in research concerning Lawrence's history in the tumultuous year, 1970. Beyond newspaper and magazine articles,

including anniversary articles, little has been published about the events chosen for the project's focus.

A dissertation "The Turbulent Years: The University of Kansas, 1960-1975: A History" by Michael Paul Fisher, Ph.D., focuses upon the history of the university, the role of chancellors and the external forces that influenced the university's challenge to provide quality higher education. The work is largely chronological, drawing from newspaper clippings, university correspondence in Spencer Research Library and secondary sources for background information. The work chronicles many of the protest events, including the Union fire and the death of Dowdell and Rice. But it does not describe, characterize or investigate the three events in any depth. The work does not describe the impact of events upon those who experienced them.¹

Bill Moyers' Listening to America: A Traveler Rediscovered His Country focuses upon the national climate in 1970. As Dick Raney described in his oral history, Moyers was in Lawrence at the time of the Dowdell shooting death. Moyers' book describes the climate in Lawrence, black and white, right and left, with compelling examples and language. In describing the

¹Michael Paul Fisher, "The Turbulent Years: The University of Kansas, 1960-1975: A History" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Kansas, 1979), pp. 171-175.

events surrounding the final hour of Dowdell's life, Moyers' book does not go beyond content found in newspaper accounts and the published Kansas Bureau of Investigation report for detail. Moyers' book characterizes the climate of the town at the time of that crisis eloquently, while leaving Dowdell's final hour unexamined.²

The fire and two deaths did not receive the kind of media attention and depth treatment in books, articles, radio and television coverage as did the shooting of four students at Kent State by National Guardsmen and the shooting of two students at Jackson State College by Missouri State Police. The source of the bullet that killed Rice remains unknown and the coroner's inquest ruled that the Dowdell shooting was nonfelonious. The specific circumstances of the Dowdell and Rice deaths are different from the Kent State and Jackson State College deaths. The Union fire, which was reported in international media, may have come to the attention of a greater number of people worldwide. But the climate of protest and turmoil in Lawrence and the nation makes the deaths and their context worthy of examination.

²Bill Moyers, Listening to America: A Traveler Rediscovered His Country (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1971), pp. 83-122.

METHOD: JOURNALISM AND ORAL HISTORIES

For the purpose of this project, the journalistic interviews about three crises of 1970 have been called oral histories. The oral histories were transcribed and edited from taped interviews.

Oral histories preserve the language of the sources, and the clues to perception that language provides. Oral history can stimulate increased empathy and understanding not only of the events but also of the human struggle to make sense of the events. Oral histories give a wide, personalized window into history and stimulate the reader to participate in history through the imagination.³

"History, like life, is a test of our ability to place ourselves in the positions of other people, so that we can understand the reasons for their actions." The historical record is always incomplete and imagination fills blanks. Oral histories provide additional detail to readers so that imaginative experience of history can become more consistent with the past reality.⁴ Those who read journalism, undoubtedly, rely upon imagination to fill gaps and share experiences, too.

³James Hoopes, Oral History: An Introduction for Students (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), p. 5.

⁴Ibid., p. 3.

The lengthier the interviews, the deeper the possible rapport with sources. Oral history research is not just a test of a sources ability to accurately remember, assess and profit from experience. It also is a test of the interviewer to deserve and win confidence of sources, deal both sympathetically and honestly with their memories and deal honestly with the interviewer's own reactions to the source and material.⁵ All these skills also are required of a journalist.

Brown said that oral history, sometimes called cultural journalism, is a fitting tool to sharpen the focus upon the experience of members of minority groups, subgroups or groups that have little access to publication. Much of history documents events from the point of view of the elite, forgetting the need to bring to life the effect and experience of events from the point of view of those who had less power. Cultural journalism or oral history can bring submerged points of view to life and document those points of view.⁶

Hoopes also said that oral history is especially useful when exploring the perspectives, memories and creations of ethnic groups and groups outside the

⁵Ibid., p. 5.

⁶Cynthia Stokes Brown, Like It Was: A Complete Guide to Writing Oral History (New York: Teachers and Writers Collaborative, 1988), pp. 1-6.

mainstream because these groups may have been denied a place in written history. "The often covert and extralegal tactics of racial and political oppressors, such as those to which American blacks have been subjected, make oral history a good technique for researching such subjects."⁷

Overt, legal and completely unintentional influences such as availability, rapport or familiarity with sources and ethnic groups also play a part in limiting minority inclusion in the public record upon which historians often rely.

In 1970, white vigilantes also held a minority view largely ignored by the media. Oral histories may be of great value in bringing these points of view to light and reducing the polarization and fear that occur when these views are relegated to rumor and secrecy.

Short quotes, anecdotes and paraphrased statements of sources in news stories offer only slender clues to personal experience of those who participated in or witnessed a recent or historic event. The reader can hardly avoid assuming, creating or projecting his or her own ideas onto the source--especially when the source is

⁷Hoopes, pp. 6-13 & 11.

an unknown figure. In 1970, such distortions polarized groups. Rehashing polarized views did not meet the challenge of providing a new look at the events of the year.

The crises of 1970 involved factions such as war protesters, civil rights activists, militants, vigilantes and minorities. All these groups had limited access to mainstream media. All feared oppression from other groups or authorities. Oral histories seemed a fitting tool to uncover their stories.

Hoopes says that when an oral account conflicts with a written account, the historian does not assume the oral account is unreliable. Oral histories can cast new light on written records, prove them false or indicate the need for new interpretations. Not only can oral accounts be checked against written accounts but also written accounts can be checked against oral accounts.⁸

Journalists and historians both contend with the fallible memories of sources. Hoopes says that oral histories are subjective accounts that change most easily in the area of internal experience and feelings.⁹ But

⁸Ibid., p. 10.

⁹Ibid., p. 15.

events and details change over time and can be forgotten, too.

Comparison of material collected in 1990 interviews with statements quoted by the same sources at the time produced examples of distortions in detail. However, journalists writing about an emotionally charged recent event cannot be sure that memories have not been affected by such factors as trauma or selective retention.

During interviews, some sources clearly stated when they remembered an image or event from memory and when they were logically deducing the reasons for their actions in 1970. Logic and supposition may influence memories.

When looking for discrepancies between sources' statements made in 1990 and their statements in newspaper and official records in 1970, the sources' expressed certainty or lack of certainty about detail did not predict "accuracy" or a match between the 1990 and 1970 versions. When discrepancies arose, earlier accounts were preferred for use in the narrative. Discrepancies also were a factor in editing and selecting oral histories for inclusion in the appendix.

Also, memory often failed in the area of sequences. During interviews, some sources reversed the order of events, obscuring possible causes with possible effects.

Efforts to correct for these distortions sometimes necessitated cutting material or providing explanatory notes.

In conclusion, oral history can stimulate an empathic and imaginative relationship with history. Language, anecdotal experience and the source's struggle to make sense of personal experience of events help the reader imagine a reality consistent with fact.

Problems with memory can limit the value of oral history. Editing, comparing sources and providing contextual narrative information, notations and a variety of views can correct for weaknesses in the method.

This project attempts to open a window into the era of turmoil and protest in Lawrence in 1970. The narrative article and oral histories provide background and accounts of three crises--the Union fire and curfew, the shooting death of Dowdell and the shooting death of Rice. The narrative draws from the six oral histories in the appendix, additional interviews, newspaper articles, a Dowdell inquest transcript and other written materials. The weaknesses in the oral history method have hopefully been corrected in this project through the narrative, the editing, the comparison of sources, the selection of materials, the notes included in the oral histories and the balance of materials taken together. The oral

histories provide personal accounts of anecdotal experience and current perspective on those experiences in the sources' own language.

ORAL HISTORY BRIEFS

Gerry Riley

Gerry Riley's oral history tells the story of a young man who dashed into the burning Kansas University Student Union April 20, 1970, to save paintings and furnishings for Frank Burge, the Student Union Director. Later, he followed the Vietnam veteran medic to the side of "Nick" Rice, shot that night of July 20, 1970, during a disturbance at which police guns were fired.

Because Riley also knew "Tiger" Dowdell, who was shot in the July 16, 1970, tragedy, all three crises of Lawrence in 1970 touched him personally.

Riley's narrative is inclusive of national and community context. And Riley took the story of 1970 a step beyond the stunning and even numbing events of the year, to the effects upon some of the people he observed, and upon himself.

Riley is a drug abuse intervention specialist and a graduate student in the School of Social Welfare.

Charles Greer

Charles Greer, a sergeant with the Lawrence Police Department in 1970, provided a view of the year from between a rock and a hard place. The police side of the crises of 1970 was seldom heard then. The police, caught in the cross fire of critics from the left, right or in between, have stories of their own to tell. And Greer's memories of the law enforcement side of the conflicts, as well as the Police-Community Relations Program, balance the story for those who read with an eye to solutions.

Greer is a lieutenant with the Lawrence Police Department.

Bill Simons

Bill Simons, the director of the Ballard Center in 1967 and 1968, provided background not only on the city's racial struggles in the few years just prior to 1970, but also on "Tiger" Dowdell. Dowdell, whose mother died of leukemia when he was ten, lived with Simons and his family during Dowdell's junior year in high school. Simons said Dowdell was a warm and helpful member of the family.

The interview provided insight into the social and political pressures on black youth and black/white

relationships after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

Verner Newman III

Verner Newman was one of three blacks on the police force in 1970. He was a lieutenant in charge of police communications and identification for the Lawrence Police Department in 1970.

His oral history interview focuses upon the racial climate on the police force in 1970, problems faced by officers then and now and the Police-Community Relations Program. He gave examples, humorous and serious anecdotes, background information and his perceptions relevant to the climate and crises of 1970.

Newman was the only black when hired in 1954, the same year that the Supreme Court decided schools should be integrated. Black children went to Lincoln School in north Lawrence before that decision. Well into the 1960's, whites and blacks had separate water fountains and places to eat.

Newman is an administrative officer of facilities management for the State of Kansas Department of Administration.

Richard Beaty

Though Richard Beaty said that his views have changed in many ways since 1970, his interview described 1970 from a point of view of the militant right. Beaty said he was a member of the Minutemen, a national organization whose local namesakes stockpiled weapons such as grenades and automatic guns for use in the event that something serious happened. He also said he had Ku Klux Klan contacts, though he was not a member.

Beaty's recent views also were included to an extent not included in other interviews because of his changes in attitude in recent years.

Since rumors and concerns about vigilante activity raged among students, blacks and anti-war sectors of Lawrence, understanding the point of view Beaty said he had then, sheds light on the era.

His quoted story, feelings and personal debates are an important part of this oral history collection.

Beaty is an employee of St. John's Catholic Church.

Dick Raney

A discussion group Dick Raney belonged to came up with a plan to address the roots of misunderstandings in Lawrence in 1970. They proposed talking, and their idea

became the Menninger Foundation and the city's Police-Community Relations Program.

Raney's coffee shop, then located at Dillons on Massachusetts Street, was a center of lively community discussion. Raney was mayor in 1967 when the racial controversy over building the swimming pool was resolved in a bond referendum in favor of building the pool. Raney served on the first Board of Directors of Headquarters, Inc., which began as a drug crisis center. He also served on the Board of Directors of Ballard Center, following Simons' tenure.

Raney, a pharmacist, is owner and manager of Raney Enterprises in Lawrence, Kansas.

LAWRENCE, 1970: A NARRATIVE
AND ORAL HISTORIES SURROUNDING THREE CRISES

Civilians, police and National Guardsmen locked and loaded weapons after the University of Kansas Student Union burned in April. Gunfire echoed in Lawrence not only then, but later in July, when D. Rick "Tiger" Dowdell, 19 and black, and Harry N. "Nick" Rice, 18 and white, were shot and killed. For many, guns seemed the answer, at least until words and shared stories began to replace their destructive power.

In 1856, Amos Lawrence, for whom the city is named, had hedged his bets on a Kansas free from slavery with boxes of Sharp Rifles marked "Beecher's Bibles." And in 1970 the city faced a turning point when many would again hedge their bets with guns.

The fire and deaths in Lawrence were fragments of the issues troubling the nation. Those tragedies, like the country's tragedies, left questions and mysteries

that called forth fears, imaginings and suspicions, the very forces that shape history.

In 1970, the aftermath of the 1968 assassinations of the Martin Luther King Jr. and Bobby Kennedy, inner city riots and violence at the national conventions still gripped the country.

Civil rights activists and Vietnam war protesters, once part of a nonviolent movement, splintered over issues and tactics. Passive resistance strategists shared the scene with those who wanted to end the Vietnam War through bricks, bottles and guns at home.

Communism seemed to some a threat, not only overseas but also at home on college campuses. Imperialism, repression of activists and militants, the draft and racism seemed to others to be greater threats than communism.

In Lawrence, 1970, the issues of the nation erupted on Mount Oread, where free staters once pitched their colorful tents and where the University of Kansas now is chiseled on the city's skyline.

THE FIRE

Flames reddened that skyline Monday night, April 20, 1970, flames roaring 40 feet through the rooftop of the University of Kansas Student Union, flames consuming

nearly \$1 million worth of the Union's south wing, which cost \$2 million in all to rebuild.

News of the Union fire reached Gerry Riley and other guests at a nearby Passover supper. Riley had just found the matzo.

"Everyone went bolting out of there and ran up, and sure as heck, the place was on fire," Riley said. Riley, who said he had once volunteered to rebuild a Southern church destroyed by racial violence and had once been a dedicated Kennedy campaign worker, ran from the Passover meal straight up Mount Oread, headlong into the center of a conflict that colored his life for years to come.

At the Union, Riley found Student Union Director Frank Burge worrying that flames and water from fire hoses would destroy irreplaceable valuables on the second and third floors of the burning building, Riley said.

"And so a number of us ran in and carried out furniture and paintings. The water was already pretty deep in some places and electrical wires dangling all over the place," Riley said.

Frank Burge later estimated that nearly 200 student volunteers such as Riley saved \$50,000 worth of paintings and valuables, including a 1,200-pound grand piano.

Nearly 50 other youths, despite dangers, threaded a fire hose like a corkscrew up two flights of narrow stairway that turned several times at right angles, Burge said. They soon steadied the hose, powerfully pressurized with water, on their shoulders.

Other student volunteers kept a crowd of nearly a thousand at a safe distance from the fire and rubble, he said.

"By 2 a.m. the roof collapsed and you could see the moonlight through the steel beams," Burge said. By morning, sunlight shone in through the roof upon the ballroom floor.

The insurance company and the inspectors investigated the arson thoroughly, Burge said. They discovered aspects of how the fire was set, but not who set it.

Ignited in the sixth floor cloakroom near the men's room, flames burst into the attic and then through the roof on the steeply sloping northwest side, Burge said. A nearly 20-mile-an-hour northwest wind blew into the hole, feeding the blaze and turning the attic, constructed in 1926 of wood timbers, into a tunnel of fire.

Burge said there was not a doubt in his mind that the fire was "professionally" set.

"If you tried to tell me that some student or some first-timer set that fire, I'd tell you that you're off base," he said.

The fire was discovered just after 500 students had poured out of the ballroom after a film, Burge said.

State Fire Marshal Department records indicate that a petroleum product was used to accelerate the Union fire, which was reported at 10:38 p.m.

At 9:13 p.m. that same night, bottles and one or more bottle bombs broke three windows and started a small fire at the administration building at Lawrence High School, the report said.

About 11:06 p.m., a fire was set, possibly with a bottle bomb, at Woods Lumber Yard, then at 1516 West 6th Street. And at 11:18 p.m., a small fire causing minor damage was discovered on the 7th Floor at Ellsworth Hall. Fire marshal records do not suggest that the fires that night were connected. Those fires were only four of the nearly 50 suspected arsons from April 1 to the end of May.

Theories abounded. Rumors spread as fast as the Union fire. Rumors pointed fingers at the factions that were becoming increasingly isolated and polarized in the city: radical students, vigilantes, the Students for a Democratic Society, feminists, local or out-of-town blacks attracted to racial disturbances at Lawrence High

School, the disgruntled, and the insane were among the suspects. Investigations never produced charges.

Many, Riley among them, would be questioned about the fire by authorities, but his name was not mentioned in a small State Fire Marshal folder of chemical analysis records, reports, related clippings and other documents retained about the fire.

"Governor panicked. Lawrence city officials panicked. They called the state of emergency here. Martial law," Riley said.

And so National Guard and highway patrol vehicles flooded into town carrying men dressed in riot gear and armed with M-1 rifles. A mood of hysteria prevailed.

THE CURFEW

For three nights following the Union fire, 240 National Guardsmen, 30 highway patrolmen, nearly 50 Lawrence policemen and Department of Public Safety officers enforced Governor Robert Docking's dusk-to-dawn curfew upon the city of Lawrence.

"The area on Oread Street basically turned into a war zone," Riley said of the first curfew night. "Lots of police and National Guard, lots of people running around and people-police throwing tear gas."

"It was warm, it was spring, lots of psychoactive substances being handed around all over the place, and kind of an air of somewhere between hysteria and euphoria," Riley said.

"I don't think there was ever any generalized, organized meeting of any kind that said we're going to resist and hold the police and National Guard off the hill, Oread Hill up there," Riley said. "But it kind of turned into something like that. That was the first night of curfew."

Arson fires, sniper fire and curfew violators disrupted the nights of the curfew. Sniper fire hit police cars and one fire truck. Curfew resisters pelted police with rocks and bricks, a common experience for police in many cities across the country in those days.

A State Fire Marshal Department report said seven fires were set the first night and early morning hours of curfew: two on Oread Avenue, four nearby and one in north Lawrence. Six fires were set on or near Mount Oread during the dusk-to-dawn hours of the second night. Ten fires were set the next day and during the third night and early morning hours: four in businesses, three in the campus area, two at the same east Lawrence home and one on the 4-H grounds.

Lawrence Daily Journal-World accounts said 12 people were arrested for curfew violations the first night. Of the more than 60 arrested in all, 45 were arrested the second night. Student body president Dave Awbrey and Riley were among them.

In this climate, Riley faced his own crisis of the spring and summer, one that cost him \$27,000 in legal fees. Here's how he remembered it:

One Curfew Night

Riley said he spent the evening of the second night of curfew with friends who lived near Oread Avenue, where confrontations between curfew violators and curfew enforcers began around dusk.

"That night about 6:15, [in] the area between 12th and 13th on Oread, suddenly there was just a massive kind of presence of Lawrence police and there was also sort of a joining together of a lot of what used to be called 'street people,'" Riley said.

The term included students, nonstudents, those who lived around Oread Avenue and drifters.

"And there was something of a confrontation up there," he said. "Rock and bottle throwing and police tear gas shooting."

"I kind of got caught in that area," Riley said. The curfew began at 8:00 p.m.

"And people had shortwave radios and were talking back and forth and people were running back and forth in between houses, almost like a game."

After dusk, one acquaintance and one friend of Riley from the Black Student Union, a KU student organization for black issues, arrived after dusk and invited Riley to their home, he said.

"We decided to go . . . across an alley and then across a street up to their apartment which, given the tenor of the time, given what was going on, that was illegal. It was a curfew."

They made a dash for it, he said.

"I got about, oh, 10 or 15 feet. I heard a shotgun being pumped. And somebody yelled, 'Halt.'"

He ran faster, he said.

"Went ripping around the corner of the side of the house and ran, I mean just literally ran, head right on into a policeman. It was a National Guard officer. We knocked each other down."

"The guy came up with a gun pointed right at me," Riley said.

Riley said he was struck with rifle butts on the knees, in the ribs and on the back of the neck after he

was already handcuffed. The guardsman stopped them from striking him further. Riley said he believed the officers striking him were from the Department of Public Safety.

The Department of Public Safety, created shortly before this crisis and disbanded shortly after, oversaw the Police and Fire Departments. Officers worked as both policemen and firemen.

"I wasn't a lamb either. I was being somewhat verbal with the folks that were beating on me," Riley said. He had, in 1967, practiced classic King and Gandhi on the lawn of the Pentagon, not responding when officers hit many in the crowd with rifle butts and verbally insulted protesters who would not fight back.

Some of the officers present went after Riley's two friends and caught them. Another officer said that Riley had been carrying something and had dropped it, Riley said.

"And he went back around the corner of the building and came back with this vodka bottle that was filled with something with a little rag on top of it," Riley said.

"In the police car on the way down to the station, the guy who had the bottle turned around and basically lowered a semi-automatic weapon, pointed right at my face

and said . . . , 'Here, why don't you hold this for me until we get down to the station.'"

Riley refused to touch the bottle and was hit again, he said.

Since the city jail was full, Riley said he spent the night in the party atmosphere of the crowded county jail where other curfew violators waited together and talked. Morning brought a shock.

Riley's bail was \$10,000 instead of a typical \$250 for curfew violation. He learned he was being charged for possession of a Molotov cocktail, he said.

The smoke smell on his jacket, which he had worn when rescuing valuables from the Union fire, contributed to his later being questioned about that fire, he said.

Riley said that within a week after professors from the law school and music department helped Riley meet bail, Riley found himself in jail in Topeka on federal charges--for possession of that same Molotov cocktail, failing to register it and failing to pay taxes on it.

"It wasn't mine," Riley said.

After three days, the curfew ended, and the guardsmen with their guns vacated the town. And although the nights were calmer and policemen could return to

their homes for much needed sleep, peace did not return to the Mount Oread, nor to the town, for many months.

On April 30, United States and South Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia. May 4, National Guardsmen killed four students at Kent State. The Jackson State College tragedy followed on May 14, when Mississippi State Police shot two black students.

Pressures squeezed KU and city officials from the right to get tougher with trouble makers and from the left to suspend rules, even to close the university.

On May 8, Chancellor Lawrence Chalmers called a convocation at the stadium and, with 15,000 faculty and students, decided to keep KU open, but to allow students to take finals or take the grade they had earned up to that point. Chalmers said that tension eased greatly after the convocation.

But Chalmers was sharply questioned by some KU alumni and Kansas citizens for the action. And Chalmers narrowly escaped being fired in a secret meeting of the regents called for that purpose.

During the following months, Riley, too, was questioned--by the FBI--about the burning of the Union and about stacks of FBI photographs, Riley said.

"One point in time--I was being interviewed by the FBI--they pulled out this manila folder, and in it [were]

a number of pictures taken around the Rock Chalk over an extended period of time!" he said. The Rock Chalk was a bar located at 12th and Oread.

"They had a whole box load of these manila envelopes," he said. "And I thought, 'Good Lord, all the funds that were going into this.'"

"But there was this mentality that we were really, you know, cooked up in some kind of nationwide organization, which was really about as far from the mark as you could get. Things just kind of happened spontaneously," he said.

"It didn't take any outside organizing to have things nuts here at the time," he said. "The country was pretty crazy."

An FBI agent gave Riley three polygraph tests. Riley said the agent who administered the tests helped clear Riley's name when the test results showed no guilty reaction.

"Federal charges against me were dropped. Period!" Riley said.

In his July trial for the curfew violation charge, Riley was sentenced to 5 years probation. He owed \$27,000 in legal fees, he said.

But before the July trial, before he was vindicated, before the pressure was off, Riley would learn that his

close friend, "Tiger" Dowdell, had been killed by a police bullet.

And he would soon wait for an ambulance beside "Nick" Rice, who lay dying in the street during a disturbance between police and "street people" on Mount Oread.

D. RICK "TIGER" DOWDELL

"Tall, lanky, smiling kid," Dick Raney said of Rick "Tiger" Dowdell.

While in high school, Dowdell delivered prescriptions for Raney, a pharmacist and mayor of Lawrence in 1967. During Raney's term, the 14-year racial controversy over building a public swimming pool was narrowly resolved in favor of the pool in a bond referendum.

Dowdell, one of seven brothers whose mother died when Dowdell was ten, lived much of his life with his grandmother. Much of his junior year in high school, he lived with Bill and Marilyn Simons, becoming one of the family and a willing help, never a problem.

"He was a bright kid. Very bright kid." Bill Simons said Dowdell's grades turned around to A's and B's during that year.

"He showed artistic promises," said Simons, who was white, interracially married, and the first full-time director of the Ballard Center, a social service center that served North Lawrence. Dowdell and his brothers and cousins were active participants at the center.

Simons said that from his observations in 1967 and '68, blacks had reasons to fear the police even if they weren't doing anything wrong because they were likely to be blamed if something went wrong. And, he said, he believed that the Dowdells had a reputation with the police simply because some of the brothers had outspoken positions, not because they were breaking any laws.

"Tiger" Dowdell and other black youths might have been torn during the coming period, balancing the ideals of Martin Luther King with the more radical and separatist views that held sway after King's death, Simons said.

Dowdell played varsity basketball his senior year in high school and started often, his coach, Darrell Falen, said.

"He was easy to communicate with," Falen said. "I mean I would tell him what was expected of him and he would comply and work hard to improve himself." Falen said there was nothing negative to tell about Dowdell.

Dowdell was the first president of the newly organized Black American Club his senior year. A classmate and later an in-law, Marleeta Dowdell, said he was selected because he was popular, though not really a leader in a political way. He was kind of soft-spoken, she said, and an unlikely person to die in the way that he did.

Dowdell attended KU in the fall of 1969, began the spring semester and withdrew March 24, 1970, said Linda Faust, who went to high school with Dowdell and now works at KU's Office of Student Records.

Jerry Riley, who knew Dowdell while at KU, said Dowdell was the friendliest of the KU BSU members and took Riley, who is white, to BSU meetings in those separatist days. Dowdell told his BSU friends that Riley just looked white.

When speaking of Dowdell's death, Riley's jaw muscles tightened and he kicked the leg of his desk. He said he didn't believe the police story of that night. Long silences punctuated his comments about the one tragedy of the summer he didn't witness.

But a relaxed smile came over Riley's face when he recalled Dowdell's friendship, a refreshing smile much like Marleeta Dowdell's when she recalled her childhood friend, "Tiger," whose older brother she later married.

"No matter what he did that night, he didn't deserve what he got." Marleeta Dowdell said anyone, everyone, here and everywhere in the country would have run from police in those days. Most blacks believed the police were out to get them. And she described what happened after she learned that "Tiger" Dowdell had been shot.

"People were sitting in the house and they were crying. People were getting guns and running in the streets." And she said that people in her home were crying not only because of his death, but also because they were afraid.

Whether she knew it or not, within two days guns had been readied again all over town. The sound of a cherry bomb thrown at a university housing cooperative on Tennessee Street, for example, led some within to begin armed watches, tear cloth into piles of bandages on the floor and discuss sandbagging and target practice in case of white vigilante action against them.

Vigilantes were rumored to be out on the streets. A business man with a gun locked his shop for the night and carried his gun to his car. Others stayed in their businesses all night, armed. People yelled out of car windows to get off the nearly empty streets. The town was unified all right--in fear.

Few had time to understand what happened the night of Dowdell's death. Yet the varied beliefs about what happened helped to shape history.

Fading memories, the transcription of a coroner's inquest, a Kansas Bureau of Investigation report and the reflections of those who were most affected are what are left to tell the story.

The night is a story of events that took less than an hour to live and a climate of distrust to create, part of a history of Lawrence.

Less than an Hour

Dowdell's life ended in an alley from a policeman's bullet about 10:47 the evening of July 16, 1970, minutes after he had been a passenger in a Volkswagen driven by Franki Cole, then a KU freshman.

They left Afro House, 846 1/2 Rhode Island, a cultural center for black KU and town youths. They traveled only four blocks before their car halted at an alley entrance.

Two nearly simultaneous events preceded Dowdell's final ride in that blue Volkswagen--the shotgun wounding of Melvin E. Reynolds, 17, and the gunshot wounding of Mildred J. Johnson, 61. Both woundings occurred around

10:15 p.m., said a KBI report published in the Lawrence Daily Journal-World on August 22.

Reynolds was hit in the head, face and neck with a shotgun blast while sitting upright on the front porch of Afro House, the KBI report said.

"Mr. Reynolds stated that he believed he had been shot from a blast coming from a police car which had been patrolling the area," the KBI report said. "Two of Reynolds' companions who were on the porch of the Afro House stated that they saw a police car drive by about the time they heard a shot and Reynolds was injured," the KBI report said.

But later investigation concluded that the blast came through the balcony floor to the porch below. The downward direction of the wounds, a hole from a shotgun in the floor of the Afro House balcony and witnesses who said they heard the shotgun blast after the police car had already passed, led to this conclusion, the KBI report said. The size of shot in the floor matched the shot removed from the youth's body.

"A crime scene investigation conducted at the Afro House reflected what appeared to be blood stains on the front porch, on siding of the house immediately above the porch floor, [on the] doorjamb and carpeting at the front

door of the porch, and [on the] floor near the entrance to the basement," the KBI report said.

The KBI report did not say when or to whom the Reynolds shooting was reported, nor when it was investigated; nor did it say if the source of the shots was known by Dowdell nearly 20 minutes later when he left Afro House in the Volkswagen.

Is it possible that some of the people in the Afro House still believed that someone drove by and shot at them, as Reynolds said, even the police? If Reynolds was knocked from his chair and hit the floor bleeding, perhaps no one on the porch looked up and those above didn't know the shot went through to the porch below. The immediate problem might have been getting medical help.

Whatever the case, another gunshot wounding took place about 10:15 p.m. two and a half blocks away at 9th and New York Streets. Police rushed to the scene.

Mildred Johnson had been wounded in the leg by shots allegedly from two black men from the steps of St. Luke's church, located on the southeast corner of 9th and New York, the KBI report said.

Kennard Avey, then an officer with the Lawrence Police Department, was responding to the Johnson shooting call when he said he heard three to five gunshots. He

had just turned right at 10th and New York and was approaching New York School, he said July 22, 1970, at the coroner's inquest on the Dowdell death.

"I was shot at," he said at the coroner's inquest only six days later. But the shots didn't hit the car. As he stopped the car, he said he saw two men running from the location from where he heard the shots.

Officer Lloyd Jones, who rode in the patrol car with Avey, radioed for backup. Avey followed the two men on foot and saw them go in the front door of the Afro House, Avey said at the inquest.

The KBI report said that two officers answering the Johnson shooting call saw the suspects in the Johnson shooting run into the Afro House at 846 1/2 Rhode Island, two and a half dark blocks away from the Johnson shooting at 9th and New York Streets.

Those two officers must have been Avey and Jones, since they were the first to begin watching the Afro House.

But Avey said in a 1990 interview that what he saw could not connect the Johnson shooting to the Afro House, and that the reason they began watching the Afro House was because he believed he and Jones had been fired upon.

Officers Gale Pinegar and William Garrett soon arrived as backup in response to Lloyd Jones' call on the police radio. Pinegar began to watch the Afro House from the corner of 10th and Connecticut while waiting for a supervisor to arrive, Pinegar said at the inquest.

"I observed a Volkswagen pull up in front of the Afro House, and from two to three subjects got out of the Volkswagen and went into the Afro House," Pinegar testified.

The Ride

Franki Cole said in a 1990 phone interview that she drove alone to Afro House in her blue Volkswagen that night, as she did almost every night, to see Gary Jackson.

"Gary Jackson, who is my husband now--he wasn't then--told me when I got there to go back to the campus, that it wasn't a good time to visit," she said. "And he didn't give any explanation."

And she said Dowdell wanted to catch a ride back to campus with her.

"I remember . . . Dowdell getting in the car and saying that he wanted to go to the dorm with me to see this girl," Cole said. "He had a crush on her."

"I, you know, to this day I still don't know what all had happened that night. From the campus, I didn't know anything," Cole said. "I just happened to go there, which I did most evenings from campus, and I had no idea what was going on around there."

"But I do know that that was the reason that Gary had told me to leave was because evidently there had been some what they thought was vigilante--there was nothing about the police," Cole said in the interview. "It was that somebody had been shooting birdshot or something."

Fear of vigilantes and rumors of vigilante groups and activities were important factors in the tensions that summer, Cole and many others said. Threats and phone calls were mentioned by nearly all the sources.

Not far away, Officer Pinegar saw two people get into the Volkswagen, and he suggested that officers check out the car, Pinegar said at the inquest.

Cole said that after Dowdell got in the car--she said she thinks Dowdell and Jackson maybe came out to the car and that she didn't go in--they drove off toward KU's Daisy Hill. They never made it.

"There was a car behind me with no [head]lights on," Cole said, and she said several times that she meant the car had neither headlights nor flashing lights on.

"And about the car following," Cole said. "That's . . . the thing I feel surest of, not being sure of anything, was there was a car following me without lights."

"I do know that at no time did, was there either their red and blue lights or a siren," Cole said. "That at no time did I have any sign that the police were behind me and wanted me to stop."

"There was just a car from the time I pulled out. Probably when I got about a block away, I noticed that somebody was trailing me. And at first they was staying about a block behind, you know, far enough behind that I couldn't see who it was," she said.

"But they didn't have any lights on," said Cole, who didn't testify at the coroner's inquest beyond giving her name, address and year in school. Though her attorney said at the inquest he objected to excluding her testimony, she was dismissed. Now she said she doubted her memory of the events 20 years ago because parts of the night seemed completely blocked out.

"If I had to give an explanation for as many memory blanks as there are, it would be that it was so traumatic that I've blocked it out," she said. She said, for example, she didn't remember for sure being at the police station later, being taken to the station by Garrett and

another officer, or parts of what occurred at the entrance of the alley near the death scene.

"It was the most traumatic thing that ever happened in my life," Cole said of the Dowdell death.

Garrett, who fired the fatal shot and was the driver of the police vehicle that pursued Cole and Dowdell, said at the inquest that the Volkswagen picked up speed, ran a stop sign at 10th and New Hampshire Streets, and turned right into the alley between Massachusetts and New Hampshire Streets. Garrett said they were perhaps a half a block behind the Volkswagen and continued to follow with their siren and flashing lights on.

"I radioed that the vehicle was running from us over the radio," Garrett said.

No evidence was entered at the inquest about other officers responding, but a former police officer, Bryan Hampton, testified he was not far away and saw the patrol vehicle's flashing light.

At 9th Street the vehicle exited the alley and made a right turn onto 9th Street and continued back east. After running a stop sign at 9th and New Hampshire Streets, the Volkswagen attempted to turn right into the alley, overshot the alley, struck the curb and came to a stop, Garrett said at the inquest.

Cole said she was scared and was trying to go back to Afro House after noticing the car following her.

"And I don't remember how far I went before I turned," Cole said.

"I was going west toward the dorm. I made a right turn and went north and then went back east. I remember that," Cole said. "But like I said, I just don't remember enough." She said she could not remember on what streets she turned.

But the directions of her turns are consistent with Garrett's testimony and also are a possible direct route back to Afro House.

"I couldn't understand after I found out who it was and so forth, why they wouldn't have turned on the sirens," she said. "You know, it was like, what was... What really was going on as opposed to everything that they say happened?" Her words, softly spoken during most of the interview, deepened and sped up when she voiced the confusion she said she had about the night.

"And I can't imagine, like I said, that I would have refused to stop for a police car with a siren on," Cole said. "Maybe I did. But I certainly don't... I don't remember it and I don't believe it."

Kennard Avey said at the inquest that the red light and siren were turned on in the vicinity of the Afro House.

In a recent interview, Avey said that he couldn't remember details of 20 years ago either, but that logically, it might have invited trouble to turn them on in front of Afro House, and he would have waited maybe a block to turn them on.

"I'm just positive, just about, that they were on," Avey said about the siren and flashing lights, but said he didn't remember when they were turned on.

Bryan Hampton, then a former policeman and security company owner, said at the inquest that he was driving west on 10th Street, and when at 10th and Massachusetts, he noticed a red light in his rear view mirror and saw a patrol car following another car that turned into the alley between Massachusetts and New Hampshire Streets. The patrol car, with its flashing lights and siren on, followed the car into the alley.

Hampton said he then turned right on Massachusetts, right again on 9th and arrived near the death scene just as Avey was detaining Cole. He took custody of Cole while Avey went into the alley to back up Garrett. Hampton arrived, he said, in time to hear three or more shots, maybe up to five of the six fired.

But another version of the ride circulated in the community. A July 17 Lawrence Daily Journal-World article said that the officers said they started their flashing red light when they headed back east on 9th Street, a block from the place the Volkswagen halted.

Avey said in the interview that the Volkswagen overshot the alley and ran up against a telephone pole. Both Avey and Garrett said at the inquest that the car overshot the alley and struck a curb.

Cole said the car following her was right behind her by then and she stopped, as nearly as she can remember, because she thought it was going to hit her anyway.

Cole said in the phone interview and in the KBI report published nearly 20 years ago that she hadn't known police were trying to stop her and that she did not see a gun or shoulder holster on Dowdell:

"Miss Cole stated that although she wasn't looking for a gun, she did not see one in Dowdell's possession." She said this in the 1990 interview, also.

"No, I wouldn't let anybody get in the car with a gun, no," Cole said.

Shots In The Dark

Garrett and Avey testified that Dowdell got out of the passenger side of the Volkswagen and ran south down the alley, passing close in front of the patrol vehicle.

The subject had a blue steel long barrel revolver in his left hand, Garrett testified.

Garrett got out of the patrol car, ordered Dowdell to halt and when Dowdell continued to run, Garrett fired a warning shot. Garrett followed and lost sight of Dowdell after he ran into the shadows east of the alley to the rear of a veterinary clinic. In the alley lit with the moon and back porch lights, Garrett moved slowly to the southwest corner of an L-shaped building to the rear of the clinic, Garrett testified.

"At that time across the yard up against a garage I observed the same colored male walking from the east along the garage toward the west.

"He still had the gun in his left hand." Garrett testified that he told the subject, who he said was 25 feet east of the alley, to drop the gun and hold it right there.

"At this time he turned and fired at me," Garrett said at the inquest. "I fired back." Both missed.

The KBI report said Dowdell fired with his left hand and that when the shots were exchanged, the two were

about 20 to nearly 24 yards apart, out of view of all witnesses.

Avey must have just entered the alley at about this point. While Garrett went down the alley, Avey had handcuffed Cole. He left her in the custody of Hampton, the security company owner, who arrived almost immediately, Avey said in a 1990 interview.

Avey couldn't see either Garrett or Dowdell from where he was standing, but he heard Garrett's voice, saw the muzzle blast and heard the exchange of shots, Avey testified.

Garrett testified that he next saw the subject move west again to the alley and run down it.

He said he could see a shadow running and fired three more shots at the subject.

One of the shots from Garrett's Smith and Wesson model 19 .357 magnum hit Dowdell in the back of the head as he ran south, the ballistics expert said. Garrett apparently did not reload his gun, which had 5 spent cartridges in it when he later turned it over to the KBI.

The officers began to check the alley after the three shots were fired, Avey said.

"He went up one side of the alley; I went up the other side of the alley. We was just working our way through. And [Garrett] stumbled over Dowdell's body."

Avey stumbled for words. "So he at that time, when I, he had, didn't realize he had... So he and..."

Garrett had checked for the pulse when Avey arrived beside him, and Avey said he checked for a pulse, too. They found no pulse, and Garrett went to call for a supervisor and ambulance.

Coming up on the body like that was Avey's clearest memory of that night 20 years ago, Avey said. One of them had a flashlight.

"His left hand was extended along down his body. Two to three inches from his hand was a gun," Avey said at the inquest. The body of the youth, he said, lay chest down, heading south, face to the east.

"I didn't even notice the shoulder holster until later on," Avey said in the interview. Avey waited there in the alley, waited for what may have been seconds or even a minute.

"Like I say, a minute seemed like a lifetime." He said that while he waited, he wondered why it had to happen at all, believed it had been either Garrett's life or Dowdell's, and hoped backup would arrive soon. Officer Gale Pinegar was the first to arrive in that dark alley where Avey had waited alone, and Pinegar also checked for a pulse.

