UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
ORAL HISTORY OF HOUSTON PROJECT

Group Discussion: Priscilla Hunt, Susan Goodwillie Stedman, and Geraldine Kohlenberg Zetzel
University of Houston Oral History Project

Interviewed by: Debbie Harwell
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GKZ: The nice people who were taking care of us.

SS: Well, maybe we should start with the end of Debbie's story.

DH: Oh how I got involved?

SS: Yes.

PH: I'm listening.

DH: I started out going back to graduate school working on my Master's in Women's studies and I had actually intended to study women's changing roles in the family but the first book that I read for graduate school was for a history class and it was Dorothy's [Height] autobiography. I could pick any book I wanted, and I wanted to read it so that was the one I chose.

SS: Oh my goodness.

DH: And it was about 10 pages on WIMS and so at the end of our first year when all the women's studies students were getting together and explaining what they were going to do I told them about my first idea, but then I said, "But I have this other story that really just intrigues me, keeps calling me" so I told them about WIMS, and everybody said, "You have to do that!" So I did. It was sort of a "follow your heart" kind of thing.

SS: Did you know I wrote Dorothy's autobiography?

DH: I didn't know that when I read it, but I've learned it since then.

SS: That was an amazing experience.

DH: Yeah I can only imagine, and I'd never written anything. I said, "Dorothy I'm not a writer." I mean I'd written a lot, but I hadn't written a book but I talked to writer friends and an agent and publisher and I said, "You need to find a really smart young black woman who can do this." So a couple of years passed and I ran into her at Kay Mill's book party who wrote the story of Fannie Lou Hamer, and I said, "Dorothy, how is the book project going?" "Well," she said, "I did what you suggested and it didn't work!" I said, "Oh dear what happened?" "Well she didn't get it. She had no sense of history!" "Come on Susie do it!" Well by this time I had written a book, so I felt a little, not quite so out of water, a fish out of water, so I said, "Okay let's do it!" So we did.

PH: Good for you when did you do that? I'd forgotten.

SS: It was published it had a rocky road to publication. Time Warner originally wanted to do it, and it was clear I didn't know what I was doing. I mean I'd never ghost written an autobiography before, and I should have met early on with the editors at Time Warner and figured out what they were looking for and worked with them from the beginning. And interestingly you know Dorothy's life absolutely sang. But her words really didn't. I mean she spoke in whole sentences and whole paragraphs she was phenomenal in that regard. But there wasn't any juice, and I felt, you know, it needs to be her voice. It's her autobiography, I'm just sort of the scribe. So it wasn't the first product really wasn't very good. Time Warner did not want it. They loved the first three

chapters and then . . . so I went on and she just loved to talk about institution building. Yawn!

GKZ: Which isn't the sexiest thing!

SS: No! Yawn! Anyhow, but Holly [Cowan Shulman] hooked her up with the Public Affairs Publishing House and they jazzed it up and did it. So, I'm glad it happened and then how lovely somebody in the world has read it!

DH: Well I'm sure I'm not the only one!

SS: No I guess not!

PH: I read a book about Dorothy . . . but I don't know if it was yours. I'll have to check it out.

SS: Well I appear in the acknowledgments on page 300 as someone who recorded and wrote nine decades of history of her life. Maya Angelou did the forward and everybody thought Dorothy Height Maya Angelou and Susan Goodwillie on the cover were one too many.

PH: That's cute!

DH: You could have at least had a "with."

SS: A what?

DH: With . . . you know so and so with . . . that's what on Unita Blackwell's autobiography it's called *Barefootin'* by Unita Blackwell with and I can't remember the woman's name.

SS: Actually now I have an agent who suggested that. And we never did sign a contract because of that stumbling block.

PH: My mother wrote a book after the war. She was overseas during World War II but it was "As told to" Martin . . . I forgot his name. (Martin, who wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post*.) She never could have possibly done it on her own. I mean somebody needed to prod her and ask some questions.

SS: And organize it.

PH: Some people can do it on their own, and some people can't, you know. Steve Martin . . . no it can't be Steve Martin! I forgot his name. He lived with us for about two months, and I can't believe I don't know his name. He was always sleeping in my room! We lived in the apartment in New York, and I had to sleep on the couch. That was funny! Anyway so where were we? You were telling how you got started [to Debbie]. Did Polly Cowan just out of the blue pick you [to Susie]?

SS: Oh no.

PH: It was a long, long thing. I've forgotten

SS: Well I graduated from Stanford in 1963 and went to Africa two weeks later with Operation Crossroads Africa that preceded the Peace Corps, wonderful, Jim Robertson who was a black minister in New York had gone to Lincoln University with Nkruma and Nyerere and all these great African leaders, and they all became friends having met as students. He thought, you know, there's something here. Anyhow he created this and then advised Kennedy on the Peace Corps. And it was the summer of Martin Luther King's March on Washington, and I found an old dog eared copy of Time Magazine in Daloa Côte d'Ivoire a little dusty town 250 miles north of Abidjan all about the Martin Luther King March on Washington, and I thought, "Wow! This is something!" This is A) a terrible problem, a blot on our national escutcheon l and I want to be a part of the

solution. I'd already decided to live in Washington. I didn't know what I was going to do but be there. So I came back and tried to find a job having to do with civil rights or Africa because I had fallen in love with West Africa. So I kept being turned down because I was the wrong color. And I finally read a story about Shirley Smith who had been named by Kennedy to head up the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights which he had just created at the White House, and I called her up and said, "Do you need help?" She said, "Oh man, come on over," and I did and we fell in love, and she said, "This is perfect but we need to talk with Patricia Harris," who was the co-chair in Washington and was teaching law at Howard who said, "Well you're okay but we only have a budget for a staff of two, and we think it should be biracial, and Shirley was blonde and blue eyed." Well this was the third time that I was turned down for my lack of color. And the rent was coming due, and you know I was desperate. And I said (and Shirley and I clicked so well). I said, "Listen, you're desperate for help. I'm desperate for a job. How about I go to work for you until either you find a person of color (I suppose we said Negro then) or I find a job?" Great idea! So Shirley and I went to work. We had a newsletter out within a week. We were all over the Hill lobbying and so forth and so on. But I had to make good on my part of the deal. And I said, "What am I going to do?" "Well," she said "I've been in all these meetings with Dorothy Height from the National Council of Negro Women." She called up Dorothy, and she said, "Dorothy, are you looking for any . . . are you hiring?" "Yes," Dorothy said, "I'm desperate for an executive assistant." Bing! My father had made me taking typing at Stanford which I had resented enormously but thanks be! And Shirley said, "Wow" she said, "You know

Dorothy have you ever thought about your staff being all black (or all Negro)?" Dorothy said, "Oh my, I suppose it is." "I'm sending Susie Goodwillie over!"

PH: Oh it's so cute!

SS: So over I went, greeted by this bevy of black faces who said, "Who are you?" I said, "I'm Susie Goodwillie" and they all thought Goodwillie was such a silly name! I had done a little homework, and I knew that Eleanor Roosevelt had been the first life member of the National Council of Negro Women so there was a precedent for this, and Dorothy, to her enormous credit and courage, hired me. And so, and then she gave me back to Shirley as the Council's "gift in kind" to the National Women's Committee. All the women's organizations were expected to give money or help or whatever. But I also worked for her. And I helped organize the meeting in Atlanta that lead to Wednesdays in Mississippi. So I had been working with Dorothy for several years and through her met Polly [Cowan].

PH: And Dorothy Height.

SS: Dorothy was the original.

PH: I never met, oh I met her I guess when she came up here in '64 when she was talking . . . Were you at that meeting Gerry when she came up and talked to people? I think I had already been and she was talking to people about the possibility of their going, of other people going?

SS: Because you didn't go on the Boston trip?

PH: No I didn't that's right.

SS: You were part of New Jersey.