"Youth Is Killed in Gun Battle," the local newspaper headline said the next day. An article on Afro House's mission of unity also was positioned near the jump of the Dowdell story on page two. The brief Afro House article alleged that the two suspected of shooting guns in the neighborhood were chased by police into Afro House and then followed by police when they left Afro House in the Volkswagen.

Neither the police version nor Cole's version of the ride support a conclusion that Cole and Dowdell were involved in the shootings earlier in the evening. The coroner's inquest and the KBI report only mention the shootings as a reason to check out the Volkswagen. But some neighbors interviewed about that night twenty years ago said they still believed variations of the early newspaper version, that police pursued the same suspects who had ran into Afro House.

The Aftermath

The sounds of gunshots continued through that first night, with no injuries reported. The next night, Lieutenant Eugene V. Williams was wounded in a gun battle with persons unknown by what was thought to be one piece of .00 buckshot, which lodged near his spine, the KBI report said.

Someone had reported to police that 45 armed black men were marching east on 10th Street and street lights were being shot out in that area. Another call reported men hiding in evergreen trees, the KBI report said.

The police misunderstood the caller to mean four to five armed men instead of 45, and so only four officers were sent, the KBI report said. Williams was injured in a gun battle that began as the officers scouted out the area on foot. Three more cars with two officers in each were sent along with an ambulance.

A second gun battle ensued after the ambulance left the scene. In the second gun battle, an empty police car was riddled with holes, the KBI report said.

Bob Merkel was in the last of the second group of cars to arrive at the scene of the gun battles and he said that no one was in the car that got all its windows shot out that night.

Merkel said that he thought 45 might have been an exaggerated number of armed men in the area at the time.

"In fact, we never did see anybody. We saw muzzle blasts," Merkel said.

But there was a lot of shooting back and forth. No one they knew of was injured besides Williams, and no area hospitals reported having treated gunshot wounds, Merkel said.

The Inquest and KBI Report

July 22, a coroner's jury listened to the two and a half hours of testimony in a full courtroom with the door open so people in the hallway could hear. Nearly 30 minutes after the testimonies concluded, the jury ruled that Garrett had fired the fatal shot nonfeloniously. The attorney for Dowdell's father objected for the record to the lack of any black representation on the jury, and the objection was made part of the record.

A paraffin study of Dowdell's hands led the expert witness to conclude Dowdell had fired with his left hand, although traces of nitrate/nitrites were found on both hands. Ballistics testimony introduced into the inquest record were consistent with the officers' testimonies. But a KBI report published a month after the inquest provided information that was not introduced at the inquest.

"Relatives of Rick ['Tiger'] Dowdell state he was right-handed," the KBI report said.

The report was published August 22, 1970 in the Lawrence Daily Journal-World at the request of local authorities to answer questions about the events of July.

Jerry Dowdell, "Tiger's" brother, said in a 1990 interview that his brother was right-handed.

But Jerry Dowdell said that though "Tiger" wouldn't have had the heart to shoot anyone, there were guns at the Afro House, and his brother "Tiger" might have picked up one; he just didn't understand why it was in his left hand.

"He used to pitch hard ball. He pitched right-handed."

"I knew my brother," Jerry Dowdell said. "We all had right-handed [baseball] gloves, except for my older brother, Frank."

Avey said that if Dowdell opened the passenger door of the car with his right hand and had the gun in his left hand, that might explain why the Ruger Blackhawk .357 was in his left hand at the entrance of the alley. Someone who knew about the way that caliber gun kicks back would probably have used both hands to shoot. But Avey went on to say that after shooting, had he been Dowdell, he would have kept the gun in his right hand as he ran.

"If you were right-handed," Avey said, "it would be back in your right hand."

But the gun was found by the left hand of the 19-year-old youth. And so the unruly piece of the puzzle, the position of the gun by Dowdell's left hand, may never have a satisfactory explanation.

Cole was not allowed to testify at the inquest without waiving her Fifth Amendment Rights. She was told she had to answer all questions if she decided to answer any questions. County Attorney Dan Young's understanding of Fifth Amendment protection at coroner's inquests differed from the understanding of Cole's attorney, a KU law professor. The coroner deferred to Young, and Cole was dismissed.

"Do I have to? I would like to...", she said, but was interrupted and excused again, the transcript said. Her attorney objected to the exclusion of the testimony, and Young responded by saying that Cole had refused to give a statement the night of the shooting.

"The whole mood at that time was that if they decide you did something wrong, then you did something wrong," Cole said in the recent interview. "It's your word against theirs and the best thing to say is nothing. I remember that." Cole said she thought she remembered the authorities may have come to Oklahoma, to her home, where her brother had taken her after the shooting until the time of the inquest. And the KBI report quoted statements she did make, in the presence of her lawyer, about the night of the death.

Beyond excluding Cole's testimony and failing to establish whether Dowdell was right or left-handed, the

inquest may have raised a doubt when Garrett testified he was the officer who kept custody of Dowdell's gun after the night of the death until he turned it over to the KBI.

Garrett testified that on his third return to the death scene, though other officers were present, he himself picked up the gun near Dowdell with a pen to the trigger guard, took the gun to the police station, put the gun in an envelope and kept the gun in the sealed envelope during the remainder of his custody of it.

"It was retained in my possession and later it was turned over to agents from the Kansas Bureau of Investigation," Garrett said.

Witnesses testified that he picked the gun up with a pen without touching it. But if witnesses were with Garrett during his entire custody of the gun found near Dowdell, they were not mentioned during the inquest.

Avey said in the interview that FBI, highway patrol and sheriff's officers and police converged on the scene. Testimony at the inquest specified that several higher ranking officers were present before Garrett picked up the gun.

The holster was turned over to James Woods of the KBI by the coroner at the hospital morgue where the body was taken for the autopsy, Woods testified.

Garrett also said during the inquest that, using a flashlight to examine the gun found near Dowdell at the scene, they had thought there were two spent cartridges in the cylinder. KBI ballistics testimony indicated only one spent cartridge and an empty chamber. Garrett testified he did not move the cylinder position of the gun in any way.

The KBI report published a month after the inquest presented information to the public not provided during the inquest. What appeared to be a bullet mark and traces of lead were found in the wall of the building nearly eight feet above the ground and nearly five feet east of the southwest corner of the building behind 905 Rhode Island where Garrett stood when the two shots were exchanged. A bullet was found nearly 18 feet south and nearly 20 feet east from 905 Rhode Island, the KBI report said.

Evidence as to whether the bullet found near that mark matched the gun found near Dowdell was not presented at the inquest. But the KBI report said the bullet was too damaged to provide information as to whether it matched the gun found near Dowdell.

A mark in the garage near where Garrett said Dowdell was standing also was found. The mark was low, five inches from the ground and nine inches from the northwest

corner of the garage behind 913 Rhode Island, the KBI report said.

Was the muzzle blast low? Avey said in the interview that he couldn't remember. Could someone else have been firing in the alley? Was Garrett trying to miss Dowdell? Was whoever fired trying to miss Garrett?

Inquest testimony did not mention either bullet mark. The KBI report did not say when the marks and bullet were discovered or inspected, but many shots were fired in the vicinity of the death scene in the early morning hours after that night and the next night.

Dowdell's blood alcohol level was .135, according to the coroner's report. No evidence of standard stimulants, sedatives or narcotics was found by the spectroscope. However, the spectroscope did find a substance that the report said was "unidentifiable."

At the inquest, a discrepancy arose between Garrett and Avey's testimonies concerning the direction the youth's head was turned. Garrett had said he thought the youth's head faced west. Avey said it faced east. Recalled to the stand, Garrett said he had been mistaken. And Hampton's testimony supported his conclusion.

Hampton testified that other officers and a detective unit arrived before he went down the alley, but

when he did, he saw Dowdell's body, chest down, head facing east. Photographs entered as evidence were taken after ambulance attendants turned the body over because the attendant thought he had detected a pulse, Hampton said. So Hampton described the position of the body for the jury.

"And I don't exactly remember how the subject was dressed, but I do remember he had a shoulder holster on and he did not appear to have any weapon in it; it was quite a big holster, but there was a hand-gun laying beside his body, and there was a wound in the back of his head," Hampton said.

Cole's statements that she did not see a gun or holster in Dowdell's possession and that she heard only one shot in the alley were reported by the press at the time, both in news stories and the KBI report. These statements do not support inquest testimony, but they do not conflict with it as much as they appear to.

Cole said in the interview that she did not see a gun or holster and could not remember what he was wearing. This is consistent with the KBI report, which said that she did not see a gun, but that she had not been looking for one.

Cole also said she heard only one shot and that she had turned her head after that shot, the KBI report said.

In the interview, she said she was not sure how many shots she felt she had heard at the time, nor could she remember the KBI interview, in which she was quoted as saying:

"Don't get me wrong. I'm not even saying that is all there was, but that's all I can truthfully say I heard, was one shot," the KBI report said. But the KBI report said that 12 witnesses heard from four to six shots, sixteen heard more than two.

Cole said she did not learn that Dowdell had been shot until people from campus came to the police station and told her that he had been shot. She said that she did not clearly remember being at the police station, but remembers clearly being surrounded by police at the entrance of the alley.

Funeral March

"Tiger" Dowdell was buried July 23, seven days after he was shot and three days after "Nick" Rice, another former KU student, was shot and killed. Dowdell's body was carried to the cemetery in a horse drawn carriage.

His tombstone, which is located near the wooded edge of the cemetery, was engraved with a map of Africa and the words, "We are an African people." The grave is near the grave of his mother, Barbara, whom the youth had

watched die of leukemia when he was a child, nine years earlier.

Two marches--a group of 300 whites protesting the shooting of Dowdell and a group of 250 black mourners accompanying the casket to the cemetery--took place before noon on the day of the funeral. A Lawrence Daily Journal-World article described the marches as quiet and orderly. Some blacks did not want whites, without specific invitation, to march with them to the cemetery.

Quiet prevailed among Sidewalk Bazaar shoppers who stopped to watch the processions. Quiet prevailed among those within both groups of marchers, the Lawrence Daily Journal-World article said.

Some drivers honked impatiently as the funeral procession crossed Massachusetts Street after turning right off Vermont Street. The group of white protesters marched north along Massachusetts Street and then left on 8th Street past the police station.

Riley was not the only person close to Dowdell who did not dare go to his funeral. Riley was told by his lawyer that it would not be wise to attend because of his impending trial.

The Bill and Marilyn Simons family, once Dowdell's foster family, were living in Lincoln, Neb., when they

received the phone call telling them of Dowdell's shooting and death.

"We had a big hill behind our house, and I remember I just lost it. I went up [the hill] and just broke down and bawled like a baby," Simons said. "He had been part of our family for a year and we decided to come back for the funeral."

Mayor Bob Pulliam, a family friend who had worked with Simons to win support for the public swimming pool, offered the Simons a place to stay while they attended the funeral.

But Chief of Police Richard Stanwix requested a meeting with the Simons the day they arrived.

"[Stanwix] had good reason to believe that we would be killed if we went to the funeral. The potential was there," Simons said.

That night, police sharpshooters guarded the Pulliam home from rooftops, Simons said. In the morning, the Simons left through the back door of the Tennessee Street home located across from the new public swimming pool.

The Kansas Highway Patrol escorted the Simons to the Nebraska border where the Nebraska Highway Patrol met them and escorted them back to Lincoln. Shaken, Simons resigned his job in Nebraska and took his family to Canada to live for the remainder of the year.

Richard Beaty, a friend of Dowdell and a member of a vigilante group concerned about the white and black activists on the left, also did not attend the funeral. Beaty was on the streets with a gun. He said in a recent interview he was not now certain what he had expected or had wanted to happen.

Reflections

Twenty years later, the pieces of any puzzle may change and blend with other memories. Parts shrink. Parts grow. Ambiguities may diverge into new certitudes. And reconstructing the layers of facts surrounding the night of Dowdell's death may be a futile exercise in discovering that a night can be a circle, with no beginning, no end, no clear idea of cause and effect, and every reason to listen to the other side. Two of those interviewed expressed such views.

Jerry Dowdell said his grandmother used to tell them that where there are guns, trouble follows and he said that night proved she was right.

"So, you know, old people are wise," said Jerry Dowdell.

Jerry Dowdell said that he believed Martin Luther King's approach to change was religious and true, and

that after King's death, people felt sadness, like losing a mother or father.

"And there was anger, but the anger at the time, you know, maybe it was overreacted anger, but there was a lot of anger and a lot of doubts and we felt the movement was losing all of our followers. Because it wasn't only that. It was that the money was the more powerful, you know, the most powerful thing on earth."

Jerry Dowdell said that with seven brothers, they knew what it was to grow up poor, and they got involved with the movement to see that their children and friends had resources that others had.

"We knew what it was to go without eating. We knew what it was to go without things that were really needed and we couldn't get. So therefore that's why we got into the movement in the first place."

But he said he had seen the end of the movement coming, believed things may have happened too fast and vigilantes may have feared militant groups would show up.

"And I guess I probably foreseen this coming. And that's why I really, you know, hold it against myself for not seeing it sooner and I probably could have saved my brother's life," Jerry Dowdell said.

"It's like this. You can't blame the whole white race because of one person. Because that has been the

problems with the black. If one black does something, the world blames more," he said. "I'm not saying that happens now. But that has happened in the past. So why should I feel that same way. Because what happened, you know, it was bad."

Jerry Dowdell had been only 22 that summer when it seemed that getting freedom and fairness might mean dying, he said.

Avey, in a 1990 interview, was among those who wondered why it happened. Avey left Lawrence for California soon after the Dowdell death. He said he soon left police work behind him.

"You sit back and ask yourself a thousand times, you know, if there was any other way, you know, it could have happened," he said.

"And there were so many simple ways," Avey said. "He could have never left the Afro House. He could have never jumped out of the car."

"Well, there was a lot of things that could have actually been done ahead of time to have prevented it. A lot of community relationship with the police department, the black community, a lot of community relationship with, well, even your street people," Avey said.

"Well, first of all I'd probably go get the kids' parents in the Afro House and let them go get their

kids," said Avey, reaching his hands up high as if to embrace the simple idea. "Ahhhh," he said, and then placed his hands on his head for a moment.

But Avey, who talked for three hours without looking at his watch, also had been just 22 years old in those days of protest and racial tension.

Twenty years ago, when people were younger and tensions were high, the events of July 16 led to a tragedy, and some of those involved had not seen other ways to respond.

HARRY N. "NICK" RICE

July 20, before Riley's trial and before Dowdell's funeral July 23, Riley was at the Rock Chalk Bar at the end of Oread Street. The police arrived and said, "Clear the place," Riley said.

"You got 100 or more people all kind of milling around that little particular intersection there who are suddenly being told that they got to get the hell off the streets, again, you know," Riley said.

The KBI report said police were pelted with tomatoes, rocks and bricks when, at about 9:00 p.m., they came for the second time in nearly two hours to close a fire hydrant and put out small street fires at the intersection of 12th and Oread Street.

"So everybody [began] drifting up the street towards the Gaslight Bar, which was at the end of the street," Riley said.

A false report that two firebombs had been thrown into the Rock Chalk drew police again around 10:00 p.m., the KBI report said.

Riley said he saw a group of people roll a Volkswagen over on its side. He was sitting with friends on a sidewalk not far away.

The KBI report said the police saw the Volkswagen go over on its side, too, and they began walking toward it.

"What I saw next was a group of police gathered together and begin walking up Oread Street towards what was then called the White House. It's a big parking lot now," Riley said.

The KBI report said police threw tear gas in the direction of the crowd and police fired weapons.

Riley said he saw the police take aim.

"Some of the guns were pointed up in the air. I saw two or three of them pointed up at the crowd," Riley said.

"And what I sensed was, 'Bad vibes here.' You know. 'This looks ugly! And I've got a trial coming next week or so. I'm beating feet,'" Riley said he had thought to himself. He began to run toward the Gaslight.

"As I was running across the street, I heard gunfire," he said. "And I stopped and turned and looked down the street and the guys who were pointing into the crowd and the guys who were pointing into the air--there were some puffs of smoke from their guns," Riley said. Though it was dark and 20 years ago, that was what he said he remembered.

"Oh boy," Riley said. "Talk about panic! Everybody panics when gunfire happens." Something, maybe just a rock, went scudding across his feet. And he began running again for safety in the Gaslight.

Inside the Gaslight, people were panicked and screaming. Police fired tear gas against the side of the building and it was wafting in the doors, Riley said.

Suddenly Riley saw a friend of his, a woman who looked like she was in shock, and two or three friends around her screaming and hollering and screaming, he said.

"And I like[d] this person so I went up to her and said, 'Sam?'" And Rice's girlfriend, Cecily "Sam" Stephens, said, "Nick's out there. He's been shot."

"She just kind of in a real monotone voice said, 'He's lying out there bleeding,'" Riley said.

A veteran who had been a medic in Vietnam overheard, and ran out into the turmoil on the street to attend to

"Nick" Rice, 19, a former KU student. Riley followed, he said.

In front of the Gaslight and a little to the north was a body face down on the ground, Riley said.

"And we rolled this body over. And part of the face was blown off," Riley said. "It took it seemed like forever for the ambulance to get there.

"He was dead."

"There was another black fellow not more than 10 or 15 yards away who was shot in the leg and there were people dealing with that," Riley said.

Reports that a sniper or somebody besides the police had fired a .22 into the crowd began to circulate the next day, he said.

".22 bullets don't do that kind of damage to somebody," Riley said.

That night at a friend's house, there was hysteria, he said. "And for the first time I saw guns. Lots of guns."

In Lawrence, 1970, it had come to pass that perhaps more guns stood ready for use against fellow humans than at any other time since the days before the Civil War.

Vigilante groups, blacks, street people and students readied guns, carried them on the streets and guarded their businesses, homes and living groups.

The local headline read, "Leawood Youth Killed in Monday Flareup." Riley said a meeting was held at the Union at which officials agreed that no police could be in the Oread area for a while; and that Colonel William Albott of the Kansas Highway Patrol would patrol the area without a gun in his holster. Albott became well-respected on Mount Oread in the following days.

The inquest, September 1, 1970, ruled that police had insufficient evidence to determine whether the death was felonious and the KBI report published August 22 in the Lawrence Daily Journal-World said that the KBI could not determine whether or not the gun that killed Rice was a police gun.

POLICE

The police, charged with keeping the peace, had a real challenge on their hands in April and July, even before the two deaths.

Shot at with guns, short of sleep, startled by alarms, pelted by bricks, stung with verbal insults, lured to traps--one with piano wire strung at neck level--the police had a task keeping peace within themselves and their ranks, too.

Stress upon officers and their families stacked up, beginning slowly in 1967 or '68 and then building up,

building up, Lieutenant Charles Greer said in a December, 1988 interview.

"[Officers] were extremely stressed out," Greer said. "Extremely. You got to where you didn't care. To be quite honest with you, people are lucky in this town that policemen didn't shoot a whole bunch of people." Greer gave an example that could have resulted in a photographer's death.

One officer, knocked over by a brick that hit his helmet hard, got to his feet just as a photographer used his flash.

"That officer thought that [flash] was a gunshot and he had been hit. And only by his thinking--and it was very fast--he didn't shoot that guy, that photographer."

"If you look at the picture, all's you see is a black dot of the barrel," Greer said, "and that means that gun was pointed right at you."

Greer said officers' families were stressed, too, during these troubled times.

"The wives couldn't handle the stress. I mean it was hard enough that the policemen were doing it and it was doubly hard on the wives," Greer said.

"You didn't know whether you was going to; they didn't know whether you was going to come home or not," Greer said.

During the 1970 disturbances, Greer, in addition to his other duties, was one of a five-man team assigned to investigate each police call involving a firearm.

Concerns about being shot on such shooting calls raised officers' adrenalin, Greer said.

"Actually, when we were working 12-hour shifts and that, we were going on 8-10 calls a night," Greer said.

"The majority of the policemen felt that they were being used as a scapegoat," Greer said. He spoke of pressure from factions, but also of the double-edged sword of protecting protesters' rights to protest when some who protested broke the law.

During the curfew, Greer's time cards show 83 hours of overtime in 16 days with only one day off. For five days, from April 18 to April 22, Greer said he was too busy to return home at all.

Greer described the merry-go-round of the April, 1970, curfew days, when racial problems at the high school were also in full swing. He often used the present tense, making 1970 seem uncomfortably near.

"I'm at the high school all day long trying to keep fights from going on there and trying to get students back in their classrooms," Greer said.

"Get through with that and I got an hour and then the curfew [goes] into effect, or we'd immediately then

wind up going up to KU for demonstrations up there," Greer said.

With dusk came reports of gunfire, he said.

"You wind up . . . walking the streets hoping nobody's going to shoot you," Greer said.

"And if that wasn't enough stuff . . ., what you had was then they were throwing pipe bombs and stringing piano wire across the sidewalks up at KU and go right back up there.

"As soon as that would get calmed back down, you were back down to the east bottoms or downtown trying to investigate a fight or something down there. And then you turn right around and go back to the high school because by that time it's 7 o'clock the next morning," Greer said.

"I crashed at the National Guard Armory," he said. "And finally it just got to me. The 23rd, I took sick. I was sick. I couldn't stay awake."

"When I drove across town and I didn't even remember driving across town, then it's time to do something.

"Everybody, everybody was in that shape," Greer said. The curfew merry-go-round stopped April 24, and officers could return to normal shifts until July.

Kennard Avey also remembered the curfew days when the streets were empty at 6:00 p.m. and all the

businesses, even the restaurants, were closed. He learned to appreciate the Salvation Army, he said.

"There was nothing open. So you didn't eat," Avey said. "And [Salvation Army] had a canteen set up where they fed all the policemen." No charge.

"Families with kids, I'm sure it was bad," Avey said, and he sighed. Avey said his wife was a student at KU during those times.

Verner Newman, the first black officer on Lawrence's police force in 1954 and one of three black officers in 1970, laughed when asked if he felt he was in the middle.

"I knew I was in the middle," Newman said emphatically.

During the curfew, one of the National Guard officers assigned to help him with fingerprinting the numerous curfew violators refused to work for him because he was black, he said.

On the other hand, some blacks in the community challenged him for working with the police, Newman said.

Newman's life, he had been warned, was threatened. And he called a meeting at his home with other black officers to discuss what to do about the safety of their families. They went home to think about it.

"So I sat out here every night soon as it got dark, sitting on my front porch with my pistol and my rifle and

shotgun," he said. "I got to the point when I was mad when they didn't show up after about the fourth night staying up all night," Newman said.

Newman, like other black families during this period of time, sent his children to stay with relatives.

Some of his experiences were funny, some scary and some stressful, Newman said, like one officer trying to shoot out a street light to prevent snipers from having a well-lit shot at him and his men.

"And he got this 12-gauge shotgun and he stands out in the middle of the street, and he fires three times and he misses," Newman said.

Another moment of comic relief in fearful circumstances involved a girl who called him one night to say that she was finished with the hippie world, Newman said. She said piano wire was strung at throat level in an alley as a trap for the firemen and police who rode shotgun on the trucks at that time, since firemen were often fired upon when they arrived at fires.

Newman warned the fire department. And the next time he saw the girl, she had cut her hair, put on makeup and changed her style of dress, Newman said, and laughed.

The moments of comic relief were few, however, and the times were stressful, he said.

VIGILANTES

Rumors of vigilante groups fed paranoia among the Oread student and "street" groups as well as among black groups. Though black groups were investigated and denounced by Governor Docking and State Senator Reynolds Shultz for ammunition purchases after the Dowdell death, whites carried guns on the streets without such political and police reaction.

Richard Beaty, then a Minuteman, said this group numbered maybe 200 if one counted all those who might consider themselves members. But 25 to 50 actually attended some of the 10 to 15 meetings held between 1969 and 1974.

"A few" police belonged to this group, Beaty said.

The group had automatic weapons and grenades, Beaty said.

"There was some group purchases because most of them were all illegal weapons, automatic weapons, grenades, things like that," Beaty said. "It gave you a sense of power to own an automatic weapon or something."

"They were in a barn south of town that... where we kept everything and we used target practice there. It was pretty isolated . . .," he said.

"I think mostly we sat around and talked about what we would do "if" and stockpiled weapons, more blowing one

another's whistle, you might say, to build us up," Beaty said.

"Oh, anytime there was some big protest, or some big gathering or some happening, then we would get together and throw out all the . . . things we were going to do and who we were going to kill and all that. Never amounted to anything. Never happened so it was good," Beaty said of the meetings.

Beaty said he took individual action against SDS members in cooperation with members of the Ku Klux Klan, and said he was guessing the year was 1974.

"SDS for instance was coming to KU. The night before elections, which a certain few were sure to be in, they were to be up at the hospital. I think that was a group effort of the Minutemen and the Klan," Beaty said, but also said that these were individual efforts, apparently of members of both groups.

Beaty said he didn't think those that he said he helped to "grab" and to "hit" were hurt seriously.

His reaction, at the time, he said, was against white activists that he said he thought were using the blacks to start trouble. But shooting in east Lawrence near his and his mother's homes also was a reason for his participation in the Minutemen, he said.

While Beaty said that he might again cooperate with the Klan if members of his family were endangered, he also said that he would march with blacks if he knew they were again being denied access to theaters and public swimming pools.

"Where back then what I really was fighting was the fear of being hurt or the fear of being stepped on or the fear of my freedoms taken away from me or something like that," Beaty said.

"I guess [I'm] just not afraid to be hurt [now]," he said. "To stand with somebody." And so he would also stand up for blacks, too.

The reason for the sudden end of turmoil at the end of 1970, he said, was that nobody really wanted anybody to get hurt. Beaty said he had a beer with Dowdell a week before the youth's death.

"When people started dying, it seemed to back off," Beaty said.

Whether or not the arms are still in that barn south of town, Beaty said he didn't know for sure, but he thought they were.

A Los Angeles Times article, December 28, 1970, scooped a Lawrence Daily Journal-World article, December 29, on the topic.

The Los Angeles Times article said that one vigilante group claimed 300 members, 1,600 backup people and 15 people on duty at all times. The 15 patrolled streets and had a permanent communications person to receive information.

The person interviewed said elimination of 14 people would do much to quiet the city, the Los Angeles Times article said.

The person was quoted as saying that if troubles like those in the summer could not be quickly contained, this group would "go into guerrilla warfare against these people; it'll only take two or three hours." He said two other organized citizens groups were "extreme," the Los Angeles Times article said.

A Lawrence Daily Journal-World article, December 30, quoted the then Chief of Police Dick Stanwix, Colonel William Albott of the Kansas Highway Patrol and Sheriff Rex Johnson as saying they had no personal knowledge of such groups.

LET'S TALK: THE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

In September, 1970, hardly a month after the death of Dowdell and Rice, Menninger staff began to meet with and gain committed representation from the polarized

factions of the city on the Police-Community Relations Program Steering Committee.

The Police-Community Relations Program of late 1970 and early 1971 was designed to replace weapons with discussion. Members of factions came together in 10 group meetings for the purpose of listening to each other, identifying problems and finding solutions.

The steering committee involved representation from citizens groups, one of whom had been quoted in the Los Angeles Times article on vigilantism in Lawrence; so-called street people and students, often one in the same; blacks; Native Americans; city representatives; a press representative; university representatives; and, of course, the police.

The steering committee, which had been meeting in planning sessions and was getting along well by then, comprised the first of the ten sessions.

The groups of 12 to 16 faction representatives met in a Topeka motel for a long weekend with each other, facilitated by one black and one white Menninger team member. Observers recorded ideas that were to be given to the steering committee, filtered and presented to the Lawrence City Commission.

The Ideas and Results

The police were among the groups that were a hard sell, at first, though a team met with them to prepare them--for both anger and benefits.

"You wouldn't get a policeman to talk to you," Greer said. "The way I saw it was they were tired of social people coming in and doing interviews and then make a big report and then GONE," Greer said. "What good's a report going to do if you don't do something with it?"

Though reportedly reluctant, 42 of the 45 police attended the Police-Community Relations Program.

Police were assigned, Greer said, coming out of his chair a little. "You only volunteered in what weekend you went."

Opinion varied as to whether the program helped diminish tensions.

"As far as getting people together and start talking, I'll say it was probably 90 percent," Greer said of the program's effect on calming people down and giving people relief.

But as far as the willingness to make the program work, that was the people themselves, not the program, Greer said with emphasis. The Menninger Foundation provided the structure, but the people were ready for solutions.

"It actually came out that people didn't understand some of the frustrations of being a police officer at that time," Greer said.

Greer, who said he had a tendency to be authoritarian, learned from the program to go ahead and just talk to people. And he said the program gave him additional people to talk with when problems arose. Facing a crowd with one friendly, even just familiar, face was easier.

"And instead of just being authoritative, just listen. Do a little more listening," he said.

"See, there's a lot of misconceptions when people don't talk," Greer said. "You get rumors flying."

Verner Newman, black and a policeman, also was a program participant. He and Greer were members of a follow-up steering committee formed after the first steering committee disbanded.

"Everybody got together and they let everything off their chest, how they felt about everything, anything: the city of Lawrence, the police department, the university," Newman said.

"I even told them about the police department being prejudiced, discriminating against me," Newman said, and said it didn't matter that it got back to Chief of Police

Stanwix, who was on the steering committee and in the first sensitivity group.

Newman told of a hippie girl who sat next to him for the two days.

"She was scared to death. She was really scared of police officers." Newman said she was convinced all police officers were out to kill her because of her long hair and different ideas.

"And she had went out and bought a gun and she would go out to the woods every day and practice shooting, because she knew we were going to kill her," he said. "Then, after the second day, and I talked to her 20 hours a day, well, then she finally figured I wasn't such a bad guy and that I wasn't going to kill her."

"It got all these people together. Because we, the police officers, was afraid," Newman said. "They were afraid."

"It worked for a while. It did work for a while." He said he thought that the program was needed at regular intervals.

Newman said that police tended to keep to themselves and associate only with other police, and that as a profession, police work rates in the top three professions for divorce, suicide and alcoholism.

The "street" population, including many students, also had been reluctant to attend, but many decided to call a meeting and to select a representative to the steering committee. They chose John Naramore.

Naramore was a KU student, co-owner of a company that printed area underground newspapers, roommate of student body president David Awbrey and someone who himself had tried to enlist in the military before coming to believe that participation in the war in Vietnam was wrong. This realization, he said, came through discussions he had attended at a campus interfaith religious organization.

"There was concern about, 'Is this set of meetings going to be just something to take off trouble, or take off an edge, to take off the steam?'" Naramore said of the reluctance. "'Or is the purpose going to be to actually resolve problems?'"

But Naramore said he never represented the "street" population because there was no street population. A movement of people just got called that.

The movement he said he was part of did not sparkle in history beyond others, but was the part of history that happened to a bunch of "baby boomers."

"Let's say it was just our generation's manifestations of ideas that go back eons and eons and

eons," he said. "You know, the Vietnam War was seen as a colonial war, so it was opposed. All right? But it was not the first colonial war and it was definitely not the first colonial war that was opposed."

The movement, he said, involved older people, students, philosophers from history, theologians from history and now, feminists, gray panthers, ministers and priests, professors and people concerned about racial and minority issues.

"Because the focus of the whole thing, I think, was dealing with people as people," Naramore said.

"And people as valued," he said, "valued as parts of the world rather than objects, economic pieces."

"This movement goes back, you know, years and years and years, to the beginning of time, when people were working for social justice. Okay?" he said. "That's why you call it a movement instead of just a little event."

Once "we" and "them" and "street people" took over, alienation set in, he said.

"I mean, I was the only official 'street person,'" Naramore said, because there was no [group of] "street people." That was an idea that wasn't real, like when a movement becomes a thing or a toy in the media.

So Naramore said he enjoyed and respected the members of the group, who not only learned to tolerate

each other, but in many cases became good friends. He said he didn't even believe one of the members who called himself a redneck was really a redneck. He was a person.

Although some goals of the Police-Community Relations Program were achieved--people stopped yelling, shooting and throwing bricks--Naramore said that he believed that some of the concerns of those who attended were filtered out, others left to the future.

Of those who attended the sessions, blacks, many of whom now prefer to be called African Americans, had the longest history of exclusion from power to change the community.

One of the members of the steering committee Naramore said he grew to deeply admire was Cynthia Turner, a black representative whom he said was Lawrence's Mother Teresa.

Turner said she saw the chaos of the community when she got involved with many young people who needed wisdom and friendship from elders. She saw the same chaos when she traveled across the country for the Poor People's March that King had been planning when he was shot in 1968.

Turner said she believed the Lawrence Police-Community Relations Program helped bring the far left, the far right and the police into a better understanding

and enjoyment of one another. She gave as an example one young man who had extremist attitudes against blacks. He changed his attitudes during the sessions.

"After we got through talking and working together, we came to respect one another and I think really absolutely like one another." Turner said participants still called out enthusiastic "Hello's" when they see her on the street.

"I think once they really understood one another, they weren't as far apart as they thought they were, because God give all of us to be human beings," she said. Despite race, income, status and position, all humans come into life through birth and leave through death.

Turner said she grew up in Oskaloosa. Her high school 1936 graduating class wouldn't come to Lawrence on their senior trip because she and the other two blacks in the class wouldn't have been able to go into restaurants. The class chose to go to Nebraska instead, where everyone could go into the restaurants and sit down together. The 1937 graduating class elected a black youth as senior class president.

In that climate of equality and friendship she never learned racial hurt or anger, and she felt equal to anyone. She shares what she learned with young people.

Her roots are mostly black, but also Native American and white. Everyone is human, she said.

Turner said that a program like the Police-Community Relations Program was needed in 1970, 1990 and always. The city could influence rules and selection of officers, but not the hearts of officers and those they served. And trusting relationships built with former officers and chiefs of police had to be built again when new people arrived in jobs.

Turner said the Police-Community Relations Program of 1970 addressed problems that the community faced then. One of the problems black youths faced was police harassment when they gathered together. White youths could gather without police harassment. Youths who had faced racism in the community, schools and from police became angry inside and needed help in overcoming that anger.

Shortly before Dowdell was killed, for example, Turner saw a crowd of young blacks in east Lawrence that police were attempting to disperse using mace. She and two women with her asked the police for 15 minutes with the youths. Shortly after, the crowd of young people dispersed on its own. Just a request or touch on the arm calmed deep anger in many instances, she said.

During those days, KKK members rode shotgun in their cars and trucks during "riots" or troubled times, Turner said. Whether whites knew or felt it, the Klan was everywhere and blacks felt the presence of Klan attitudes then and now.

In 1970, pressures were extreme upon young black men to cut a new path away from the influence of slave roots. More black men and women look to the future with inner confidence in 1990. But in Lawrence, the 17 elementary schools have few black teachers, downtown stores have few black employees and children still must face negative racial attitudes toward them that Turner did not have to face where she grew up, she said. These attitudes leave anger and hurt in children.

In the past 50 years, Lawrence has had a black judge, a black doctor, a black funeral director and a black lawyer. But there are no blacks who fill local roles in these fields now. The number of black-owned businesses also has dropped in the past 50 years, she said.

Many blacks have found esteem and inner confidence in the last 20 years, Turner said. But 10 percent of children of any race can do a lot of damage because problems spread when they are not resolved. Poverty, drugs, lack of interest in schools, problems with self-

esteem in a few children can upset the apple cart if those children are singled out instead of helped, no matter what color, she said. Problems in black segments of the community would become problems in white segments and vice versa.

Vernell Spearman, whose husband John was on the steering committee, also attended one of the sensitivity sessions as a black representative.

Spearman said that the Police-Community Relations Program was only one of many efforts that were made during that time to address isolated groups and minority concerns, and that the communications improved among those who attended the sessions. She had, and others had, worked hard in many groups to improve communications before and during the crises.

But the tensions, she said, got too high for participants from peripheral groups to convey their personal experiences in the session to their constituencies.

In 1990, minority communities still complain about lack of sensitivity and trust with the police. Spearman said that the murders of three Native American youths in 1989 and 1990 brought about allegations that police were not as concerned about solving these crimes as they might have been if the youths had been white.

The number of police on the force has increased, but percent of minority representation on the force is nearly the same as it was 20 years ago, Spearman said. Awareness is still needed.

"And if you've got no power and you have no control, you can't make it happen." She said those who can bring about change may not notice the problem because they are happy with the status quo.

"There are a lot of things that I just don't feel like I can go through again," she said. "It's too much of an emotional drain, strain."

Many blacks still feel the pain of 1970, Spearman said.

"I don't think the story will ever be told completely from the black perspective of what took place in Lawrence," she said. "You know, I hear it written and talked about, and very seldom am I hearing the real story of what the black community felt at that time. You know--when you have to send your children out of town because you are afraid of what will happen to them."

The Spearman family received harassing phone calls day and night that threatened their son, John, Jr., who was president of the BSU during part of 1970, she said. The Spearman family was among the black families who did send

their children out of town or away from their homes to keep them safe.

In 1970, blacks were not only concerned about both safety and police fairness. But also black students at the high school wanted a black history class, black teachers and advisors, fair tracking practices and elective representation experiences, fair discipline procedures and inclusion in high school events.

Those were the issues brought before the school board during the days of crisis in 1970. Those were among the concerns of Black American Club, of which "Tiger" Dowdell was the first president his senior year of high school, in 1969.

Spearman said the same issues that caused feelings of rejection in 1970 face black children and their parents today.

"Tracking, lack of participation, lack of things which may not seem so important to us but are important to kids: cheerleader selection, queen selection, pep club, those things that are visible and give some sort of identity and self-worth to people," she said.

Jerry Riley was not one of those who volunteered nor was he selected for the Police-Community Relations Program. He, and many others who personally lived

through the traumatic events of 1970, had to absorb and make sense of the tragedies on their own.

Twenty years later, Riley expressed a view that was similar to the views expressed by those who attended the Menninger program: finding someone to blame and a name to call them is not the same as solving the problem.

CONCLUSIONS

What people believed, feared, hoped and didn't know about each other, not just facts, created the historical events of 1970. What people believed about those events are as much a part of the present as they are the past. They are the collective oral history of a town.

Any history of Lawrence cannot ignore the legacy of race relations in creating the city. Without blacks, Lawrence would never have been founded. With black labor, many buildings on the city's central avenue, Massachusetts Street, were built after the Civil War. And 1970 was an important chapter in the unfolding story of a town built on the idea of freedom from slavery, if not equality.

But blacks interviewed in 1990 said that racial incidents had begun to occur again in recent years. The resurgence of white supremacy groups concerned many. The trust required for good police-minority relations

remained an issue, and many believed police tended to blame blacks as the cause of incidents involving both blacks and whites. As late as 1990, few blacks worked or owned businesses on Massachusetts Street. Few whites noticed or understood what that meant.

Protest that arose on the KU campus in 1990, when a KU student allegedly uttered a racial slur to a black KU coed who was delivering a pizza to his fraternity, indicated that many blacks still felt the burden of prejudice. It also indicated that the ideals of Lawrence's anti-slavery roots had not yet been achieved. Much remains undone.

Telling the story of 1970 from a black perspective, although Vernell Spearman doubted it ever would be told, would be of inestimable value and interest. Such a project remains for future writers who might find a way to report feelings as well as facts. A black history of Lawrence in 1970, or since the city's founding, also would be a contribution that would open eyes and hearts.

The reasons that Lawrence's turmoil of 1970 came to an end while the issues of race relations and the Vietnam war remained alive can be only a matter of conjecture. Perhaps after Kent State and Jackson State College deaths, the tide of public opinion and slant of news

coverage turned, and war protesters began to feel the support of the public and the media. Those interviewed suggested other reasons for the end of turmoil, also.