PH: Somebody dropped out of the New Jersey. My sister was going so she called me up. So I went down. I was telling Debbie that unfortunately it was so short that I didn't get to go to the meeting before which I was very sorry about.

SS: Oh the briefing.

PH: I went to the debriefing but Dorothy . . . Polly I had never saw in New Jersey or anything, but she came up here after I got back (I know) I think I met her after I got back when she was looking for somebody for a later team that same summer. I can't remember the details.

SS: Yeah.

PH: I only met her once but my sister knew her well that's what happened and she got to go that way.

SS: And how did you get involved Gerry?

GKZ: Debbie knows this story already maybe I shouldn't repeat it.

DH: No go ahead.

PH: I don't know anything!

GKZ: Well let's see, Polly Cowan knew my good friend Alyce Ryerson through being on the Vineyard, Martha's Vineyard.

SS: Right yeah.

GKZ: And so and she asked her and Alyce's daughter, Susie was one of the workers, one of the kids . . .

SS: COFO workers.

GKZ: So Alyce was keen to go and she asked me if I'd go with her, and that's the simple answer.

SS: Had you met Laya.

GKZ: Yes. I didn't really know her but I met her, and I knew her better later on.

DH: Okay. Well shall we start with these questions, and we'll see where it leads us? First I want, was curious to know what influence any earlier social movements had progressive movements maybe through your mothers or whoever, progressive movements, suffragists, feminism, the peace movement or any specific events? And did you get the impression that any of the other members of your team or friends of yours were inspired by other social movements to take part in Wednesdays in Mississippi?

GKZ: Susie you've got notes so you better go.

SS: Well Crossroads Africa or what I just said, the Martin Luther King March on Washington. I was 22 at the time, so I hadn't had a lot of exposure. But as you said, mothers . . . my mother's father, Ivan B. Rhoads, was just, was an amazing man and he was an executive with YMCA nationally, and he was a friend of W. E. B. Dubois and he took mom out of college in 1930 – whatever it would have been (20-something actually) to take her to an NAACP meeting in Philadelphia. And he asked permission from the dean of students who said, "I think this would be worth 100 sociology classes." So he had a huge influence on me. More so than my mother, and of course my other grandfather was the one who wrote the letter to my father saying, "Don't let her go" they were two very different characters in my life, but I think that was . . . And Al Lowenstein at Stanford who helped organize the whole COFO project.

PH: What was his name? I don't remember that name.

SS: Al Lowenstein.

PH: He's the one that started COFO?

SS: No, no, no that was Bob Moses really.

PH: Moses yeah that's right.

DH: But he helped him.

SS: Al was a wonderful, amazing man who was at Stanford when I was. He was teaching law, and he was assistant dean of men and we got to be very good friends. He later ran for Congress. Was in Congress for one term, and then he was shot by a kid who worked in Mississippi and . . .

PH: Really!

DH: I didn't know that.

SS: Yeah he was really broken by it. Yeah. His widow, who has since remarried, Jenny Lowenstein lives around the corner right over here. But he, Al was a real pied piper of . . . a wonderful friend.

GKZ: I think, that's a very interesting question to me. Possibly, kind of reacting in negative response to some of my background which is to say that my mother was totally uninterested in issues and my father was in the abstract but not particularly involved in anything. He was a musician and he was much more interested in the arts. But I think that the sort of idea of social justice was in his mind and some of his behavior too. But I think the Quakers probably had the most influence when I was about to graduate from Bryn Mawr, I thought I wanted to work with kids and that I wanted to work with kids who had been damaged by war. So I applied to be a worker in one of the, in a camp, a refugee camp post-war and I was very serious about it. I think it was through the American Friends Service Committee but I'm not sure. Then I kind of got a little bit of cold feet or else common sense that I really hadn't had any experience working with kids

who hadn't been through hell so maybe I should start with kids who were in a better state. A friend of mine who came from Cambridge had gone to Shady Hills School, and they have teacher training programs, so I backed away from working with refugee children. But it was an impulse to help people who were deprived or suffering in one way or the other. It wasn't specifically the civil rights idea but I think it came emotionally out of the same place. So it was very natural when the civil rights era came along that both my husband and I felt, "Well of course we've got to support this."

PH: You were born in New York, right?

GKZ: No I spent some time growing up in New York.

PH: Where were you born?

SS: In New York.

PH: Oh yeah in New York. Because the first time I ever met you was . . . what was the name of that estate damn it! I'm trying to think.

SS: That what?

PH: The Warburg estate where we went.

SS: White Plains?

PH: Didn't they have a name?

SS: Woodlands.

PH: Woodlands I was trying to think. I was telling Debbie about it.

SS: Woodlands.

PH: Oh that was a wonderful part of our lives. I've got to put that down.

GKZ: Well my grandparents certainly, they were very generous and very civic minded but a lot of their focus was on Jewish organizations and Jewish, not exclusively . . .

PH: Very philanthropic, your whole family. You've seen that new book about the starting of (of course you have) the five people the class of what was it at Harvard?

GKZ: Yes I haven't read it but I'd like to.

PH: It's the best! Your uncle and all the others ... Five people that really started, and they were all in the same class at Harvard, that started the contemporary, they got interested in the contemporary things that were going on and it was started right over the [Harvard] Coop, today's Coop. They had this.

SS: What class was it?

PH: I think was the class . . . it could have been the '26 or something. I should know. I don't know, '22. I've forgotten. But it's a wonderful book it's called *Patron Saints*.

DH: I've seen that title.

PH: You will absolutely love it and Chick Austin, for instance, from Hartford was one of the five and there was somebody . . . Jerry Warburg, no . . .

GKZ: That was my father.

PH: It was your father, right?

GKZ: No, he was Jerry, but the one who did what you were talking about was Edward.

PH: Edward, yes of course, Edward!

SS: Was he your uncle?

GKZ: Yes.

PH: Yeah uncle. I forgot who the others and it was somebody from Pittsburgh and somebody from Chicago . . . there's five of them, and they all got together and there was just an amazing wonderful coincidence that they all knew each other and all wanted to do

the same thing, and then it goes into what happened, what they did after that. It's a great book! I thought it was just terrific.

DH: There's one more for the reading list.

SS: Yeah.

DH: Okay, Pricilla did you have something you wanted to add on that question?

PH: I don't think so, no. The only thing I forgot about because Gerry sort of reminded me of it growing up in New York we always had, my father always had a little brother, you know from Big Brother and Big Sisters, and we were always . . . on Sunday afternoons we'd always have to pick him up and do some horrible thing because I only had one sister and go and watch a baseball game or go and watch where the New York central trains go under the bridge.

SS: Yeah all this boy stuff.

PH: It was something like that. I thought, "Oh no not today dad!" because he didn't do very much with us except on Sundays so that we had to add this little Italian boy (who was very nice), that's the only one I remember but there were a couple and then. When I went to Putney School during the war we had five weeks' vacation at Christmas because they could not afford to heat the place. So we all had to get jobs, and one of my favorite jobs was working for the Big Brothers of New York for five weeks and mostly doing filing of course and things like that. But they felt sorry for me, so they always took me to court when they . . . that is really how they found these kids. You know somebody from Big Brothers would say, "Look we have a feeling about him, don't put him, and don't send him anywhere. We'll take care of him. We'll get him a Big Brother, he's not ready" or "he's not that bad or whatever." Oh I'll never forget that and that was so long

ago, but I've never forgot going to court and seeing these kids and all of the sudden, you know, instead of going to some horrible camp or some prison or whatever, they would take them over and find big brothers for them.

GKZ: But anybody that went to Putney School . . .

SS: Has a social conscience.

PH: Like Shady Hill really.

GZK: Developed social conscience I would think.

SS: Yes.

PH: But my mother was really one (and I was telling Debbie about it), but I don't know where it came from her. I don't particularly see her father died very young and my grandmother was . . . I didn't know, she wasn't into any of that, but my mother was the one really. Maybe it was because she was overseas during the war, and she just fell madly in love with all of the soldiers. But then when they went to Oberlin, Oberlin was very, very liberal of course.

SS: Progressive.

PH: I was telling Debbie it has a wonderful reputation and it was on the Underground Railroad and it was this, and it was that and the first college to give the same degree to women and blacks.

SS: Oh my!

PH: But my mother found (because my father became president) early . . . it sounds good but there was a lot going on at Oberlin that needed to be done so she got very involved. She signed me up just like you got signed up. No you got signed up with your typing or whatever it was. But my mother signed me up for a Phillis Wheatley group.

SS: Wow!

PH: I said, "I don't even know what that is!"

SS: Right.

PH: My mother said, "Well just show up." She gave me the address at 9:00 on Saturday and you have the kids just until noon and do whatever, you know play baseball or do something with them. She was like that. She just knew that automatically that everybody would do something that she would be interested in.

SS: Right.

PH: But she went with a whole group of Oberlin students down to Columbus and sat in at the Woolworth's I guess it was in those days wasn't it where they all sat in on lunch counters?

SS: Yes.

PH: And I have some pictures of her doing that with Carl I can't think of his name . . . Rowan, do you know Carl Rowan?

SS: The journalist?

PH: Yes he was a journalist that wrote books and everything and I think he, he talks about it in his book because . . . [cat jumps up] Are you okay with cats?

GKZ: I'm fine.

PH: She . . . he was at Oberlin and so I think he was the one that talked mother and the whole group of them because we didn't have that many cars at Oberlin, so he talked her into driving a whole group of them down to the lunch counter. And she did things like that, but she was always interested in particularly black people (I don't know what they called them in those days). I don't remember their saying Negro.

SS: That's what they . . .

GKZ: Negro or colored was the correct thing.

DH: Negro or colored.

SS: I think colored was a little frowned upon.

PH: Yeah, colored sounds terrible today.

SS: Derogatory.

GKZ: Negro was the pure wasn't it then?

DH: Well I can't speak for the North because that isn't where I grew up.

PH: What were you saying?

DH: I would say in the South colored would have been preferred over . . .

SS: Really?

DH: . . .Negro because Negro (at least by white) probably would not have been pronounced that way.

SS: Right it would have been "Niggra."

[unknown]: "Nigger"

SS: Niggra.

PH: Niggra.

DH: Yeah.

GKZ: Yeah.

SS: Interesting. I have two thoughts in this first question. Polly and Dorothy were very concerned in recruiting women, northern women to go to Mississippi that they found women who were indeed involved in some way in their own backyards. The last thing they wanted was a sort of "holier than thou" finger-waiving operation and so, though my

memory is so lousy you know far more about the women who went then I do at this point – I mean I can't give you any specifics about other team members (apart from the obvious ones) but that was certainly one of the criteria used to select women. And personally my mother was a flaming liberal and my father was a rock-ribbed Republican so we had very interesting dinner.

DH: Sounds like my house.

PH: You could talk about Roosevelt, oh maybe you were too young.

SS: Dinner conversations.

PH: We couldn't talk about Roosevelt, I remember that much.

SS: Yeah and I had to really figure out where I stood on my own. I got both sides and I wasn't . . . you know I wasn't indoctrinated in one or the other as a family tradition or whatever.

DH: Okay I'd like to know if you all think women's activism is unique, and if so in what ways did you see that played out through Wednesdays in Mississippi? I want to know do you think women operate differently than men?

GKZ: Sure.

SS: Sure.

PH: Oh yeah.

DH: And how then did Wednesdays in Mississippi take advantage of that?

PH: Do you have a copy of this now? Okay.

GKZ: Well I think kind of building on what I said to you in our interview that women have a very different approach, almost instinctively. I don't know if this is so true now but it sure when in our time that you didn't operate by confrontation or argument, rather

by more oblique and subtle kinds of engagement. I think I have a feeling that that is kind of genetically programmed but I'm not sure.

PH: Well maybe with childbirths, bringing up children too comes into that somehow, don't you think? You have to sit and listen and try to figure out.

GKZ: Well I think just to generalize horribly, I think many men have the idea that they have to take a position and make it known and defend it and promote it, and I don't think women are quite so prone to that kind of approach.

PH: Yeah but in that book, exactly what she said (I forgot who wrote it) *In a Different Voice*, and she talked about board meetings and a man at a board meeting will say, will come out with some wonderful new idea and all the men will have to say, "That's great I thought of that last year and we couldn't quite get there last year" or something like that and on and on and on. And the women will say, well who maybe had thought of it but had not come up with it . . .

SS: Two years ago!

PH: Two years ago that's right. Then she would say, "That is the greatest idea Susie where did you get that idea?" I mean it's just a totally different rapport and . . .

SS: Women are interested in relationships.

PH: Report, report and rapport and report are the two words used in that book.

GKZ: We can't speak for women now because I think a lot has changed. But in terms of Wednesdays in Mississippi that we all, I think, were apt to take a more circuitous, gentle, diplomatic, non pushy . . .

SS: Non-confrontational. Listening our real, our first job, first and foremost, was to listen, I thought, and to learn.

GKZ: Now you asked me yesterday how was it possible to sit through that meeting that was where people were saying these outrageous things and not, jump up and say, "You're all wrong." But it was this sort of idea that we are here to listen, we are here to learn. "We are not here to tell you that you're wrong," point of view, which was very easy too for me.

PH: I don't think there'd be anybody that went down there that would have done that.

SS: No and . . .

PH: Well certainly I don't know too much about the groups, obviously. I didn't meet too many of them, but I just can't imagine anybody doing that.

SS: I think yeah because our job, our job was almost as much to listen and learn and try to understand what both white and black Mississippi women were going through and come back and tell the world and report and engender thereby more understanding in "the North" about what was going on. That, to me, certainly was important, although I was embroiled from late June to late August in Mississippi. So, but I . . . it was such a complicated situation and with so many intertwined and inter-tugging forces at work. And it was really hard to understands so you really, you had to listen as well as you possibly could. And confrontation was so stark in so many other ways that that wouldn't have served any purpose.

GKZ: Also I think for me I was already influenced by non-violence, you know by hearing the great speeches that were being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., but others too and by the whole feeling of the movement, which was a confrontation, yes, but not a violent one.

SS: Well and we were trained at Miami [University], you know, before we went in. We learned how to go limp and do all that stuff.

GKZ: We didn't have to do that.

SS: You didn't have to do it.

GKZ: We just had to call you if it got . . .

DH: Susie I'm at the jail!

GKZ: I was saying, though, just as a footnote how different it was in the time, the era before cell phones when you were much more isolated.

SS: Absolutely out there!

GKZ: Isolated out there!

SS: Yeah, indeed.

GKZ: Not too many phone booths either.

SS: No.

DH: Okay let's go to number three. As I go through the transcripts and the debriefings every single trip there's a discussion with the southerners about the appropriateness of the COFO workers' dress and cleanliness and appearance and that sort of thing. And the teams seemed to all agree that the students, that that should be acceptable. First of all they were working under very difficult circumstances often in homes that didn't have proper bathing facilities, or the kinds of bathing facilities they were used to at home, so that people should be understanding of that. And that the second thing was that it wouldn't have mattered how they dressed, they could have come in their best preppy look, and people still would have considered them troublemakers and outsiders. So my question here is if it would not have made a difference in how people perceived the

students, why do you think it made a difference about how they perceived the Wednesdays in Mississippi women who came with dresses and gloves . . .

PH: Gloves?

DH: Okay well some wore gloves, whatever. Well some wore gloves but using that . . .

PH: I don't remember what we wore.

DH: Huh?

PH: I don't remember being very properly dressed at all, but I missed that first meeting!

SS: You missed that briefing Pricilla!

GKZ: You forgot what you were wearing.

PH: I did not wear anything bad I know that, but I certainly wasn't proper.

SS: You were very elegant.

DH: In the 1960's, either you would have probably worn a dress regardless.