Riley said activists on all sides could not sustain the energy and adrenalin required for such conflict. Drugs, especially heroin, led to diminished involvement on the left; student activists left school for alternative or "straight" lifestyles; and violence made political protest seem too costly to others. The era left some numbed, drugged, worn out and disillusioned.

John Naramore and Dick Raney said that after the Police-Community Relations Program began, factions aimed fewer bricks, insults, bullets and bottles at each other. But both Naramore and Vernell Spearman said they weren't sure the program really changed much for long. Naramore said that reactions to protest had taught many activists how repressive this society can be, and that those committed to social change continued working for it--using different tactics. Spearman, however, believed many blacks' wounds from 1970 were still healing.

Richard Beaty's view about the reason for the end of turmoil was that no one wanted anyone to die, that the violence ended among all factions because of the loss of lives. Such a view suggests that Lawrence was a

community with shared values and respect of each other's lives, despite divisions, anger and turmoil.

Speculation and rumor will continue to fill the factual gaps concerning the Union fire, the events surrounding the shooting deaths of D. Rick "Tiger" Dowdell and Harry N. "Nick" Rice. This search for answers to those mysteries was hampered by the constraints of money and time, the effects of trauma upon sources, sources' fear of reprisal, the weaknesses of the human memory and the difficulty and cost of obtaining investigative and court records.

Gaining access to police and KBI investigative records might be more successful with more formal legal measures. State Fire Marshal files are open, but some possible leads available in that file required more time for research than was available. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and FBI records could also contain information pertinent to the Union fire and shootings. As time passes, reasons become fewer for agencies to view these records as closed. In the meantime, asking sources to apply for their own files may be the only way to obtain limited information on the events of 1970.

Although the complete truth of the night of "Tiger" Dowdell's death may never be known, those most intimately involved seemed the most willing to examine their own

role in the tragedy, and seemed not to be dogmatic in placing blame. As time goes by, more of those involved may become willing to tell their memories of that night for the record. This project has not exhausted the field of potential sources.

The large number of people present at the scene of "Nick" Rice's death and the length, complicated details, cost and time involved in obtaining the Rice inquest transcript from court storage boxes make that death a challenging topic for future projects. Limits of time and money constrain most research. And these factors were reasons for limiting extensive comparisons of information found in written documents with oral accounts of the Dowdell death. But further researchers might undertake such an effort.

The topic of the media's role in Lawrence's crises of 1970 also would provide a rich territory for future research. Those interviewed made few comments about the role of the media.

The reasons for the delay in local media coverage of the vigilante story is a possible focus of future research. That research could include as sources not only members of vigilante groups, but also the reporters and editors of 1970. Such a project might include the story of vigilante activity in 1970. What happened to these

groups? Do they still exist in the same form or with a new focus?

This project did not use radio and television broadcasts from 1970, leaving that area completely open for future projects and investigation. Many materials available on the protest era, including the three incidents upon which this project focused, can be found at Spencer Research Library. Many of those files are not catalogued and remain unexplored. The Watkins Community Museum also contains many files that would provide insights.

In short, this project only begins to tell the story of Lawrence in 1970 by providing an introductory narrative and oral histories surrounding three crises. Much remains unsaid and unknown.

The oral histories have been included in the appendix to help bring the past to life.

APPENDIX
OF
ORAL HISTORIES

Gerry Riley

Lawrence, Ks., Office, Fall of 1988*, 90 minutes

Q: Okay. So [Chancellor Lawrence Chalmers] said that...?

A: They were interviewing him about another night of unrest, or something like that, up on the KU campus. And there had been a number of arrests that night.

Q: Was this during the curfew?

A: Yeah. And I was listening to him say that basically with three of the arrests they got last night that they got the major leaders of the trouble and that it was his understanding that these people were from out of town. There was a whole lot of talk during that particular period of time about outside conspirators.

He didn't refer directly to my arrest with the two other guys. But because I was white and the other two were black, he made it pretty clear [to me and maybe to others who knew of my arrest] who he was talking about. I thought that was pretty bizarre #1 because I was a KU student and #2 because I'd been in town longer than he had.

But there was an awful lot of talk all that spring and that summer about "outside agitators" I think was the term. Given the fact that this is a university town, most everybody who comes to the university has to come from some other place, and that's kind of a dubious...

Q: Did you think there were outside agitators?

A: No. The idea there was just incredible, the media, you know. Chicago Seven trial was a media circus. So many other things were a media circus. So on days when

something would happen in the United States, it would kind of like, it happened in Cambridge, at Harvard Square, and then it happened at Michigan University (sic) and it happened at Madison, Wisconsin, and it happened at Boulder and it happened here in Lawrence and it happened in Berkeley and they were all convinced that it must be this incredible network that was organizing all this.

And it just happened to be that it was springtime and you know people listened to the radio. It was kind of spontaneous. I never got the impression there was a nationwide conspiracy of people travelling from town to town to organize insanity. . . . It didn't take any outside organizing to have things nuts here at the time. The country was pretty crazy. But yeah, there was an awful lot of newsprint and speculation about outside agitators.

I think the mentality was that, "Gee, you know, here's a bunch of nice kids here. If it weren't for these outsiders everything would be mellow and peaceful. This can't be happening in Kansas." Hell, it was happening all over the country.

Q: . . . Tell me about the night you got arrested.

A: Well, let's see. See if I can remember the sequence of events. Oddly enough, I was at a Passover party. Found the matzo as a matter of fact. [Someone] came to the party and said the Student Union's on fire.

And everybody went bolting out of there and ran up and sure as heck the place was on fire.

And we went up to the intersection of 13th and Oread and Frank Burge was kind of there wringing his hands that all sorts of valuable paintings and stuff was up on second and third floors and was going to be destroyed.

So a number of us ran in and carried out furniture and paintings. And the water was already pretty deep in some places and there were electrical wires dangling all over the place and lots of smoke.

We got thanked for being real brave and all the rest of that. I got thoroughly choked up with smoke in process. Everybody kind of stood back and watched them fight the fire.

And there was a kind of sense of a real sadness. I mean there also was a sense of sort of an excitement because it was just spring, late night on campus, you know, chance for a lot of people to gather together and that's always a bunch of craziness plus given the atmosphere of what was going on in the country.

But there was a conclusion almost automatically it seemed the next day that this had to be the work of SDS or somebody like that.

Governor panicked. Lawrence city officials panicked. They called the state of emergency here. Martial Law. Brought in National Guard troops and a lot of extra police.

And I guess an addendum to that is the week previous there had been lots of racial trouble at Lawrence High School. And several--two or three Lawrence police officers--had been suspended [allegedly] for whacking and beating on kids down there.

So they called everybody back on duty. Essentially . . . there was a dusk-to-dawn curfew in Lawrence.

But the reality of it is, is where they focused on it was in an area between about 17th and 9th Streets and between about Mississippi and Kentucky, Tennessee--in other words "student ghetto".

This is kind of where it all breaks apart. Because there's always this idea that there was some kind of massive organized resistance. And given the tenor of the times, given what was going on nationwide, yeah, there was a lot of consciousness.

But there was also sort of a college kind of atmosphere. It was springtime. And you know when somebody says, "You can't be on the streets at night from 6 o'clock until, you know, there's basically an adolescent kind of mind set that says, "Neah, you got to catch me first."

The area up on Oread Street basically turned into a war zone. Lots of police and National Guard, lots of people running around, and lots of people throwing rocks and people, people-police throwing tear gas. And...

There was not... I don't think there was ever any generalized, organized meeting held anywhere that said

we're going to resist and hold the police and National Guard off the hill, Oread Hill up there. But it kind of turned into something like that. That was the first night of curfew.

The second night, I think it was April 22.

That was Earth Day, the first Earth Day, 1970, and there were a number of things on campus. But the, you know... By then there were reporters from everywhere, you know, coming to talk about the burning of the Student Union. Lots of media hype. Lots of craziness. You know. There'd been a number of arrests the night before.

Apparently in a couple of places not only were the arrests made for people who were violating curfews but the police and National Guard actually kicked in a couple of doors and got rough with some people and there was a lot of grumbling in the afternoon that not only did the [curfew enforcers] get rough but they stole some stereos and things out of people's houses. So there was lots of anger and lots of, you know.

There were organized meetings on campus supposedly for Earth Day but there was also lots of, "Gee, the way it looks is the state, the Governor, everybody's decided #1 is that somebody within the antiwar movement here had to be responsible for burning the Union." Which is ridiculous, because as I say, it was the only place that housed us. You know. It was a kind of a home.

And foregone conclusion was it was all those, you know, quote, unquote "outside agitators," nonstudents who populated the area around Oread Street who were causing all the trouble and resisting the police and they must be behind all this so there was, you know, more troops, National Guard troops, actually patrolling that area up there.

It was warm, it was spring, lots of psychoactive substances being handed around all over the place, and kind of an air of somewhere between hysteria and euphoria. You know? Everybody, when crisis has come, everybody gets a little excited.

Late that afternoon somebody's garage up on Oread Street caught on fire and police and National Guard were running around and once again, they were starting to kick in doors in places and get kind of physical with people. Once again, people were grumbling about them not only

getting physical but stealing things out of places that...

So there was lots of real bad feelings. That night about 6:15, the area between 12th and 13th on Oread, suddenly there was just a massive kind of presence of Lawrence police and there was also sort of a joining together of a lot of what used to be called "street people." And there was something of a confrontation up there, rock and bottle throwing and police teargas shooting.

And the rest of the night was just a lot of little sporadic incidents.

I kind of got caught in that area. Decided to spend some time with friends that had a house there. And people had short wave radios and were talking back and forth and people were running back and forth in between houses.

It was almost like a game. I was with a couple of two or three friends and then a couple of guys who were active in the Black Student Union showed up who were friends of mine. . . .

. . . Anyway, two friends, well actually one was a friend, the other one was an acquaintance. We decided to go across the street and up to their apartment, actually across an alley and then across a street up to their apartment, which, given the tenor of the times, given what was going on, that was illegal. It was a curfew. So we all bolted out the back door and took a run for their house. And I got about, oh, 10 or 15 feet and heard a shotgun being pumped. And somebody yelled, "Halt."

So I immediately, you know, given where I was at those days, proceeded to run faster.

Went ripping around a corner of the side of the house and ran, I mean just literally ran head right on into a policeman. It was a National Guard officer. We knocked each other down.

The guy came up with a gun pointed right at me. And I figured, "Tag, you're it." You're arrested, you know.

I got manhandled. Excessively manhandled. Got taken to a police car and there was several National Guard

officers and several other, what were called Department of Public Safety, you know, part of the police at the time, officers running around saying there were two other ones and they were going after 'em. And this one particular policeman that was, had been responsible for grabbing me said, "Wait a minute, I saw this one drop something." And he went back and around the corner of the building and came back with this vodka bottle that was filled with something with a little rag on top of it. Said, pointed at me and said, "This one dropped this on his way out of the house. I saw him." Which was, I thought, rather bizarre at the time and I, in some rather colorful language, told him what I thought of his bottle and his idea and I got punched out for that. They showed up with the other two guys...

Q: By manhandled, what do you mean?

A: I got the hell beat out of me, is what I'm saying.

Q: They beat you, like with fists?

A: Rifle butts.

Q: Rifle butts?

A: Yeah. In the ribs and in the knees and in the middle of the neck.

Q: And these were Guardsmen?

A: No. Oh no. The National Guardsman... The guy who was the National Guardsman who was there was the one responsible for me not getting really stomped because he got nervous and was telling them to stop hitting me. I already had cuffs on me and everything. . . .

Q: So you already had handcuffs on?

A: Yeah. Oh, yeah. I was getting punched around while I had handcuffs on. . . . I wasn't, you know, a lamb either. I was being somewhat verbal with the folks that were beating on me. I don't take that kind of abuse nicely.

Q: So these were Lawrence police officer?

A: Yes. They were called the Department of Public Safety. Excuse me. I'm going to give you a little editorial here. Basically a bunch of yahoos that, you

know, instead of wearing regular police officers, wore these blazers. . . .

.
Anyway they showed up with the two guys that, that I had taken off with and both of them were black.

In the police car on the way down to the station the guy who had the bottle turned around, basically lowered a semi-automatic weapon, pointed right at my face and said--at this point in time, they had transferred the handcuffs to the front of me--and said, "Here, why don't you hold this bottle for me until we get down to the station." Of course I told him to go take care of himself. I wasn't about to touch that.

I got hit again.

They take me down to the Lawrence police station and it was a real comedy, a real zoo because there was a line going out the front door of all the people had got caught in curfew violations.

So they took us down to the county. Processed down there. [Riley said he expected the charge would be curfew violation, which meant a fine, partially suspended in most cases, and a partially suspended brief period in jail.]

It was so crowded in the county jail I figured I'd just stay there until the next morning and call somebody to come down and get me out.

Sort of a party atmosphere in jail because it was all full of people.

Next morning when they were coming around to let everybody know what their bail was, I asked one of the deputies what mine was and he started laughing, and he started giving me all these fingers like this, and tried to show me a mouse. Course I couldn't follow all that.

I found that my bond had been set extraordinarily high . . . which kind of made me a little paranoid.

But I found out I was being charged with the possession of a Molotov cocktail, and then they were apparently just cranking up all sorts of wild speculation, since I had been arrested that night with an army jacket on that I had been wearing the night the Union burned. And they said was, it smelled like smoke

so obviously I had been involved in some of the things that were burning up around campus. Well, I went into the Union the night it was burned to carry out...

Because I was wearing an army jacket and had a motor cycle helmet with me, they said I was impersonating a National Guard officer.

Q: That was one of the formal charges?

A: No. This was just... There was a whole list of just kind of a little pot of things that were kind of boiling around.

What I'd been [actually] charged with at that particular point in time was possession of a Molotov cocktail and a curfew violation.

By the time I got to family, phone call, things were looking pretty grim.

Some of the street people took it upon themselves to send me a lawyer down. This guy showed up and he had hair down to the middle of his back and a work shirt on and started telling me that I had been charged not only with several of these things but from what he could understand there was conspiracy things and they were trying to connect me with the burning of the Union. Just all kinds of really wild stuff.

And uh... I'm looking at this guy and thinking, "Good Lord, I may be, you know, I may be seeing some serious trouble here."

.....

I was arraigned that afternoon.

My understanding kind of from jailhouse scuttlebutt, and also what this lawyer had told me, was that since I was arrested with two black guys, #1, we were a conspiracy; and since, given the mentality of the Lawrence police or the police forces nationwide at that time, since I was white and my two co-conspirators were black, I had to be the ring-leader, right? . . .

But in one case, one of the guys I just barely knew. The other was, he was just a friend.

There was just a tone of hysteria. . . . The union had burned. . . . The outside papers and things were talking about riots in Lawrence. I'm not sure how badly there was a riot. But, you know, because it was a curfew, a lot of businesses were closed. So they were getting a little antsy with the situation, too.

There was a kind of a tone of hysteria.

Anyway, I went down to be arraigned that afternoon. I'm not sure of the sequence of events. But I was arraigned before Judge Rankin. . . .

So I go down to . . . court to be arraigned and there was a whole gallery of people--a lot of them I knew, a lot of them I didn't know--street folks--doing all this incredible, "Right on", and "Hang in there, man" and "Power to the people" stuff.

And I thought, "Oh lordy, you know, just what I need." Kind of a scene at the courtroom. I got an extraordinarily high bond.

My father-in-law arranged with one of the former heads of the music department up here at KU and one of the law professors--they probably put together a house or something like that--and they got me out of jail.

Was out of jail for less than 24 hours [or a week] and encountered the FBI who slapped cuffs on me and took me up to Topeka. And I formally got charged with alcohol, tobacco, firearms charges, possession of a Molotov cocktail, not registering, possession of an illegal firearm, not registering that illegal firearm and not paying a tax on it.

Now can you imagine #1, a Molotov cocktail, if you've got one, you're going to run down to the police station and register it. Right? That makes lots of sense. And #2, it wasn't mine.

That point in time I felt that I was in some real hot water. I didn't think that the legal counsel I had was going to be a whole lot of good for me, given the media circus that had been going on.

I got, through apparently some pressure at the law school, a fairly rock-ribbed Republican lawyer here in town, establishment type. . . . This person did not really want to take my case, did not like what was going

on. And on contact, didn't like me very much, but had been kind of challenged by apparently some folks at the law school to take my particular case because . . .

. . . Anyway, on the advice of [my new] lawyer--my previous lawyer had said we're going to put all three of you guys together, and try you, you know, like a conspiracy, like a group, you know.

And there was all this, "You guys are heroes, and we're going to try you, and you're being, you know, shafted," and all that.

Q: The Lawrence Three?

A: My lawyer just said, "Naw, I think it's a good idea to separate the three of you guys, and each one of you have a different attorney," So we did that.

I was in jail on my lawyer's advice in Topeka for a week. Did not attend [this] arraignment because it was such a media circus again. Lots of people there hollering and yelling . . .

Q: When was that arraignment, do you know?

A: I'm not sure. Probably a week to ten days after my arrest. . . . My recollection of that particular time period is kind of scattered, because most of the time during that time period I was spending in jail cells, which one day is kind of like the other one. Not really conscious of whether it was Wednesday or Friday, or whatever. And that was about a week. . . . Curfew violation was the original charge [April 22]. Earth Day. The original Earth Day, 1970. I'll always remember Earth Day.

Q: And then the FBI got you [for the same alleged Molotov cocktail an officer found beside the building during your curfew arrest]?

A: Within a week. So at that particular point in time I had federal charges and also state charges. . . .

Q: Did they charge you specifically with burning the Union?

A: No, no. No. That was used (pause) on me a number of times during the time between my trial and all this arrest and trial is that I was a prime suspect is what I

was told by two FBI agents that were investigating me. The assistant District Attorney was quite literally pulling stuff out of his bag every...

Seems like every day some kind of new charge they wanted to investigate me for.

On the advice of my lawyer I was extraordinarily cooperative in the sense that any time there was a lineup I had to go trundling down to the police station, which entailed a certain amount of paranoia--what if whoever this person is that's sitting out there doesn't like me, you know, or doesn't have a good memory, you know, or thinks all hippies look alike or something like that.

I agreed finally to submit to a polygraph test, and was given three of them, two of them in one day. And then I was called back down the next day. Now understand, now we're talking about probably a month or more later, probably even 6 weeks.

All during this time a lot of paranoia, a lot of anger. A lot of people who I don't even know suddenly think I'm a "right-on-kind-of-guy", right? You know. And, "Wasn't it neat that I burned down the Union," and all the rest of that stuff.

Q: Was that what they were saying?

A: Yes!

Q: But you were never formally charged with that.

A: No. No one was ever formally charged to my understanding. . . . It just kind of kept getting drug up every time I would go in for an... FBI would grill me or the KBI would grill me. That was always, you know, the bottom line part of their conversation.

. . . .

Q: Was it kind of on the street that you had done it? How did that get out there?

A: Yeah, it was just basically because, like I said, I was arrested with two black guys. We were all arrested together. That looked sexier, you know, apparently to some folks in the media.

And there was just a mentality. That's what I keep going back to. There was, you know... If you take this

out of context and just look at it as individual stuff, none of this makes any sense.

You understand what was going on nation-wide-- Chicago Seven trial. During the time I was in jail we had the Cambodian invasion. And then Kent State happened and then Jackson State happened so it was just kind of a national hysteria.

Q: What, like... Out on the street, people were saying... ?

A: Well, I can remember after finally getting out of jail the second time, going through a lot of paranoia with my wife and family about, you know...

They'd been getting threatening phone calls to the point where their phone had to be changed. From some apparently some right-wing groups around here.

Anyway, at a certain point in time I just had enough. And I decided to go up to the old...

Q: Were they specifically saying, "This guy burned down the Union"?

A: Yeah. So I went up to the Rock Chalk and was greeted by a bunch of people who were friends. I was happy to be there and a whole bunch of people I didn't know, who were suddenly friends. And yeah, kind of what came to me was this kind of expectation, "Gee you really did something terrible in order for all this noise to be going on. Right?" . . .

Q: And what were they assuming it was?

A: Well, the, the most terrible event that had happened was of course obviously the beginning of that, although I think it began at Lawrence High School, was the burning of the Union.

Q: So a lot of people were just assuming...

A: ...were just assuming that.

Q: How did you feel about that?

A: That was real disgusting. I mean, I got lots of real, you know, lots of attention, lots of free goodies, psychoactive substances, lots of kind of adulation, lots

of sexual attention, you know, lot of things that would make you feel real good all for something that . . . I hadn't done. You know. That kind of made me feel kind of cheesy, you know, kind of like #1, there were some people who were paying attention to me that before thought they were too serious to pay attention to me. There was kind of what we used to call, "the real Chairman Mao Red Book types," you know, (lowers voice) "real serious!" You know? And most of those, just as a joke, you know, and one of the guys who was kind of the leader of that little particular sub-group was getting like somewhere like six or seven hundred dollars a month from his parents. . . . Here was this guy quoting from Chairman Mao's Red Book.

. . . He's prominent, not in this particular county, but he's, he's a lawyer. But they were kind of "serious." During the course of the year when there would be talk about some kind of action or confrontation they were always the ones that were ready to, "Lets go trash a building or lets take over some dean's office," or something like that.

And we had what we called "group W bench," which later and in national parlance used to be what was called the yippies. And that was kind of your street guerilla theatre fun folks. You know. They did stuff like passing out bubble gum, and you know, balloons, and little guerilla theatre confrontations, and you know, paint-your-faces and things like that. But not near so serious.

And usually when there was confrontation--like when there was going to be confrontation early in the year when Abbie Hoffman had been at KU--and the idea was to get real ugly and confrontational.

We decided, "Well, to heck with that." Rather than get real ugly and confrontational up on campus, we'll run, have some bands, and play down at Potter's Lake, and, you know, pass out lots of free goodies, and things like that. The idea of it being a fun day.

Well, there was kind of a grumbling between the (deepens voice) "serious guys" and the "group W bench."

And I was kind of identified as being one of the local sillies. . . .

Q: Does that mean the "group W bench"? The local sillies?

A: Yeah. . . . And now I was getting all this attention for apparently having done something fairly radical. And so I was getting all this, (deepens voice) "Oh, yeah, he's one of us," kinds of numbers from people that, you know, basically didn't give me the time of day before then.

Q: Did you know them?

A: Yeah, I knew them, you know. During SDS meetings there was always this head banging between the guys who were sitting there blowing kazoos and, you know, making loud bodily noises and laughing and the guys who were (deepens voice, sniffs and slaps table) "Trying to be real serious about this stuff." I was one of the guys who was cutting up and being silly. Now suddenly there was all this attention focused.

It left a real bad taste in my mouth. Because it was like, Jesus. You know. The reality of it is something incredibly destructive happened to the building, and now I'm being given some kind of importance because people think I'm responsible for that. You know?

There was this kind of mind set. It was like, Jesus. In order to get that kind of attention and respect around here you had to do something really bizarre and nuts. It turned me off! You know? . . . I, that's, I'd like to say I'm real... you know, got some real great principles, and, and all the rest of that, I mean I took advantage of that. . . .

At the same time there was this feeling of "Jesus, how incredibly phony!" There was also a mentality that said "Gee, look, aren't we neat! We're getting all this national attention. We're on the national news! And we're in the national papers! You know. Lawrence is big time." And that kind of that mentality of "Gee, aren't we neat!" And it was like, "I'm the one who was looking at maybe some time in prison and a whole lot of money, you know, lawyer-wise. This isn't neat." You know? "If this is what you gotta do to get recognition or attention, I don't want any of it!"

During that spring and the summer things really never calmed down that much around here. It was always

kind of tense. (sigh) I was investi... Oh, like I say, several different sessions with KBI and FBI.

One point in time--I was being interviewed by the FBI--they pulled out this manilla folder, and in it are a number of pictures that apparently had been taken around the Rock Chalk over an extended period of time! And there were pictures of me, and then there were some pictures of some other people!

And I'm thinking, now how much time and money and energy went into taking these pictures, you know, for this fairly innocuous street crazy. They would pull out pictures...

Q: Were you sort of the focal point so that...?

A: Well, I was the focal point of these pictures. They had a whole box load of those manilla envelopes, so there were obviously other people that they had some interest in. But it amazed me, you know, because I didn't see...

Q: How big was the box?

A: Oh, probably about the size of this file drawer.

Q: Just at the Rock Chalk?

A: Well, just of the Lawrence community. Yeah, which kind of gave me the impression, they'd been kind of ongoing, taking pictures and all the rest of this stuff for a long time, you know. Long before I was aware that there was any, you know, major interest here.

Anyway, one of the pictures they pulled out was a picture of when Abbie Hoffman was here. And that point in time George Kimball was kind of a fairly colorful figure here. George knew Abbie from Boston, and when he came, he came as one of the Student Union Activities Minority Opinion Speaker Program. . . . When he got here he kind of looked around and said, "Listen, I've had some trouble in two or three of the places I've been." Kind of asked George, and I was with George and several other people at the time, "Do you think you guys can, #1 find some place for me to stay that's cool." And what he meant was, "Find a place for me to stay where I can kind of kick back and get high and, you know, not have the police around me all the time." And #2, "Could you help me out a little bit, because there have been some people

heckling me and throwing stuff and threatening me from the stage. Would you mind kind of standing around me while I speak at the Union? Or I speak at the, the basketball auditorium?"

We said, "Sure." He was a funny guy, you know, and there was lots of attention. Anyway, he spoke that night, and he was real funny. And climbing off stage, as he was getting ready to leave, we were walking with him, sort of like security guards. But he at some point in time sort of reached up and put his arm around me, and was saying thank you and kidding, and laughing.

So suddenly here's this picture that's being handed to me by the FBI agent with Abbie Hoffman's arm around me, you know, saying, "You guys must know each other real well, and while he was here you were all together, and, you know, what kind of active conspiracy planning was going on?" It was like, oh Jesus, you know. You know? (Laugh)

There was, my reading of where these guys were coming from, this mind set that there was some active well organized national organization of college students that were planning all these craziness things that were happening nationwide.

They really believed that, which was kind of scary. Looking at all the energy that had gone into all their pictures and apparently they'd been bugging and you know paying people on campus to, you know, record what people were saying. Apparently they paid couple people to come sit in SDS meetings and, you know, kind of little spies there. And I thought, "Good Lord, all the funds that were going into this." You know. But there was this mentality that we were really, you know, cooked up in some kind of nationwide organization, which was really about as far from the mark as you could get. Things just kind of happened spontaneously. And the police a lot of times, if you're looking for a major conspirator in all this sometimes you might want to look for the, you know, the local and national police forces. They kind of push things.

Q: How so?

A: Well, you can't have a riot without, you know, shooting tear gas. And you can't have a r... I mean... It was just the way things were. There was kind of an

ongoing battle between what was considered the street community and the police. I mean I don't...

I don't put it all on the police because, if you know, the given mentality was that these people were "pigs" and things like that. I mean if you walk up to a human being and call him a pig, that's not going to make him feel real good. You know.

That was the tenor of the times.

After about the third series of... When I went in for my last lie detector test--I had taken two previously that day before and thought I was finished. That night, Anchor Savings here in town. A pipe bomb had been thrown in Anchor Savings and I don't know how much damage was done. [Note: Anchor Savings was bombed May 12, 1970.]

But anyway, the next morning I get a call and it says, "Please come down to the court house again. We want to do another lie detector test with you." At this point in time, my... I was getting fed up. It was getting expensive.

It was getting crazy. I wasn't real happy, plus I was beginning to worry I was actually going to spend some time in prison for something I hadn't done. So I was angry and I showed up that morning and as I went in to take the lie detector test.

The guy who gives them had been giving them for years; he was an FBI agent, apparently very, very good at what he did.

Anyway, I kind of had to sit down and he said, "Oh, Anchor Savings got blown up last night."

And I was like, "Yeah, yeah."

He said, "Anyway, this time we've got a good description of the guy who did it." Apparently a couple of people saw him. And the guy says, "And here's the description."

And he proceeds to read verbatim a description of me. And then he kind of looks at me and he says, "What were you doing last night? "

And I just at that point in time said, "Oh, screw this. You know, I'm tired of this, exhausted with it,

you know. I was with my wife last night and there were a number of people around me and I'm just damn tired of this game."

He said, "Well, never mind."

Anyway, went and took my lie detector test. When it was over, he came back in a few minutes later. He sat down with me and he went, "What's going on?" I said, "What do you mean?"

He said, "I want to know what's going on." You know.

"Well, I don't understand. What do you mean, 'What's going on?'"

He went, "Well, you know, we've given you three of these things now and there's absolutely no reaction," he said, "to any of these questions that I had been getting from, obviously the bureau, the field agents, the FBI, and especially the . . . district attorney keeps giving me a whole list of questions to ask you." He said, "I'm not getting any kind of, you know, response except for this 'Do you know anybody?' You know, and these kinds of questions, like, you know, 'Are there some people out there you know that are doing these kinds of things.'"

And it was like "Yea, I might know that, but I mean you know... I..." There was a mentality also at the time that says that you just don't turn people. I mean you know. I didn't know anything specific that anyone was doing. You know, I had some wild guesses, because there were some people doing lots of big talking about how tough they were, and all the rest of this.

And I said, "Hey, you know, I'm not coming in here... What I... What I may have in my mind are just speculation, or just, you know, my view of things. And I'm not going to hang somebody's butt for that."

He basically said, "Listen, you know, my report is going to say that this young man has nothing to do with the Student Union, this young man has nothing to do with most of what people are doing."

And he even took it upon himself basically to come tell my lawyer that, and then go to the district attorney in front of me, the assistant district attorney . . .

Q: The FBI man went to the...?

A: ...assistant district and basically, you know, told . . . him that the, most of what they had been feeding him, was, you know, the questions they had been sending him out, there wasn't anything to substantiate.

What he told me privately was this: He said, "What have you done to piss these people off, because they're really leaning on you."

And I said, "Nothing that I could know of. I don't know any of them personally."

And he went, "Well, you apparently got some people really angry with you."

I felt... I felt vindicated. Because it was the first time my lawyer believed in me after we got, you know, we got this lie detector information. He suddenly became very enthusiastic.

Q: That must be nice.

A: Yeah. Well, that was part of what the anger I was experiencing at the time.

There was one person, and that was my father, (pause) who steadfastly knew that I could not be responsible for any of the ugly stuff they kept talking about, you know."

. . . Most everybody were kind of like, "Did you really?" And that embittered me. Made me really angry. Oh, I got lots of attention, lots of, you know, lots of strokes for something I thought was fairly destructive.

And it was like people wanted to believe that. You know, it was like it was okay. That really embittered me. . . .

We're somewhere into July now, I guess. Anyway, what I had been told is, "We're going to go to court and everything's going to be reduced down to the curfew violation because that's the only thing you're really guilty of."

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[Note: Riley here tells a story he was told about the arresting officer with Vodka bottle said to be Molotov cocktail and the possible origins of the bottle.]

No. I'm not going to tell you what his name is. I mean, these are people that have gone on to live their lives and do different things. I don't bear them any ill will, anyhow. . . .

Side 2

A: The federal charges against me were dropped. Period. Because of the lie detector information. As I went to court all the other charges were reduced to fourth degree arson, is what they were charging me with. My understanding was that a deal was sort of worked out between the attorney's office and...

Q: What were the... Fourth degree arson for what?

A: Possession of the Molotov cocktail.

Q: Oh yeah.

A: My understanding is that a deal was worked out between my attorney and the District Attorney's office is that if I went down and plead guilty to a curfew violation, the fourth degree arson would be dropped.

Well, there had been, I don't know, I mean I don't have the numbers, how many arrests for curfew violations Standard thing was a . . . fine and [time, such as a month or week] . . . in jail but I think half the fine was suspended and all the jail time was suspended. So essentially what we are talking about is a fifty dollar fine. And I said, "Oh, great. That sounds good to me. I'll go down and pay a fifty dollar fine, no problem."

My lawyer at this point in time tells me that . . . his partner is going to take me to trial because he has a better relationship with the judge or something. I didn't understand it.

So his partner and I walk into the proceeding and it's Judge Rankin presiding. And remember this fellow had his front door blown off with a pipe bomb. [Note: The Rankin residence was bombed at least once that year-- on April 1, 1970.] We proceed to start through the trial and at a certain point in time, Judge Rankin says, "Just

a moment, I want to call a recess." And he calls about a ten or fifteen minute recess. . . . [Note: Riley said he was clean cut for the trial and Rankin went to look at his photograph the night he was arrested, when he wasn't clean shaven. Riley said he believed the comments Rankin made to Riley about his appearance were in the court records of the trial.]

I thought it was all supposed to be pro forma, I plead guilty, bang, laugh, fifty dollar fine, and I leave. The assistant District Attorney starts saying that I'm contradicting something that I said in some written report. And at that point in time I'm thinking, "Jeez, you know, what is this."

Anyway it ends with me getting two years in jail. For a curfew violation. And I'm thinking, "Whoops, somebody got screwed here."

I went over to the jail, thinking...

Q: And that was the only charge?

A: Yeah. Like I said, people have been getting fifty dollar fines and no jail time. I'm told I get two years in the county jail. . . .

That was something of a stunner. I turned to the attorney and say, "What's going on here?" You know. But, I don't know. And so, in the hottest part of the summer I head for our ugly old facility. Not the new one we have now, but it's kind of a stinky old place. Thinking, "Jesus, you know, have no idea."

I spent most of afternoon there. Then late that afternoon my lawyer shows up, and says, "We have another meeting with the judge."

And I come down, and there's the judge again, and standing at the back of the court is a fellow who had worked for the county sheriff's department. . . . Apparently he was a KBI agent then.

And the judge tells me, "Well, I've talked to this person and he tells me that you're not the dangerous fellow that we think you are, and he thinks that you are a fairly okay person."

Q: Who is it who is saying that?

A: Well, the judge is telling me that this guy who is a KBI agent who is vouching for me.

Q: The one who did the....

A: No, he had nothing to do with any of my investigation. That's why I'm kind of standing, looking with my eyebrows up. I know this guy because he comes into the restaurant where my wife was working. She worked as a waitress there while she was in school. And we just had talked. He's a real, he, you know... He used to be on the sheriff's department when he came in to, for coffee in the evenings. He was a real nice guy. He had apparently taken it upon himself to go down and tell the judge that, "Come on, this guy isn't a wild crazy, you know, he's not the one... Obviously he's not the one who blew your front door off, because he was in jail when that happened."

Anyway, the judge explains to me basically that I'm free to go although I'm on five years probation.

Now we're talking five years probation for a curfew violation.

There was also a part of me Now I'm telling you how paranoid my mind had gotten at that point in time.

Here was this person who had taken it upon himself to do what I think is a fairly kind and decent thing. And I'm thinking all the time, "Oh Jesus, what is he going to want from me now." You know, am I supposed to be a KBI informant, is he going to come bugging me for information, because that's what had been happening to me for basically two months, you know.

"We will drop all these charges if you will just give us Randy Gould. We will drop all these charges if you will just give us George Kimball. We will drop all these charges..." You know it was like These are guys who were friends of mine. Basically what--they're harassing the hell out of me, and I'm looking at maybe some prison or jail time, taking money from me right and left for legal fees and all the rest. What... What they were basically saying was, "We'll stop bugging you, and we'll go do this to someone else if you'll just give us their name." And I mean, that's a real tug at your conscience, you know.

. . . But, my mind had gotten so battered by all of that, you know, that's all I could see. I couldn't see the kindness that this fellow had done. My only feeling was, "Jesus, what does he want from me now," you know. And he kind of came up to me when it was over in the court house and said, "I went out on a limb for you. Don't, don't screw up." Good naturedly. But there was this real burning anger inside of me. . . .

He never ever came to me and bothered me [for information]. I mean I've seen him a number of times when I said, "Hi, how you doing?"

And for me, that's my memories of those times is that... People were crazy. The whole country was crazy.

We were all kind of cast in roles. If you were a policeman, you had to be a "pig" and you know if you were a, had long hair or something, you had to be "wild-eyes crazed radical" who'd burn things down. And... Not only did the police think people with long hair, but there was kind of like, say, an expectation from a lot of the people that I was around that, "Gee, you know it was really neat to be doing this stuff."

It was, for me, it was expensive. It was shattering to my family. You know, it was shattering for me in terms of personal relationships. There were people that I really couldn't stomach to see.

Q: How come?

A: Because I thought they were phony. They had snubbed me, and suddenly there was a, you know, a nice little party at somebody's house tonight, you know. I'm thinking of a couple of faculty members, you know. It's like, "Gee, we really want you to come."

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Like I say, that was the tenor of the times and they're decent people but it was kind of like, "Invite a radical." . . . "Entertain us." You know. "Be somebody." You know. "Be our local radical." "Come. Come be funny, come be entertaining, come be dangerous." It was like, "Damn." . . . And I always thought that that's incredibly shallow, you know. It really embittered me.

Q: Did you do it?"

A: Did I do what?

Q: Go and entertain them?

A: I, well... What I... To tell you the truth, yeah, you know. It's nice to go get free alcohol and free psychoactive substances, and lots of attention. But it's kind of cynical. For me, the real amazing thing was that there was a lot of that, I think, nationwide. . . .

(long pause)

That following fall there was more heroin in this town--and I think nationwide--than I have ever seen. It was easier to get heroin than it was to get marijuana.

My understanding was that a lot of the heroin that was available around here was coming from Fort Riley.

And I watched a lot of people who were somewhat invested in it and excited in it and all this at this time turn to that, and I did, too.

I mean, given my paranoid mind set at the time, that was always one of my beliefs is what better way to destroy some kind of political movement than to do it with heroin. Those were bitter days.

Q: So you, even though you had believed it was possible to destroy a movement with heroin...?

A: Everybody looks, everybody was looking for a conspiracy. Everybody was looking for a leader. Everybody was looking for "Who's behind all this."

I kept thinking of that Pogo cartoon.

Q: Why do you think so?

A: Because, I mean... It's typical of human beings, you know.

* If we've got a problem, if we could find somebody to blame, a lot of people think we've just solved the problem.

. . . We want to believe that all these things are happening have some kind of rhyme or reason. You could see it. There was a real investment in, you know, "There's some kind of organized group that's organizing

all this craziness, you know, that's happening in our communities. There was no organized, you know, overall national sense of the scheme of things. It was kind of the tenor of the times.

But people got locked into mentalities, you know. This is the time of the generation gap, the communication gap. . . . I think it was Eldridge Cleaver, you know: "You're either part of the solution or you're part of the problem." That real kind of either/or mentality. Real confrontational. There was a belief, like I say, from a law enforcement obviously.

It became real apparent during the Nixon administration. They were real conspiracy crazy. The FBI was real conspiracy crazy that there was some kind of active conspiracy that they were seeking out, but there was also a mentality from the other side that says, "You know, the police are in a conspiracy to steal our civil rights," and...

I keep thinking of that Pogo cartoon that was popular at the time, was what, that, "We have met the enemy and he is us."

I think it was a paranoid mind state.

I think it was the damage that the Vietnam War had done to this country.

There were people shot and killed on college campuses that spring; I mean murdered.

There were people here summer that were [killed], shot, I believe by the police, because I was there and saw."

Q: In both cases?

A: . . . Well, no, I didn't see "Tiger" shot, no. But the mentality went out again that there was some, some sniper, some outside agitator who had fired into the crowd. It's just... Things were out of control.

[Note: "Tiger" Dowdell was shot July 16, 1970, and Nick Rice was shot July 20, 1970. Dowdell was a friend of Riley. See narrative.]

So when people get nostalgic for the good old days of the '60's and all the rest of that I, I kind of view

all that with a jaundiced eye. You know? There were a lot of people dying, in Vietnam obviously. But worldwide. There was a lot of violence. There was a lot of paranoia and anger and confrontation.