PH: Maybe.

DH: Regardless. I doubt very seriously you would have come in blue jeans.

PH: What do kids the age of the COFO kids from the North, what do those equivalent of southern students [wear]?

DH: Well there were very few southern students.

PH: No there weren't there but literally . . . I mean students in any all over the United States must have dressed about that way.

DH: In the early 1960's I wouldn't have thought in the South that they would have begun to make that conversion yet to wearing blue jeans and things like that.

SS: Yeah and the COFO kids did get pretty scrubby.

DH: And the reason I say that . . . I have a cousin. I went to TCU, which is in Fort Worth. My cousin graduated from there in 1962 or '63. When he would go to pick up a girl for a date to take her on a picnic she wasn't allowed to wear shorts. They had to go out in a dress . . .

PH: A date.

DH: I mean even they left the dorm they had to be in a dress. You know they had to present the proper feminine image. I started there in 1970 and that rule had only changed about a year or two before.

PH: Is that right?

DH: So . . . I think in the 1960's students, the early 1960's I'm talking '62, '63 . . .

PH: It's still like that? I would have thought it was just an excuse for them because they needed an excuse to criticize them. I didn't realize it was that serious or it had come up so much.

GKZ: Oh yeah I think so. But I think you know somebody said, whenever some . . . whenever the "others" behave or look in a certain way there's some feature of that that becomes outstanding, you know why are they dirty or why are they wearing these clothes or whatever. It was an offense to the standards of the local people. It was just offensive. I bet it was offensive to a good many of the black families too. I was very curious about that. I mean because it was in a sense disrespectful . . .

SS: Of southern custom.

GKZ: Of southern custom and of kind of the values of cleanliness and decency and all that. But your question is why did it matter that we looked respectable is that what you're asking?

DH: Well I'm asking if they would have ignored the fact that a student looked respectable and said, "Yeah but that person is still a troublemaker even though he is dressed properly" but yet you all could come in as women who were dressed properly, and they didn't automatically label you as a troublemaker.

SS: Well we weren't.

GKZ: We weren't troublemakers and we project an image of class and I think it's as much a class thing as anything else. These kids did not look like the idea of middle class (although they were mostly).

SS: And some yeah . . . middle and upper.

GKZ: Yeah.

SS: I think it's the way in which the COFO summer, the Freedom Summer was presented as "We're going to come down here and shape you people up and do voter registration and Freedom Schools and mud in your eye." Our approach was quite different. We were invited by both black and white women, Mississippi women to begin with to come, and we were coming to listen, to bear witness, to try to build bridges of communication but not to be rabble-rousers.

PH: It was so different. I can't believe that anybody would have put that COFO and WIMS in the same "down there at that time" in the same breath.

GKZ: Well that's why it was so hard for Alyce, for instance, when they . . . they just couldn't believe that she had let her daughter be one of those.

PH: Volunteers.

GKZ: . . .horrible people. But it is.

PH: You're not saying that they should have dressed better?

SS: They might have, if they had known what we were up to, I mean what we really were interested in seeing change in Mississippi.

PH: Just as much as COFU.

SS: Just as much as COFO.

PH: COFO excuse me.

SS: Then I mean if the owners of the Magnolia Towers where Diane and I lived, who were staunch members of the White Citizens' Counsel and our rent was being paid for by the National Council of Negro Women, it had to be laundered of course through several layers (thanks be for Ann Hewitt and her friends), but they would have kicked us out. They would have been appalled. So there was a certain "undercover" aspect of what we were doing.

GKZ: They didn't know that.

SS: No they had no idea. They couldn't figure us out.

PH: Your cookbook.

SS: The cookbook, ah ha!

PH: Didn't you actually make a cook book because I want a copy.

SS: No we didn't. Well you know the story about the cookbook when the white preacher who had come down from Boston to have a church, and he insisted that it be integrated. He was living in the same building with us. So we heard about him, and we

invited him to tea and we told him about our "cover" and he laughed! He said, "If you were writing a cookbook you wouldn't be talking to white women." Anyway!

PH: You didn't know that before. They used that as an excuse. I never even thought of that!

SS: Right.

PH: Would you see any white cookbooks?

SS: Anyhow . . .

PH: That's very cute.

SS: So I think it was the approach to our mission the difference in our approaches to the way we presented ourselves.

PH: Women and students that's miles apart.

SS: Yeah.

PH: No matter where you go any place in the world I mean you could tell a student a mile away.

SS: Well I don't know.

GKZ: I have this vision suddenly. If the COFO kids had gone like the Church of Latter Day Saints you know . . .

SS: Yes the Mormon missionaries.

GKZ: Mormon missionaries, oh my gosh!

PH: Oh my gosh that's right!

SS: Yes indeed!

DH: Do you think age was a factor?

GKZ: Yes.

PH: Oh definitely, yeah.

GZK: But respectability, because if we had gone looking like 36-year-old hippies it wouldn't have been so hot either.

SS: Yeah these were classy dames and that was part of Polly's vision, the Cadillac crowd.

GKZ: Actually we had a Volkswagen!

SS: You snuck in under the radar!

PH: I never had a Cadillac that's for sure!

DH: The Volkswagen crowd.

SS: Yeah, with a few Volkswagens.

DH: Okay let's go to number four. We are getting more into the subject of appearance. Alyce Ryerson wrote about being treated "coolly" by COFO students at a café until they realized her daughter was a volunteer and this is what she wrote. "Revolutionaries don't ever like ladies in white gloves I guess. All day I had the feeling that my gloves were a barrier to understanding. I took them off of course, but I mean my metaphysical gloves. At the same time I was glad to have them to flourish in front of the unmarked trucks. I'm sure they were bewildered by our gentility." So I want to know do you all think "the gloves" and I don't necessarily mean literally gloves but the idea of the gloves.

SS: The gentility.

DH: . . .was both a help and a hindrance, and did you feel that you were perceived differently at the summer projects or that you projected a different image at the summer projects then you did when you met with the women in Jackson? So I guess let's start

with first of all did you think the gloves were both a help and a hindrance or one or the other?

GKZ: Shall we call it "the gentility"?

DH: Okay.

SS: Yeah.

DH: That is what it is the gentility, "the gentility factor" I'm good with that. In fact I should probably write that down.

GKZ: I can respond to what Alyce was writing about because when we went to lunch in Canton with some of the COFO workers to an essentially, a black lunch place I think. To the workers, we reminded them too much of their parent. We were the right age to be their parents, and part of their rebellion and their decision to do what they were doing was certainly shaped by their attitudes to their parents. So I can see that it might have been a bit of a hindrance to some people to say, "What are these ladies doing here?"

PH: We wanted to get away from all them!

GKZ: Yeah we were trying to get away from the ladies, including our moms.

PH: Except for they hope that we would send books and papers and pencils.

SS: Yes, they were grateful for all that and bagels and lox!

GKZ: Right, but that's like sending care packages, but for God's sake don't come near us.

SS: Right.

PH: It's true, but nobody would. Some of that stuff wouldn't have gotten sent if we didn't . . . but they didn't think that way. Kids don't think that way. Are you interested in this for what particular reason I can't quite figure it.

DH: Well part of what I want to talk about is how gender, age, and class impacted the way you all were received when you came to Mississippi. Also how you used gender, age and class to accomplish your goals.

PH: I would assume that every group is so different; every person in each team was different too. No I don't think you could really generalize. Is that true? You saw all the teams.

SS: I underlined bewildered by our gentility and wrote in the margin, "exactly the point" meaning that (and this goes back to your number two question). Our white gloves were our greatest weapon, and (I don't like to use the word weapon), but our most powerful tool in a sense because it opened doors. Certainly we could not have had, you know, I had . . . it was almost impossible in the beginning to get Jackson white women to come have coffee with these distinguished women from the North. They were fearful, they were scared, they were threatened, they were . . . you know there was just a huge sort of miasma that Diane and I had to somehow break through to earn enough trust to have local women receive the visiting ladies, and if they had been in blue jeans, you know, there wouldn't have been a chance. And for me, I was the same age as the students almost. Yeah, because several of them had graduated. So it was a funny tugging, push/pull sort of thing because I really would have loved to have been a COFO worker too and have that, you know that was my crowd; but I had this other very interesting job to do. So we probably, I mean, the teams probably reacted differently or responded differently to the Freedom Schools versus the coffee's as anyone would. They were completely different situations.

PH: See I guess I was sort of out of it because we didn't . . .the only people I really talked to was our hostess where we stayed. I didn't meet any other people.

SS: You didn't go to . . .

PH: We didn't have that that I know of.

GKZ: You didn't go to one of the . . .

PH: We went to the rally at the black church to get the kids . . .

SS: And you went to Hattiesburg.

PH: I went to Hattiesburg but that was all COFO pretty much.

SS: Right.

PH: I did not personally meet or talk to any other white southern woman.

SS: Oh right.

PH: So you're talking like I might have really gotten to know someone down there.

SS: No, no but you did stay with a family still.

PH: Yes, yes we stayed up until 3:00 in the morning talking with them.

SS: And you were the only . . . I need to get clear on this. I had even forgotten that . . .

PH: The Vockroths

SS: . . .the Vockroths had come through because when the Hendrix's turned down having Helen Meyner, who was on Team 6 the week before you got there.

PH: No, no I was there with her.

SS: Oh it was that team. That's right, of course!

PH: I didn't know anything about that Presbyterian bit . . .

SS: Okay.

PH: Until I read it in Debbie's book.

SS: Okay.

PH: I didn't stay with her.

SS: Yes of course.

PH: We all went out in pairs and stayed with different families but that was the only contact I had. I don't know was I doing something wrong?

SS: No, no not at all.

DH: No!

PH: Did I forget something? I didn't go to the opening meeting so I thought maybe now, maybe there were more people I should have gotten to know, but there was no opportunity we did not have teas or lunches.

SS: No well because you were with a family which was even better than a tea or lunch.

PH: Right yeah.

SS: And it was the last group and it's interesting I didn't write my last journal entry is the day before Team 7 arrived. I think we must have gone out with you or whatever and I was . . .

DH: They went to the rally she was talking about was one of the ones with Mississippians for Public Education.

PH: It was incredible.

DH: That was when they were just getting ready to do the school desegregation and I think they did that instead . . .

PH: Instead . . .

DH: Of coffee or something.

GKZ: Because we went to an evening meeting of the so to speak _____ (51.42) League of Women Voters. I mean a lot of people weren't or had been or anymore then Alyce and I were League of Women Voters, but that was the pretext for our coming together.

SS: That was the only way I realized I could get any social contact was finding professional for volunteer connections and you know Laya, did Laya see Mrs. Burnstein?

GKZ: I don't know. I don't think Laya was with me and Alyce. Maybe she was.

PH: I was telling Debbie the interesting thing for me because I forgot Phyllis or whatever her first name, Hannah . . . no Hannah was my roommate. Hannah Levin.

DH: It starts with a "D" . . .it's like Danelle or something.

PH: She was so interested in the League of Women Voters, and I was vice president actually of the Cambridge League at that time and she said, "Oh there's no way. My husband would lose his job immediately. Absolutely!" She did have little strange contacts like I can't remember I mean little sneaky things to talk to people about certain things. But that was just . . . but other than that we just talked in general about life and what it was like down there, and I didn't write as much about that down . . . well I did in my report but I've forgotten a lot of it.

SS: That's right you, Laya and Mrs. Ryerson and Mrs. Kohlenberg went off to the League that Diane had set up, and Mrs. Willen had kind of worked her way out with Burnstein and let that be. "D and Sister C and I picked up Ms. Hughes and headed for the NAACP mass meeting" [references Team 2]. But then there's one other thing here.

PH: What at that meeting you went to Gerry what was that like? I mean I'd be interested because I didn't do anything like that with white women.

GKZ: Well I'll give you what I wrote about it, but rather than repeat because you've heard it.

PH: But just in a nutshell did you learn a lot?

GKZ: Yeah, and it was quite a difficult meeting and quite explosive at one point, but I think it was very, it certainly was useful to us. I think it was eye-opening to some extent.

PH: That was the time you were talking about how you couldn't possibly stand up and say, "What are you talking about?" You and Alyce, you mean?

GKZ: Yeah.

PH: That is what you . . . I see I saw that in the report of yours.

SS: I wasn't there but I wrote, "Mrs. Moore had pulled it together. Weisner, Ryerson and Kohlenberg had been the ones to go and found themselves in the midst of a group representing several shades of the spectrum. Such a group is hard to bring together in these parts, and we were grateful for the experience they were able to have." Well . . .I also scribbled here, you asked, "Did you feel that between the summer projects and the coffees you were presenting two different images?" I wrote not really. We were supporting Mississippi women *and* the students.

GKZ: But in terms of image? Well I guess we were pretty much we didn't change clothes or anything.

SS: No we really didn't and they were two different causes, but they were both hoping to engender change and civil rights.

DH: Did you feel like at the projects you were able to be more open about your purpose?

SS: Sure.

GKZ: Well I think, yeah, my sense is that we . . . there I don't think we talked about our meeting with our white counterparts in Jackson. We were mostly . . .

PH: It could have been in Cambridge I could have, at the Freedom Schools you mean? Oh no I'm sorry what are you . . . did I miss?

GKZ: Well I was trying . . .

PH: You could say anything you wanted and find out what they were doing. It's a whole another world wasn't it?

GKZ: Yeah, I think we were certainly learning madly, a mile a minute. Also trying to present support, that we were here in support of them when we were in with the COFO workers and with the people who were trying to sign people up for voting in Canton. But we were projecting, you know, "We're here to validate what you are doing and we care about it." I remember, I don't know where this came up. Alyce asked somebody, "What do you do in the evenings?" I think it was a girl volunteer. She said, "We cry a lot." It was tough, it was very tough.

PH: You've got to give them a lot of credit don't you?

DH: I'm sure that made her feel even, you know, a special tug at her heart for her own daughter to have, have someone tell her that.

GKZ: Yeah.

PH: Did you see her too?

GKZ: We didn't. She was in a different part of the state.

PH: Different place. How many . . . there were about seven places, six different places, Hattiesburg, so forth and so on. How many different places did teams go?

SS: Five.

PH: Five.

SS: We went to a couple of places twice.

DH: Canton and Hattiesburg.

PH: Canton and Hattiesburg.

SS: We went to Vicksburg.

PH: Vicksburg.

DH: Hattiesburg twice, Canton twice, Vicksburg, Meridian, and Ruleville. The Greenville or that was '65.

SS: Meridian, Ruleville here it is on the map.

DH: Dorothy Height and Doris Wilson both talked about how hard it is to convey the atmosphere of the 1960's. I wrote this about the Selma thing, and I'm not sure if either of the two of you Pricilla or Geraldine, know about that Selma story. So I didn't know if you . . .

GKZ: A friend of mine was on that Selma march.

DH: Well I'm ...

GKZ: Different Selma story.

DH: Different Selma story.

SS: The Polly, Dorothy, Shirley, Dorothy Ferebee story.

DH: Right let me back up and give a piece of that ground information.

PH: Was that on the . . . program that we loved so much or not?

DH: No.

PH: It wasn't okay.

DH: In 1963 there had been about 300 mostly young people arrested for taking part in voter registration and a woman called (Prathia Hall) and asked them to send people to help. So the two white women that went were Polly Cowan and Shirley Smith that Susie mentioned.

SS: My boss.

DH: Yes and Dorothy Height and Dorothy Ferebee who was a doctor from Howard who also had formerly been the president of the NCNW and many other things.

SS: Wonderful, wonderful woman.