Yeah, it was exciting. Yeah, it was exhilarating. There were lots of ideas being exchanged. But that's not an experience I'd want to go back and recapture. And I'd hate to see it glamorized. There was no organized conspiracy in Lawrence, Kansas. It was just Lawrence happened to get a case of the national flu that was going around, which was centered on college campuses.

To this day when it comes to the Student Union, I don't know who the hell burned it. . . . Deep in my heart I believe that nobody that I knew could have done something like that. Because, I mean... If it were people that I knew it would have been the Military Science Building, or you know, something like that.

The Student Union was our home. It's the place where we had our meetings. It's the place where we went and vegetated on the couches. It was a safe, nice place.

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Q: . . . What about what happened when Nick Rice got killed.

A: (Gasps this:) Oh, Lord. (Sigh)

That was the summer. "Tiger" Dowdell had been shot and [killed] by the police. . . .

Boy I said that, and I'm in trouble. That's my belief. Things got ugly and antsy here again. People were suddenly, people I thought were real mellow and all the rest of that were, had guns. And there was just, just, just this real ugly feeling in the air.

One night, and this is prior to my trial . . . I don't remember the date of this. This, I, except that it was in July.

I was inside the Rock Chalk. It was kind of warm. There was a lot of zaniness going around. A lot of craziness going around.

Suddenly what I noticed is that there were a lot of police in "riot gear" at the door telling everybody they

had to get out, clear the place! Now I didn't have a clue what was going on. But you know you got an angry, you got 100 or more people all kind of milling around that little particular intersection there who are suddenly being told that they got to get the hell off the streets, again, you know.

This is back to that old curfew kind of mentality again. And the police say, "You gotta leave. The Rock Chalk's closed." So everybody begins drifting up the street towards the Gaslight Bar, which was at the end of the street. Some shouts going back and forth, some shaking of fists. And you know, "Fuck you pigs," kind of... And I'm just kind of wandering down.

I went over to the east side of the street because I had friends that lived in a house up at the end of the street. And I went over and sat on the sidewalk in front of their house. Some kids--and I don't know who they were There's a crowd milling around heading toward the Gaslight. Some kids down at the end of the street towards the Gaslight apparently pushed over a Volkswagen. Rolled it onto its back in the middle of the street . . . and either it ignited or it didn't ignite. Now I saw a Volkswagen go over.

What I saw next was a group of police gathered together and begin walking up Oread Street towards what was then called the White House. It's a big parking lot now. There's a crowd up at the end of the street. Suddenly they (police) all drop down, the police, like down on their knees--and are standing with guns pointed in the direction of the crowd. Some of the guns were pointed up in the air.

I saw two or three of them with guns pointed at the crowd. And what I sensed was, "Bad vibes here." You know. "This looks ugly! I got a trial coming in the next week or so. I'm beating feet!"

And I had the choice of either running off into the night down towards the area where I was arrested or I thought, "Hell with this. I'm going to run in to Gaslight. I'm going to go ahead and get a beer there. There's a crowd." You know.

So I started running across the street. As I was running across the street I heard gunfire. And I stopped and turned and looked down the street and the guys who were pointing into the crowd and the guys who were

pointing into the air, there were some puffs of smoke from their guns.

Oh, boy! I mean, talk about panic. You know. Everybody panics when gunfire happens. I, to this day, think something went skidding across my feet and I don't know whether it was a rock or something. I didn't take the time to see. I just bolted full speed. Ran in to the [Gaslight]. [Note: Tear gas was thrown or shot into the crowd at some time.]

In there, people were freaking out, screaming and hollering. The police suddenly show up in front and they fire tear gas against the side of the building so you've got tear gas wafting in the door. People screaming and hollering. Police outside with guns and apparently they've already pointed them and aimed them at, you know, a crowd.

Suddenly I see a friend of mine, female, who looks like she's in shock and two or three friends around her screaming and hollering and screaming.

And I like this person so I went up to her and said, "Sam?"

She said, "Nick's out there. He's been shot." . . .

Q: "Sam" was his girlfriend, [Cecily Stephens]?

A: Yeah. That was his, his girlfriend. And she just kind of in a real monotone voice said, "He's laying there bleeding to death."

Well, there was a guy there who was, apparently had been in Vietnam, was a Green Baret or something. I, I mean, I don't know this for a fact but...

Q: I remember him. . . .

A: Said he was a medic. He just said, "Where is he?" and started bolting out the door.

And I don't know what overtook me at the point in time other than that I happened to like this young lady, I followed him. Running out into a scene of chaos.

Q: Was he real nice-looking...

A: Yeah. Yeah. Long hair.

Q: Chiseled, but not too long.

A: Yeah, not too long.

Q: Brown.

A: Nice guy. Real nice guy.

Q: Real nice guy.

A: Real nice guy.

[Note: I'm not sure I want to hear this and he seemed to be reliving this and so we try to remember this guy's name for a brief while.]

A: Ahhhhhhh. I just remember real scene of chaos, you know, police with their gear on and tear gas kind of floating around. We ran from the front door of the Gaslight over to what was a street sign. In front of the Gaslight and a little to the north and there laying on the ground, his face down, was a body and it was kind of twitching. The legs were twitching.

And I went with this guy and I'm not thinking. You know. And we rolled this body over. And part of the face was blown off. Big hole there in this area up here. That's a sight I'm not ever going to forget.

I remember that . . . what was said the next day is that it was somebody, apparently a sniper, somebody like that, had fired into the crowd and it was a 22 bullet.

.22 bullets don't do that kind of damage to somebody. Um. (Pause)

It took it seemed like forever for the ambulance to get there. Um. (Sigh, pause) He was dead. There was another black fellow not more than 10 or 15 yards away who was shot in the leg and there were people dealing with that.

It was a zoo. Um. (Sigh)

I went to a friend's house after this.

Nick had been working in Kansas City. He had come up to pick up his girlfriend that night. He was standing out in front of there waiting for her to finish a pool

game. He had nothing to do with what was going on. You know. The proverbial innocent bystander.

That house that night there was lots of hysteria.

And for the first time I saw guns. Lots of guns. There was a reporter from some magazine in England. I can't remember... I don't know whether it was an English magazine or he just happened to be an English reporter. Uh. I remember him just being in total shock in seeing all these long-haired what he thought were hippies and suddenly this just amazing profusion of guns!

Q: Where do you think they came from?

A: Well . . . There were pistols. There were rifles. It didn't look like, you know, there was anything... I mean there wasn't military issue stuff. You know. It was just what basically, you know, street folks at that time collected. What scared me more than anything else was, you know, here are basically people that I've known for a long time and that I like and you know most of whom are not violent or anything like that. A lot of them are somewhat drug addled, you know, now putting bullets into guns and saying, "The time has come," you know, "We're going to fight back. And we're going to shoot the pigs."

And I'm thinking, "Oh, Lord. We're going to have some real death and destruction here."

Q: What did you do, or what did you...?

A: The next day there was a meeting at the Student Union. The Governor was there. I know Kimball helped sway and had a lot to say. The head of the Highway Patrol was there.

Kind of what was agreed was that, you know, it was going to be a cooling-off period, that the police could not be in that Oread area for a while, that he would patrol, sans gun, you know, the head of the Highway Patrol.

Colonel Albott I think was his name. And he spent a night. He did an incredible public relations work walking up and down the streets, no gun in his holster, talking to people to try to cool things out because we weren't terribly far away from lots of real violence here. Um.

That's when, for me, I just kind of looked around and realized, "Jesus, you know, a lot of us have antiwar--supposedly--backgrounds to it. You know there was all this, "We want to stop the killing. We want to stop imperialism in the Southeast."

But now it had come to Lawrence.

And there was somebody who was just real simple and nice and loving and innocent and wasn't too terribly political, the boyfriend of somebody I loved very much, who had a hole blown in his face because people were just out of control.

And I kept looking that night around that house and seeing all these somewhat emotional people with guns in their hands, knowing that the police were just like them and they were just human beings out there running around with some very powerful types of gun in their hands, and thinking, "This could get real, real ugly."

It's not worth it. You know, I mean...

And here all these people who were talking about peace and ending the war suddenly had pistols and guns in their hands.

Given my experience earlier that spring and that summer, that, you know, how attracted they were to supposedly what I had done, it was like, there was just violence in the air.

It was unpleasant.

Whatever political consciousness or feelings of participation I had in me ended that night.

Because the next... Well, it didn't end that night. It ended the next morning. It was when they had that meeting at the Union. Right before the meeting there were two or three, and I get back to talking about these real "serious radical types." One of them who was going on about, "Hey, we were in all the national newspapers again last night." And, you know, "We're really becoming big time." And I lost it. I lost it. I grabbed this person by the shoulders and basically swung him up against the wall and said, you know, "How many fucking people are going to have to die for you, to feel big time and important." You know.

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It's not worth it. End of story!

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A: . . . It was a terrible movie. But Elliott Gould and Candice Bergen were in it. It was supposedly about a campus riot. He's a graduate student that doesn't want to get involved. And she's his girlfriend.

Q: Getting Straight?

A: Getting Straight. . . . She'd been gassed that day, you know, and then seen all the violence and was real upset, obviously. Elliott's being kind of cynical about it. He's saying, you know, "Well, it just gets everybody's juices stirred. Let's go make love."

And she's like looking at him like, "You incredible sexist pig. Don't you understand what happened today." .

. . .

The violence, I mean, unless it happened to you, whether it's the violence of let's say, getting your face blown off or having someone you love whose face is blown off. Or the violence that gets done when you get beaten, or the violence that gets done when you get thrown into jail or the violence that comes from wondering whether, you know, in three months you're going to be spending time in Lansing or Hutchinson with some interesting roommates. The violence that comes from paying lawyers for something that you didn't do. That's personal violence. The . . . impersonal violence--everybody sort of got high off of it. The police sort of got high off of it. I know people around here got high off of it. They'd all talk about, "Ahh, we're big time. You know, we're in the newspapers. We're something. We're just like Berkeley. We're just like..." It was like people were getting off on that kind of stuff.

That's what got lost, you know. The commitment to what were we about. Were we about anti-war, were we about peace, were we about imperialism. Were we about...

Q: How did you get started. You mentioned . . . when you were in high school you went down to work with . . .

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A: I come from a civil rights background. I've been involved with church groups that went down [South] during

summer '63, '64 to help rebuild some churches that had been burned and blown. I'd done the march in Washington. Really was invested in I think what a lot of people were at the time. You know. Civil Rights movement. Was real invested in the peace, you know. Vietnam was wrong, and give peace a chance and all the rest of that. . . .

Q: I just want to ask you, how would you respond again if you saw friends of yours . . . arming? . . .

A: These days? . . . These days I'd run. I don't want anything to do with the violence. I don't want anything to do with what it does. The violence you can see, the violence that happens, that's horrible. Imagine somebody that you love and know, and you can imagine part of their face gone. There's nothing stimulating about that. Their life is over. But the kind of attraction, the energy that that stuff generates, that's what I lost. Obviously, I kind of felt that I got beaten down a little bit anyway. But I lost any kind of interest in getting involved with people who had gone off. . . . If you know anything of what heroin does to your sense of values anyway. You get a little cynical and a little self-centered. But I just thought that the whole movement stuff had become real hype-oriented.

Q: Do you think when people are afraid or scared or hyped up, they are more likely to, if you shock someone, they are more likely to follow?

A: Yes. There was a thinking after 1968 within SDS that the only way to get more people involved, in other words, kind of like guerrilla theater. You go out and demonstrate. . . . And there was a thinking then, "Well, if we get all these people in a group and the police show up and they shoot teargas into the crowd and they crack some heads, then see that's going to turn all these innocent bystander folks that are just here for the energy against the police. And get them more committed." There were some people around who were real confrontational. Like I say, there were some serious folks here that thought, you know, "We'd like to be confrontational."

I never thought that was a particularly good philosophy, to get people's heads cracked.

I sat on the mall at the Pentagon in the fall of 1967 and watched U.S. marshals and police walk around and smack people in the head with rifle butts. We were all

doing classic Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi--just sit there kind of stuff. And they were basically going up to girls, they'd look at a group of guys and say, "You're a bunch of wussies. You're a bunch of wimps," and smack some girl in the head with a rifle butt and say, "Come here, let's do something." Because what they were waiting for us to do was to attack. Because if we got physical with them and they could attack us, then they could break the whole group up.

It was a sickening experience.

Q: So what is a good response to that?

A: What is a good response? I don't know. . . . I think it has to be an individual sort of thing. I think the anti-war movement had its most effect when people started saying, "I'm not going. I'm going to Canada, I'm going to jail. Or I'm just not going to go. I'm not going to fight your damn war." . . . I think demonstrations were helpful. . . . You look at the media, and what they have, especially the television media and it's kind of like: "Oh yeah, we were always against the war. There was always this general feeling among the media and the population that they were against it." That's bullshit. In the . . . mid-1960's, with a few possible exceptions on the Senate floor and in the House, and a few other people, most people, if they weren't actively in support of the war, didn't know what in the hell was going on. So the mediagenic types of things, the demonstrations and all of that, it's understandable. I knew what that was all about. I was . . . organized enough to know that you can radicalize people by having them turn up and become aware and conscious.

That much is true. I think that happened. I think if there was any kind of organized conspiracy in that way, it happened, you know, that people said, "We have to raise consciousness. We have to say this is an immoral war. We have to..." But what started happening was that it was just... It became sort of a process out of control.

Q: Do you think non-violence training would have helped? Do you think...?

A: Well... It's hard to be nonviolent when you're getting shot at. I mean it's hard to be nonviolent. Yeah, I think people arming themselves. When the Black

Panthers started arming themselves and other people started arming themselves and the Weatherman faction broke off from SDS... That came out after the 1968 convention in Chicago. Because, you know, there was still the idea that we'll overcome this. "The whole world is watching us," the chant was going on down there in front of Democratic Headquarters that night. A lot of people throwing trash cans and tear gas.

It was a police riot. The police were crazy in Chicago. Not to say the people chasing up and down the streets weren't a little nuts, too. But...

There was a feeling of, "Nonviolence isn't working; we're going to strike back." . . . Violence begets violence. . . .

Things escalate. Really escalated after that. It was kind of given that things like Kent State and Nick Rice getting shot here would happen. There were just a lot of people who were angry and a lot of people who over-excited and a lot of people had guns.

Q: Why do you think it ended.

A: Why do I think? I don't think that kind of stuff can be sustained. My own particular theory is that heroin had a lot to do with it. Plus it's just like any other kind of high. . . . It can't be sustained.

When it got right down to it, it was always a choice of personal stuff, too. The war was an issue here but what became more an issue at KU was, you know, "Are we going to have classes? And if we miss classes, are our finals going to be pass/fail?" That kind of stuff. It's like Nick Rice didn't die on Oread Street to end the war in Vietnam. He died because things got out of control and somebody did something irresponsible with a firearm.

I think there was a sense, I know for myself, speaking for myself, there was the sense among a lot of people of, "It's not worth it."

I had just watched what had been basically sort of a community turn into a drug community. There had always been drugs around. You know? But the focus had become more and more drug oriented. Bad drug oriented. I don't know if there is such a thing as good drugs. But we talk about things like speed and cocaine and heroin, we're really talking major--just disasters!

Q: Was that like a denial . . . ?

A: . . . You can't riot for a long time. You know, it just... It burns you out. Some things kind of have to go back to normal.

Only it was never back to normal.

The people who wanted to stay in school and get on with their life did. The people who kind of wandered off into communes and searching other forms of enlightenment or searching for something through heroin, you know, it dissipated.

Q: What were your legal bills.

A: \$27,000! At age 22, 23 you have \$27,000 in debt you have to figure out some ways of paying it off. Especially without a college degree because the upshot of all what happened to me also was that effectively ended my going to college at that time.

Lieutenant Charles Greer

Lawrence, Ks., Greer Home, December, 1988*, 90 minutes

Q: Could you say a little about what the Menninger Project was?

A: The Menninger project basically was during the conflicts . . . of 1970. That things were so out of hand of the different ethnic or social groups in the city that nobody knew how to talk to anybody. They were kind of antagonistic towards each other. You would have the so-called upper elite wouldn't talk to a low income person. You would have several different factions of racial groups that would not talk to each other. You had business people that wouldn't talk to anybody. They were afraid of offending somebody.

And so the Menninger project came around in that there were groups of about 30 people that went to the Menninger Foundation in Topeka and spent approximately 48 hours together as a group. This happened . . . of about [10] groups, altogether, I think, over a period of about 2 months. They were people of all ethnic, racial, religious types that volunteered to do this so some type of decorum was established.

Whether you liked a particular person or not wasn't really the problem. It's whether you could talk with them. They might not like you, but they would be able to then say, "Okay, John, I don't like you, but I know you and I'll talk with you. And we may have differences of opinion, but let's talk and get this straightened out, or try to get it straightened out."

And in the project, what happened was each subgroup within a project listed their complaints and voiced what they thought would be a solution. Then as the meeting would go on what we did was we broke each group down so there was kind of a representative of each background

into a subgroup. And they all discussed some of the problems and what the solutions were. Then we came back together as a large group and each subgroup then would then explain what they did and, you know, what solutions they thought would help resolve some of the conflicts that we were going through.

Q: . . . Already, there had been riots on campus. What were the problems basically that came up that you saw this addressing?

A: Okay. It was 20 years ago, so... One of the problems that was addressed in our particular city was, believe it or not, a swimming pool where everybody could go swimming. The current pool that was being used during this conflict, was a private pool [the Jayhawk Plunge owned by Bertha Nottberg of Kansas City] that would not allow minorities in to swim.

[Note: The public pool opened June 3, 1969, after 23 years of effort and racial controversy. Summer, 1967, armed black youths, some on rooftops, had threatened violence. The bond issue had failed in 1945, 1956 in Centennial Park, 1961 in Broken Arrow Park and 1963. By 1967, Lawrence, Emporia and Kansas City were the only first-class cities without public pools. Source: "The Historical Development of Obtaining a Public Swimming Pool in Lawrence, Kansas," by Kathy King and Marilyn Beagle, Fall, 1970, unpublished.]

. . . Another one was, okay, low income housing. There wasn't enough low income housing. And because of that some of the people felt rejected, dejected, and they were looking for some way to better themselves. But not everybody was sure how we were going to do it.

And everybody agreed that one thing is getting people educated to the degree that they can be, whether it would be finishing high school, going to a voc tech or special education, you know. Whatever it is, this is what everybody thought should be done.

Also, just because if you did live in a low income housing, you don't have to be treated as a low income person, you know. Treat a person with the respect that's due.

Q: . . . Were those three things that people agreed on pretty much throughout?

A: Pretty well everyone agreed on that. It was amazing that, yeah, they really agreed upon that.

Q: . . . Do you think that we've since had a lot of building in this town for low income housing? Do you think that was a part of [why]?

A: Sure. That's part of it. I can't say this is the direct result. This may be the kick in the ass to get moving. It's time somebody did some moving.

Q: . . . Do you think people need that to get moving on some of those projects?

A: Yes you do. There's sometimes you need to do that. I don't think a lot of times though that you need to go to the extremes that they went to. Because you're talking, as far as I remember...

There was two big, different conflicts in Lawrence. There really was. There was two entirely different conflicts.

Q: What were they?

A: Okay. One was racial. And the other was the involvement in Vietnam.

Q: Were there members of the police force who did not like the Vietnam war who, if they hadn't been on the force, would have been at the gatherings protesting, do you think?

A: We had several who were on the department at the time who had been in the Vietnam war. They, from what they told me, was that they didn't like it. If they at that time had not been in uniform, the police uniform, that they would probably be a marcher. But they were in a police uniform and their particular job at that time was to enforce the law as equally as possible.

Q: Do you think that made it easier for them to handle some of the abuse?

A: No, it was not.

Q: It didn't make it any easier?

A: It didn't make it easier because they didn't feel that some of the people . . . had the right to say so

without being there. They were very critical of people marching and saying how cruel it was when they themselves had not been there. And here they had veterans that were on the police department that had been there.

Q: But they would have gone to marches themselves?

A: Because they felt they would have a right to.

Q: I see. Did they support getting out of Vietnam?

A: Not entirely, no. From what I was told by them, as far as they were concerned, it was a political war run by politicians and not the military. If the military would have conducted it as a military war, then it probably would have been less time involved with less loss of life.

Q: . . . So what were some of the issues that the police brought . . . [to the Menninger project]?

A: The majority of the policemen felt that they were being used as a scapegoat. Politicians were making the decisions. And then they would say something is the law; it's up to the police department to enforce it; and then if we tried to enforce it we would be told, "No, let's hold off on it a little bit and not do anything." And by time that "hold off and not do anything" came around, it was too late to, in a sense, stop a small fight or small fire and it became a very large one.

Q: . . . Was the curfew an issue, or things that happened during the curfew?

A: The curfew came about because of the issues.

Q: What do you feel should have been done?

A: That's a loaded question. You can't say what I should feel should have been done. Because people have rights. And here I'm caught in between rights, so to speak.

Q: As a policeman?

A: As a policeman. You have a group that protests, and do a basically a peaceful protest. And it's my job to protect them so they can have their protest from people that are going to try and stop them. Then on the other hand, it starts out as a peaceful protest, and then the

protesters become law violators. Which then makes me have to turn around and try to arrest them. And so there I'm a heavy again. See. So any way I went, it was the "pigs" picking on the innocent bystander.

Q: Did you guys talk about that at the Menninger [project]?

A: Oh yeah. Oh yeah.

Q: Were people supportive?

A: It actually came out that the people didn't really understand some of the frustrations of being a police officer at that time.

It was very frustrating. It was also very dangerous.

Q: Can you describe some of the danger? . . .

A: Well, one night I was driving a patrol car that had three windows shot out. . . . And the windows were just shot out. . . . While we were in the car. . . . It was at nighttime. It was at nighttime. You couldn't see. All you heard was a lot of times, you'd hear a bang and your windows would bust out and that.

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Q: So what was it like at home and in your lives and on the force when you were getting ready to go out at that time?

A: When this started to build up to an area, what happened is we went to 12-hour shifts. I worked from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. I was subject to call. Normally speaking within a short period of time of about two weeks, I would get home, I'd be home maybe three, four hours and [I'd] get called back into work and work all night.

Q: Do you think people were pretty stressed out?

A: They were extremely stressed out. Extremely. You got to where you didn't care. To be quite honest with you, people are lucky in this town that the policemen didn't shoot a whole bunch of people.

You go on a call and we have pictures of one officer at a fire truck. And somebody threw a brick and hit him. And hit him in the head but he was wearing a helmet. But

it broke his visor. At the same time--and it knocked him down--and as he was getting up a guy took a picture of him with a flash camera. He happened to be straight on from the officer. That officer thought that was a gunshot and he had been hit. And only by his thinking--and it was very fast--he didn't shoot that guy, that photographer. If you look at the picture, all's you see is a black dot of the barrel. And that means that gun was pointed right at you.

Q: . . . Do you think that [much stress] was from lack of sleep?

A: Yeah, lack of sleep. Yeah, and we were just really stressed out. Your adrenalin--anytime you go on calls like that. Like I was assigned to a team to handle all shooting calls.

Q: All shooting calls.

A: All shooting calls. There were five of us. We went all on every call that involved a firearm.

Q: How many times were you called out during that spring and summer do you think?

A: Actually when we were working 12-hour shifts and that we were going on 8-10 calls a night. The vast majority of them--actually all of them turned out to be nothing in that where if we were the ones that had... If there had to be any going in after somebody and that, we were the ones that were going to do it.

Q: What did the city and the officials do right, do you think? Did the rumor control center help? Did the Menninger project help? Was the training...?

[Note: A rumor control center took calls from the Dean of Women's Office in April, 1970. KU Information Center began operations from the chancellor's office on July 17, 1970, a day after Dowdell was killed.]

A: It was a combination of all of it. It's all of it. There's not one thing that I think you could pinpoint down saying, "This turned the tables."

Q: If you were in charge and it was happening again, what would you say, "This we're going to do again?"

A: It was like calling in the National Guard. I don't think I personally would have waited that long to call in National Guard. You had, at that particular time when they were called in, you had over 75 percent of the police officers were going to walk off the job if they didn't get help immediately. And that was stated to the city officials.

Q: Was that made public?

A: [nodded head no.]

Q: What about [DPS, Department of Public Safety officers.] . . . They weren't National Guard, and they weren't policemen, and they were wearing a sort of a jacket. Do you know?

A: DPS? Department of Public Safety. . . . That was something that was tried here. And what that was was police officers, combination police officers and firemen were cross-trained in each other's jobs. So that... At the time we didn't have enough firemen. At the time we didn't have enough policemen, and so some firemen were trained as policemen and some policemen were trained as firemen. So whatever happened, you could beef up one side or the other. You know, if in the case of like the Student Union, when it burned, they called in all the firemen, and they called in all the DPS guys. These were policemen. Well, the firemen of the DPS side were firemen; the police officers that were cross-trained as firemen then jumped in and would supplement what the firemen were doing. So they had enough people to fight a fire.

Q: Under the circumstances, did that work out do you think?

A: We no longer have it. That answer your question? The biggest reason on that was, that was a morale thing. It got to be a very big conflict with the policemen and firemen against DPS. Not against the guys themselves, but against that unit. They were doing no more, no less, than what each group was doing, but were getting paid a hell of a lot more. And that was just a really big morale thing.

Q: Was there a guy from the Texas Rangers who came in to lead or train?

A: Well, it was, let's see, his name was Smith. I want to say Delbert Smith. He was from Texas. I don't think he was a Texas Ranger, though. It was a police department down there that had a DPS. And what he was, when he came in... When he came in what he was was Director of Public Safety. You still had the police chief and you still had the fire chief. They were subordinates under him.

Q: Oh, police and fire were subordinate under him?

A: Right.

Q: Did that create...?

A: He was the Director of Public Safety. Public Safety included Police Department and Fire Department.

Q: Was this something that was done sort of because there was trouble here? Or was this done beforehand and then the trouble started?

A: No. . . . This was done as trouble was going on.

Q: So it was a response.

A: Not really a response to what was going on. But he came in and was trying to do something different right in the middle of a situation that was starting to get out of hand, and it just did not work well. . . .

. . . One of the things you run into on those is that policemen feel you should be policemen. Firemen feel you should be firemen. They're totally two different and separate jobs. If you are cross-trained, you know enough about each job to get you in trouble. That's what they figure. I mean that's what they look at.

Q: What worked then? What worked in that era? What would have worked? . . .

A: Right now, I think if you had to do it over again and you could foresee that some of these problems were coming up on that, I probably would try a similar situation of getting the Menninger Foundation involved or do it under your own system to get people to start talking.

See, there's a lot of misconception when people don't talk. You get rumors flying. There was a lot of rumors flying then. You would run into incidents where

they would say there was a policeman caught some kid out here and five of them stood there and just whipped him down, beat him to a pulp. Okay. And you could, if you got to the rumor control, and actually had people go back on that and find out, try to find out if this was actual, it might come down to it was an officer who was making an arrest and the guy started fighting him. Two or three other officers show up, all right. They grab hold of the guy; all three of them put him on the ground and hang on to him and get him handcuffed. And they're using three officers in order to keep from injuring, seriously injuring, the person. Normally speaking, one officer can do it if you don't care about injuring that person. We're trained to do it. I mean, I could put you down. I break your arm. I can cave in your ribs. I can break your kneecaps, and that, but you're seriously injured then. And most officers try not to get anybody seriously injured. But then you see three officers on one person. Everybody thinks, "Oh, they're whipping him." And they're really not. They're not trying to. Not consciously. Now, I'm not going to say it doesn't happen.

Q: Did it happen?

A: Did you ever see the movies on the Chicago riots? Okay. That's the aftermath of what the crowd themselves started as far as I'm concerned. I've seen pictures of the demonstrators, the ones in the front line, before it really started going. Have you ever been kicked in the kneecap with a boot? Then put a razor blade in the front of that . . . boot. So that when you kick him, you don't necessarily just hit him in the kneecap. You cut skin. Have you ever had a sack of shit thrown in your face?

Q: Did that happen here?

A: It started, yeah. Did you ever have a baseball bat with 16 penny nails coming through the air flying at your head. That happens here. But see, it doesn't show on the front line.

Q: Did that happen during the riots?

A: Here? Sure. We had stuff like that. . . .

. . . But how many were doing it because of protest and how many were doing it because it was a thrill and they thought they could get away with it under the name

of a protest. . . . See, this is where people took advantage of a situation.

Q: Back to the Menninger project. What else happened in that time frame that... Did that pretty well quell things, do you think?

A: It helped. It helped. Because I had been on several calls there afterwards and what happened was that I was able to see somebody that I had talked with or knew and I could go up to them and say, "Hey, what's going on."

Q: . . . So you weren't there when [Nick Rice] was shot [July 20]?

A: Not when the actual shooting took place. Not with Rice. But like I said, I was there 30 minutes later. I had just got off duty and got called back in on that.

Q: . . . Do you think there was police error in that one, in your opinion? Now we didn't say that in the beginning: This is all, we're talking opinion here, and not, you're not a spokesman here for the police department? [Note: We agreed at the beginning he was not speaking for the police department.]

A: I would... I don't think, given the circumstances of what was going on on that... Can you say police were in error when you have an uncontrollable riot going on? Can you say that the people that were up there, the vast majority of them that were there for a protest, [and] a small group went out of bounds, does that make the protesters wrong?

There's responsibilities on both sides. It is... How would you say... It's very hard if somebody's shooting at you not to shoot back. You know, I'm not paid, in a sense, to give up my life just so somebody can protest, or do what they...

Q: . . . There were shots at the police that night?

A: Oh, yeah. There were shells all over in that area because--after that night--the next day, when we were, you were able to go up there with some assurance of being able to see on that. We found empty shell casings.

[Note: The KBI report published August 22, 1970, did not say that other shots were fired. "Police weapons were fired. Mr. Rice was later discovered dead. We cannot

demonstrate that he was killed by a police bullet. We cannot demonstrate he was not killed by a police bullet. One shot was fired at a fleeing felon. We cannot demonstrate that that bullet struck Mr. Rice."]

Q: From other kinds of guns other than police guns?

A: Oh, yes.

Q: So did... You really did? What kinds of guns did you find . . . shell casings [for]?

A: Well, there were .22s, 12-gauges, 16-gauges.

Q: What did the police use? I don't know anything about guns.

A: Well, we were using a--typical of what we were using were 30 caliber carbines, 12-gauge shotgun shells and .38s. That was our typical.

Q: That was typical? Were there other guns issued as well as...?

A: Like I carried one gun. I carried a 30 ought six, which is a very high powered rifle. . . . And I never had to fire it during this whole situation because it was a very select type of weapon. It was a last ditch, so to speak. It was, you know, the circumstances when you had to use it are so dictative on our side [police side] that you carry around 10 pounds of weapon for months on end, and never fire it. You know, it's just...

Q: So you found a lot of different shells that weren't...?

A: I can take you and show you...

Q: Do you know who had what guns up there? I mean, does everyone, were all those issued and registered and licensed to the police...?

A: Some of the, well, all the policemen's weapons or pistols and that are their own.

Q: So they couldn't carry a gun that the police department didn't know...?

A: You could... You got to understand, see, we're... It was typical of being shot at. So they were allowed to

carry 30 caliber carbine rifles. What they call the carbine. Military carbine. They were allowed to carry them, on that. The shotguns were department issue shotguns.

Q: But you found other shells that were not?

A: Oh, yeah. Yeah. Other shells that were--policemen didn't carry. In fact, where the shells were at was places we hadn't been. Until we went back the next day and looked.

Q: Well, who were the kind of heroes in that situation in terms of calming that all down, do you think . . . ?

A: In a sense I think it was just the people themselves. The people themselves. They... I think through the Menningers thing with people starting to talk with each other and with being able to have a verbal rapport without trying to take each other's heads off, so to speak. It allowed then for people to calm things down. And allowed a little more open form of talking and so some issues could get resolved.

I went on one deal where it was just me and another officer, and we had a crowd of over 300 on us. And I knew two or three people in the crowd. And I just talked with them and said, "Look, you know, this is what we have to do. We have to open this road up so fire trucks can get through. It's a major road. . . . We're not asking you to stop the party. We're just asking you to get the beer keg out of the middle of the street and get the people out of the street because if a fire happens, and they can't get to that fire, and somebody dies, do you want it on your conscience that you stood there and kept a fire truck from getting through? What if it's a nine month old baby? What if it's your grandmother?" Or whatever, you know, instance. "And that's all we're asking." And they helped us clear the street.

Q: So you were personally, one of the things that you used, you guys used a lot, was personally going up and talking to people that you knew?

A: And that helped slow things down, or you know, so it wouldn't get so hot.

Q: After the Menninger project were there more and more people that you had begun to have personal contact with? Or had it calmed down before that?

A: Well, see, now you had really two different periods of time. And off the Menningers deal, it, uh, I think that was the second one. I'm pretty sure it was the second troubled time. That helped from there on to slow things down. I think that did help.

Q: And mend fences that had already been broken?

A: You can't really mend a fence that's broken. You'll have differences of opinion. But then what happens is that you have, where you may not disagree with the person, or agree with them, at least you respect their right to disagree. And what you have to do there is work towards a mutual agreement as to what you're trying to do.

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One of the things that consistently came out of the Menninger Foundation group sessions was people in this town across the whole ethnic or monetarial groups from low income to very high income, from very high intelligence to people that can talk but they don't know how to read and write, what came out of that was that they did not realize the stress the police officers were under. In that it was a constant conflict and that they were trying to do a job. Even though they disagreed with somebody else, it was their job to try to protect them. And then to have it turned right around and thrown back in their face. It was very stressful.

Q: Yeah. Were people's homes and home lives and marriages and things like that, do you think that was a problem during that period of time for people [police]?

A: Well, in our particular department, right at that time, '70--and I'm not real sure on this but I'm just trying to do it off memory--there was probably 50 percent divorce rate.

Q: What was that from?

A: The wives couldn't handle the stress. I mean it was hard enough that the policemen were doing it and it was doubly hard on the wives. . . .

You didn't know whether you was going to, they didn't know whether you was going to come home or not.

You got out, and like my wife at the time, (sigh) when I was called in one night and she said, "When are you coming home?" And I says, "I'll be home when I walk through the door." That was 5 days later. And I was home for 2 hours--long enough to get cleaned up, and eat a decent meal and go back to work.

Q: . . . What time period was that during?

A: . . . I got my old time card on that time. I can show you the hours.

Q: But that was during the riots.

A: It was during the riots. And the thing that was really stressful, too, was they [wives] didn't know how you were going to react. . . . I was so used to sitting there and having fire alarms go off and that, or if you touched me, I came out and I was instantly awake and ready to start fighting or shooting, whichever the case may be. And that.

Q: In that five days [before and during the curfew] did you sleep?

A: I might have got 6 hours sleep in 5 days.

Q: Where did you sleep?

A: Anyplace I could. Sitting up in a car, police station, fire station, sometimes it was in the middle of a parking lot. On that. And you just slept when you could. . . . Somebody'd stay awake and somebody'd sleep. . . .

I wore the same clothes for four days without taking a bath. That's bad! (Laugh) When I took the uniform off, it stood up by itself. On that.

And the only thing we were eating, we had the Red Cross had a canteen set up and the Salvation Army had a canteen set up. And that's where we were eating--sandwiches and coffee, or donuts. We didn't have time to go in, go home to eat or go into restaurants. And stuff like that. I mean.

Here you are in the springtime where it first started out, I'm out at the high school all day long trying to keep fights from going on out there and trying to get students back in their classrooms and trying to

keep, you know, these big fights from going on out there. Get through with that and I got an hour there and then the curfew is into effect or we'd immediately then wind up going up to KU for demonstrations up there. Or get through with the demonstration there and everything calmed down, you'd go to the station hoping you could get some relaxation; and all of a sudden, you know, you got shootings and that down at what's called the east bottoms. You wind up going down there walking the streets hoping nobody's going to shoot you on that. And if that wasn't enough stuff down there, what you had was then they were throwing pipe bombs and stringing piano wire across the sidewalks up at KU. And you go right back up there. As soon as that would get calmed back down, you were back down to the east bottoms or downtown trying to investigate a fight or something down there. And then you turn right around and go back out to the high school, because by that time it's 7 o'clock the next morning.

Q: . . . What was your principal way of dealing with most things, because you didn't fire during most periods of time. . . ?

A: A lot of that had to do with the supervisors that were there. They really kept close tabs on the officers. And not saying that they rode herd over them but what they did was that they were constantly talking with them, saying, "Now look, you know, we're tired and everything. If you do anything, you know, think of what you're doing. Try to get people to do what you need to done peacefully first.

Q: What was your position then?

A: Supervisor.

Q: You were a supervisor. You were talking to a lot of officers and students?

A: Oh, yes. Yes. It was like when we were in the [high school] hallways and we had large... One day it was large crowds in the hallways. And we had to go in. And the students wouldn't go in the classes. It was getting to be, it was a real racial problem. And so we started at one end of the hallway and we had the principal use the p.a. system and tell them that, "We're coming through the hallway. Everybody go in to their classrooms and stay there." Teachers were to be on the doors. And as

we got to the classrooms, everybody was to be in the classrooms, including the teachers.

Anybody that was in front of us got arrested. No exceptions. And we did.

Q: Did you arrest any teachers?

A: Yes we did. And they didn't like it. We said, "Tough. We cannot take sides on this right at the moment. It's going to blow completely out of proportion if we do. You're on the way to jail." And so we did. We marched right down the hallway. Now we had behind us, we did have the principal or vice-principal on that. And what they did was they'd identify people. "This is so and so kid." Called him by name so we'd know exactly who we were dealing with on that.

You know I had one kid give me four different aliases four different days in a row. I just kept laughing at him because I knew who he was. But we had somebody that could physically by person call him by name and tell us who he was.

Q: . . . Were you present at the Dowdell shooting?

A: No. . . .

Q: . . . You said [tensions had been building for a long time?]

A: Yeah. . . . When this started, and this really started back in probably '67 or '68, and it's just kind of it's very slow build up and it just kept building up, building up clear into the first part of the '70's. '71 I think basically is when the major time quit on that.

Q: And then the Menninger project you think was a factor. If you were going to weight that [by percent] in terms of calming people down and giving people relief, what weight would you put on that?

A: The Menninger per se was a funnel. It in itself did nothing. What it was was everybody said, "Hey, let's try to do something to stop this." And the Menninger Foundation then was the funnel to be able to funnel everybody into one location. But they themselves were just kind of mediators. They didn't do anything.

Q: The people did.

A: The people did. Menninger just put the framework there and said, "This is what, you know, we'll provide the space, we'll provide the meals. . . . And actually we didn't go to the Menninger Foundation. We were at the Holiday Inn on that.

Q: I remember that the fellow that had been instigating that [Menninger project] went around and did interviews, sometimes in motel rooms and in hallways and in people's apartments and met at peculiar places as it were. And kind of got, even took notes and that sort of thing. Did they come to the police, too?

A: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. . . . It was a group that come. As far as I can remember, it was a group of two or three. And they would talk. They had went through the channels of the city asking permission to do this.

Because you wouldn't get a policeman to talk to you.

Q: With that structure, what percentage would you say was the weight there for how helpful that all was?

A: As far as getting people together and start talking, I'll say it was probably 90 percent. But as far as the willingness of doing it, that was the people themselves. . . . That was the people 100 percent. The Foundation just acted as the framework to get people to do it. But they were ready. The people were ready to do it.

Q: You said you couldn't get policemen to talk to you. What was that from?

A: . . . The way I saw it was they were tired of social people coming in and doing interviews and then make a big report and then GONE. And you took that report and you took it to the outhouse and used it. That's basically what it was. We had talked to numerous people like that and they said, "Well, it's going to be in a report." What good's a report going to do if you don't do something with it.

Q: So you felt really 100 percent behind that Menninger's project?

A: Only after we'd gone to it. Not before. Everybody volunteered, except the police officers.

Q: Is that right?

A: They were assigned! You only volunteered in what weekend you went.

Q: But everybody went?

A: I think most of them.

[Note: The following are the hours from time cards during those disturbances at the high school; Kansas University Student Union fire on April 20; and the three-day curfew that followed.]

Q: It started April 8th and ran through April 23rd?

A: . . . That's 16 days. Now in 16 days I had one day off. Now I had . . . 83 hours overtime . . . in 16 days.

April 18--17 hours

April 19--20 hours

April 20--15 hours

April 21--24 hours

April 22--24 hours

Q: Where was that five days you didn't [go] home?

A: That was it. I didn't get home at all those. Even though I only worked that many hours, I couldn't get home. I just crashed at the National Guard Armory. I just crashed out there.

Q: So you were always on call. Did you get much, you didn't get much sleep?

A: Well, if you take... If you're talking those days, all right, I worked 17 hours. That only leaves 7 hours to sleep, eat. And you're so tired, you know. The 19th I worked 20 hours. So that would leave four hours. . . . The 20th I worked 15 hours, so that left me 9 hours on that, but still didn't get home. Then I worked 24 hours straight, [and then another] 24 hours straight and finally it just got to me.

Q: What did they do that day. That was the 23rd?

A: The 23rd? I took sick! I was sick. I was. I couldn't stay awake. I just couldn't stay awake. When I drove across town and didn't even remember driving across town, then it's time to do something.

Q: Do you think other people were in that shape, too?

A: Oh, yeah. Yeah.

Q: Everybody?

A: Yeah. Everybody was in that shape.

And the second period was July.

And that basically started July 4th, then started working up. From July 4th to about July 16 . . . it was getting tense. And July 17 [after "Tiger" Dowdell was shot], we went to 12-hour shifts again. And on those days I worked 3 days on 12-hour shifts and then I worked 3 days basically with 16-hour shifts. And then one day it calmed down enough I only had to work an 8-hour shift.

. . . .

July 19th-12 hours

July 20 -16 hours

July 21 -12 hours

July 22 -22 hours

July 23 - 8 hours

July 24 - 8 hours

July 25 - 8 hours

July 26 - 8 hours

Now taking July, it's 31 days, right? I had . . . three days off in July.

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Q: So how would you kind of mellow out after all that was all over? How did you heal yourself? How did you get back into kind of a regular routine? How long did that really take?

A: . . . It was probably about 2 or 3 months [before we relaxed]. Because, see, there was... Even though you went through the Menningers situation and you learned some of the people you could talk with and things like that, there was still mistrust. So that trust had to be slowly built over a period of time. And that.

And then what I'm saying, a couple months there that you're talking, that to where you could feel comfortable enough to go on a call that you didn't feel you could be jumped on by anywhere from 10 to 500 people.

And people don't realize, in a sense, . . . of policemen going onto a call in a situation like this, that when you face a crowd of 200 people by yourself. Okay? And you're having to do something. And as the old saying goes, "The Seventh Calvary comes in?" You have one or two more officers show up and you feel like you could take the world on. "I've got some help." You know, really. Realistically.

. . . How it changes things is that you feel that instead of being by yourself, you have somebody helping.

Q: You feel less aggressive or less threatened or more?

A: Well, I feel, not really aggressive, but more able to do the job. One instance I know where an officer was a security guard at a dance. And some kid got hit up side the head with a beer bottle by another kid. Well, he first attended to the kid that was hurt, then he went after the kid that did the hitting, and was going to arrest him for an assault. Because that was an assault and battery. He was jumped by a crowd of 50 people. They beat him to the ground.

Q: This was during that period?

A: Somewhere in there, you know, I'm not sure of the date. When the call went out, I was just going off duty. I was walking out the front of the station when it was called out. And I was still in uniform, so what I did was I just jumped in the police car and went down there.

And he, we were able to get him off the ground and get the crowd off of him, and we were backed up to a patrol car keeping people off of us. And he, another officer had got there, too. And we had this injured officer between us on that. Well, in his mind, he was still going to arrest the kid that did the original assault, and he recognized one or two of the people that assaulted him and he was going to arrest them. Well, by this time, the crowd was over 200 people. So he's going to make these arrests. We're having to hold him back, plus keep the crowd off of us, too, until more people got there.

And then once we got officers down there and we wound up with something like 15 officers, 15-20 officers on that, and was able to get him calmed down on that. Because he's already been beat up. And when you're beat up, you don't care. You're going to go after that person. And it doesn't make any difference whether you're a police officer or you're just a citizen out here, you know, you're going to do that. You want to do that. Especially if he's still standing in front of you. Well, once we got the people, or enough officers down there to start getting the crowd dispersed, get things cooled down before it really went bad on that, what we did was, he filed a report.

Then we got warrants. Then we went out to people's houses and arrested them where there was not a crowd. See, because that will incite a riot real quick. So we went out later and arrested them. But as he said, he said to me, he says, "When I saw you guys coming, Seventh Calvary was here, I'd took on anybody." You see, because he just felt so much physically and mentally relieved that somebody was there to help him.

And what I'm saying, stop a crowd? By yourself? You know. I've gone on calls where turn a corner and take a look. And I've got 300 people in the street, fighting. And what am I going to do. I'm one person. "Help!"

Q: What kind of positive things came out of it for you in terms of the Menningers project or what you learned or how you learned how to deal with your job? Things that were...

A: The positive thing was the only thing, really, the Menninger did for me was help talk to another person. But

that... Just be open enough to go ahead and talk to them. As far as, did it enlighten me that there's different opinions and that? Well, I've always known that. (Both laugh.) Because I grew up in an area that in some senses was very liberal and other senses was not.

Q: Where did you grow up?

A: See, I lived in California. I lived in out here at Sunflower . . . I lived in Baldwin. I've lived here in Lawrence. I lived in Europe.

And so I'm not really going to say that it didn't help me. It didn't help me in the opinion that I tried to enforce my beliefs on somebody else. Because they may have their own beliefs and really go by that. Alright, that's theirs. My belief is my belief. There is a common ground, so to speak, and that's the reason we have laws. That is a common situation in that our laws say that your religion is your religion; my religion is mine; and they cannot conflict with each other, and they should not. The common belief is that right is there under our system.

The talking with people on that, I've always been more of an authoritative type person. I didn't listen, I don't listen very well. And so that helped me, you know, say, "Well, wait a minute. Stop. Listen to what this guy's saying. And maybe there's an underlying problem that is unrelated to what he's actually saying or what you're dealing with." You know. Maybe this guy out here that was drunk and got into a fight and he's mad at that person, maybe you have to say, "Whoa, wait a minute, you're not this way. Why were you down here drinking in the first place?" Maybe he had a fight at home. Maybe some traumatic incident just happened and this is the way he's relieving himself, see? You know, because that happens on that.

So that helped me just to STOP. And instead of just being authoritative, just listen! Do a little more listening. And that. And then make a determination as to what I can do legally as far as the law was concerned.

Q: But it maybe would change the way you did it?

A: Yeah. A little bit. Not a whole lot. Not a whole lot. I've always been, to me, I want to be treated the

way you want to be treated. If you're going to treat me in a very derogatory manner, I'm going to treat you that way, too. And you know, it's just, I've had people yell at me and I've just stopped and turned around and looked and said, "Is there a dog around here?" And that stops them. "What do you mean?" I says, "Well, you're doing all this yelling like you're yelling at a dog and I don't see one here. You don't treat me like a dog, I won't treat you like one. You treat me like a dog and I will bite." And usually, I stop it. And then they then would stop and say, "Oh, yeah, you know, here I'm taking my frustrations out on him, too. So it was a two-way street."

Q: Do you think after the Menninger project there was less labelling? Do you think the policemen got less of the terms that we heard a lot of in those days?

A: Well, a label is a label. And justly or unjustly, people get labels. You will never change that. In talking and using the sense of a term, let's say a "hippie." Okay. In some people's eyes, a hippie is a drug user, ill-kept personally and things like that on that. To another person, all he is is a nonconformist. Now, he doesn't necessarily have to be using drugs to be called a hippie. But yet if you say "hippie," then what are you using as the term. I know both. Okay? It's like, what do you call an all-American blooded man? All right. All Americans bleed red blood. I don't know of a person in the world that don't bleed red blood. But you're using a classification. And you can have people that are very very staunch Americans that can be wrong in a sense of violating the law. Let's take the far right wing. Who's the far right wing? Hell's Angels? Very staunch Americans. Very staunch Americans. But they're also white supremacy. Hell's Angels? . . . White supremacists.

Q: Well, do you think a lot of the police officers--were you--aware of the problems that were making the high school situation, the black situation on the hill? Were you aware of the problems in town with the pool and all of that stuff beforehand?

A: Sure.

Q: Were you sympathetic?

A: In a lot of senses, yes. And in a lot of senses, I tried to talk to people in saying, "Hey, you know, and I realize you've got a grievance, but if you're doing this and you start getting destructive, then you're going to force me to then enforce a law that is a valid law against you."

Q: Did you think people listened to you, some?

A: Some. Not much.

Q: Not much. . . Later on did they listen kind of?

A: No.

Q: Do you think that's a problem, how people are perceived with a uniform? "There's a uniform and so..."

A: "He's the gestapo." "He's the pig." You know, "He's the man," and all that. And what it is is anytime you see a police officer, people still do it. Is they see a police officer and what they're going to do is stop you from doing what you enjoy by your freedoms.

Q: That's how you think people perceive a police officer in a uniform?

A: I've been told that. And it makes, well, it makes no difference in that maybe all's you're doing is just stopping to see if everything's all right.

Q: Do you think that image changed during the Menninger workshops?

A: Not altogether, no. . . . Some. It stopped some. But then too, as part of the outcrop of the Menninger Foundation, you had the Women's Transitional Care start up; you had Headquarters start up. These are all service organizations. The Rape [Victim] Support [Service] started. And see, these were organizations that [were] kind of an off-shoot of Menninger.

[Note: Women's Transitional Care began in 1978; Headquarters began December 9, 1969; and Rape Victim Support Service began in the spring of 1971. Comments from police officers indicate that the Police-Community Relations Program may have helped officers view these service agencies as supports, not only for those they

serve, but also for the police officers. The organizations did not originate as a result of the Police-Community Relations program, though the program may well have created a receptivity to them.]

Q: Really? What else was an off-shoot of that?

A: Yeah.

Q: We got housing that was an offshoot of that?

A: Well, there was some housing involved.

Q: And the pool, a little.

A: Yeah, there was the, I'm trying to remember if, I can't remember if, I'm trying to think, when was the pool built?

. . . [Note: The pool opened June 3, 1969. Source: King and Beagle.]

A: . . . Because the reason I was trying to remember was it wasn't within two weeks after it opened and we had a problem down at the pool. And I was the only supervisor working. It was a Saturday or Sunday. And I went down there and I had a big crowd. And it was only there was another officer there with me, and I just says, "We can't handle this without somebody getting hurt." I told the manager, "The pool is closed. Close it. Everybody is to leave."

And that really stirred people up. And they did leave. But they were mad! And everything else. Well, what it did was nobody got hurt. It closed that day to get things calmed down. And I don't recall whether it opened up later that evening or the next day. I think. But if we would have tried, because we had some rowdies in there causing problems.

If we would have tried to remove them singly, it would have escalated into an uncontrolled crowd real quick. And somebody was going to get hurt because you had nothing but concrete and water there.

Q: Yeah. . . . Did some people try going up [on Mount Oread] out of uniform? I know there was this Colonel [William] Albott who went up there without a gun after

Nick Rice was killed up there. And he walked around. Were there some people who went up without uniforms and...?

A: There was not a police officer in the city of Lawrence that couldn't do what he did. I could walk up there in the middle of any crowd out of uniform, that I'm not going to make any arrests, regardless of what you do, and just being good jock or good Joe.

I think Colonel Albott did what he had to do at the time. But everybody makes a big play of that.

Q: Well, did anyone ask police officers if they wanted to do that on duty without...?

A: We did it in uniform. We were up there all the time. We walked up there.

Q: Kind of rapping with people and talking to them?

A: Just talking to them? . . .

Q: Oh, you mean there's not a police officer who didn't do that already.

A: Who didn't do it. I mean it was funny in some cases. You could be there and you'd be talking with people on that and you'd have to leave and said, "See you tonight," and they said, "Yup, we'll be here." And that night you'd see them. That doesn't necessarily mean you arrested them, but you would see them up there.

Q: It didn't mean that it had calmed it down, or maybe it did?

A: It in some senses, okay, it's like the White House. In one period, what was it? In one 24-hour period, they had seven fires in it. They kept setting fire to it.

A: The White House between 12th and 13th on Oread Street?

Q: Yes. . . . It's a parking lot now. . . . Somebody'd drive by and throw a firebomb in and it would go "Whomp." Then somebody'd call the fire department; they'd come up and put it out.

Q: Was it a vacant house?

A: It was a vacant bar, or house-bar combination, whatever you want to call it.

Q: . . . When was that [24-hour period when there were seven fires]? During the summer?

A: Uhuh. That was in the, I think July. If I remember right, I think it was July, '70.

Q: That was before anybody got hurt that summer, or after?

A: I think that's when, I'm not real sure, but I think that's when Rice got killed. . . .

Q: Beforehand or after? Do you know?

A: I think it was before Rice.

Q: . . . Do you feel like it was outside agitators, or do you feel like it was just local people that got kind of spontaneously out of control?

A: I feel that a lot of the real violence that happened, the real, where it really got going on that, that there was some agitation from out of town . . . in both April and July. . . .

All this ran together for me. It was just like it was it was just an ongoing thing.

Q: What evidence do you have for outside agitation? . . .

A: Well, I arrested people that was from out of state.

Q: Who were here for what reason? That weren't students?

A: Well. They're not going to tell you. . . . They were not students. . . I usually'd talk to them about it after I got a windshield broke or a brick bounced off back of my head or stuff like that. Piano wire stretched across the streets. Getting shot at with shotguns. And that's where you wind up with, "What are you doing here?" You know, you find a person. You can't really prove anything other than they're curfew violation. You know. And, "What are you doing?" "Well, I just came down to see the sites."

Q: Do you think they had a political motive or do you think they were just rocking the boat?

A: Rocking the boat.

Q: You don't think there was that much political hard line? Were there some people here that were saying, "We're going to start this revolution and we're going to start it in Lawrence." Do you think there were some people like that, very many?

A: . . . Lawrence, as compared to the east coast and the west coast and the large campuses and the real radicals, Lawrence is a safe haven on the way from one to another. See? It's like Lawrence was a safe haven for a lot of the people who were from the radical movement going to the Chicago--when they had the Chicago [Democratic National Convention] riots. We had people, just car after car. You had crash houses in here. . . .

Q: Do you think there were some who were saying, "We specifically want to get the police blamed for something so that we turn the political system to the left?"

A: No, I don't believe that. . . . No. Not in that context of what you're saying. Not to start a riot to get the police to overreact. There were individual cases where people would do that on particular officers.

. . . [T]hey was able to say single out one officer that may be set off a little bit from a group. When the officers were in groups, the supervisors were almost always there. And they would have them do certain things. You know, whether it be getting into a riot control line, a crowd control line, whatever you want to call it because it can be both. And going at parade rest. "Don't move, you know, stand there, keep your mouth shut. I know you don't like it. Keep your mouth shut. Don't react to their reaction unless we give you the order to. If you react to their reaction, then you are no better than they are. Just because they come up and yell in your face and call you every name, just look at them with a straight face, because if you start reacting the way they react, they know they can get you going. And they single you out and they get two or three people on you, trying to get you to overreact."

Q: It was not this thing that some people said it was: outside agitators with the intention...?

A: Some of it was in a sense outside agitation in that the outsiders would tell them how to do this. They themselves would not get involved in it. Because if they did and you could prove it, there were violation of federal law, which meant big time in jail.

Bill Simons

Lawrence, Ks., Simons Home, September 20, 1989, 90 minutes

Q: Let's start [with how you knew Rick Dowdell].

A: I came to Lawrence in September of 1967 to become the first full-time director of the Ballard Center. The Ballard Center then was much different than the Ballard Center today. It primarily revolved around black teenage youth, and people, blacks into their early twenties. . .

There were just a lot of racial tensions in the community. And although we did have one or two white kids come by the Center, it was basically a black center, a youth center. We had a pool table. We had developed a basketball team that played in the city recreation league, and things of that nature. And it was during this time that we began to reach out to the community at large in terms of major racial issues. At that time, Lawrence still did not have a public pool. It was a private pool, and a great deal of negative sentiment in the black community about it, because the pool issue came up on a bond issue several times, and was defeated, and it was clearly a racial issue. It was unspoken but everybody knew that's what was happening. [Note: See p. 137 for pool history.]

Q: It was unspoken, but how did people know?

A: Just because of the racial climate of the time, and there was no other reason to be turning it down, voting it down. And the publicity campaigns for those who were supporting it made it clear also. There were some attempts to have sensitivity groups that were sensitized to the racial issue, and the fact that there was a pool in town that was for whites only, a private pool. In fact, it still exists today. It's now a regular

neighborhood pool. . . . In fact, black faculty at that time sometimes were taking their families down to Baker in Baldwin and swimming at Baldwin because the blacks were allowed in the pool there.

So the people clearly knew that there was no water access for blacks in Lawrence, you had to go clear to Baldwin to swim. That was a major tension point. Also there were a lot of employment issues: underemployment and certainly perceived racial discrimination. . . .

So we started an employment program at Ballard Center where we would go out to the employer, and including the city itself as an employer, Hallmark Cards, at that time the brand new Safeway store, which is now the brand new Dillons store that Safeway closed out. Safeway had just built that new complex out on 23rd street. We were hitting employers like that, and at Raney Drug Store. And Dick Raney was mayor off and on during a portion of this period of time. He was on the city commission. And I found as I went around, when you went into the black community and said, "Well, why don't you apply for a job down at Raney Drug Store?", the black perception was that there were no blacks working down there at all, thus he will not hire blacks, or the only black that he has ever hired was someone who was a janitor, and I don't want to be a janitor.

Then when you go and talk to Dick Raney, he said, "I would love to hire blacks, but no blacks ever apply. In fact I have only had one apply, and he was an older man who just wanted to do the janitorial work." So, we didn't know whether it was just misperceptions on both parts, or whether there were racial attitudes in some industries.

[Note: "Tiger" Dowdell worked delivering prescriptions for Raney during high school and Raney was supportive and instrumental in getting the bond issue for the swimming pool passed.]

What we basically got was a commitment from a variety of employers. The owners at Centron movie-making place on West Ninth at that time were very helpful in the community, in the business community, in helping to bridge that gap.

And so what employers said is, "We will come out. Not only will we hire kids in their late teens and early

twenties, black, from the Ballard Center, but to make it even more comfortable we will come out to the Ballard Center and do the interviewing there, rather than having them come to us. We won't come unless we have a commitment to hire." So in essence, they were, I guess, they would call it a "set aside program." I mean, they wanted to hire. They were willing to hire a black, and they came out with the hope and the expressed purpose of hiring. So those are some of the kinds of issues we were trying to bridge. . . .

Even this created some problems because what had happened was the blacks that went out on the job had to be the "super blacks." For example, I won't mention names, but this one character who had a bad reputation in this town--he got in fights a lot, etc.--we sent him out on several different jobs, and he just did not work out. Of course, it's one of those things that groups of people, a class of people is being judged by one person's behavior. We were just trying to get past those stereotypes. So if you got one black in and they performed well, then the employer came back very well, very open minded towards trying another. And you sent one black out and they really messed up, then they weren't so open to it. So that was kind of the climate at the time. . . .

Also, another thing that went on was there was a great deal of tension in the public schools. There had been some racial fights at Lawrence High School, issues such as no minority and especially black cheerleaders. It was during this period of time that they finally established a policy that they were going to be two slots set aside for blacks. Clear up through the time that my daughter tried out for cheerleading in 19--she graduated in '81, so she was a cheerleader, like 1979-'80-'81--she tried out as a minority cheerleader. And even there, there was hard feelings. Some white girls felt, "Well, I'm really better than the black who won on those black slots, and if there weren't black set-asides..." And some blacks--I know my own daughter--always questioned would she have made it if she could have just tried out as a person trying out for cheerleading. And so there's always that double edge sword, you know, where when you're doing a lot of popular vote kind of stuff, blacks at that time weren't going to get enough votes to get cheerleader. And yet if you have it mandatory that you must have at least two, then you feel like you're maybe not as adequate as you might be. It was just a tough time.

In fact there was one particular summer, . . . it must be the summer of '68, there was so much racial tension and we were so concerned about violence at that point, that Fran Horowitz at the University of Kansas kind of spearheaded the drive through K.U. There was a program developed, a child care program developed that summer in which a lot of teenagers would be hired to help do the child care program. It was going to have some educational components so that the young grade school kids who came into it would be getting some educational benefits. Kind of a mini-Head Start summer program, all locally funded. Fifty thousand dollars was raised just from the local community, no federal or state monies at all.

People were scared, and they were giving money. Some were giving it out of real commitment and compassion, and some were giving it out of real fear. And of course, many, many of the teenagers who were hired were black. It was the idea, "Well, blacks can't find jobs, and this will keep them..."

Q: So this all went on while you were there? . . .

A: Yes. So that was the summer of '68. . . . That was that particular job issue. The other was from '67, even prior to my coming here, the racial tensions were in place over the swimming pool, over cheerleading issue, and issues at the high school.

Another issue that had been going on for several years, there was a man whose last name I can't remember, but if I say Jesse [Milan] someone out there will know who I am talking about. He ran on... He had a [master's] degree in education. He consistently ran for--I'm thinking it was city commission. . . . He would always get through the primary race, and many times was the top vote getter or number two vote getter. But when it came to the general election, he could never make the cut off. He was always defeated. If they were voting for three, he would come in fourth or fifth. And once again, in the black community, this was clearly perceived as a racial vote, along racial lines. It was an anti-black vote.

[Note: Jesse Milan was the first black teacher in the Lawrence integrated school system after the Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education decision in 1954.]

And so blacks just weren't accessing anywhere--into the power system in terms of a commissioner or school board member, not even into public facilities such as swimming pools, cheerleading in high school. All these kinds of issues they were excluded from them. And so . . . take that local picture and put it into the whole national scene of these are the summers of the major race riots around the country.

Of course '68 was the year that both Kennedy and Martin Luther King were assassinated, so this is the climate that we were in.

The way I met Rick Dowdell, who went by "Tiger" as his nick name, he and his brothers and cousins came to the drop-in center regularly, were an active part there. I'd developed a youth council. And I basically told them, "I'm here to do what you tell me to do. It's your program. You can have . . . nothing or you can have whatever. But, you know, you define what you want and I'll do the best I can to try to get it within the framework of our monetary limitations."

And they really did a good job of taking it seriously. [One young black woman] was on the--what was it?--Neighborhood Youth Program. It was a federally funded program where low income youths got hired. She was hired as kind of a secretary/intake worker at the Ballard Center, and she took real responsibility with that youth council, and it really became quite responsible. On a Saturday night we would have two hundred blacks in there just rocking that building with dance and music. And we had the Kansas City Chiefs come over during the off-season and do a benefit basketball game to raise some money. It was that kind of a setting.

Q: Did you start that program?

A: Yeah. Now it was also at this time that...

Q: The youth program and the visit from the Kansas City?

A: Yes. It was also at this same time that I felt that we were getting enough things going that I couldn't do it all. Also, being white, and serving a 99.9% black population, I really wanted to hire an assistant director and really wanted to get a black on the staff. A man named Leonard Harrison, whom I'm sure you will hear about and have heard about, applied for the job. His wife had

come here from Wichita to work on her doctorate in history. He spoke a good line, got good references from Wichita, and was hired as assistant director.

He immediately became, took kind of a separatist point of view. Blacks should do their own thing, whites should do their own thing. . . There were a number of... Black population was less than [ten] percent in this community, so in spite of the racial tensions, there were still black kids who had white friends. He was doing things...

He started holding secret meetings in his home that no one but blacks could come to. Because some of these kids came to me, I know that some of the things that went on were putting tremendous peer pressure on other blacks not to socially interact with whites. Interracial dating was absolutely a no-no now in the black point of view. . . Friends who had been lifelong friends were getting beat up by friends now, black against black, over this issue. And it was causing some real disruption. That's an important setting. I'm getting ahead of myself a little bit.

Let me get back to Tiger.

He, one night, with an uncle who was only a couple of years older than him--[Tiger] happened to be under eighteen, his uncle happened to be over eighteen. They had been drinking and had too much to drink. And his uncle had been married recently, a year I'd say maybe . . . and his wife had lost the wedding band that he had bought her.

And they were walking down Massachusetts Street and his uncle just [allegedly] smashed out a jewelry store window and reached in and plunked out a ring. Well, they were all caught immediately, and because Tiger was a youth, was brought before juvenile court. . . . They had lived with an elderly, ailing grandmother, a heart condition. And so there was some consideration. . . .

[Note: Tiger Dowdell's mother died of leukemia when he was 10. He was one of seven brothers.]

. . . They were all very tall. Gee, he had, I'm drawing a blank on his brother's name. . . . I forget what his nickname was. He was a real big kid, because he worked on the Neighborhood Youth Program at the Ballard Center, too. He must have been six-four, six-five. They

all were basically in that range or taller. Tiger was probably the smallest, around six-one or six-two.

So anyhow, there was some consideration of possibly of even sending Rick to the Hutchinson Correctional Institute.

He had no prior convictions or difficulties. So I asked the court at that time if I could act as foster parent, or whatever you want to call it. . . . If I'd take responsibility for him, if he'd be allowed to come into my home, instead of going to be sent off. The court agreed to that.

And so he came to live with my wife and I. At that time, we had two young children, and she was pregnant with our third, which was Heather who is now 21. And...

He really got his act together. He was a bright kid. He had been doing, you know, average at best work at school. But he really took to the family, took real responsibility.

I can remember one of the most emotional times was Mother's Day. He brought in a really pretty vase for Marilyn. Cut blue glass. After he got killed, the lid to that was broken, and I thought it was a real tragic event for Marilyn to lose that.

Q: Was that soon after he was killed?

A: Yeah. . . . It was no major expense value. But it was the sentimental value, the value that... The idea that he had taken that much attachment to the family and to Marilyn as, I guess, a mother figure, you might say, for the year that he lived with us.

Anyhow, he was there his junior year in high school. His grades turned around. He started getting A's and B's and doing well in school. That summer...

Q: Was he bright?

A: Yes, he was a bright kid. Very bright kid. . . . I don't recall what his special aptitudes were. He was bright. He obviously had been underexposed to a lot of educational things. I can't recall his math or science skills. Seemed like he was weak in math. But once we began to work with him in that area, he showed strength.

He was artistic. He showed some artistic promises.

Q: What, like painting, or...

A: Yes, those kind of things. Sensitive. He had a sensitive side. Sensitive and creative side to him. And so that would have been, he would have come to live with us, let's see, probably late '67 and stayed with us through much of '68. His junior year, as I recall. . . .

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Now the summer of '68 I've already described earlier on your tape. It was real hectic. At this time, this Leonard Harrison had brought his pressures to bear, and people in the community either loved him or hated him. There was no in between. He was a highly skilled person himself, a very charismatic type of person. Blacks who wanted to take on a more militant kind of position--and black power was the new battle cry across the country at this time--followed him. There was also what I would call, I hate to use the word radical, pseudo-radical white fringe from the university, you know, who from my perspective liked to urge things on, but were not there when the smoke starts flying. They took him under their wing. Well, he spoke to a lot of classes at KU and one thing or another. . . .

He continued to preach this kind of... I saw it more than just racial separation; it was really racial hatred.

And so I sat down with him once and told him, you know, as a Ballard Center employee--we both had our positions on racial issues--I'm sitting there interracially married at that time of course. And I said, "It's not my place to go out and beat the drum for integration or interracial marriages, nor is it your place as an employee here to go out holding secret meetings and seeing the kids get beat up by other kids, because they have to be interacting. That stuff's just has to stop. You know, we're to try to provide recreational avenues for the kids and to deal with the employment program," which was now becoming rather highly successful.

Well, to make a long story short, it just didn't work. He continued in his ways and I fired him. And when I fired him, shit hit the fan! And my life was

threatened, the center was fire bombed, I had to send my children out of town...

Q: This was in 68, too?

A: Yeah. Summer. July of 68. So I resigned my position.

Well, what happened. Tiger and some of the other people who were close to us, they felt caught in between. They certainly had an allegiance to this man. He was a black role model, and there weren't very many of them in the community who were willing to stand up and speak out against the kinds of things. This is what kind of angered me because I thought he kind of played on that. But anyhow...

So they felt a real loyalty to him. They also, because of the things I had done, felt a loyalty to me.

And they came and told me, you know, that there was going to be real trouble, and warned me about the threats against my life. Now I asked their recommendation. "What do you want?" And they said, "Well, why don't you hold a public hearing and explain to the people who come just what you have explained to us as to why you fired him? Maybe that will take care of things."

A: So we called this public meeting. Like I say, it was June or July of '68. And I mean it was steaming hot, in the unair-conditioned Ballard Center basement. I'll never forget the day.

The police said they would be there, plain-clothes; and I knew the plain-clothes policemen, and I didn't see a one in sight. There were blacks who came in from out of town, Wichita, Topeka, and it was just...

When the meeting got started, I felt I'd never leave the building alive. That's basically how I perceived it. It was real ugly. What happened, my board of directors were being... They were there to hear the allegations against me by this group, etc. And in the course of the meeting they were called everything but their names, you know. They en masse resigned their positions.

Q: The board was largely white?

A: It was mixed, but predominantly white, yes.

Q: But everyone resigned?

A: Everybody, to my... As I recall it, everybody resigned. There may have been one or two who hung on. . . . There were one or two blacks. Because I recall there was a black who was a graduate student or something, seemed pretty level headed, who was trying to keep a lid on things. I think he basically sided with Leonard's point of view, but I thought he was being fair and trying to, "Let's not make this a name-calling, violent thing. Let's talk about it and do whatever."

So he kind of moderated the meeting, and when the resignations en masse took place . . . people started volunteering from the crowd to be the new board. Some of them were drunk. It was just a fiasco.

So on the spot, my board resigns. At that point, I resign. At that point, these new people named themselves to the board. They automatically hired Leonard back, now as director at a salary at about 50% more than I had been getting as director. That's kind of how that was resolved.

Leonard, in the course of the next two years, was convicted of [robbery] along with [five] other blacks. .

[Note: The charges resulted from allegations that Harrison and seven others forced a poverty program official to write checks totalling \$662 to pay them consultation fees at a meeting held in 1968 in Wichita. Harrison, sources said, moved to Africa to live, and was in jail there.]

What Leonard did was to leave the country and went to Africa. Last I heard he had a chicken farm in Algeria or something.

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I stayed here in Lawrence until the late winter of '68-'69, when I got a job offer with the poverty program up in northeast Kansas.

Q: Did Dowdell leave at that point?

A: No. He returned to live with his grandmother, who allowed him to return there . . . after I left. Well, I guess . . . he returned to live with his grandmother before we left town because we moved out of the house we

had been in because . . . everybody in town knew where we lived, and there were so many threats against our life. We were surrounded by 50 people at the Hillcrest Shopping Center one day. My wife was seven months pregnant. We were surrounded by this circle of people and told we would then be killed. . . .

It's very interesting, because then I took the job, as I mentioned, in February or March of '69, in Atchison, the Poverty Program. And I hadn't been up there about three months and one day I come back from lunch--our office was in the courthouse--and who's sitting there on the courthouse steps but Leonard Harrison. And I thought, "What in the hell is he doing up here, and why?"

To make a long story short, that night he, his wife, my wife and I were over at some friends of his, all sitting around drinking and reminiscing about all the old Lawrence days.

He had no animosity toward me at all. In fact, he said I was one of the first white people he was able to respect because at least I stood up for my principles. His wife--by this time they had children, one child I believe, or she was pregnant, I can't remember which one--and she was telling Marilyn that her views were beginning to change somewhat, in light of the fact that she had a child to think about. They eventually had two children and she left Leonard. . . . She was perceiving the struggle in a little different light as a mother now that she was. She wasn't advocating the . . . radical kind of positions.

Anyhow, that's . . . an interesting afterthought for me, that, you know, I took everything that Leonard did very personally. I thought that he personally hated me. . . . This was not the case, apparently. He had a fair amount of respect for me as a person. . . .

Rick finished his senior year. Did well. Got some scholarship money to go to KU. He started KU, and at that time I had only been in northeast Kansas five or six months when I got an opportunity to be deputy director of a poverty program in Lincoln, Nebraska. So we moved up there in August or September of '69. . . . My youngest daughter Amy, the one who is a violin player, was born June 24th of '70.

I had just taken a day off. I'd been just working day and night up there. I had taken a day off and was

home when the phone call came from Lawrence. Marilyn took it and had called me into the house. I can't remember who had called now. Jean Umholtz, I believe, a woman who works at the children's library here now, was a friend of ours.

She called to let us know that Tiger had been shot and killed. I can remember we had a big hill up behind our house, and I can remember it was... I just lost it. I went up and just broke down and bawled like a baby. . . . In fact it hit us so hard that I gave my thirty-day notice at work. . . . Sold everything we had, bought a van, packed up our belongings and moved to Canada. Just said, "We just cannot take any more of this." It was the last straw. . . . We came back . . .

Of course, when we got this phone call we definitely wanted to come back. Because he'd been part of our family for a year, and we decided to come back for the funeral.

In the course of our couple of years here we had become very good friends with Bob Pulliam, who was on the city commission, and was mayor at the time. . . . We called and they said that they would put us up in their home. Their home was on Tennessee, right across, almost directly across from the now-present public pool. . . (fades)

So we came into town. Had not been in town but a few hours. Bob got a call. Asked Marilyn and I to get in the car and come with him. . . . I can't remember where we were taken. . . .

But when we got there, the chief of police [Richard Stanwix] said that we were private citizens and he couldn't tell us what to do. He would like to request that we not attend the funeral. Their informants, etc. had told them that the fact that we were back in town had become known. They had good reason to believe that we would be killed if we went to the funeral. Potentially. The potential was there. The threats were there.

Q: There were threats against your life?

A: Yes. And so that night we slept at Pulliam's house. They put police sharpshooters on the roofs by each house, and in the morning the Highway Patrol came.

We went out Pulliam's back door, into the alley, got in our car, and the Kansas Highway Patrol escorted us to the Nebraska border where the Nebraska Highway Patrol picked us up and escorted us back toward Lincoln.

And so we did not get to attend the funeral at all.

Q: They had that much... Two states cooperated in...

A: In getting us out of town, yeah.

Q: Did you feel they were protecting you or getting you out of town?

A: We didn't know. We had been threatened before, and we took the threats seriously. And we had the four children with us.

Q: Did you have that kind of protection before?

A: [W]hen I fired Leonard, was under tremendous life threats, and the Ballard Center was fire bombed. . . . We lived out by the 4-H grounds, and they had, not a squad car, a plain car I guess with undercover detectives sleep out there for a week across from our house watching our house during night.

We had sent the kids out of town to their grandparents in Topeka. My father-in-law brought a shotgun down. Of course I was in the Martin Luther King nonviolent mode, but he brought a shotgun down. And I've never shot a gun in my life. He said, "You don't have to." He said, "With a shotgun all you have to do is aim in the general direction and pull the trigger." And, you know, we were told not to sleep in our bedroom because people knew where our bedroom was. So we slept on the floor in the family room.

Q: This was the summer of '68?

A: Yes. This is, once again . . . two years prior to [Tiger's] being shot. So anyhow, back to the '70 thing.

You know, we had been removed from the community by the time he was shot by almost a year and a half. So there were a lot of things that went on that year and a half that I don't have a lot of information on, except to know that he had gotten his grades together enough to go on up to KU.

So the story of his family and friends . . . was that there was some alleged gunfire somewhere in east Lawrence. This was called in to the police. . . .

[Note: Simons said his account, given in the paragraphs that follow, were what family and friends told him about the death of "Tiger" Dowdell, presented here to indicate a point of view that persisted about the event. Please see the introductory article to the oral histories for other versions. Note also that the "girlfriend" referred to in the next paragraph was Franki Cole, who said in a 1990 interview she went to the Afro House that night to see her boyfriend, Gary Jackson, whom she later married.]

. . . Rick and his girlfriend came out of the house, got into this car, and began to drive away. And the police began to follow, turned on their lights for him to pull over. And he panicked and took off.

The rationale behind this is that . . . just because of their outspoken position, especially from the Dowdells, they were just seen as trouble makers even though they weren't doing anything, to my knowledge anyhow, law-breaking kinds of things.

So they really felt at all times that their life was going to be in jeopardy, that they were always going to be harassed.

I saw evidence of this, for example. One night I closed the Ballard Center down. I had announced this in advance during the winter when I was running it and had told all the kids that they could come to our house. We had a fireplace in our family room . . . and they could bring their records and we could just dance and have apple cider. A nice place to hang around the fireplace.

Well, you can imagine in an all-white neighborhood in the late '60s, when, all of a sudden, carload after carload of blacks start pulling up and filing into this house. I don't know how many kids showed up, 50 or 60 probably.

And next thing you know, we had three squad cars out there sitting on... We were at the intersection of Edgelea Road and Harper, so one was on Harper, one was on Edgelea, and it was just kind of crazy. . . .

So it was this kind of mind set: The police were out to get them, they had real legitimate reasons to fear the police.

[Note: The following recounting of Dowdell's death is included to demonstrate the apparent lack of credibility that was given by some segments of the community to the police investigation concerning Dowdell's death. Please see the introductory article to the oral histories for a comparison of views taken from the coroner's report, the published KBI report, Franki Cole and other sources.]

You know, I basically believe the story that when Rick Dowdell saw the lights go on, he apparently went through a . . . four-way stop or something. Would not stop. Did not stop for their response. And of course they took out after him, he turned into an alley, jumped out of the car, ran down the alley.

And of course the police story is that they fired a warning shot, and he stopped, allegedly turned around with a gun in his hand, and they fired once again. And that's what killed him.

I don't have, once again, you'd have to check the reports, I may be off here. I'm just telling you what I've heard, so when you check it against official records, if there is an official autopsy or whatever, it may show how rumor in the black community gets around. The story that we had heard was that the bullet wound entered the back of his head, so how could he have possibly been turned around facing the policeman with a gun.

[Note: The KBI report reprinted in the Lawrence Journal-World said that Dowdell fired once with his left hand, Officer Garrett returned one shot, Dowdell ran down the alley and Garrett fired three more shots, one of which allegedly hit Dowdell and killed him. The report also states: "Relatives of Rick Dowdell state he was right-handed." No mention was made of this at the inquest, and Franki Cole was not allowed to testify because she was not given the right to use the Fifth Amendment to refuse to answer some questions and answer others during the coroner's inquest.]

His girlfriend had [said] apparently that he did not have a gun. And...

Of course it was not uncommon practice across this country, well documented, that other blacks across the country had been killed and guns had been planted, you know, planted into their hands, guns that had been picked up in other... that the police had on stock from previous robberies or whatever, you know. So whether this was the case or not, there was an alleged investigation into all this, and it was all cleared up that the police had reacted, you know, acted responsibility, etc. etc. So that was the story of...

It's hard for me to imagine, and I'm letting you know that I've been away from Rick for over a year at this time, but knowing how he felt, it's hard for me to imagine that he would have...