DH: So they went down and they were supposed to separate by race and the black women go to the rally at the black church but there was only one car.

PH: Oh I did read this.

DH: Okay.

SS: It was in the . . .

DH: It was in the . . .

SS: Thing I did for the CDF Reunion, the Children's Defense Fund . . .

DH: Right. So what happened was the white women were supposed to meet with Dorothy Tilley after the NCNW group left to discuss more their concerns . . .

SS: The white Selma women.

DH: Right the white Selma women were supposed to meet with Dorothy Tilly who was from The Fellowship of the Concerned in . . .

SS: Georgia.

DH: Whatever it is, Committee for Interracial Cooperation, I think was the official group. Anyway, in the meantime though, the story appeared in the newspaper, the Selma newspaper that identified Polly as having been at that rally.

SS: The black rally.

DH: At the black rally. And I've now got a copy of that newspaper article, and if you read it today you would think, "This is the most innocuous little statement. Why would anyone have gotten upset about this?" Because it's literally I don't even think its two sentences. It might only be one long sentence. But it says, "Polly Cowan from New York" basically . . .

SS: Spoke at the rally . . .

DH: . . . "Spoke at the rally and expressed, she expressed greetings from . . ." what was that group she was in?

SS: Citizens the Concerned Citizens of New York.

DH: Concerned Citizens of New York for Children. She brought greetings from them." That's it!

SS: But honey, it was a black rally!

DH: I realize that, but by today's standards it's so . . .

SS: Then she went to talk to the two white Selma women who hadn't known that at the time.

DH: Right so they felt just completely . . .

SS: Totally betrayed.

DH: . . .betrayed and refused then to meet with Dorothy Tilly. So that story of how something just that simple to me also speaks about the times in the 1960's.

PH: We had white speakers at the rally that I went to in Jackson.

DH: Well . . .

PH: I have lists of Jane Schutt . . .

DH: We did.

PH: With a lot of courage and plenty of Christian conviction she felt strongly about it . . . she wasn't the only one because there was six or ten different speakers; John Pratt that I told you about.

DH: But this rally that they attended.

PH: Nobody cared about us why was that?

DH: Well I think differed purpose. This rally that they attended was . . .

SS: It was a year before.

DH: It was a year before.

PH: Oh it was the year before.

SS: It was the year before.

PH: Okay.

DH: The keynote speaker was Dick Gregory who came down and did . . .

PH: Oh okay.

DH: . . .make a lot of derogatory comments towards and about whites. So it was a completely different tone than the meeting, which you went to which was people trying to do something to keep schools open, you know . . .

PH: Well to tell the students that they had to register . . . I mean the parents that they had to register the students. We have fought so long and if you don't do it . . .

SS: Yeah and the Civil Rights Act had been passed.

PH: The upshot was that you cannot NOT register. They kept saying like you were saying about something Gerry. No you said, if it was my kid, I don't know if I'd had had the nerve. I thought they were wonderful people who would even consider it. They wanted 100 that fall, that '64 in Jackson and they only got 38. 38 registered so it wasn't a total success.

DH: So my question is tell me, you know, tell me your perceptions of what it was like in the 1960's.

SS: What "it"?

DH: The climate was like, and if you want, you can compare to what was your climate here versus there. I just want to know what you think.

GKZ: About race?

DH: Well and about the 1960's, and that question of race at that time.

GKZ: It's a hard one.

SS: I think everyone was afraid of everyone else.

GKZ: Yeah, a lot of fear.

SS: A lot of and it reminds me alas, I mean the miss and disinformation abroad in the land about, you know all around the civil rights movement was huge and frankly, it reminds me of what's going on today with a certain political party, which is stirring up fear of all sort of things that I just . . . it's very discouraging. It's not dissimilar.

PH: With immigration's thing.

SS: Immigration, healthcare, taxes! It's you know they are different issues but they are similar tactics and there's not the violence (I hope) associated with the differences of

opinion it's . . .but there are some parallels. To the power of misinformation and disinformation that . . .

GKZ: But also, I mean I think, I agree with you about fear. My principal sense of how everybody was operating at the time in the South was fear, and a lot of it was to us kind of crazy fears like the U.N. is going to take over.

SS: Right.

GKZ: I mean it's like later on the communists, but there was this sort of feeling of alien invasion.

PH: I've heard people say that this country has to have an enemy; they just have to. That's the only way we get anything done, and the communist thing was a perfect example or blacks. You know it just doesn't work if we don't have something that we are feared of and working against and I just don't get that. It's horrible.

GKZ: I think in terms of the race issue that the South had a very different history and that history had a lot to do with attitudes.

PH: Also poverty in the South.

GKZ: Yeah.

PH: You have to take that out because you can't get a job you are going to take that out on somebody, and God knows it would be the blacks at that time.

SS: Well and privilege on the other end of the economic spectrum.

PH: Uh huh (in the affirmative).

SS: Which people felt threatened.

PH: That's where we are today with all this job business and the problems that we've had economically. I mean it's the perfect scapegoat that's the thing, right? But the thing

that I was telling Debbie that because I didn't go with a group. What was my group I forget League or Y, anyway I was interested at that time in the Y in the South, and I was telling . . . and the next meeting that we had on the board of the Y I said, it's not possible for us to be members of a national YWCA as far as I'm concerned because down in Jackson they have separate but equal Y's. So a group of us and a whole lot of other Y's throughout the country went to the national board (I had nothing to do with that personally, but I was involved with the letter writing) and for the next two years every Y was supposed to have, study institutional racism, and you'd be surprised I mean people would say, "Oh I know the blacks such and such a friend of mine. She's not getting a job" or "She's not hired because she's this or that." But the institutional angle of it nobody had the foggiest idea.

SS: And Dorothy Height was, that was her job at the Y, and she was president of the National Council of Negro Women but she was working full time . . .

PH: . . .at the Y.

SS: . . . at the Y to undo institutional racism within the Y, the national Y.

PH: Yes that's right. So a lot of its ignorance I think of really what's going on. It's personal that you might know something about what is wrong, what should be done but as a whole country now we've lost that whole feeling of getting something big done. It's just so sad. U.S. wise, maybe I'm exaggerating. But that's all economic that's the perfect excuse now to say, "Well we haven't got time to worry about that" or "We're not going to do that." So nobody has jobs. What do you mean blacks don't have jobs or African Americans however you want to describe them? Nobody does so I think we are

way behind getting anything done that I think we were starting to get done. But anyway I get very discouraged. I'm sure you do too.

SS: We live in discouraging times.

GKZ: One of the huge changes I think is demographic. There was a picture, I don't know on the news or something of a Hispanic baby, Latino baby and that, something quite soon the white people will be a minority.

SS: They are in California already.

GKZ: And boy, that's an interesting thought!

SS: Yes, it is indeed!

DH: I think they are in Houston already, if not they are very close.

GKZ: I don't know that we've done very well on your question.

PH: Oh, where were we? You're right.

DH: Well it was just to ask what your perception was at the time in the 1960's.

GKZ: Well it was certainly, I think it was an . . . the 60's ethos had an influence on me and my family. This sort of idea of making change happen, not necessarily in certain ways. But the general breaking down of the stuffy barriers, and I mean that's why I was saying we had a Volkswagen.

SS: How old were you Gerry may I ask?

GKZ: I think I was 37.

SS: And your children?

GKZ: My kids were 10 and 11, or 10 and 12.

DH: Let me rephrase the question a little bit or introduce a different piece to it. Did John Kennedy's election change the mood of the times in the 60's in the early 60's?

PH: Oh I would say so definitely.

GKZ: Oh, good for us. We were just thrilled!

SS: Over the moon!

GKZ: Yeah.

SS: Oh yeah I was still a student, and it was such an exciting time. It was a wonderful time to come of age.

PH: It was.

SS: Because there was the civil rights movement and then the anti-war stuff and co-educational housing on campus!

PH: Oh boy!

SS: Wow!

GKZ: And pot.

SS: Yeah there was all that. I guess I was too straight laced to get in on that stuff.

GKZ: Even at Stanford you didn't?

SS: No not me. But it was just . . . and Kennedy, you know, we could do anything! We could do anything and as a woman I never felt inferior or that there were barriers against me. I discovered there were as I made my way in the job market. But it was an exhilarating time, very different from now.

PH: Let's see, I think my trouble would be answering that question I mean maybe Gerry could contradict me, but we live in Cambridge. I mean I meet people from . . . you know I was talking, you were talking about Texas I said we have these very close friends from Houston, well guess who we are having lunch with? I guess I told you yesterday after I dropped you off with their son who is here from Houston on a vacation so we took

him out for lunch with his girlfriend. But I mean those people, they are a little bit different because they grew up and went to Yale and Princeton or whatever. But I mean the people that I meet from other places, I wouldn't even discuss it. Kennedy, what they thought about Kennedy of his election? I have no idea why we wouldn't have asked. I mean we never talked to our friends from Houston I told you about. We go on trips with them, we love them dearly, but it's a different world. Then what they would have thought about Kennedy, I can't even begin to imagine, I don't dare even ask!

GKZ: It's true in Cambridge it's definitely . . .

PH: We are an anomaly.

SS: You're another kind of . . .

PH: I'll be right back I'm just going to turn on the oven.

GKZ: Well I think it's true we live in a kind of liberal island. Not that everybody in Cambridge is liberal but there's a lot of us. I got in the mail, you probably did too, from the Democratic National Committee a copy of the birth certificate.

SS: Oh no! I throw all that stuff away without opening it. Oh pooh!

GZK: They need to know I'm not planning to keep it very long but still!

SS: That was a cute ploy, I guess.

PH: There was this cute little boy with his arm around him in the *Globe* today. I haven't read the *Globe* because I didn't have a chance. But with him as about a six-year-old or something, Obama with his . . . I don't know what the point of that story actually I should have read it. But they just won't give that up will they?

SS: No.

PH: Where he's from.

SS: That's ridiculous!

PH: Anyway!

GKZ: Well it's sort of analogous to what we were saying about some element of what you hate or fear becomes a salient thing, and where Obama was born is bad for a bunch of people who probably don't want to come out and say, "We hate him because he's black."

SS: No indeed but I think that's . . ..

GKZ: Probably . . .

SS: It I really think it is.

PH: Do you know what scares me the most though is that the Republicans are so anxious for the economy to fail so they can get rid of Obama.

SS: Exactly! Their single mission . . .

PH: Is to get rid of Obama.

SS: Is to get rid of Obama. They don't give a damn about the country.

PH: No.

SS: And so they are obstructing any useful legislation.

PH: But nobody really brings that out or is it not possible to mention!

SS: It's so craven, anal—don't ask what I really think! Yes, thank you.

GKZ: I can't stand it.

SS: I scream at the television, and Bruce says "Stop it!"

PH: Number 6, is that where we are? Did I miss anything?

DH: No and maybe we've talked about this a little bit already but I'll go ahead and ask in case you want to add something. What sense did you get that fear impacted your team

(or in your case the teams Susie) and how about the people in Mississippi, what did you hear from them about fear?

PH: Well my only thing was that her husband would lose his job if they were in the League. I don't remember too much else. But you know I was telling I thought we weren't allowed to ride in cars interracially speaking, but when we went to Hattiesburg we did. And . . .

GKZ: So did we coming back from by mistake. Somehow coming back from Canton.

SS: Boy I was going to say Hattiesburg was at the end of the summer and . . . but if we did coming back from Canton.

GKZ: Because I remember we were all kind of slap happy and Sister . . .

SS: Catherine . . .

GKZ: Catherine, she said, "I'll just hide on the floor." I don't remember, somebody said they'd hide on the floor maybe it was a black participant. But just in general.

PH: There wasn't any fear in my team that I went on.

GKZ: We had a lot of fear.

PH: You did?

GKZ: We were followed by guys.

PH: Oh you were?

GKZ: In a truck with guns.

PH: Oh see we didn't get that.

GKZ: The whole time we were in Canton.

PH: Is Canton much different than Hattiesburg for instance?

SS: Well it was earlier too.

GKZ: And I think we were . . . we had as I've said to you, Susie, I mean Debbie, the sense of being in enemy territory the whole time we were there.

SS: Oh man.

PH: Yeah that's true.

GKZ: And it was just after the disappearance of the three workers.

PH: Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney. Oh my God, that's true.

GKZ: And we didn't and it wasn't yet known what had happened to them but clearly something had. So that was . . .

PH: They hadn't found them had they yet?

SS: No those three.

PH: What was your date?

SS: July 15th.

PH: You were July 15th?

SS: July 14, 15, 16. [reading from her diary] "We arrived in Canton and found ourselves almost immediately, hopelessly lost. We finally had to stop and ask. The place looked like a dandy little Negro grocery store right on the edge of town. It turned out to be a dandy little white grocery store, and poor Diane came out of it somewhat less enthusiastic about reaching into the community then she had been before we went in."

PH: Good way to put it.

SS: "Eventually we found a likely looking church and there found the local leader of the movement. He offered to take us to the COFO office and as we left we picked up an escort. The local deputized sheriff. In broken down pickup truck, straw hat and cigar (three prime requisites it seems for that flaunted position). We drove right on as

unperturbed as one can be on one's second mission in a strange land and did our best to comfort the ladies who all of the sudden starting rambling on a bit less forcefully then they had earlier. Quote, 'Well now I wonder who he is and what he's doing? And just what do you suppose he wants with us? And I'm not nervous. He's still there. What do you suppose he has in that truck and I just wonder why he happens to go exactly the same way we are? Of course I'm not nervous? He's still there.' And when we arrived in our church and our guide stopped and our rear escort pulled up ahead of us on the other side of the road so we could have a full and fine few of the situation, so he could have a full and fine view of the situation, we got out of the car too. The sheriff could hardly believe his eyes. We were like a funny little car in the circus that pulls into the center ring and lets 15 people out. We were only 7, but we were hated and gloved and proper Bostonian. And when dear Sister Catherine stepped out into the morning sun in her flowing robes he almost dropped his cigar. Diane finished him off with a beaming smile and a ringing, 'Good morning sir!' and he wandered off dazed and dumbfounded."

GKZ: But he came back he was ...

SS: Yeah he did.

GKZ: He followed us at the end.

SS: He did come back anyway. We didn't have time to be afraid and I think, I kept thinking you know Hewitt and the other white women who helped us so much lived this and they were sticking their necks out and being courageous and certainly the black women were incredible role models in that sense and I just sort of psychically leaned on them as, you know, "If they could survive this we could too." But it was very scary no question about it.

GKZ: I think the sense of the fear on the part of the people who lived there was expressed in saying, "This is occupied Mississippi" bumper sticker or something they sell.

SS: [to cat] Hi, sweetie girl.

PH: Oh I didn't mean to say that I didn't feel the fear but I didn't have any personally but I'm sure in the rally I did.

DH: Okay so shall we go to the next question?

SS: Yes.

DH: Sister Catherine John in her report said that the trip caused her to re-ask questions about the relevance of institutionalized religion. Yet for southern blacks, religion was a source of strength. What did you observe about the different interpretations of religion by the southern women you met or the actions of specific churches or synagogues in Mississippi?

PH: Oh boy! Well I certainly felt there was having gone to the rally of course that they were so involved. The church people spoke at the rally and just . . .

SS: White church people?

PH: No.

SS: Oh black church people.

PH: No they had white people speaking there, but it was mostly black people in the audience about the registration for schools. But I didn't get any real feeling that it was a religious thing because it was all there for a specific reason, civil rights reason rather than religious. I didn't get very much religion feeling around. I always assumed that

everybody in Mississippi was very religious like the Vockroths or whatever, they probably . . .

SS: Did you talk about religion with them?