I can definitely see him running, and feeling a sense of intimidation and harassment, out of fear. I have a hard time imagining him pulling a weapon on a policeman. I don't know. Anything's possible, but, so I tend not to believe that story. I tend to believe the story as I've heard it, that he was just shot, you know, shot at. Anyhow.

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[Note: The following questions relate to the story about the party that Simons used as an example of police over-vigilance.]

Q: So, did you see any....can you give examples of times when people in his family, for instance, were hassled when they didn't do anything? Is that what your point was with that?

A: Well, my point is that many blacks were hassled many times when . . . when there was no apparent reason for that to happen.

Q: . . . There was no apparent reason for the police to be there, is that what you're saying?

A: At the party at my house? Absolutely. There was no reason to be. Apparently, you know, some neighbor saw all these cars and, "I don't know what's going on here, but there's all these black kids going into this house," or whatever, and of course that necessitated two or three police cars, as I recall. I know there was at least two.

Q: . . . Can you give me examples of when the police overreacted when nobody did anything, in particular to the Dowdell family? Or to others.

A: I can't recall specifically to individuals, but it was not an uncommon occurrence. The Methodist Church at that time was a very, had a very liberal social bent, and were trying to do things to bridge the gap. And they started holding community dances, because there... What happened, the Recreation Department would hold dances in town, and only whites would go to it. Only blacks were attending the Ballard Center dances.

And it seemed like any time a black went to the Recreations Center programs dance, they wound up getting kicked out for one reason or another.

So the Methodist Church started holding--I can't remember whether they were just, whether they were dances or whether they were...

Q: Is that '68, '69?

A: Yes, '67, '68. ...started holding dances [or activities] down there at, that would be 10th Street, 10th and Vermont. And every once in a while there'd be some trouble between the white and the black, and invariably when the police would come down, they would immediately confront the black rather than the white kid, you know.

Without any evidence of who started what, this was the kind of thing, this was observed.

I remember one night, I was at the Ballard Center. It was a Saturday night, and we had 100 - 150 blacks in the center. Apparently earlier in the day, it may have been [black youth] . . . and [white youth], who was a well-known white trouble maker, had gotten into a fight. So this [white youth] had apparently gone to a couple of bars there in north Lawrence.

And so about 11:00 or 11:30 all of a sudden kids started pouring out of the Ballard Center. And I thought, "What in the hell is going on?" And I go racing outside, and there are these 100 to 150 black kids, standing literally from here to the wall, face to face with a group of probably 75 to 100 drunken white men out of these north Lawrence bars. And to this day, you have to believe almost in a God of grace, because I thought

there was no way that there wouldn't be just mass killing or maiming, you know.

Q: They were armed white men?

A: Oh, pipes and sticks, and foul language and drunk, and a lot of them still had beer bottles in their hands. The blacks running out, they were grabbing whatever they could grab ahold of. And you know it was...

And very quickly there were four or five squad cars, you know, on the scene. And once again, the first thing that happened was that they came up and began to push on the chests and other things with their billy clubs, and so forth, on the blacks trying to push them back into the Ballard Center.

Rather than turning to the whites who were there on Ballard Center property--they were in the street and up onto the lawn--and saying, you know, "Go on back to your bar, go on back home or whatever," it was...

And I believe, as I recall, there was a black policeman, Shepard--and he may have been there, I can't recall, I think there was a black policeman--and then a couple of black adults. Some black adults started showing up, community leaders . . . who began to try to quiet the kids, and also to talk calmly to the police, as I was trying to do to the police. "Let's, you know, let's equalize this treatment a little bit." And like I say with the grace of God it got... [End of tape]

A: So that's an example. . . .

Q: [Are there] more examples?

A: Well, I had a black basketball team. I was the coach, ho, ho, ho. When I say that, you know, of course every kid on the team had more talent than I had. I was just there because I was the director of the Ballard [Center]. It was the Ballard Center team. We joined the Recreation League. And I don't recall whether other blacks played on any of the other teams at all. I'm sure there might have been an isolated black here and there on a white team.

But we got into a basketball game one day. It was a tournament at the end of the season as I recall or maybe it was at the start of the season. We didn't get very far into the season.

We got kicked out of the league is what it amounted to. . . . It seemed like the referees' calls were heavily one-sided, you know. Just foul after foul against the Ballard Center team. The kids were really getting upset about it. Now, you know, you can argue the point that everybody gripes about fouls, or whatever.

But also the language of the referee. One of the kids would gripe, and he'd say, "Boy, you don't talk to me that way!" or things of this nature, those kinds of... Which was just infuriating the kids, as you might well imagine. . . .

So at that time, at half time--I'm not sure we ever got to the end of the game--said we were out of the tournament. [The youth who hadn't worked out well on jobs] and at least one other threatened to beat up the referee and he called the game. That was the end of the Ballard Center representation on that league.

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[Note: Simons gave another example of when a dozen Ballard center kids kept the above-mentioned youth in check when he got out of hand.]

The kids took a lot of pride: "You know, there may be fights down at the Methodist Church thing, or City Recreation, but this is ours, and it's going to be cool here, you know. We aren't going to have any of that." . . .

I think when you just, when these little incidents like the incidents at my house when the police cars came out for no reason--there was no property damage, or anything else going on outside of the home--the referee using the term "boy" and that kind of stuff at a basketball game, you combine that with no swimming pool. And everybody knows why there is no swimming pool, and why there's no black cheerleaders, etc. etc. And just the tenor of the nation at large at that time.

April had just been the assassination of Martin Luther King, and all that together, it didn't take much of anything for you immediately to say, to think, to feel, that it was racial in nature, and you had damn good reason to feel that anything was racial, just because of this massive evidence of what was going on.

Q: So can you give me another anecdote or something about Rick? How he came by his name, or anything of that nature?

A: . . . [The Dowdell brothers] all had . . . nick names, you know. How they got them, I don't know. Somehow, Rick became "Tiger."

I just don't know what to tell you except that he was... I just saw him as a very sensitive and a creative person. At that time . . . my oldest two children were Juana, who will be 26 this December, and she was, what was she, four, about four years old then and Eric was two. Tiger just fussed over them all the time, you know; he took care of them. He took a real...

I think he liked me a lot, but he took a real liking to Marilyn. Her being black, I'm sure there was that connection there too, you know. He just became a real family member. He helped without asking, dishes, cooking, these kinds of things.

Verner Newman

Lawrence, Ks., Newman Home, March 9, 1989, about 100 minutes

Q: What were you saying about Gilbert Smith, director of public safety?

A: He was crazy. He was a nut. He come out of that fantastic Department of Public Safety in Texas. As far as I was concerned, they were all nuts. He was a wild man. . . .

The second night of the curfew, he was running around with a machine gun with the two clips taped together like they do in combat.

Chased some students in this one house up there on Oread Avenue. He arrested all of them and this one couple that lived there. He told them they were under arrest, too, and they said, "Well, we weren't outside." He said, "Well, I don't care," he said, "You were out there last night and we're going to arrest you again tonight." So they arrested them twice.

[Note: The police and fire departments were part of the Department of Public Safety during part of 1970.]

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Q: Were you a supervisor at that time? What was your title?

A: I was a lieutenant. . . . In charge of technical services division, which is communications and records. . . .

Q: During the curfew, and some of these things, were you outdoors.

A: In and out. I wasn't assigned outside, no. I had to do all the fingerprinting and taking pictures of all the people who were arrested. Part of my job, I was identification officer. Lots of jobs.

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Q: . . . What was the last notion of what happened in that alley when Rick Dowdell...?

A: I wasn't on duty. I was at home.

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I still think he was shooting up in the air when it, trying to shoot up in the air to miss him and just he either tripped or whatever and then... [Note: Newman said that in his opinion, William Garrett was not a good shot. Newman said he didn't remember the Dowdell gun having been shot.]

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Q: And who was that, do you know?

A: I don't even remember his name anymore. He ended up in my division. They took him off the street. . . .

The students put out bulletins, "Contract, wanted for murder," and stuff like that in all the dormitories and sororities and fraternities. And they had his picture and name on it. And so he got assigned to me. We didn't know what to do with him. We just couldn't put him on the street.

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Q: His name, is it Garrett. . . .?

A: Yeah. Garrett. . . . Seemed like we called him Bill. But it was really funny, after they had all these bulletins out on him, "Wanted", you know.

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Q: Is that true? The idea that outsiders didn't come. Some people refute that notion?

A: That first riot. That professional instigator that was at Kent, when he happened to be at the University of

Wisconsin when our riot started here. He was in the middle of a speech when he heard about it, and he caught the first plane. And all the rest of the people that was there, the instigators that he had brought to Wisconsin, well they came here in bus, cars, hitchhiked, trains, however they could get here they came.

Q: Now how did they identify him as an instigator?

A: Well, he was known by law enforcement people from, from Kent. And he was going to all the universities, like Berkeley and places like that, you know, getting crowds, getting them stirred up with his speeches, and so forth.

Q: What did he look like?

A: Just a white male. But he was well known by the police officers throughout the United States. . . .

One night, 2 o'clock in the morning I saw a kid and a girl, they were hitchhiking to Berkeley from New York City. And this was in the winter and they were bare footed. And they were going to Berkeley! I stopped them at 16th and Iowa. They were heading west on U.S. 40. They had no idea where California was, they just, they went west and they would get there.

Q: . . . [W]hen the union burned were you there that evening?

A: Yeah, I was, I was in a patrol car at the time, trying to get the communications worked out and the fire department up there and so forth.

Q: And so did you see it? You were up there and watched it burn? So you were one of the first people up there, is that right?

A: Uhum. Yeah. . . . The fire chief was out when he got the call, so he had to call his own department after we gave the call out. He was already in the street or something.

Q: . . . What was the stress like on the police department at that point?

A: The officers were working 15-hour shifts. . . . Lieutenant Harrell and myself, we worked inside. . . . We didn't have any reliefs. So we had to work 20-hour

shifts. . . . And we'd be off 4 o'clock in the morning and we'd come back at 8:00 and start all over again.

And the most stressful part of it, I lived here. . . . They had this . . . house there . . . , and these people, they had a bad habit of setting fires out in the middle of the street. And when the fire department and police came, they would shoot at us out the windows.

. . . . I could have went down Massachusetts . . . to get here, but, being hard-headed, I would come down Tennessee anyway, knowing that they were probably waiting for me, driving with my head down and my gun parked out the window toward the building.

It was pretty stressful for the hours.

Blacks, they decided... There was only three black police officers. And they decided they didn't want... They wanted us to quit. So, one guy, I asked him, "Well, you going to feed me? You going to take care of my family?" "Well, no. We just want you to quit. We don't feel like you should be working, you know, on the police department, with those pigs, you know."

So I called the two black police officers over here to talk about staying in one location and sending our family away and so forth. So they went back home and decided they'd think about it. . . .

I was left here. . . . Waiting for the people to come and kill me.

Q: Did you feel like someone might?

A: Well, [someone] called me and told me that she had overheard them saying that they were going to. So yeah, I felt like they were.

So I set out here every night soon as it got dark, sitting on my front porch with my pistol and my rifle and shotgun. I also had my dog in back. Couldn't get anybody to come out here. I couldn't even get the Lawrence Police Department to drive down this street. That's how well they loved me. Finally had a friend of mine, ran the Carriage Lamp, he came out and stayed with me. Another guy was a Vietnam veteran, he came out one night and stayed with me. I got to the point when I was mad when they didn't show up after about the fourth night staying up all night.

Q: So she called to warn you as a friend really?

A: Uhum. I had mattresses all around my bedroom windows and had my family, they went down Tennessee staying with my aunt. Wife and two kids. But they didn't show.

Q: Nobody ever fired a shot at the place.

A: Not at me. Oh, at the police?

Q: Yeah, when people were firing the shots out these windows in the student areas were, they firing to hurt or kill? Or were they firing in the air or what?

A: We had a police officer shot. . . . We had them fire at the police cars when the police officers were in the car, so they actually were firing. [Note: Officer Eugene V. Williams was wounded July 17, 1970.]

When they tried to burn the high school down, they set a fire bottle outside the window and they ran so fast their coattails blew the fire out.

Q: Their coattails blew the fire out? (Laugh)

A: I just laughed. That was one of the things you could laugh about. Like, one night we was up on campus. It was right under the street lights. So this one lieutenant, he told his officer, "Shoot the street light out." [Note: To keep snipers from having a well-lit shot.]

And he got this 12-gauge shotgun and he stands out in the middle of the street, and he fires three times and he misses.

But it was stressful.

Q: Was there much comic relief then? I wouldn't think there would be.

A: It was very, very little. Because like I said, I had a friend, a girl. She was a street person and she was involved in all of these things going on where they would call...They would set fires and the fire department would go up there and they would start shooting at them. So one night she called and she said, "I quit! Tell the fire department, 'Don't come!' to the

next fire call in the alley," she said, "because they have piano wire strung across the alley." She said, "Now that's when I give up." She said, "I'm not going to be involved any more."

So I told the fire department, I said, "Well, don't go down that alley when you get that call on the fire." They had set fires on each end of the alley to make sure they went into the alley. And they had piano wire just strung up, what they thought would be neck high across the alley.

. . . I saw her right after. She took a bath and got a hair...She was clean and got her hair done and put make-up on. Looked like a whole different person. She decided to get out of the hippie scene. . . .

Q: Well, do you think that was a minority of the people who were stringing piano wire?

A: It wasn't all. The majority of the students, they were afraid, also. . . .

Q: Did anyone figure out whether it was local people stringing piano wire, or what?

A: Well, we figured it was locals stringing wire but they were getting their ideas from the outsiders.

I mean like, they would call the Kansas City TV station and say, "Hey, we're going to meet up on the campus tonight and have a talk."

And the Kansas City TV, they would tell them, "Well, we're not going to come up there unless you're going to really demonstrate, you know, unless you're going to burn or do something, you know."

"Well, we're just going to talk," you know.

They said, "Well, we're not coming."

So they say, "Well, okay, we'll burn something then." So then they would come up with their TV truck. They'd set something on fire for them. And away it would go.

Q: Now how did you find that out?

A: They would tell, this same girl would tell me. A lot of guys, friends up there, they would take the pictures for the AP. And they actually were students. They appraised me of what was going on.

Q: I see. So if you had more criticisms of the media at that time, what would it be?

A: It was terrible. It was really bad. They was just out... They wanted to see things destroyed just so they could get on the news. I had a friend over in Germany in the air force. He even saw the Union Building burning on the news over there.

Shoot. They set one house on fire so many times the fire department finally went up there and burned it down themselves.

Q: They did? That was the White House. It was called the White House. Did the fire department burn that down?

A: Yeah. They had a school up there. They just burned it down. They had a training school.

Yeah, we had armed guards riding the fire trucks. We had armed guards on top of the buildings, police and fire buildings.

We got a report they were throwing bombs in the window wells around police departments all over the United States. They was dropping them in the police department in Ames, Iowa.

So I had to go get, make arrangements to have our window wells covered with cement. That was the bad part.

And then we got the [National Guard] into this . . . marching all around in east Lawrence and downtown.

Q: That was the curfew?

A: Uhum. They loaded their little M-1 rifles and there wasn't one of them that knew how to unload them. (Laugh) One of our officers that'd been in the army in WW II, he had to show them how to unload their guns. It was bad. They were marching through people's yards, and they were getting cursed at, "Get out of my yard, get out of my yard." (Laugh)

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Q: Do you recall going to the Police-Community Relations Project?

A: Oh, yeah.

Q: . . . Did you think that was an effective thing for the city to do?

A: Yeah, it was really good. I thought it was real, real good. We had people from all types. We had city commissioners, police officers, had business people, university teachers. We had regular students, we had hippies, hippie students, street people, and housewives. I think it was really nice.

Everybody got together and they let everything off their chest, how they felt about everything, anything: the city of Lawrence, the police department, the university.

I even told them about the police department being prejudiced, discriminating against me. Course we had one officer--it was all supposed to be kept there at Menninger--but we had one officer couldn't wait to get back to Lawrence to tell Stanwix what I said.

But...

Q: Did you get in trouble over that?

A: No. I just told the truth.

Like, I had this one girl, she was a street person, she sat next to me, we were there two days or something. Two and a half days? She was scared to death. She was really scared of police officers. She had been convinced and brainwashed that all police officers were out to kill her. And she had went out and bought a gun, and she would go out to the woods every day and practice shooting, because she knew we were going to kill her. Then after the second day, and I talked to her 20 hours a day, well, then she finally figured I wasn't such a bad guy and that I wasn't going to kill her.

Q: So it was two days long. It took her two days to discover that you weren't going to kill her.

A: Uhuh. She was deathly afraid of police officers. They had just told her, said we're going to kill her. "We got long hair and we are different and police officers don't like you. They're going to kill you." And she believed it.

It was really funny. There was one housewife, she got on this girl. She was getting on her about drugs. And the girl said, "Yeah, I take drugs." Said, "You take drugs, too, don't you?"

She said, "No, I don't take drugs."

She said, "Well, looking at you, you ought to. You take diet pills?"

She said, "Yeah, I take diet pills."

She said, "Lady, I could take your diet pills and get just as high as I wanted to." She said, "Any pill you take I can get high off of. Don't be condemning me for smoking marijuana and stuff."

Oh, that woman was so embarrassed she didn't say another word.

Q: . . . What was the atmosphere?

A: I mean, it was everybody went. All the police officers had to go! . . .

But the order came out that we all would go. We had to go. There was no ifs, ands, buts about it. You would go!

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The majority of them came back--they all said, "It was really good. It was something we should have did a long time ago."

It got all these people together. Because we, the police officers, was afraid. . . .

They were afraid.

And then we had old officers that they called the students knotheads. Of course the hippie people, they didn't want to be around them either, and they didn't

want to be around the blacks. They didn't want to be around anybody but police officers.

It was really a bad scene. But get them all together, and you know, it showed, "We're all here together, you know. We're all in this together to try to help one another to stop this thing, you know."

It was like the little girl, she was scared of me, and then she turned around and found out that I wasn't going to kill her.

Q: Did you notice a change on the department after all that was over?

A: Yeah. Uhum. It worked for a while. It did work for a while.

Q: What changes?

A: We got 50 percent more police officers right after that, too. . . . Got a bunch of young people. I was glad to see them young people coming aboard. Some of the things they were telling me I couldn't do, they were changing it with these younger officers because they couldn't tell them kids they couldn't go to the night club.

They couldn't tell them they couldn't go to the liquor store and buy a six pack, like they were telling me, "Oh, you'll get in trouble." They kept telling me.

Many times I was the only... I would be the only black officer. When I first started I was the only black officer. And they would tell me, "Well, if you want to drink, go to the liquor store and get yours and take it home, because the people will be watching you. And don't go to the night clubs because people will be watching you."

And so forth. Well, when we brought all these new officers in, these kids, well, you couldn't tell them that. Said they would go where they wanted to, you know. And so it made it better for me, in a sense, when they hired one or two more black police officers. It got a little better.

Q: Did it clear the air in terms of discrimination, that particular Menninger project, do you think?

A: Well, I got my point out to them.

Because I know they had [during my career] passed me over on promotion. They had passed me over as far as going outside and working patrol. The training I got, I did that on my own. My identification course I took, I took that by correspondence. I had a chief at that time--Hazelett. He had already taken that course himself 30 years before I did. When he moved up to as far as chief of police, well I figured, "Well, I'll take that course, too."

So he had promoted me to identification officer, and then I went on up [the career ladder] after that, after some more chiefs came.

When I was hired, he told me, he said, "We're going to treat you just like everybody else." Said, "I'm going to put you on traffic." And then he said, "When there's a vacancy in patrol, well then we'll put you in patrol."

Well, there was always vacancies in patrol and I was still outdoors freezing, writing parking tickets and so forth. . . . And they would never move me up. So then I took that course, identification, and my chief, he was overseas in . . . Korea, when he came back, he found out I'd taken that course...

Q: That was Chief Hazelett?

A: And that's when he told me, "We have like 10,000 fingerprints stored in boxes in a vault." So he told me, "Well, I'm going to put you inside for three nights a week. Classify and file all those fingerprints. And you'll also be dispatching." So that's what I did three nights a week.

He said it would be temporary. Well, I was in there for six years temporary. It took me a year to classify and file all those 10,000 fingerprints. But they kept me inside.

So Hazelett left. And Cox. He was the chief. I approached him about it. He was a big liar also. He put me back on days for 30 days. (laugh) Then put me right back on nights again.

But I kept going. Anytime we had a seminar at the university, police seminar, well, I worked at nights,

well I could always go. So I kept going. I kept saving my certificates and things. I had a big stack of certificates.

So when the new chief, Troelstrup, showed up, I went and got my stack of certificates and I gave them to him. So he couldn't figure out why I was stowed away at nights all these years with all this education, experience and things. . . .

He took me off nights. I was made a sergeant in charge of identification. Three months later he made me a lieutenant on technical, well just a service division at that time. . . . It was identification and records, the jail, building and car maintenance. Anything that we could do to keep the officer on the street, that's what we were supposed to do. I had all the civilians working for me, the dispatchers and office assistants, custodians and so forth.

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I made lieutenant. Eventually I got to be the senior lieutenant. Well, when the captain would retire, the senior lieutenant would automatically become the captain. And he would act as acting chief when the chief was gone.

Well, when it come my turn to be captain, they, old Buford [Buford Watson, then City Manager], he decides that we're going to give a test. So they put out, "We're going to give a test." Send in your resume and this kind of crap to the city hall. It said application, so I made application. Went down and took the test.

They had 220 people. They said, "We're going to bring it down to the top five." Then they was going to take it down to the final three. They was going to notify everybody. . . .

I made the final cutdown to five out of 220. I went to the hospital with an ulcer. I looked in the Journal-World and it says the final three, and named one from Kansas City, Missouri, one from Kansas City, Kansas, and one from Lawrence PD. . .

It said the other two had been notified. So I called city hall. I said, "I haven't been notified." So [someone] comes out to the hospital and gives me a

hand written note, says, "You didn't make the final cut." (Laugh)

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Buford called me in before we moved into the new building in '76 and he said he was going to make me captain. He wanted to combine records with communication . . . for city/county. He wanted me to have some rank because I was going to be in charge.

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Right away people in the sheriff's office, they thought I was going to be in charge of them. . . . I told them I was not going to be in charge and I wasn't going to be firing anybody. They started quitting anyway. But anyway.

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I was five out of 220, they say. I don't know.

Q: Obviously, you must have passed the test.

A: They said I did. You can't trust them. I might have been in the final three.

Q: Was it after that that Buford Watson...?

A: Well, see then he told me they were going to have this assistant chief, I was sitting down there, and he was telling me about how he was going to make me captain. And he said we were going to have a major or assistant chief. I say, "Okay, that's fine, but I'm still going to put in for assistant chief." Wish to god I had one of those pocket recorders, because . . . he said, "Well that's fine, Verner, but--46 years old--that's fine Verner, but you know people your age, usually they retire and go to some small city and become chief of police." See, I had him right there: age discrimination. . . . So I just let him go. But I told him, I said, I still was going to take the examination for assistant chief. . . .

Like I say, two or three years later they came back, the guy's quit, so they sent a note So I called the personnel director, I said, "Have you still got my last test?" He said, "Yeah." I said, "It was good enough to get five out of 220," I said. "Use it."

So, he rewrote his memo and sent another one down that anybody who wants to put in for assistant chief has to make out an application, send in his resume and take an examination.

So I said, "Well, I'm not sending no resume. You've already got my old one. Use it." I said, "You got my application from the last time, use it." I said, "You got my . . . from the last time." I said, "Use that."

The next day, I got a typewritten letter telling me that I was no longer being... I wasn't going, eligible to become assistant chief of police. Because I wouldn't fill out all them stupid forms. I told him to use my old ones. I really didn't want it anyway.

. . . I knew they were playing games. I had just had it with them. . . . Retired.

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[Note: A discussion of communications equipment that Newman said was leading equipment in the field is deleted. Newman was in charge of selecting and overseeing this equipment.]

A: . . . I was the only black president in the whole history of the Association of Public Safety Communications in the whole United States. . . .

When I was first vice-president, they had the national conference in Kansas City. And so the assistant city manager, he gave me \$120 to go.

The next year, I was president. It was in San Diego. And I asked for \$300 for the airplane . . .

I had already borrowed some money from a loan company and bought my ticket and so forth. I was too late to get the hotel I wanted. I had to stay at the Holiday Inn across the interstate. [Note: Newman said the association is fifty or sixty years old.]

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Q: Can you understand why a lot of blacks at that time were mad enough to express themselves that way?

A: Yeah. I can remember labor day, I think this was in '70 . . . but we finally got a break. Some of us got to take off. Labor Day, yeah. Because I was going to Topeka to my wife's family to have a picnic at the lake.

And before I got to leave, I heard this police call on my scanner that there was a car load of blacks from Leavenworth going south on Massachusetts. And every police car we had went after them.

I said, "Oh, my God." I said, "All they're doing is going to a picnic somewhere." I said, "The blacks, they go everywhere for picnics on the holidays, you know. And that's all they're doing."

And that's all they were doing, too.

Every time they saw a car with more than two or three blacks in it, immediately, they stopped them. We had police cars running around here with four police officers in it.

[One officer] pulled a car of blacks over on West 6th, and he was just a rookie. And the first thing he did was pull his weapon out.

Q: On the blacks?

A: Uhum.

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Q: If there was something you really wanted people to read about the racism at that time, and the reasons for some of these things, and the effectiveness of the Menningers project, what would you say to them, being...?

A: Well, the Menningers project was good. I think they probably should every 10 years or less just to keep it going.

Like right now they tell me there's 60 percent new people in Lawrence. . . . I talked to a guy up to the Radio Shack the other day and he was telling me that--he's a Mexican--and he was telling me about all the prejudice and racism that he's seen here in Lawrence. He can't believe it.

And I told him, "It's not getting any better. It's getting worse. Worser."

Q: Do you think it is getting worse?

A: Yeah. I do.

Q: Now in 1990?

A: Yeah. I do. I do.

Q: Can you...

A: I really do. A lot of people blame it on Reagan. But I don't know who to blame it on. But I know that people are getting... It seems like to me they're getting bolder and it used to be, here in Lawrence especially, the whites were your friends as long as you were looking at them. And soon as they got past you, nothing.

That's what I always say about the white male from the South, if he didn't like you, he was man enough to tell you up front. Where the white male up North, he won't do that. He just pretends.

But now, they're getting bolder to me. I've had encounters with people on the street, whites on the street, that's threatened me. And I've had, been threatened in the shopping center, and so forth. They didn't do these things before. And now they're doing it.

Q: Not even in the '70's.

A: [No.] Now everybody's, "Hey, get out of my way." Or, "Which way are you going." I had a guy invite me out in the county. He tried to run over me. Or tried to get me to run into him. And I, actually, I saved his life. He tried to make a left turn off of Sixth Street. And he didn't see that car parked in front of him. So I wouldn't let him get around me. He wanted to pass me, and I wouldn't let him pass me. But if he had've, he'd have run right into that car, and probably would have killed himself. So every corner, all the way down to 6th and Tennessee, he kept stopping in front of me. And finally at 6th and Kentucky, he pulled over. And he invited me out in the county.

Q: [To fight?]

A: Yeah. . . .And see that never happened before. And I went out and filed a complaint at the police department. I said if this ever happened when I was retired, I'd probably kill them myself, but I went down to the police department and filed a complaint.

The police officer was sitting in there, and I said I wanted to file a complaint. I said, "You want to take this complaint?"

He said, "No."

Finally the sergeant came in. Well, he still called me captain. He said, "Hi, Captain, what's up?"

I said, "Well, I want to file a complaint, but this officer told me he didn't want to take it."

He said, "Well, I'll take it."

So this officer said, "Well, I'll take it. I didn't know you was serious. What's your name?"

I said, "Well, I'll be darned." I said, "I only been gone a year. Now nobody down here knows my name."

He said, "Well, all I know is your name's Newman. That's all I know."

See, he is the one I'd interviewed three times. He got turned down three times. And as soon as I left, they hired him.

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The Lawrence Plan, like I said, it seemed to me there was a city in Minnesota . . . that adopted that plan. [Note: The Lawrence Plan was patterned after the Police-Community Relations Program.]

We had, after that, we had a steering committee in human relations for the city of Lawrence. Let's see. There was two police officers, . . . two professors, city commissioner, a black preacher, a representative from Haskell, and two, three street people. We met at city hall every week for a whole cotton-picking year.

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Q: This was in 1972?

A: Uhum.

Q: The steering committee's task was to do what?

A: . . . Trying to solve more problems. Actions of blacks and whites and Indians and street people, students and...

Q: Was that a follow-up on the Menninger project, then?

A: Yeah. It was pretty good. . . . I, we stuck it out. . . .

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Q: You said you work in Topeka now and have retired from the force?

A: Yeah, I retired June 1, 1980. . . . I signed up. I was 24 years old when I signed up. . . . I got my 25 years in and I had to go to my 50th birthday, the 31st of May. And I left June 1. . . . But I could have stayed until I was 60.

Q: Why did you leave early?

A: I was fed up. I was sick.

Q: Did you have ulcers still?

A: I had four ulcers. I had a drinking problem. "I've had it," as my chief would say. "I've had it." I used to hate to get up in the morning and go to work and do nothing. They wouldn't let me do anything. . . . "Oh, I'll get with you later. I'll get with you later. I'll get with you later." I was just setting there doing nothing. . . .

Q: Now, you said you had a drinking problem? . . .

A: It got real bad in the '70's.

Q: Is that something that's common on the force?

A: Yeah. Number one . . . as a problem. . . . Divorce is number one. . . . Suicide is getting to be number one. . . . Suicide, drinking and divorce. Divorce and drinking and suicide. Suicide is the third. Drinking and divorce is number one. . . . Leading the nation in

drinking and divorces. They're about the third in suicides.

Q: Of all the professions?

A: Yeah. It's a big stress. Real big stress. And mostly I used to get on the police officers I teach. They don't belong to any kind... They don't belong to nothing unless it's a police organization. They don't belong to civic organizations. They don't belong to churches. And whenever they would go out, they would always go with other police officers. Police officers and their wives. And all they would talk about is what they did at work.

And that's one thing I didn't do. I mean, I belong to Noon Optimists, American Legion and . . . Association of Identification, APCO. I'm a Mason. I was an Elk.

I used to try to get those guys to get away from that police thing all the time, you know. But they wouldn't do it. They just wanted to associate with police officers all the time. And drink fast and hard. And go after the coffee shop girls and end up with divorces. Girls still like uniforms. It was stressful. I don't care what anybody says, it was stressful.

There's a lot of them that don't, they don't know that they have a drinking problem.

But like me, I was a beer drinker. I just couldn't get it in my head that you could have a problem drinking beer. I just found out that that's the worst thing to be drinking, beer. . . .

But I guess you just don't realize. There was one down there, he don't drink there now, he left. Went up to the lodge one night, two years ago, he drove all the way into Lawrence and went down to the police department and gave himself a breathalyzer test. He thought it was funny. But he was drunk.

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A year after I retired I knew this lady out to Douglas County Alcoholism. And they were going out there and give them a little lecture. You know when they'd come back they told me they were glad. They wish she would come back, but she never was invited back. I told that lady out there, you know there's [a lot] of

those police officers that are alcoholics and they don't even know it. . . . And it is. It's a big, big problem.

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Q: . . . I would think 1970 would've been one of the more stressful years.

A: We had one guy who owned a liquor store. He gave us a quart of scotch. We got off at 4 o'clock in the morning and we drank that quart of scotch. And neither one of us got intoxicated. We went back to work at eight. That's how tired we were and stressed up. Now I didn't think anybody would ...

Q: Between the two of you, a quart of scotch? That was during the '70's?

A: Yeah. It didn't affect us. None whatsoever. We were just so keyed up, tensed up. I said I had quit in '82. But he didn't quit. And that's what killed him two years ago. After he retired he died. From alcoholism.

Q: So right when you quit the force you quit drinking too?

A: Two years later I did.

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Q: Do you think the students were serious about the antiwar protests and the black-white issues? When they were out protesting?

A: The students and the blacks, now they were getting along real good.

Q: The students and the blacks?

A: Yeah. Together, they were together more or less. The only thing that really upset me was that we had certain students, you know, I don't know whether they were local or what. But they were, the white students were, influencing the blacks to shoot out the street lights at 8th and New Jersey. And set fires and things.

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Q: I see. And how did you learn this?

A: They would tell me. . . . I had several connections up there.

And that would upset me because they were dumb enough to do it. Shoot out the street lights. My guess is they would try to burn down the high school and they didn't even know what they were doing. They just probably saw it in a movie somewhere. Somebody making Molotov cocktails. Because they didn't know what they were doing. Like I said, they ran so fast they blew the wick out. They didn't know what they were doing.

Q: Well, nobody knows whether that was blacks or whites, do they?

A: Well, one picture that I had for this out here at the high school where they was leading these black kids, whether or not they were doing it, the people who were leading them were KU students. Older black students. It wasn't Lawrence kids that were doing it. It was our KU students. That didn't live in Lawrence. Not Lawrence people, I should say.

Q: Was the attempt at bombing the high school, was that black?

A: Yeah, it was black. But like I said, they were just firebombs. They didn't know what they were doing.

Q: How did they know it was blacks?

A: I mean they set it outside of a window.

And then they ran. Now how is it going to do any good, setting it outside of a window? They were seen running.

Q: Oh. I see.

A: Now the night of the ROTC, that night up there, they knew that was white. Now the high school, that was black. They were told, "Tonight, . . . start a ruckus. And when they come running, go somewhere else." They had us running all over the city chasing them you know, and then the whites would do something on the campus. They were just using the blacks. They weren't devoted to them. Really, they didn't have any black agitators

to come in directly to go to the ones in east Lawrence. They had white agitators going up to the University.

Q: So you don't feel like the agitators in the black community were outside...

A: Now we had one, he lived here.

Q: Leonard Harrison?

A: Harrison. Yeah. In a sense he actually got that swimming pool over there, because the thing's built. The background, the early background, the things he did, was one of the reasons we got that swimming pool. Because those people in west Lawrence, I mean they just decided, "We've had enough." You know, "We're going to help them get a swimming pool." So he did help in that way, you know. But he was one that was telling them do these things all over the city to keep the police department running all night long chasing them, you know. But he started all that stuff.

Q: You think he started all this stuff?

A: Yeah. He put a lot of this stuff in those kids' heads. I'm aware of that. I knew black people that would volunteer to run him out of town themselves, you know. I had a black man would tell me, "Just give me the word and I'll tar and feather him and run him out of Lawrence."

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[Note: Newman next talked about a controversial speaker.]

Churches tried to help. There is still a lot of things. Either they are going the wrong way or I'm going the wrong way. I don't know what it is. But I'm going to keep getting up here and talking to those students. . . .

If the students want to hear him talk, to me, I think they should have let him go ahead and talk. That's their thing. That's their school. I'd say the same thing when Rubin came here and them others came here. That's the only way they are going to learn is to hear the other side.

Instead of just hearing what comes out of the newspaper and TV. What the preachers said was, "No, no we can't have those people come up here and do this and do that and talk to these kids." These kids need to make up their own minds. So I guess I'm different that way.

I would have gone on and let the Ku Klux Klan go up there and meet with those people and get it over with. Because when I went in the Navy, I went in three months before the Korean War. I knew a little bit about Communism. I didn't know that much, but there were so many people out there that didn't know a darn thing about Communism.

That's one thing I think is wrong in trying to deny the students opportunity to hear from the other sides up there on campus.

Q: Do you think the curfew was a success or not?

A: The first night it may have been a success, but the second night, everybody was picking up everybody. There were people standing out on their front porch and in the front yard that were being arrested. We had drunks that were arrested and thrown in for curfew. We had people that had a sculpture conference here. People, sculptors from all over the world, they were here. They got arrested walking down Sixth Street.

Q: So you know that because you...

A: Finger printed them.

Q: Finger printed them and...

A: But we had this one couple that I'll never forget. I told them if they would just plead guilty, they would dismiss it and let them go. But if they pleaded not guilty, then they would have to post bond and then come back for a trial. Well, this girl, she said, "Okay." But the guy, he said, "I don't want to do that." I said, "Look." I instantly got mad. I said, "Why don't you just get out of here." That was the fourth night I had been working 20-hour shifts. I was so mad at him. He looked at me and I guess he decided, "I better do what he says."

Q: Let's see, you'd been finger printing and taking photographs...

A: Yeah, see the first night we had 60 some arrests. Sixty-six I think it was. And I had to do three sets of prints for each one of those persons arrested. One for KBI, one for the FBI and one for our town.

You see our jail only held 15 people. I had 66 people stuffed up in those cells. And so I made this big decision that I was in charge of handing out curfew passes. So I gave two of the house men a curfew pass. [Note: The Lawrence Daily Journal-World said 12 were arrested the first night of curfew; 45 on the second night; and 18 on the third night. More people than this may have been detained.]

Then I gave that Jewish professor up there that nobody liked, I gave him a curfew pass. Because he was transporting from the jail back up to the campus so they wouldn't get rearrested. Well, somehow it got back to the city manager. And he got upset.

Q: Why?

A: Because I gave that Jewish professor a pass. He didn't say anything about the other two.

Q: What was the...

A: He was the one that kept trying to get the swimming pool and every day they would throw crap on his porch and call the fire department to his house at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning.

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Q: The city manager didn't want you giving him a pass?

A: No. He had heard some, I gave this couple, they had come... They went to Kansas City to buy a motorcycle. And they came back and broke down about a mile from town and they got a ride into Lawrence. They told the guy at the gate what happened and they were going to get a truck and come back. They wanted to know what they should do. He told them to: "Keep your card, your ticket, and there is a highway patrolman down there on North Second. Tell him what happened, you know, we've got a curfew on. You don't want to get arrested." So the highway patrolman said, "Well, go ahead and get your truck and come back and I'll let you through."

So they went ahead and did what he said.

And they went and got the little motorcycle and they came back and they got arrested for violating curfew. Well, they came down and when they told me what had happened, well, I just gave them a curfew pass and told them to go on home. Because I knew. I had called the highway patrolman and he had told me he had given them permission to go back and forth. So I gave them a curfew pass and told them to just go on home.

Well, that got back to the city manager.

They always, he thought they were black people. He said, "I hear you're just giving out curfew passes to black people."

I said, "I gave out one curfew pass to one black person who worked for the federal government down in Ottawa."

I said the other four I gave were to white people. He said, "Well, they told me they were black." He said, "I'm going to have the city clerk start handing out the curfew passes."

Q: So how many people were arrested the second night?

A: Oh, there were maybe about half as many. Maybe 40. The second night wasn't like the first night. It was still bad. But we didn't have that many in jail. We had more drunks the second night that were just wandering around looking to see what was going on.

Q: And how about the third night?

A: It was about the same. It was working better, I would say, the operation was working better. A lot of the mothers were calling . . . I remember their parents coming up here at 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning to get them, wearing sunglasses. Jimminy Christmas. Hippie mamas.

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Q: Yeah.

A: It was like a war zone. I had eight army people assigned to me. I was just taking care of prisoners. I took one girl and put her in jail. Someone asked where'd that girl go? I said I think she is over in that cell. The guy said, "God, our girl is just 12

years old. She ran away from home and has been up on campus for a week." She'd been there for a week with the street people and she had gotten caught up in the curfew. And she got put in jail with the rest of these adult people. Man, we had to stack them in the shower.

I thought I was doing the right thing, you know. Giving those curfew passes to people so they wouldn't get rearrested. They would have gotten rearrested if they had gone back out on the street and walked back to campus.

But see the man thought I was handing them out to make the black people a deal. So he took me off that deal, which I didn't care. Those stupid passes.

Q: So you found that a lot of your actions were questioned on the basis of...

A: Yeah. . . . The black guy that I gave a pass to was from Ottawa. And he worked for the Federal Government.

Now I asked the highway patrolman that was stationed in Ottawa, I asked him did he know him. And he said, "Yes, he worked a freight yard job down there somewhere."

Then my mother was involved in this organization and he knew her. And he was telling me a bunch of crap about what a nice lady she was and so forth. . . . And was he visiting his girl friend, and he was on his way back to Ottawa when they stopped him and brought him all the way back.

So, I asked this highway patrolman and he said, "Yeah, I know him." I said, "Okay, you get on." I gave him to them.

But the human resource director found out, Sturns is his name. I said "Vern," I said, "Will you help him out?" He said, "Yeah I'll take care of him." So Vern took him out of there.

Well, come to find out, after he left--I didn't know it--but the highway patrolman knew it! But he didn't tell me that that was the second time he'd been arrested. He'd run him out of town once and he'd turned around and come back...

And so that's when he got picked up again the second time. Well, they didn't tell me that until after I'd sent him out of here.

But that was the only black that I had given a curfew pass and, you know, let him get out of here.

Q: So did you feel like you were in the middle? As a black person?

A: I knew I was in the middle.

Just like when they gave me those eight army people, because they were enlisted men and they had a lieutenant. He was a real young guy, he was probably 25 years old.

Well, he definitely got upset when they told him he had to work for me. So he just left. I mean he left the building and left his men there. . . . He didn't want to work for a black man. Which I couldn't have cared less.

Q: Well, there was not anything else he knew about you.

A: He didn't want to work for me, that's what it was. I was a lieutenant on the police department, but he didn't want to work for me. I guess he thought he was a gentleman and an officer and I was just black, period. He wasn't going to take orders from me.

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[Note: Newman began a story about three men who were going to shoot hippies from a hill at the Big Eat, an annual gathering of people with long hair, also attended by professionals around town.]

A: They went out and got up on this hillside and they were going to fire down into them. They were reckless.
. . . .

It was the same year, it was the year after Dowdell died. . . . That's when all the kids came from all over. They came along out there . . . [drank] wine and smoked pot.

They went out there and they were up on a hillside looking down at them with rifles, and they were going to start picking them off.

Rex Johnson and Stanwix, they heard about it, so they went out there and talked to them and talked them out of it.

Q: And the fourth vigilante that was going to go up and take care of the Big Eat?

A: Yeah. There was a fourth, but I can't remember who the fourth one was now.

. . . But [two of the men], they were, to me I mean, they treated me good and they treated other blacks good. . . .

Q: They didn't like the hippies.

A: No way, José. . . . But they were going to shoot down onto them. And then the next year, they were going to do the same thing.

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[Note: The following story is about a man who guarded his business with a gun during the curfew days.]

. . . when I first came back to Lawrence in '54, he had a laundry [here.] He had these ladies working there. They told me they didn't do blacks' clothing. So I just got mad. We didn't have no washing machine or anything. So I took an old basket of old clothes and I put my police uniform on. I walked in there . . . and they looked at me just as funny. But they went ahead and washed them. And that was my first encounter with him.

. . . Students had set up booths . . . [near his new business downtown]. Students had card tables down there and they were handing out pamphlets and things. And he went down there and just kicked the card table over and just threw the things everywhere.

Q: When was this?

A: During the riot days.

Q: During the protest.

A: Don't know which one. . . . We had the curfew. This was during the daytime because of that curfew. He

would go down there and he would stand in his doorway with his rifle, and that was illegal.

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A: Like I say that curfew at night, he was standing out in the doorway with his rifle and that was illegal, but they never would do anything about it.

Q: They didn't arrest him.

A: [No.]

I made peace with one of the hippies. He was killed two or three years ago.

But the chief and the assistant chief, they decided they were going . . . to Georgia. So they left me in charge. But they didn't tell me about the Big Eat. That was the day, that was the year of the headstone. Yeah, that was the year of the headstone. But they didn't tell me about that, and they didn't tell me about the Big Eat when they left. They just left me in charge.

Q: The year of the headstone.

A: Yeah. That's when the blacks brought this headstone . . . east Lawrence all the way out to the cemetery. Horse drawn carriage, like Martin Luther King thing.

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Q: You were acting chief.

A: Of the police department. And they didn't tell me about the Big Eat, and they didn't tell me about they was going to take that headstone and all the people was going to be there. News. And all that stuff. They just left me.

. . . But I tricked them. Because I knew the guy out there in charge of the Big Eat. And so I called him. I said, "Look, you son of a bitch, don't you all do nothing 'till they get back." He said, "Okay, Verner."

Because he didn't like the chief, or the sheriff. And so they did. They went out there and he told all

them, "We're not going to do anything because Verner's in charge."

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Q: Who did you call?

A: Okay, I can't remember his...

Q: Did he get killed? Somebody shot him over in north Lawrence?

A: Yeah. God, I can't remember. And I really, I liked him, too. Though he was a street person and selling pot.

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Q: Was there a vigilante attempt that year, too?

A: No. That was the year before.

Q: So the vigilante attempt was during 1970.

A: Yeah.

Q: So in 1971, you were left in charge. And in 1970, they went out and talked to these four men with guns.

A: Yeah.

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Some was scary, some was stressful, some was funny.

Q: Over the years. Is there more that you think Lawrence needs to do on the white-black issue?

A: . . . Starting in grade school, just leave the children alone. Let them go ahead and play . . . together. . . .

Q: So this Menninger project. Do you think possibly it might be used every 10 years or so, or more often?

A: Yeah. I think that's a good idea. . . . Talking it out. Those kids got to know that police officers are real people, not monsters. Police officers [need to] know that all kids are not knotheads.

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[He helped to get the profanity ordinance changed, he said, since profanity is contextual and cultural to some extent, and a matter of opinion and culture.]

Richard Beaty

Lawrence, Ks., Basement of St. John the Evangelist Church, September, 1989, about 130 minutes

A: Well, in the two places that I was really involved was the L.A. area and then back here. Uh, both places I felt the blacks really had it pretty well made, were treated pretty equal here. And L.A., you know, I think they had it pretty well made there. And after the riots they didn't have it as made as they did before. Things were different for them. But I think that where they were--"they"--you know, and I hate to say "they" now, but they were stepping on our rights. And maybe they felt they had to to correct what they felt was wrong for them.

Q: What? Can you give me an example of how you felt rights were being stepped on?

A: When I couldn't go where I wanted to go. Because they were rioting and therefore curfews were imposed. Uh, when it wasn't safe for my family to go out at night. You know, because you didn't know what was going to happen to them. Therefore they were stepping on some of mine, you know they were making it unsafe for me. And I didn't, didn't like that.

Q: Yeah. Do you still see it that way pretty much?

A: No. They, and I'll continue to use "they", because that's something...

Q: Okay.

A: I think we're headed back into some more racial times. I really do. Everything that's going on, it's just starting to, the race stuff is starting to pick up again. I don't see them treated as fair as I'm treated.

You give a simple offense, a misdemeanor type offense, if a black goes to court and I go to court, the black is probably going to do time and I'm not. So, no, they're not being treated fair.

Q: How about in work areas? Do you think there is some fairness there?

A: No.

Q: Education?

A: Yeah, now there's a place that I see us being stepped on again. I think they have more, are being given more programs. And they, I guess I would include all the, what we would call poor, or minorities.

Q: Okay. . . . At the time did you think those same things?

A: No. I thought that from Kennedy on I thought we started giving too much.

Q: Too much what?

A: Programs. Money. It was easier for a black to get assistance on something or a poor or a minority, a woman than it was for a middle class white person.

Q: Did you think at the time that as well they had inequity in the law?

A: Oh yeah. They always have.

Q: So you saw the areas where they were mistreated?

A: Sure.

Q: So can you put yourself in one camp or the other?
As a . . .

A: As far as feelings? Or seeing, you know, you mean classify myself?

Q: Yeah, I suppose so. I guess because one area you're talking about ideas and policies. And the other area you're talking about emotional empathy. Where do you stand on that? On the emotional empathy front?

A: I wish I knew. I watched Mississippi Burning the other night. One of my best friends right now is a black man, same age I am. . . . We work together a lot. . . . He helps me. I help him. We go to lunch two or three times a week. Probably shoot pool two or three times a week. Drink a little beer together. And visit a lot. And about everything--very open. . . . I call him 'nigger.' He calls me 'honky.' It's in love. . . .

Q: . . . In what areas do you think we still have inequality going on?

A: Generally everything. . . .

. . . But in watching the movie I can see where a lot of the stuff I still agree with. I do not agree with mistreatment of the human. I mean a human, regardless of color, should be treated the same. The actions, I think need to be treated different. . . .

. . . The movie, I think, was a kind of a political thing, more or less. I'm not sure if it wasn't made to enstir more feelings than anything, because it brought back all that stuff of the '60's, '50's, '60's, '70's.

Uh, actions...the fair the other night. The county fair. As you walk through a very crowded area, most people will kind of work so that they don't bump into one another. The blacks seem to go out of their way to bump into you.

Now maybe that's me seeing it, but I think it happens. The, just the way they act. I sound very racist here don't I?

Q: I'm not viewing [this interview] that way. I'm really not. I'm just kind of trying to get [your views]. You know, I'm not trying to pin anybody to a stereotype.

A: Well no. But I think I do sound awfully racist. But it's the same with the whites, the ones that are outside the norm. As I see the norm. The norm being, "Live and let live," I guess. Not stepping on somebody else's property, not stepping on other people's rights or trying to take those rights away from them.

Q: Which rights? I think right now, you're talking about space, not stepping on property, leaving, giving a sense of space? What you have to do to get, to get through? I mean, cultural differences.

A: Uhum.

Q: Some places that you have to give someone three feet and bow and other places in order to get through you have to plow right through--in New York. In other places you have to... But what you're talking about are just... There are style differences that bother you about space there? And then giving someone their rights in other ways. Is that what you're saying? Kind of?

A: Kind of. And I guess I'm not, probably, would take me quite a while to just keep talking to get out what I'm trying to say. You learn to talk in kind of a protective way.

Q: Yeah, especially if you're going to be quoted. So that's why I'm asking more questions, too. Because it would be nice to be able to grab the kernel of it instead of the distortion that comes out when people are...uh.

A: I guess respect of one another. I don't see the black race having the respect of humans that I see in the whites.

Q: Do you, what reason do you think there is?

A: Probably doing what they can with what they have. To try to feel important. Generally I don't think blacks have what we do.

Q: So it's a kind of a self-esteem issue?

A: I think so. . . .

Q: . . . You know, you said you had a beer with Rick Dowdell [shortly before Dowdell was killed by a policeman in an alley July 16 around 10:30 p.m.] . . .

A: . . . He came by. I was working part time at a service station. And he came by and we visited. He was to... He was to start a job at KP&L on Monday morning. . . .

Q: Doing what, do you know?

A: I don't remember. Just a laborer, I think, but KPL pays pretty good and he was pretty excited. Potential for advancement, what not, was good there, so...

. . . But I know he had the job. I know he'd been looking. He was wanting something and he...

. . . We went to one of the bars. I don't remember which one it was now. Maybe it was even Green's, which was an all-black bar. Very few white boys drank there.

Q: Green's? Was that Green Gables?

A: Green Gables, yeah. . . . On 8th Street between New Jersey and New York maybe. . . . Afro House was... The service station I worked at was at 10th and New Hampshire. And my mother's house was right next door. And Afro House was just a block away on 10th Street between Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Q: So you grew up in east Lawrence.

A: Yeah. . . . 10th and New Hampshire. I lived by New York School. . . .

Q: . . . You were just in the neighborhood. And so you went and you got a beer to celebrate?

A: . . . Just talking, yeah.

Q: Just talking. And was that typical for you?

A: Yeah. Yeah it was.

Q: And did you call that racist? I mean...

A: No. That old racist, racist statement that I've got a lot of friends that are black. Most of us prejudiced boys...

Q: Say that?

A: ...would say that. I think I've always treated people like they've treated me. And I was, have always been treated just pretty good by the blacks. We fought during school, but then we'd do other things, too.

Q: Like what?

A: Never nothing too social. I mean, never really best friends or anything like. More, just friends, and because of the whole group. You know, some that I run with were good friends with some of the others and so we were all together. And can't ever say that back in those days I really had a close friend that was black. I had what you would call friends but nothing really close.

Q: But now you do?

A: Yeah. Bob's probably one of my better friends right now.

Q: I wonder if that's a racist statement. . . . Would that be considered a racist statement by those people who find that statement offensive?

A: Probably. . . . Would depend if you're coming from the white angle or the black angle, probably. The whites would probably have some envy because they would like to be in. They, they talk, being very social people in wanting to do what they can to help people, but they still stay on their side of the fence. Uh. And therefore they would like to be able to cross over and be friends and visit in the houses and what not. From the black side they would just as soon the black race stay with the black race, stay away from the white race.

Q: Oh, you think so?

A: I think so.

Q: So for someone to say, "One of my best friends is black," what does that mean to them? . . . (fades)

A: The black stepping out of his race. . . .

Q: . . . Do you think there are other reasons why it's such a resented statement? (Laugh) This question's puzzled me a long time.

A: Probably... Probably because they wonder about the truth of it.

Q: Whether it's a condescending statement or a superficial statement or this person has 50 friends and they have a collection or using a friend as an example? Or something like that?

A: Something along those lines. It's, uh, I still don't think it's totally accepted. . . . That the black, white are being together. I still don't think that's accepted. . . . That they're mixing.

Q: Yeah. On both sides.

A: Bob and I have a lot of fun, a lot of fun with it. In public places we will say things that are racist and we get a lot of reaction from it. . . . We're just playing with it. We go to the hardware store together and get a lot of vibes, or something, and I'll say, "Boy, pick that up. Carry it out to the truck." He'll say, "Yes, sir, mister Beaty." And people will look. You get a lot of...

You know I fell off a ladder last year and split my head open. And it was all bandaged up. And we was out at Ace Hardware. And I'm out there a lot so they all know me. Well, one gal asked what had happened and Bob was standing right behind me, and before I could say anything, he stepped up and said, "Well, that sonofabitch called me a 'nigger' and I'm just tired of him."

So they didn't know what to say. They thought maybe he had hit me. And things like that. We do a lot of that.

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[Note: The following is included to show reactions and beliefs about the death after the death of Dowdell, and was, Beaty said, his opinion.]

Q: Well, what did you think the next day when you heard [Rick Dowdell] had been shot in an alley? Did you think that was his gun? Did you think, what? What did you believe was the situation?

A: When I first heard it, I suppose I, I would imagine I probably had some thought like, "Well, you dumb . . . , what were you doing? You had it made, why'd you do something like this." And then after hearing the stories from the ones that was with him, that yeah, and others that knew what was happening and seen what happened, I think he was a victim of circumstances.

I think he left Afro House, things were so tense, that the police were following him. I think he had the gun just to be a big shot.

Q: Do you think it was his gun?

A: Oh, I'm sure it was. And I think he probably was afraid that if he stopped and they found a gun, he was in trouble. He probably run and got cornered. And I wouldn't be a bit surprised what he took the gun out to throw it to 'em and when he did they shot him. I don't even think the gun was loaded.

Q: What makes you think that? Is that just your opinion, or just...?

A: Just my opinion. I really don't know.

. [Note: The KBI report published in the newspaper said the gun was loaded and fired. This section was included to indicate that the report in the newspaper may have had little lasting effect on the beliefs about Dowdell's death.]

Q: They said he did.

A: I don't think they said he did.

Q: There was a question, always a question about that. There are some people who say... The testimony was how many shots were heard. . . .

A: . . . But see, the police can say just about what they want to say and it becomes the truth just because they say it.

Q: Yeah. Were you in a support group for the police? There was a group you mentioned that had some national connections. . . .

A: The Minutemen.

Q: The Minutemen. Okay.

A: Dupree [sic] was the national leader. I also was involved a little with the Klan, never what you would call a card-carrying member but I knew 'em and they knew me.

Q: Meaning they thought you were a friend?

A: Yes.

Q: What did it mean to be a friend to the Klan?

A: I suppose that it meant that if the time came that you would fall in line behind them.

Q: Are they right? Would you have?

A: (Pause) Yes.

Q: Would you now?

A: (long pause) In some instances, yes.

Q: What instances then and what instances now, and what's changed and why?

A: There was one time they were going to take the high school. It came through the underground...

Q: Blacks were going to take the high school?

A: Yes. It came through the underground and it was a show of force, probably about 50 of us that was there well-armed, probably stupid enough at the time to have done anything had something happened. We were lucky I suppose that nothing...

Q: And that was an action of the Minutemen?

A: Yes.

Q: And that was the only thing that the Minutemen did then, is that right, as a group?

A: As a group, yes.

Q: . . . Was that in 1970 or '71, or...?

A: Oh, that'd have been early '70, '71, '72, somewhere in there.

Q: Do you still think that was the best way to handle that, or a good way? (long pause) Were you there with the permission of the police, or to back up the police, or you were just there?

A: No. No, I suppose the police didn't want us there.

Q: What about that? Do you think that was a good...?

A: Not being a pacifist, yes, I do. I think that there comes a time when the only way to stop violence is with violence.

Q: Obviously, if that's the reason they decided to take over the high school, then we have a cycle. Do you, do you see a problem there? I mean, how is that...

A: Sure. Sure, where does it stop?

Q: Does it...? Is it just a matter, then, of, do you think...?

A: Who's... Who's become the more powerful.

Q: Who is more powerful. . . . Do you buy that, then, that in the end might does make right because it's just a matter of which of us is more powerful?

A: No.

Q: Okay. Can you make sense of that? I mean, you know, where your values...? And yet you would do it again? Is that...?

A: That becomes the paradox of this whole thing. It, uh, I see times when you have to, when you have to protect yourself or protect what you believe in.

Other times I suppose it's been proven that the pacifists can change things. Gandhi. The first time I seen the movie I hated the man. . . .

Because he would stand there and let people beat on him and he just, it just was foreign to me, it was just foreign to my way of thinking. I... If struck, I would strike back.

The second time I was upset with the people that were on the other side, that were striking him. And the third time, then I could see what it was.

Q: But you went to the effort of looking at it three times. Why was that?

A: I've seen it five times. . . .

I guess when you come down to it, I would like to be a pacifist. I think that's really where it's at. But it is very foreign to my nature.

Q: So you, you still think if the Klan said... Under what conditions now would you...? Well, under what conditions then would you have been prepared?

A: Probably, number one, anytime I thought my family was threatened; number two, my way of life, my freedoms. . . . To come and go as I want, for my kids to be able to go where they want. . . . Or to be able to go to school without fear.

Q: . . . Now, is that still the same, have your parameters changed here?

A: They have, but I'm not sure that I wouldn't still react. . . .

Q: . . . So your values have become more pacifistic?

A: Yes. . . . I'm much more contained than I used to be, but I think if it came right down... If it was just me threatened, I don't believe I would react. If it was my wife or kids, mother, whatever, I probably would react. . . .

Q: . . . Well, in order to protect your children or somebody, would you go for revenge or just self-defense or, I mean, what...?

A: Just self-defense. I, we rarely...

Q: What do you see the Klan as doing, you know Klan people at this point? What is the Klan up to at this point, as far as you know?

A: I don't think they're active at all right now. There's still people here; they're still card-carrying Klan's members. Uh. In Lawrence, there's probably very few that actually would say they're associated with the Klan. Kansas City, Topeka, there's some pretty good groups.

Q: By, by "good groups," what do you mean?

A: Size. Size.

Q: And do you know any of those people in Kansas City and Topeka?

A: A few of 'em.

Q: Yeah. So what do you think their behavior would be? What would bring them to act? And what would...?

A: These particular people, probably the same thing as me. When they would feel threatened especially for family, friends, things like that, they would react. I don't think that the people here are the same as the white supremists. I think these people are more just protecting themselves. Their property.

Q: So you think there might be a difference between somebody who has an idea that things could get bad and they could be the recipient of violence and someone who wants to maintain a white supremacy club? Do the people you know in the Klan support the idea that whites are better?

A: No.

Q: Do they think that there is racism?

A: When you would come down to the basics of it they probably would say, "Yeah, we're better." But I don't think that's a big thing.

Q: They might say that or they probably would say that? Now what does your friend Bob think if you were to be, have anything to do with the Klan? Does, I mean, have you talked to him about this?

A: Uh, Bob's association of the Klan is the old Klan that burned crosses and beat "niggers" and that type thing. So his reaction is his.

Q: Well, do you think that Klan still exists somewhere?

A: Oh, yeah. I'm sure it does. I don't think they're as open as they were.

Q: Does he feel wary of you then, or...?

A: No. No, he knows that I know Bob for who Bob is, not for because he's black or because he's white or anything else, he's just, he's Bob, the human, my friend, you know, as any white is. Bob, the white man,

is a friend. Same thing. They're my friends. They're not black, they're not whatever.

Q: Do you think that, okay. So you think the Klan, however, in the area has changed? What was it like then? Did it do, were there any activities that you know of?

A: No. Nothing that really... There was some (pause) very (pause) individual efforts. Nothing that the Klan as a group did. Uh.

Q: What do you know of any individual...?

A: SDS, for instance, was coming to KU. The night before the elections, which a certain few were sure to be in, they were beat up; put in the hospital. I think that was a group effort of the Minutemen and the Klan.

Q: Uh, okay. So that was the night before which elections?

A: For the SDS. Students for Democratic Society.

Q: Elections?

A: For their officers on the campus here, yes.

Q: What year was that?

A: '74, I believe.

Q: Do you know who ended up in the hospital?

A: The top runners, and I don't know their names. The ones that probably would have been elected. And I don't think they were hurt seriously.

When you get down to it, more of my reaction was against the...

Q: Did you help beat them up?

A: I was involved.

Q: Were you?

A: Yeah. More of my reaction at the time was against the--and they weren't, they weren't hippies--they were just the, the white activist, the ones that were pushing

to get things going under the guise of helping the blacks, you know. The, uh... The SDS. The... Oh, all the protest at the time brought by the whites, it seemed as if they were using the black situation to further their cause.

Q: Where do you think they were really coming from? What were they actually really trying to do, in your opinion? SDS.

A: Some of 'em were probably sincere. They really probably wanted to help humanity, whether it was black, white, or anything else. Others just wanted power, power over somebody else.

Q: So this was an issue for them to grandstand on?

A: I think so.

Q: Did that, does that make you angry?

A: Yeah. Again, it uh uh... And I keep saying, "Take away my rights". Well, that doesn't make a whole lot to me. I mean, my rights, I pretty much can do about what I want to do as long as I stay within...

Tape 1, side b

A: I couldn't go out at night. That was never the case. If I wanted to go out at night, I went out. If there was a curfew, I didn't care. If I wanted to go out, I went out and I did what I wanted to do--or went where I wanted to go, I should say.

Actually, I have never been a victim of reverse discrimination if that's what you want to call it, or any of that type of thing. Or a victim of racial violence.

Q: But your interest...you're very...

A: Friends have been.

Q: Okay. What has happened to them? Something has really brought you into a sense of danger about this, does that make sense that I would say that, because...?

A: Oh, I suppose...

Q: For somebody to pick up arms or to gather as a group or something like that there has to be a perceived danger. I'm just wondering how this came into your life?

A: Afro house being so close to my mother's house, there, there was a lot of activity around it. . . . And Afro House was just a half block, well actually a block, away. And so there was a lot of activity around her house. . . . There was shooting in her alley a couple of nights. There was shooting around her house close enough that it could have been, a stray bullet could have went through. And I think just the fear of, of something happening to one of mine.

And just that the way of life was changing. . . .

Q: What... What things were changing for you and what did you have a feeling might change that would make you want to, uh, angry enough or threatened enough to join one of those groups? I mean, what actually was changing or did you think was coming? In store?

A: Just that the streets weren't free anymore. Just... I think that's it. Just that it wasn't the same free streets as it'd always been.

You knew people were carrying guns. You knew that there was potential violence.

Q: See, a lot of people who will read this article have no idea about that. How did you know people were carrying guns? I came home and saw people leaving stores with guns and driving up the street with guns. . . . But how did you know that? Were there snipers in the area? Were, you know...?

A: Yeah, you was hearing gunfire. I was living in the 700 block of Rhode Island at the time. . . . And you heard gunfire often.

I was carrying a gun. I knew somebody was carrying. And I seen guns that were pulled on people. Most of them were proud of the guns. They'd show 'em.

Q: So how many nights a week during, say, that summer did you hear guns?

A: For a short period of time it seemed like it was every night. And a short period of time probably being two to four weeks.

Q: For two to four weeks in July?

A: Uhum. July and August [1970].

Q: Was that the week Dowdell and Nick Rice? . . . That was that summer that you're talking about--that two to four-week period.

A: Yeah.

Q: You heard [gunfire] every night? Were you aware of sniper fire and stuff like that?

A: Yeah. I had a friend that was a detective and I used to ride with him in the evenings a lot just to visit.

Q: Who was that?

A: [Name withheld by request] I don't know if that should be. I'm not sure I should've been in the car.

Q: Oh, okay. He's still on the force?

A: Still on the force. And we were shot at a few times.

Q: Was that as a Minuteman that you were riding in the car with him?

A: No. No, his friend. . . . I was just there as friend. And it was interesting to ride around and hear the radio and see where he went and that type thing. It was kind of an involvement. I thought I was getting a little closer to the inside of it that way type thing.

Q: What ideals like the street people and the anti-war people and the racial movement--where did you fit on all of those? Did you see yourself as anti-war? Or did you see yourself as...? Did you respect any of those values? Did you see anything positive coming out of that?

A: Not then, I didn't.

Q: Do you now?

A: A lot more, yes. Then I was probably what you would term a "warmongler."

Q: And now?

A: Uh, there's times you need to react. Right now with our hostages? I think something should be done. . . . I think military action should be taken sometimes when we're threatened. We have become kind of a paper tiger.

But on the other hand it seems as if we could uh sit down and talk everything out and come to some kind of conclusion and live and let live.

Q: What about the Menninger project? Did that achieve anything like what you're talking about? Do you know much about it?

A: Not a great deal. What?

Q: Well, they had some people come in and pull people together from vigilante groups, probably, maybe the Minutemen, [along with blacks, students, street people, city officials, police, KU administrators to start to communicate with each other again after the curfew and deaths of Rick Dowdell and Nick Rice. I remember one person said to be a vigilante] . . . was really trying to make an effort to listen to the most radical people.

A: I think that most of us that you would call white radicals at the time were probably willing to listen. Very much with their minds made up before we start to listen, as is normal, but I think open enough that if we seen the truth, we would have recognized it.

Q: Can you give me an example of when that happened? For you or for someone else, where people sat down and came away with a different view or you saw someone else come around with a different view from that particular group or from the KKK or...somebody who you would consider a white radical?

A: Probably nothing major.

Q: Kind of a daily effort to...

A: Yeah, just kind of... At the time I had several friends that were younger, college age, that were unsure of where they should be, whether they should be in the college group or, and I think we did a lot of talking and of trying to explain each other's views.

An example that would be... I was on a jury for an assault trial. White/Black. Black girls were accused of assaulting a white girl. And the two that I felt were--there was three girls--and the two that I felt were guilty, the state had given them immunity to testify against the third who I really felt was just a victim, having been there when it happened. And they really tried to railroad her.

And there was a very racist man on the jury with us.

We went in and took a straw poll and it was 11 to 1 to acquit her and the one wouldn't say who he was so finally we just went around the room after we talked about it for an hour or two and we got to him and he was sitting there beside me and when it come his turn to say what he felt and he said, "The goddamn 'nigger's' guilty." Because she was a "nigger" she was guilty in his view.

Q: Did he ever move off that point?

A: Yes. . . . Yes. We talked about four more hours. And very heated for some time. And I don't know if he just got tired or what, but he changed and we was 12 - 0 to acquit her. Most of us felt that she was guilty in some sense of the word. But not guilty of what she was being accused of. . . .

Q: What year was that?

A: Early '70's again. I'd have to go back to make sure, but...

Q: Were you one of the people that you think helped change his mind?

A: I'm sure I was. . . . In fact we had probably two or three that at one point switched to his point of view. And just by reasoning over and over with them and going over what had been said and all that, uh, they finally were convinced that she was not guilty of what they were charging her with.

.

This is something if we could talk for several hours would finally start to come around. I'm sure that I speak very guarded to start with.

Q: Yeah. What do you guard. . .?

A: I suppose not so much of myself but the people on the inside that I can get information from. . . . And if you ever betray a confidence, you've lost everything you ever had.

Q: And also if it happens to be in the newspaper, it's worse. So you're being more guarded?

A: I suppose that I speak very guardedly to start with. And it takes a little while to... And then I guess I'm not really sure what, uh, exactly what you're looking for.

Q: Well, I just want an idea of the era and how people have changed. And what the factors and forces were. See, it's a point of view. I was on the hill and I could have told you what the vocal students had in mind but, say, you know, certainly that wasn't representative of everybody. . . . You have to let people tell their own their own story. . . . There were so many points of view. There were vigilante groups. There were people who didn't think anything was going on at all in the '70's, in the early '70's: "Oh, the union burned but it wasn't such a big deal. You went up there and they got the fire out, no trouble." They just didn't see some of what was going on. . . . It's just a kind of a picture, a whole picture of the town.

A: I guess that's, put simply, that's the time that I would see, when they were bombing Anchor Savings, when they was burning the Union, when they were burning businesses. I seen that as costing me, as threatening my way of life.

Q: Did you see that as drugs or, or street people, or blacks, or women or what was, . . . what did you see behind the scenes there? Because we have mysteries. No one knows.

A: Nobody knows.

Q: Or if anybody does, they aren't telling.

A: When it comes down to it, it's the almighty "they" that we talk about. It's probably all of it political.

Q: Do you think that... Do you think that the Union was a racial tension thing or was it a student thing or was it an outside agitator trying to get something going or...

A: I think an outside agitator set up the students. I don't see it as a racial thing.

Q: As far as the Student Union goes, you mean?

A: As I remember.

Q: Uhuh. Okay. What activities were, was, were the Minutemen doing then? Like, were they having target practice, were they...? I know there was one place on Tennessee Street where there were a bunch of street people living there and they were doing target practice. And I was wondering if there were other things like that going on.

A: I think mostly we sat around and talked about what we would do "if" and stockpiled weapons, more blowing one another's whistle, you might say to, to build us up. Uh.

Q: Tell me about the stockpiling of weapons. What kinds were being stockpiled? People buying their own, was, were there group purchases? What?

A: Mostly just people buying their own. There was some group purchases because of most of them were all illegal weapons, automatic weapons, grenades, things like that. Just... It gave you a sense of power to own an automatic weapon or something.

Q: So . . . the group itself, the group did some purchasing of illegal weapons, automatic, and...?

A: They were in a barn south of town that, where we kept everything and we used target practice there. It was pretty isolated and it was more just...

Q: Do you mind telling me where the barn was or whose? Is that person still alive?

A: Still alive. I probably, I don't know that anything would become of it but I probably shouldn't.

Q: Okay. Is that group still around?

A: Not that I know of. I think that everybody still thinks that they're involved in something but they're really not.

Q: So there's, there is a perceived group there still?

A: I think so. I don't think...

Q: Membership?

A: Maybe not even membership. Just, they kind of feel a camaraderie...

Q: Connection?

A: Yeah.

Q: Sense of connection?

A: Yeah. Yeah.

Q: Was there at the time in the Minutemen, was there membership? Were there dues? Were there...?

A: No. No, just that you were... I don't think, no, there wasn't cards or...

Q: Was there a secretary or a president or...?

A: Leaders. Those that took charge of a meeting.

Q: How were they selected?

A: Self-appointed.

Q: Oh, really?

A: Sure.

Q: So it was whoever...?

A: Whoever called somebody else and said, "Come to a meeting." He just...

Q: So whoever called the meeting kind of...?

A: Yeah, he just became the head guy and you kind of met at their place, and...

Q: How many meetings were, happened during that summer or during that year? Or that three-year period? Was it mostly during that summer?

A: Yeah, well, it was... It went on for quite a while. And I suppose there was several meetings, several meetings, 10 - 15 - 20.

Q: That summer?

A: That period of time.

Q: From...

A: Oh, three to four-year period in there.

Q: Ten to 15 meetings in a three-year period between 19__?

A: '69-'74 maybe somewhere along in there.

Q: So 10 to 15 meetings. That's not regularly?

A: No.

Q: Not once a month or...?

A: No just when something would happen, they'd get together and...

Q: Can you give me an example like when this happened there was a meeting? When this happened there was a meeting?

A: Oh, when the curfew was put down.

Q: Okay. So there was a meeting over the curfew.

A: Yeah. Again, our rights were being taken from us. We couldn't go to our place of business and things so we was, what we were going to do about it and who we were going to string up. (laugh)

Q: Who, what were, what did they decide?

A: Honestly, nothing.

Q: So nothing was done based on that?

A: Really, not. There was a lot of people running around that knew they were, could be called . . . if some big uprising happened. You were on the phone list and...and...

Q: Who, you weren't afraid... You were... That was more of an anti-government then. Rights were being taken but that wasn't, was that racial or students or...?

A: I suppose that we felt that the blacks and the students at the time. . . . Because they were causing it.

Q: So if something could have been done at that point, it would have been...?

A: See, I guess that's the thing. There was nothing to really do unless you went out and killed people.

Q: Uhuh. Which would have intensified the curfew? Did people say that? Did anyone bring that up? . . . If people had gotten killed, . . . then there'd be longer curfew?

A: Sure.

Q: Quite a few... Quite a few people bring that up and was that the general consensus that...?

A: I think so, but I don't think that was not the, that was the reason for non-action. I think the reason for non-action was those that was there were really as fearful of being exposed as a Minuteman than... I think the group probably would have numbered, I mean if you got everybody together that was claiming to be a Minuteman, you probably would have had a couple of 100 people. And...

Q: How many people were at that meeting?

A: Most of the meetings only had 25 to 50 people. The one show where we come out [about the high school] was somewhere 25 to 50 people. And that's the only time we openly carried guns and what not.

Q: And you were there?

A: Yeah.

Q: And carrying a gun?

A: And uh...

Q: Carrying a legal gun?

A: No.

Q: Illegal gun. Or semi-automatic weapon.

A: Automatic weapon.

Q: It was an automatic weapon? See, I don't know anything about weapons.

A: A submachine gun.

Q: Okay.

A: Which uh... And I think that, that although we could talk very brave and very (pause) big (pause) behind a closed door, I think when it come down to it, most of them were afraid to be recognized.

.....

Q: So was there target practice? Did this group [the Minutemen] target practice together?

A: Sure. Sure. Because it was a big thing to be out there shooting your machine gun or what not, you know, and uh saying all the things that you were going to do, and none of them, I mean, it was just a lot of talk is what it turned out to be.

Q: So when there was a curfew there was a meeting called. Can you remember other incidents that spurred other meetings. . . ?

A: Oh, when the march on the high school was... When they were going to take over the high school . . . And that resulted in some action which nothing, all it was, was that a bunch of idiots walked down the streets with guns around the high school and whether it averted it or not, who knows? It didn't happen. And we would have like to have thought it was because we were there. I doubt if that had anything to do with it.

Q: Do you think other people doubt that, too?

A: Yeah.

Q: That it had anything to do with it?

A: Yeah. Sure.

Q: . . . Do quite a few people, when you sit down to talk to them, do they look back and say...

A: Say it was a lot of silliness. And what could have happened had [we] really reacted, you know, if something would've happened that... You got in a... in mob rule. I mean, right then if, if 25, 30 of us together with guns and something would happen and one man fired a shot probably everybody would start shooting and a lot of bad things would have happened.

Q: Uhum. So most of those people think that everybody was just lucky?

A: Very.

Q: That things didn't go, "Foof"?

A: Very. All the way around!

Q: That's what...

A: All the way around!

Q: Yeah. There were a lot of guns on the hill, too, a lot of...

A: Sure. There was total tension among everybody and everybody didn't recognize that, but it, it was a real potential.

Q: Oh, it's amazing that it didn't happen.

A: We're very lucky, yeah, we're very lucky that so few were injured or killed. I mean.

Q: Oh, it, it's astounding, relative to the number of guns that were here and the amount of tension...

A: The number of shots fired.

Q: Yeah. If you just think of the number of shots fired, there was...

A: And all of that, that really there wasn't some, something really, you know, it was serious to burn the Union and, and that type thing, but uh...

Q: Do you think some conservative person who was hostile toward the students could have burned the Union? Has that ever occurred to you?

A: Yeah. And I suppose that really my thought, that somebody wanting to cause more trouble.

Q: Is that really who you think might be responsible for it?

A: Yeah, I think so.

Q: You think it might have been a...

A: Whether that be communist, you know, we use that pretty freely now or...

Q: Oh. But you don't think a right wing, more conservative white, you know, what you called white radicals, someone like KKK or the Minutemen or somebody, you don't think that somebody, you think that that's possible that somebody in that group?

A: Very possible.

Q: As possible or more possible...?

A: That's only a, that's only a thought. I mean that's, that's not, I have nothing to back that but, yes, I think maybe that's. . . . At some point in time along there I think the communists were involved. . . . At least what we would call communist. Now I'm not sure if that would be the, the real communist but the, the, and who knows but what our government isn't, you know, communist (laugh) in this world. Uh.

But yes, very possible that somebody, one of them, I think a lot of things that were done, were done by this side...

Q: Which side?

A: The uh Christian white. . . . The white man that thought he was right.

Q: Are you talking white right wing?

A: Right. . . . Conservative. See, the, the Klan would think themselves conservative. . . .

Q: . . . They would think of themselves as conservative in terms of self-determination? But it wasn't the government that you were angry with about the curfew. It was definitely the students and the blacks?

A: Sure (fades).

Q: Whereas the students and the blacks were probably angry with the government over the curfew. . . . Curfew, the march on the high school? What other reasons? Was there a meeting called after Dowdell was shot?

A: Oh, anytime there was some big protest, or some big gathering, or some happening, then we would get together and throw out all the threats and all the things we were going to do and who we were going to kill and all that. Never amounted to anything. Never happened, so it was good. But it could have.

Q: Why didn't it happen, do you think? Were there people who talked people out of it or just once the talk was over people felt better?

A: Sure. It was just talk. Fear. I think they were just plain fearful what... They weren't willing to pay the price like the blacks or the students were. As long as they could do something without getting caught or the risk of getting caught or...

Q: Were there covert actions that were taken that were...? Obviously, there was one where the SDS leaders were beaten.

A: Oh, I think so.

Q: So there was a meeting called before the SDS elections, whatever year that was?

A: Yeah. . . .

Q: When Nick Rice was killed, was there a meeting called?

A: Probably, because it was a big weekend. Yeah, there was a lot went on that weekend and then a lot of protest, a lot of marching around the town.

Q: Okay. Let me see. Um. So the activities we're talking about were target practice, mostly people bought their own guns but there were some repeating, semi... semi-automatic weapons was that...?

A: More automatic.

Q: Automatic? Okay. Uh. What was the attitude of the police toward the group?

Were there any policemen in the group?

A: Yeah.

Q: Yeah. Okay. Now who? (laugh)

A: Ah, I think generally the police felt we were--and I, you know it was never, never acknowledged--but, but, I think they felt we were a backup to them, that if, that we would fall in line behind them if it become necessary.

Q: Were any of the people deputized by the attorney general in that group?

A: Probably, but I couldn't tell you for sure (fades).

Q: Were you deputized?

A: No.

Q: Okay. So were there maybe a couple of policemen or quite a few policemen, or?

A: Not quite a few. A few. Uh.

Q: A few? (pause) Okay. More than three anyway?

A: They would like as well as others [some] police wanted action, too.

Q: Why? What did they want? Did they want more...?

A: Oh, for instance when they blocked the draft board. It was on the second floor of the 900 block of Mass. at the time. West side of the street, there. And I can't

remember the address. It was up over, oh, I can't think where it's at. But they had blocked it. They'd completely filled the office and the stairs were completely--the protesters sat...

.

And I decided, and at the time I was late 20's, so it made no difference whatsoever, but I decided I should go check my draft status. And as I neared the place and had a little bit of reaction or action--whatever--with some of the protesters carrying the signs, I was called aside by a couple of the police, who told me, "If you can get it going, we'll take care of it."

Q: Oh, they said, "Get something..."

A: "If you can get something going, we'll finish it."

Q: Hm. Did you then?

A: I did my best. Nobody would react. I walked right over 'em going up the stairs. I waded in through throwing them out of the way, what not, went to the desk and checked my status, and waded back out. Took signs away from 'em and back down the street. Nothing!

Q: How'd you feel about that?

A: Stupid. (laugh)

Q: How do you feel now about it?

A: Stupid. Stupid now. Back then I thought I was a big deal.

Q: Did you respect their reaction, or did it make you angry, or...?

A: At the time I would have thought 'em a coward. Uh.

Looking at today's angles, they had quite a bit of control. They really did. Because turn the tables, and I would have reacted. And they didn't.

Q: But were those people who asked you to get something going, were they in your group?

A: No.

Q: They were just on duty?

A: Just plain wanting something to do.

Q: Do you think they just wanted something to do or did they just want to...?

A: They wanted, they were being... They were threatened. I mean when they would just walk in the streets, they were, they were subject to be shot. Snipered. And what. Sniper fire and everything. And they wanted something to do to react.

.

I think they were fearful. I think they were fearful for themselves. They, you know, at the time they were walking a tightrope. Between a lot of people. And were being accused by both sides of being the major problems.

Q: Oh, it's true they were. So what year was that in, that particular? Because both sides were looking to them and saying, "Well you should do this and you should do that." . . . Was [this] after the Union burned?

A: Oh yeah. I'm sure it was. Uh, a short time after, now whether that's a year or two years. . . .

Q: . . . Did you go to Dowdell's funeral?

A: No. I was on the streets but I wasn't at the funeral.

Q: Were you there as a member of the Minutemen on the streets?

A: More myself I think. Just, just me because he was friend, but also it was being used to again shove it down our, down our throats--the black thing. They had a horse-drawn wagon they carried his body on and...

Q: Did you have a gun when you were out?

A: Yeah.

Q: So what were you on the streets...did you do anything?

A: Didn't do anything. Nothing happened really. I mean it was just kind of a tense situation. Nothing happened that I remember.

Uh, I don't know what I expected to happen, wanted to happen or didn't want to happen. But I just...

A white probably wouldn't have been allowed to have the same kind of funeral. You know, there may have been a stop. . . [End of tape.]

Tape 2

Q: . . . How many people were in that [funeral] procession would you say? How long would it have been? Was it on foot largely?

A: On foot and probably two, three blocks. A lot of people.

.

Q: . . . We talked more about the racial part, but the anti-war part. What would you say to make it clearer, and can you tell me a story or an anecdote that would make it clear, what the attitude of the Minutemen was in that regard?

A: Most of them were probably veterans and so, therefore, probably warmonglers, if that's the proper word. (laugh)

Q: What word would you use?

A: Warmongler. But I think, you know, at the time war was the way to do things. You went and shot people and then...

Q: What do you think is the way to do things now? I mean, can... Do you still call yourself a warmonger?

A: No, I don't. But I still think that at times you need to use military action.

Q: How do you describe yourself now? If you don't describe yourself as a warmonger, how, how would you describe yourself now?

A: Probably a pacifist warmongler.

Q: In transition, or a pacifist warmonger?

A: Somewhere caught up in the stupidity of all of it.

Q: You kind of see all factions as overreactions? Is that what you mean, or what?

A: With the exception of pacifists. The true pacifists. Now most of the pacifists really are not pacifists. That's, that's just they claim it, and they...

Q: Yeah. Here we are meeting in a church and obviously the church is important to you?

A: Very.

Q: So I mean do you see the... What was your view toward religion and then what is it now? Do you see Christ, or Jesus as a, do you see him as a pacifist? . . .

A: . . . I think he struck out, when, and then you have to define pacifist.

I mean is that just somebody who just doesn't react at all other than verbally, or does he not even react verbally except to state facts or whatever. And, you know, Jesus acted. According to what we believe he acted. Threw the money changers out. He used violence.

Q: What other acts of violence? I know that one was with a whip? Right?

A: He didn't react to any action against him, and I guess maybe that's what a pacifist is. When he was whipped, he didn't react back.

When he was crucified, he only forgave them. The act of the money changers in his Father's temple, was not an act against him, but against his Father. And that's what he reacted against. I don't think he ever reacted against an action against him. And maybe that's what a pacifist is.

Q: Did he react against an action taken against any of his disciples . . . ?

A: I don't believe so?

Q: So you think possibly...?

A: He stopped action when his disciples were trying to do things.

Q: He stopped his disciples, I remember that. I don't remember if he ever stopped anyone else. Can you remember if he stopped anyone else who wasn't a disciple?

A: I think so. With Mary Magdalene, when they was going to stone her. He stepped in on her.

Q: That's right. Was that Mary Magdalene?

A: Uhuh? And it seems as if there's other times, but I can't remember right now, when he stopped other people from reacting.

And that's probably pacifist.

Q: Yeah? Is that what you would define as a pacifist, because at this point...?

A: I think so.

Q: Uhum. What does that take, do you think?

A: A deep belief in something. A deep belief in something.

. [Discussion of free will and Catholic Church from Reformation to Vatican II.]

Q: Okay. Well, it does sound like then, somehow, that, I can't remember how that all relates, sort of to a more pacifistic view on your part. At the same time you feel like the rules themselves have more give in them.

A: I think that you have a right to do anything you want to do as long as it don't interfere with my rights . . . to do what I want to do. And that I should not do anything that interferes with your rights.

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Q: Do you think that if you thought some black people's rights were really being violated, if there were rules that they couldn't go to theaters again, or blacks were being beaten up whenever they went to the swimming

pool... Do you think you would ever line up with blacks and protest? Or march with blacks?

A: Yes.

Q: Would you have in those days?

A: No.

Q: What's the change?

A: Lack of fear. Lack of fear.

Q: And you learned your lack of fear? You certainly didn't lack exposure because you lived right in the middle of east Lawrence, but you grew up in a... Was it that you grew up in an era where violence was more likely? No, because you grew, or was...?

A: Actually, it was. I mean there was always fistfights at school, and that type thing. Violence as far as what, minor violence was always available.

But lack of fear, I guess when I say that I mean just that, willing to give up myself, or my freedoms, or whatever, if that's what it requires to right a wrong. Willing to--hm--

I guess just not afraid to be hurt. To stand with somebody.

Where back then what I really was, was fighting was the fear of being hurt or the fear of being stepped on or fear of my freedoms taken away from me or something like that.

That was what the fears was, and now the fears of those fears isn't there.

.

See, that's the problem with it, as I sit down with people that used to feel the same I did, when we really try to figure out how we felt, you can't tell. I mean, I, I, uh felt that I was against blacks. But I don't know why. I guess just because everybody else was. And nobody really knows. They were doing things, but they weren't doing anything that the whites weren't doing. Or the Mexicans. Or, you know. . . .

. . . We've just done things because everybody else did it. And I'm sure that I knew that "niggers" were bad because my family probably told me that and my friends told me that, and sure, there was always there was trouble, a "nigger" was involved.

. . . I still see that there's an imbalance there somewhere, because it seems as if the crime rate is higher in the black community.

But if you look, you can see. You can understand a little bit of why, too. Because they don't have some of the things that we have. But there's some of the whites, the Orientals have nothing, yet they work to get what they want.

The blacks seem to want to have it handed to them, as the whites do. We're basically a lazy people in this country. With a few exceptions.

Q: Do you think the history then of being a slave group, do you think that should have been worn out by now, and...?

A: Oh, yeah. Yeah. They're no longer servants, slaves. I'm not a German, or an Irish. I'm just an American.

Q: You sure?

A: Yeah.

Q: You really believe that?

A: I don't, my cousin has went way back into the fifth century somewhere with our ancestors. And as you go through life, and things happened. In the past year, I've had a heart attack and my brother died at 55 of cancer, and my mother is close to death, which is all the family--my dad died when I was five--you realize that some of the values we have don't really make damn. . . . Some of the things we think are so important, some of the clothes, cars, fine homes, and a lot of these things really aren't that important. The material things. . . . Once you have them, or once you see those close to you dying and . . . you realize how life is valuable much more, or not life, but existing among people. . . .

. . . It changes a lot when you come close to death and you have a brother die and you bury him, and...

.

Q: Yeah. What quelled that violence then [in 1970]? Where did it go? The war hadn't ended.

Tape 2b

A: The people dying.

Q: So you think that just kind of woke up people and said, "Is it worth it?"

A: Yeah, "Do we want... Is this the way to go?"

Q: Or we might die ourselves?

A: Yeah. They really weren't gaining anything; they were losing.

Q: Do you think fear started and also kind of...

A: Yeah. When they, when people started dying, it seemed to back off.

Q: Everybody did? So you think probably in all camps nobody really wanted anybody to die?

A: I don't think so. Oh, there was probably some that did, but I mean there was such a few, you know, and they were the sick people.

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Q: At this point you think you would probably rather not have done it or rather not do it again?

A: Rather not have done it. Some of it.

Q: But you had to do it to get to this point?

A: I think so. I think so. . . .

Q: So do, do you think that given those circumstances again, I'm not saying that you'd be that old again, but given that opportunity again, and someone said they were going to go beat up some people that were dragging the

flag around, do you think that you would find that important or...?

A: No. This flag nonsense you got going now, I think is nonsense. They don't know what the flag is. They really don't know what the flag is. The American Legion spokesman that they interviewed on "Today" or one of the morning programs, when he was asked what the flag stands for, he said, "Well, it's the flag. It's the country. It's, it's the flag." And that's how stupid the man sounded. To me the flag isn't the flag. The flag is a symbol. It is a symbol of country. It's a symbol of all those people who have died protecting it, that fought for it. It's the symbol of those who put it together in the first place. It isn't just a piece of cloth.

But, it is a piece of cloth when somebody burns it or something. It doesn't... I mean it's not a sacred thing. It's...

Back then it was a reason, excuse to react. Anything was. Somebody looked cross-eyed at you, it was a reason. And all you needed was a reason. You didn't need... It didn't have to be right or wrong.

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Dick Raney
Lawrence, Ks., Office, September 1, 1990, about 70
minutes

Q: What groups were you kind of involved with at that
time?

A: Well, I was no longer a mayor or city commissioner.
I was back to the full-time practice of retail pharmacy.

Q: And you had been mayor?

A: Shortly prior to these troubled times, I was mayor
when the swimming pool as an issue was resolved by
popular referendum--and satisfactorily--by an unusually
narrow vote. And I suspect, probably had it not been
for racial overtones, that would have been an
overwhelming mandate. As it was, the swimming pool did
pass a popular referendum, but by some rather narrow
numbers.

Q: And that was mostly a racial issue?

A: Well, it would seem to me it was mostly. And yet
there were some awfully good people that opposed the
swimming pool on the basis of location alone--an
intrusion into the park site that they wanted to
maintain as an open and green park. And I thought those
were legitimate griefs but that park happened to be
located in the area most central to the need for a
public swimming pool. And so we re-created that park
and the swimming pool in it.

Q: And you were supporting the swimming pool?

A: Oh, my yes! And felt that... Some proposals had it
south of 23rd. Others had it in the neighborhood of
19th and Louisiana, which is where the Lawrence High

School is located. And we felt that that was a far distant location relative to those that would utilize it and need it the most, farthest away from back yards that had many private swimming pools.

Q: I see. So you thought that it was really closer to north Lawrence and...?

A: Uhum. And to east Lawrence.

Q: And to east Lawrence. And that's where it needed to be?

A: Right.

Q: Yeah. Well, so it passed. And that was probably quite an effort . . . Do you think that some of the racial troubles were because of the fight over the swimming pool? No. Did it crystallize or make people aware?

A: No. That was just another evidence that probably there was an undercurrent of racial discrimination.

Q: What were the other pieces of evidence . . . about the racial situation in Lawrence?

A: Well, I think as it evolved--it was the first evidence of any student and/or minority unrest--the nature of permissible police activity revealed itself. It was tacitly permitted and with the first minor evidences. We had blacks, for example, who were irritated at the long delays in getting the swimming pool open, almost suspecting that, I think, that we might have voted for it but we didn't really want it, and might not even really build it, you know.

And police reacted, oh, not violently, but not satisfactorily in terms of being community servants, community-oriented problem solvers. Police were solving too many of their problems with the nightstick rather than with diplomacy.

Q: . . . Is that one of the reasons the Menninger project was brought forth?

A: See, you have to jump then several years forward before the Menninger project began.

And as a very informal exercise, and following my city commission tour of duty--a fellow by the name of, well--several of us sort of white middle-class types, perceiving a problem, invited some of the angry elements of the student and the black community to sit down and talk about the kinds of griefs that they felt they really were experiencing.

. We jump from the swimming pool about three years forward.

And things had really surfaced then in terms of Vietnam protest, in terms of high school racial problems--the black cheerleader problem at the high school level, blacks at the high school feeling put upon were being aided and assisted in their efforts at recognition by activist university people. . . . Let's say the swimming pool was '68. Now we're talking about . . . '70.

So we sat around and talked about the kinds of issues, namely, shortcomings of the police department, the shortcomings of the governing body in addressing these disparate attitudes with some kind of compassion and tolerance rather than direct intolerance.

Q: Was this an informal group?

A: Very informal. At one time we invited a school board member to join us. At another time an active commission member to get some kind of elective body support that would tend then to allow recognition of these things that weren't being much articulated in any fashion that anyone could hear. You know, you'd have some guy swinging a brick at some policeman and then get beat on the head but nothing... It was just an incident.

What we wanted to do was focus on some issues and articulate those issues not with bricks but with dialogue.

And as a function of that, this was carried to the city manager and his city commission in a more formal way and our proposal was to have a sensitivity training program instituted at the community level wherein, and actually you're educating policemen. You're not educating the citizen nearly as much as you are the police department. It might have been sold on a somewhat different basis than that but what it really

allowed to happen was that a parenthetically white policeman could sit down in a quiet setting and hear the griefs expressed of an east Lawrence disaffected black kid.

And they had to gut it out [during the Menninger sensitivity training project]. And with a little help from Menninger staff as it turned out in this case. So those were the things that sort of led to that sensitivity [training program run by Menninger staff]; and frankly, it led to some policemen deciding police work wasn't any longer for them.

I think it elevated the intellectual strength of--and not overnight--the intellectual strength and capacities of understanding of the policemen, I think, were considerably enhanced over that.

Q: So who was in that [pre-Menninger project] group?

A: . . . There was, see if I can remember names. There was a young black, I think perhaps a graduate student by the name of Vaan, V-a-a-n. One of the city commissioners was, as I recall, Bob Pulliam, perhaps Jim Black, perhaps Don Metzler. Helen Gilles was a school board member who attended. Courtney Jones was a resident of Lawrence at that point in time. These are names that in most instances have long since departed. The angry people, a fellow, I think he lived in Eudora, by the name of Lance Hill. I think [one] later spent prison time. . . .

A fellow that you should probably interview that does remain in Lawrence owns the Key Press--John Naramore. He was involved in that interaction. Another fellow that's probably gotten a doctorate in Berkeley by now--Gus Dizerega was involved in that.

Q: Do you stay in touch with some of these people, like Gus Dizerega?

A: No. I haven't seen John for five years probably. Occasionally correspond with Gus, who did that art work on the wall.

Q: The mountain scene?

A: Yeah. That's a place in Wyoming's Wind River Mountains called Three Forks Park. Gus, instead of

being a doctor of political science, probably is lending himself more towards that kind of art work.

Q: So what do you think the issues were that were brought forth in that group? Let's start with the street. So we're talking about Gus Dizerega, that group, and John Naramore, the people that were sort of student groups. What were their ideals, hopes and issues as you saw them then?

A: Oh, I think that they were standing between rational activity and such things as wild adventures on the part of certain street people who would have liked to torch the chancellor's home in symbolic protest, probably not thinking that the chancellor might have a couple of little kids up on the third floor.

Then on the other hand, getting back to law enforcement and public attitudes towards street people and what their issues were in those days.

A great many cheerleaders at the high school, the apparent racism that went into electing cheerleaders by popularity when the high school had at that time maybe 900 students and there were 90 blacks. How would you expect to elect a black. There should be some more compassionate way to deal with that kind of an issue.

Allegations that you couldn't play two blacks in the same backfield for Lawrence High School. A lot of things have changed.

Certain flailing out at certain things that none of us had any control over: a lieutenant governor [1971-73, who was the senator from Lawrence in 1970] who was violently pro-Vietnam. . . . Reynolds Shultz; an attorney general [Vern Miller] who was jumping out of trunks to make arrests and he was proposing that if there'd be a protest march for the ROTC graduation ceremonies that he'd run all the kids into the north end of the stadium and beat 'em up side the head, you know. It didn't seem appropriate that this should be coming from the Kansas State Attorney General's office.

Q: . . . How were [these concerns] perceived then by some of the vigilantes and some of the other members of the community? . . .

A: Well, I think when you are talking about the street people who were willing to string piano wire in the

alley at throat level, and when you're talking about the vigilante who was circling the high school grounds with his pickup truck and his rifle in the back window, you're talking about two of the lunatic fringes that would necessarily cave in if there were a broad middle ground whereby people could, that people could, relate to.

Q: And were you trying to broaden that middle ground?

A: Yeah. Reduce the polarization. If you isolate the two extremist groups, through, I think, solid thinking and effort and attitude, they'll collapse of their own weight.

Q: Do you think that what happened here then could be a model for other problems? Like there's a movement now, the skinhead movement. . . . Between here and Kansas City now there are some KKK people.

A: Sure. Some posse comitatus types. Yeah. That's interesting spinoff of perhaps some of the same thinking. Disaffected people who don't know how to respond other than putting on their camouflage uniforms and having mock wars. And of course, much more violence is accruing than mockery. It's in some cases become an obscenity.

Q: Do you think that what happened in Lawrence could be a model for other ways of handling this? Do you know of this as happening before?

A: It's quite an extrapolation. But sure. I think that many of the evils that your small and splinter groups portray as being so real, so threatening, those are not real and threatening fears for the most part in my judgement. And communication-- (pause)

Q: [Didn't] one of the vigilante members . . . go to the Menningers group and kind of moved toward...?

A: . . . Some of those outspoken--call them vigilantes--many of them were incorporated into that [Menninger project] dialogue. And they were perhaps somewhat diluted by just sort of middle-of-the-road-folks. And they sat in the company of their opposite members, namely, numerous of the "street people."

Q: So do you attribute that kind of receding of that wave of...?

A: I think it was very helpful.

Q: Do you think that it was perhaps one of the main reasons why things got very quiet in Lawrence? Or was it the war? Was there some change in national politics as well or what suddenly happened that made this? All of a sudden it was "return to normal."

A: It happened quickly, didn't it? . . . And yet the war wasn't really over until much later. Certainly this [Menninger project] had an influence. Whether it was the cameo of events creating that or whether human fatigue and the need to return to normalcy was the primary factor, I couldn't judge that. But I think these efforts, though, illustrated good faith where good faith was noticeably suspect before.

Q: When I interviewed somebody kind of informally, they said that you had gone around and met with people at night . . . in old street areas and at odd places. How much of that did you do?

A: My wife thinks quite a lot. It seemed like a good deal of time, and particularly being a pharmacist who usually didn't lock the front door until 9:30 at night, most of that happened following that.

I didn't seek these people out, these meetings, at all. But I made myself available whenever possible to try to implement, in a quiet way perhaps, even try to direct a little thinking, or to encourage something that might not have been quite the tune upon entering but maybe became the tune a little bit.

Q: Was that [Menninger project] kind of your idea?

A: No, I really don't think I could really take credit for that. I think that those of us that sat around the table came to that conclusion pretty much in concert. There were those that were more enthusiastic that a sensitivity training program would be effective; and there were those that were pretty cynical in their responses to it saying, "No, this won't help."

Q: Where was the cynicism coming from and where was the strongest support?

A: . . . We didn't really deal in our setting in the same fashion that the Menninger program dealt with it.

We didn't have the kinds of guys that were bayonetting-- I remember the little girl that had the peace literature in the arcade in the 800 block on the east side of the street and a shop owner came out who owned the pawn shop and he had an M-1 rifle with a bayonet on and he bayoneted the table that had peace literature on it. We didn't involve those kinds of people.

So really we could say that the radical left and perhaps those of us picturing ourselves somewhere in the middle were those people who made this recommendations [for the Menninger project] to city hall.

And I think city hall then did an excellent job of involving not that kind of extremist that I talk about but others that were articulating very conservative views that were supportive of Vietnam, were hesitant to say that a black girl probably should be on the cheerleading squad because there were nine black football players.

And that one black cheerleader wasn't too many.

There were good solid, conservative-thinking people that said, "Well, let the democratic process prevail and if they can't get elected, they can't get elected. You know.

Q: [Where did the precursor group to the Menninger project meet?]

A: We had a friend, who incidentally was a former city commissioner, who built the Ramada Inn, and he loaned our group one of his meeting chambers. . . . Mike Getto-G-e-t-t-o and he participated. . . He also owned the Eldridge Hotel, and perhaps when the Ramada was occupied by a previous commitment, he allowed us access to a meeting room in the Eldridge.

Q: Okay, so do you know who extended the invitations or rounded people up for this?

A: I don't think it was anything quite that formal.

Q: It just happened as an idea.

A: Yeah.

Q: Was your coffee shop [then located at 1740 Massachusetts Street] . . . a center [for community discussion, too]. . . ?

A: Yeah. Again during the morning and daytime hours the commissioners, Clark Morton and others, would meet and coffee; and a good deal of this thinking came as an outgrowth of having a cup of coffee with a guy in the morning before anyone went to work, really.

It got so that even some of the radical students enjoyed that interaction and found they were welcome.

Q: They came and had coffee?

A: Yeah.

Q: Were there any vigilante people who came?

A: Yeah, but not... Well, I don't know that I can really be precise in that regard. There were some that listened a bit. Some of Vern Miller's--Vern signed on a bunch of guys that had a gun and a little slip of paper that told them, told anyone that wanted to know that they were deputized by the attorney general and some of them would drop in occasionally, I guess.

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Q: Do you think this is just a radically different climate? Do you think there is a new need for such a thing in Lawrence, like a new...?

A: I think that's the kind of thing that we've just been visiting about is the kind of thing that's most apt to come in a climate of crisis. I think these things spring up responsive to severe crisis. I don't think that with certain needs being accepted that you would excite the kind of action from the kind of people that probably could make anything happen. We're not dealing with a climate of crisis at this point in time. That's not to say that we can't seek out things that are wrong, that we don't find things wrong, but they're not sufficiently wrong to require major repairs.

Q: Yeah. It's hard to get attention to them. But it can be done, really. But it's not going to involve the whole community. There were also some town meetings. Was that an outgrowth of the Menninger project or was that a kind of a separate movement?

A: I've forgotten town meetings. My commission established a format for town meetings. We held evening meetings in the grade school building in east Lawrence and the South Park Community Center in the middle of Lawrence, and so on and so forth. . . . But that was with regard to an entirely different set of issues. That was with regard to selling a bond issue that would build a swimming pool and community garage and several other public improvements. Fire station.

Q: But that had to do with the swimming pool though?

A: Had to do with the swimming pool.

Q: So it was a controversial issue. Was that the first time that you know of that there were town meetings in Lawrence?

A: Yeah. That was of course way back in the middle late '60's--'67-8 again. We're jumping around on the calendar quite a bit. And we felt that there was a certain public antipathy that needed to be addressed. People needed to be told how bare our fire protection facilities were in certain areas of a rather rapidly expanding community. And that the idea of one fire station anymore really wasn't valid. . . .

Q: . . . In that three-year period here were there other things that happened that need attention to understand what happened with the three major incidents, [the Student Union fire, the death of Rick "Tiger" Dowdell and the death of "Nick" Rice]? There was a mounting tide of dissatisfaction that started in the '60's or earlier and just kind of fomented [in 1970]?

A: Well, we can almost track the public acceptance of Vietnam, which according to the pollsters in 1966, 80 percent of Americans supported Vietnam and our involvement there and in two years that polling had reversed itself: 80 percent of Americans opposed Vietnam and yet it was killing more kids in 1968 than it was in 1966 I think. So there were events beyond the corporate limits of Lawrence that were affecting attitudes tremendously.

. . . By '68 people were getting horribly angry--and particularly young people. And that went on for several years beyond that because the war wasn't over until--what--'74.

Q: Between the time of your being the mayor and the time when the union burned and "Tiger" Dowdell was killed and "Nick" Rice was killed . . . were there other little factors and important pieces of this story that were beginning to form, either for the solution or for that inflamed time? There's a current of peace-making and solution going on like the instigation of town meetings, and little things that eventually were drawn back into the solution, I think. . . . They seemed to be part of the solution. Is that right, do you think?

A: Well, I'm not sure how to answer the question.

This was a period in time of escalating inflammatory language. We had a member--or more than one member--of the Kansas Board of Regents who had a particular knack for inciting groups with inflammatory language. We had a law professor at the university who responded in his own way and with inflammatory language expressing entirely opposite points of view.

Q: And that was?

A: Larry Velvel, as I recall. Seemed like we were responding to the most inciting language in almost every case with inciting activities--march on the county court house. I don't know that anybody remembers why it was done except that the county court house symbolized the government, which was pretty unpopular. And I don't think there was any thought that the county court house had anything to do with either cheerleaders at the high school or racial injustice at the university level or the Vietnam war.

Q: If you could change something about the era and some of those people, what would you do if you were hoping to come out with some of the changes that happened? What would you do?

A: You're speaking about altering the outcome of certain individual events?

Q: Yeah.

A: It sure been nice if a policeman hadn't shot Nick Rice. Few will ever know what happened in that alley that snuffed the life of Dowdell.

[Note: The coroner's jury at the Rice inquest said that there was not enough evidence to determine whether or not a policeman's bullet had been the fatal bullet.]

Q: What do you think happened?

A: Oh boy. This is just guess work. I just think you had a frightened policeman who perhaps wasn't extremely well trained.

Q: Dowdell worked for you, is that right?

A: He was a delivery boy as a high schooler.

Q: . . . How did that come about?

A: Well, what do you mean. I hired him. That's about all.

Q: Did you like him.

A: Oh sure, he was a nice kid. (smiling)

I think he got swept up in his own particular form of extremism, not in my view. . . . In other words, I wasn't aware of it in the course of its happening. Beyond my view, in other words.

Q: When did he work for you?

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A: So maybe he worked for me a couple of years prior to that. . . . '69 probably. He had not worked for us a number of months at the time this happened. . . .

Q: Were you the mayor when you hired him, or do you remember?

A: I don't remember. Well, no, let's see. My term on the commission was '65, '66, '67, '68, maybe. Something like that.

Q: Can you describe him for me? When you talked about him, you smiled.

A: Tall, lanky, smiling kid.

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Q: Can you think of an incident that you think represents his personality for you or somehow captures his memory?

A: Well, he was sort of carefree. And the only time I had to get after him was it took him a long time to make some deliveries. And I questioned that and he said, "Well, don't you want me to pick up college kids and take them up from the classroom to their sorority house or their dormitory? Well," he said, "I've been doing a lot of that!" He said, "It sure makes for good relations." (laugh)

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Q: Yeah. Yeah. So, was he reliable?

A: Sure.

Q: Honest?

A: Yeah.

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Q: Do you think he did get kind of radical?

A: I don't know. I really don't

Q: . . . Bill Simons had been a foster parent of his.

A: Uhum. Bill was director of the Ballard Center at one point in time. I might have been a member on his board of directors. But I think more I was on Leonard Harrison's watch. . . .

. . . I think Bill was a moderate, who was trying to do a pragmatically good job with that social service agency.

I think Leonard had the instinct of polarizing it and to the extent of making it a black activist organization. And in north Lawrence, in all likelihood, you serve more whites than blacks. East Lawrence is the heavily black populated area of Lawrence and north Lawrence never has been heavily black.

Q: Do you think there needed to be, say a kind of activist center. . . ?

A: See, I don't think so. Activist in the sense that it addressed to kids' schoolbook needs. Not activist in that it needed to be in the vanguard of any large and potentially violent protest. You know.

Q: Yeah. So that was an era when activism might mean buying bullets, whereas now. . .

A: Sure, on both sides. On both sides.

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Q: Did you follow the [Dowdell] investigation? Do you think the truth came out there? . . . Was it aired properly, do you think?

A: No, I don't think that probably we were equipped to respond to that kind of crisis at all. As a community, as a law enforcement thing, I think it was a matter of circling the wagons. Uh, I think we had that kind of a "circle the wagons" attitude.

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Q: [Questions about Menninger project leadership.]

A: . . . I didn't participate in that program. . . . I figured that I'd maybe accomplished just enough just to get it under way. And now do a long weekend in a motel room? I just wasn't interested in that.

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Q: What do you think about the Union burning? Do you think that that was an accident?

A: Well, not an accident. It wasn't illustrative of the university student body elevated sense of outrage or anything. This wasn't that kind of an event.

Q: Do you have an opinion about who may have done it or what group? Could it have been anyone, or what?

A: Well, let's say I'm strongly of the opinion . . . did not feel that this was an element in the KU student body that did it. There were some KU students that had a marvelous time in the aftermath of the fire putting on uniforms and carrying out television sets under the guise of being a television repairman, but those were almost a fun-and-games kinds of things.

Q: This was not during the burning of it?

A: The day after the fire.

Q: . . . Oh, I didn't know about that. So, what about the role of drugs. I guess as a pharmacist and maybe as someone who observed the culture and...?

A: Oh, the culture was in flames at that point in time. That was the motor, I suspect, the fuel that propelled the motor in many cases.

Q: Do you feel that it had an awakening effect on people or helped them to respond at all or helped them break old patterns?

A: You'd have to ask someone. These were LSD days and the other psychedelics. Every mushroom was suspect. I can't answer that. But there was an explosion in the level of drug usage and particularly drugs that people didn't understand. Headquarters [crisis center] was every night had rooms clogged with kids having trips they couldn't. . . (out of tape)

[Questions and answers about the founders of Headquarters, the crisis center, which dealt with drug problems and founders Brian Bauerle, John Trewolla and John Pettit. Raney was on the crisis center board following his tenure on the city commission.]

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Q: Were there any other things that you were involved in at that point that you think were...? Because it does seem like you were sort of touching on the major areas without too much difficulty. And kind of felt comfortable with the various...?

A: Well, I didn't feel uncomfortable in whatever I involved myself in. But I did sort of plug in to where I thought maybe there might be needs. I wasn't much interested in the Kaw Council of the Boy Scouts. You know.

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Headquarters at that time was sort of privy to a morbid nature. It wasn't much fun being around kids that had ingested drugs that were just destroying their minds.

Q: And you thought that was going on?

A: Well, I was quite sure and I think the evidence subsequently has illustrated what inordinate amounts of LSD do to one's...

Q: What do you see as the long-term effect of that?

A: I don't know. I've lost track of all those folks? . . . This was that early day of the drug culture when people were stupidly involving themselves in things they didn't understand. It seemed to be just too much the thing to do to bother to be introspective.

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Q: [Bill Moyers came to Lawrence the morning of July 16 while writing Listening to America, invited by Dolph Simons, Jr., publisher of the Lawrence Daily Journal-World. That night, Rick Dowdell, 19 and black, was shot by a policeman. Moyers used Dick Raney's office and typewriter during his stay in Lawrence and for writing "Lawrence, Kansas," a chapter in Moyers' book.]

A: Listening to America, which rather interestingly after reading the chapter the publisher of the local newspaper said [something like], "Gee, that guy has got a real imagination, hasn't he? He just really doesn't know what was going on here. He doesn't understand how good a community we had."

And by coincidence and by the nature of our close relationship while [Moyers] was here--he was up here using my typewriter a good deal of the time, but--I can attest to the accuracy of virtually everything that transpired in that [chapter], the knocking on doors, the discussion that Bill had in the drug store and all that sort of thing were... He did a beautiful journalistic job, a beautiful journalistic job.

Q: If you look back, do you say, "Okay. Here's what we achieved in that era and it was a turning point," or . . . how do you see that era? Looking back, what's the wisdom and the grief about it? Can you just describe as you see it?

A: Five years following those events a journalist from the Philadelphia Enquirer returned to Lawrence and joined our coffee group. There were a couple of blacks

and five or six others of us having coffee. And of course he was trying to develop a story, and I think was entitled in the Enquirer sometime later, where Lawrence was compared to where it was 5 years prior, so he must have been here in '76, maybe '75.

And the nature of his effort--and I couldn't disagree with it really--he called and apologized and said, "Well, I'd like to have put a lot more in but it was editorially cut,"--was that we were pretty awfully complacent with the level of our accomplishments and that he got an undercurrent that, "These guys really hurdled something and now they are pretty smug about it, and I wonder if things are quite as good as they think they are."

. . . And it wasn't complimentary and I look back on that and think that probably he was pretty insightful.

He read it pretty well, that we had gotten by the crisis, and it had been resolved and not bloodlessly. But that perhaps maybe we had not cured as much as we were inclined to think we had. . . .

Q: The ideals then were to end racism, right?

A: That was the ideal. And 5 years after the fact there were still evidences of racism, however subtle. And almost 20 years later I guess we could say that, yes, many of those evidences are still with us. They're not overt. . . . We were dealing with the overt in the late '60's and '70's.

Q: What's left to be done, do you think, in terms of racism?

A: Well, I don't think it's a coincidence that Lawrence does not have a... There's little or no evidence of a black professional community in Lawrence, a black entrepreneurial community in Lawrence. Particular sparsity of black students and faculty. Where else could you be, you know.

Q: Do you think that the changes that happened required that much fomenting, that much bloodshed or potential violence . . . ?

A: I don't think that's likely to repeat itself because of the addresses to those various crises. And I think

that we have, and certainly maybe that's optimistic, I think that we've probably learned enough of a lesson that we could respond to that kind of crisis management now more effectively than we did then, but then we were, we, the community, the country, was really inventing a new kind of a wheel.

Q: How so?

A: Since the race riots of Chicago . . . America hadn't dealt with riots. There was that incident with Eisenhower in command of the troops that disbanded the veterans' protest in Washington in the early days of the depression.

But basically, we've sort of forgotten about a segment of our population being so disaffected, so angry as to do violent things. Didn't know how to deal with that. We had to learn how to deal with it.

Q: In a sense of inventing a new wheel, were we inventing what? New tactics?

A: Oh yeah, it was a matter of methodology only. The previous question you asked dealt with where we really are and that doesn't relate itself to this response. No, we've just learned new methodologies, which I think if there were to be a reoccurrence, we wouldn't be so blundering. . . . But that isn't a response to the root cause.

Q: What you're saying is there's a root cause and it's possible we learned new methodology but if it were to come up again...?

A: I think our methods would be different than they were in 1968 and '70.

Q: How so?

A: Well, I don't think we'd react with the night stick as we were so prone to do in 1968.

Q: Do you think that the new methodologies make change much easier or not?

A: I'm thinking that probably, using another example, the black cause in South Africa is considerably enhanced as a cause with a chance of success as a result of South Africa white power structure reacting punitively.

In order to perform a successful revolution you have to have dire cause and great leadership. In the absence of either one, you're revolution probably isn't going to be very successful. Well, there seems to be emerging leadership in black South Africa and the cause is articulated by the white power structure, which gives you every reason to want to take to the streets because they overreact. They imprison you for no cause. They cause you to carry papers that no other segment of the society has to carry.

They're punitive and cruel.

Well, I don't think that it's likely that this kind of event reoccur because of some of those lessons.

Q: Say that again for here. We wouldn't do that again to foment things, is that it, as a city?

A: Right. I don't think the governance would so overreact again as it did then. The policemen wouldn't be handed out their night sticks, as an example, and say, "You respond in 1989 like you apparently thought you were supposed to respond in 1968."

There was an event at the Green Lantern. There was an apparent disturbance. And we had a long since gone, I'm happy to say, a director of police, but not really just police, I've forgotten his title. We quickly abandoned his title and him, too. And in the case of this disturbance, he jumped out of his car at Bill Green's place at the Green Gables--I think it was the Green Gables--and sprayed the alley with submachine gun fire and then yelled, "Come on out and get me". You know. (Laugh) . . . Public safety director.

Q: . . . [Gilbert Smith, public safety director], went to the Green Gables and sprayed the alley with...?

A: ... with submachine gun fire. And then yelled at that shadowy figure at the end of the ally, "Come and get me," or something to that effect. You know.

. . . Well, there was a fight, there was a disturbance, perhaps a racial one. I don't even know the circumstances. But apparently by the time he got there, there was no one to shoot at. So he just shot at the alley.

Q: So you said his title and he was abandoned. Is that correct?

A: Yes. Rather quickly. . . . He wasn't here long enough to get acquainted. (laugh) . . . He really fooled the people that hired him. . . . [in] the interviewing process; and he spoke eloquently to the issues of needed diplomacy, sensitivity, training and had all the language.

But when put between a rock and a hard place on a dark summer night, he grabbed his submachine gun.

Q: Ok. Who were some of the heroes of that era that you think, "Gosh those people came through"?

A: Were there any . . . heroes? I'm not sure there were.

Q: Or say police people who actually did what was required? We need more of this and it sort of helped heal things. Or any group, police, street, radical?

A: Well, I think those members of the city commission who confronted the Attorney General, who was pretty much persuaded that Lawrence should be his battle ground. And every one of those city commissioners of that time were in their own quiet way trying to effectuate...

Q: Who were they?

A: Well, my recollection is Bob Pulliam, perhaps Jim Black, Clark Morton, Don Metzler. I named four, and there were five.

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Q: It seems to me that when the people that I know who have talked to me about Rick Dowdell, there's usually the same smile on their face. There's this . . . kind of a real appreciation of this person. . . . It's so nonverbal that I can't get it into writing. And I guess I wanted to ask you if there is something there that I'm picking up on or what you think it is, or what about him?

A: Well, Rick was an unlikely kid to... You know I'm not sure he was an unlikely good kid to be carrying a .44 magnum under his arm.

If he was a likely kid to do that, it certainly didn't occur to me during my brief interaction with him.

He was not a likely kid in my judgement to be certainly in a kind of a leadership role, or you know, he wasn't Lawrence's next but snuffed out Huey Newton. Not at all.

Sweet as he was, Rick didn't, during my encounters with him, have the emotional or intellectual maturity to be that kind of a person. But that doesn't say that he couldn't have thought it was pretty neat to carry a .44 magnum under his arm.

So there's a gap. I'm ill-equipped to describe what that gap was that took him to that alley that night with a gun.

Q: Do you think he had the gun?

A: I think he probably did. I think it was a part of the rhetoric of the times to suggest he didn't. But I'm afraid that was rhetoric. And I've no evidence.

[Note: See pp. 33-60 for a comparison of details from several sources.]

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* Dates are estimated where marked with *. The narrative quality and historic value of these interviews focused the project on the oral history approach after these interviews were completed. Other interviews had similar historic value, but time and space do not permit presenting all of them in this project.

The list of interviews does not include current titles and addresses. Some interviewed did not wish to make those available. A single identifying role is enclosed in brackets.