PH: If we did, I've forgotten, but I'll have to read my report but I don't think so, not so much. No that didn't come into i. You know some people are and some people aren't. I wouldn't consider that a very important piece of it would you?

GKZ: Of the experience?

PH: Yeah I mean religious?

GKZ: Not for me. I mean I certainly know, you know through the news and all the stuff at the time how deeply religious everybody was and yet they came out on different sides, but not personally no.

SS: I wrote on the margin next to this question, how differently the Bible can be interpreted. You know as part of our gentility Diane and I went to church three times every Sunday.

PH: That's right you did!

SS: To demonstrate what good girls we were, but also to meet people because that's, that was an excellent place to develop relationships.

PH: What church did you go to?

SS: Oh we went to the Methodist, we went to the Episcopal; we went to the Presbyterian. Really! And there was (I can't remember which one it was) but there was one white preacher who talked about brotherhood, and we could just barely contain ourselves from gagging in the pew! It was just, just hypocrisy on steroids it was just so awful! And then of course there was the Hendrix story and you know we went home

with them after church to talk about having them host Helen Meyner and oh they were thrilled with the prospect and so forth and so on. There was this issue in their church and it was, the vote was going to be 4 to 5 or 5 to 4 and they were worried that if they did this outrageous thing of having this Northern white woman with them it didn't matter that she was very much involved with the national Presbyterian church wasn't she?

PH: Oh no, I was telling Debbie its news to me.

SS: Really? Well okay there was some . . . maybe it was the Red Cross.

PH: Yes. Oh no, she was in Korea during the . . . for the war.

SS: Yeah maybe that was the connection, but there was a personal connection between her and these people.

PH: Oh I see.

SS: That didn't matter.

PH: I never heard that story before isn't that's strange until I read Debbie's piece. I never had heard that from her or she must have known about it.

SS: Well she didn't know about it.

PH: Oh she didn't know about it?

SS: Because I mean it wasn't . . . you know I put her in the Sun-n-Sand because I was so excited and this Vockroth, I don't have any memory of the Vockroths' invitation or hosting of you . . .

PH: How that came up . . .

SS: and Hannah Levin. So I'm wondering if maybe Ann Hewitt did it.

PH: I know nothing.

SS: Anyway, because were there other instances of team members staying with white families?

DH: There were. Team 7 did but then evidentially also Team 6.

GKZ: I think the one thing that fits this (which I've already discussed with you about this question) was the observation of what the situation with the Catholic church in Canton was and how I imagine that Sister Catherine John (I know) that she was very upset about that. That here was a beautiful school whose students were all black kids, but it was closed for the summer and not doing and not participating. One detail I remember speaking of appearance and clothing was that the priest was not wearing a collar.

SS: A collar really?

DH: Huh!

GKZ: He was in _____ (128.55) so to speak. I mean they were just laying low and pretending the whole thing wasn't happening.

SS: Right and we had just before we went there we were with the Freedom School kids, and the one woman was teaching a typing class. Do you remember that?

GKZ: I remember!

SS: With one typewriter. And they would put pennies on a board or something and they learned how and then each kid got 2 minutes at the typewriter to practice, and then we go to visit the school and the door is flung open and it's the typing room with 20 typewriters.

GKZ: How did we come to visit that school?

SS: I don't remember. I don't know whether the . . . I don't know.

GKZ: Since it wasn't part of the Freedom Summer so to speak.

SS: No it wasn't, but we made I was reminded reading back over my journal we made some . . . I think George who the COFO kids . . .

DH: George Raymond.

SS: Yes, who was with us, got to know the sisters and I don't . . . I think something good happened after that.

GKZ: But I think Sister Catherine John's remark must have been partly based on her discovering that the institution that she belonged to (at least in that locale) was completely . . .

SS: Part of it.

GKZ: . . . not being helpful.

DH: I wonder if she was aware that the bishop had . . .

SS: Told them . . .

DH: . . .refused to allow the other nuns to take part.

GKZ: I don't know.

DH: Do you know Susie by chance if she would have known that?

SS: No, I don't. I don't have a . . . I'm afraid if it isn't in here [diary/notes] it's gone!

GKZ: I know. Because it isn't in here!

PH: Well except for Debbie. You can't use that excuse Miss Debbie.

SS: Yeah but George, I overheard George talking to three of the sisters in the corridor, "We certainly do appreciate knowing you are here, and we'd like for you to have our address and home number and please be sure and call us if there's anything that we can do for you. You know if you ever need a ride into town or anywhere just give us a call and we'll give you a lift." He was so sweet!

PH: Yeah.

GKZ: Yeah.

SS: "George was appealingly earnest and though I doubt any one of the sisters would ever be caught dead riding into town as George suggested, they were grateful for his concern and they were hard put to dismiss his sincerity."

PH: That's wonderful!

DH: I'll just add to that there were other people from (I can't remember who said exactly) but there were multiple people on your team that said that they, (and I think you [Gerry] may have been one of them actually) that said that they felt they had been a catalyst for something good to happen there. By bringing . . .

SS: George . . .

DH: Those two groups of people together.

GKZ: Well that's hopeful. We don't really know too much.

PH: So has there been any follow up with for instance like the Vockroths or whoever? Or the priest, in where were you?

GKZ: Canton.

PH: Canton?

PH: I mean there hasn't been any follow up on any of that has there by any chance? Did they ever write or did we ever write them? I mean I'm terrible at remembering.

DH: Not that I remember seeing but that doesn't mean . . .

SS It didn't happen . . .

DH: . . .it's not there.

PH: I was just wondering. I was naughty. I never wrote them. I wrote them to thank them for the experience or something, but I didn't keep up with them after that. It's pathetic. It's bad. I should have.

DH: Well there weren't very many people that did that actually. In fact, in the archives, really Mrs. Ezell was the only one that seemed, who hosted some people from Team 6, was the only one that seemed to really correspond back and forth with multiple people.

SS: I worry that maybe the archives aren't complete too because.

DH: Well that's, I mean that's always a possibility because when people donate their papers to the archives (not so much organizations, but especially individuals) sometimes they don't give everything, pieces of information they don't want others to see.

SS: Or just sloppy filing.

DH: Sometimes people . . . I was going to say sometimes people just things got thrown away you didn't think about it. So you know it's never, it's never an exact science. Susie do you remember did you all ever attend services at Galloway Methodist? There was a Capitol Street Methodist which I think was downtown and then there was Galloway, which was big.

SS: Well . . .

DH: Because there was a book published in 1980 by the person who was the minister there during those years. It's called *Agony at Galloway*. And you all would probably really find it interesting this story of this church. They had a minister there for 18 years who just walked out one day because they were turning away blacks at the door. And so this new minister had come in, I think he came from Memphis. He was familiar with the

South, he had lived in the South . . . he didn't he had gone to Millsaps and when he was a student there in Jackson at Millsaps he had worshiped at Galloway. So he was very excited to go there, but it did not turn out to be a pleasant experience for him at all. He tried to sort of work from within to change rather than to do the walking out thing, and he would go on Mondays and try and bail out the people who had been arrested for trying to come to church there. And he would say, "I'm not brining any charges against these people." And they would say, "Well these are city charges you can't . . ."

GKZ: For trespassing or what?

DH: For . . .

GKZ: Unlawful entry? I mean what did they call it?

DH: Trespass I think there were a couple of different things that were really hokey . . .

GKZ: Yeah.

DH: . . .you know, sort of disturbing the peace . . .

SS: Mississippi was good at hokey.

DH: . . . sort of a thing. Anyway so they, the people would stay in jail, but this was a concerted effort by members of the national Methodist Church, which had a strict policy against turning anyone away on the basis of race. But this church was defying that.

SS: Defiant.

DH: This minister was sort of stuck in the middle and eventually they forced him out, forcing him to resign and then, that was in December of '65. Then in January of '66, they changed their policy, but he already had to leave in June but he was . . . he just had a miserable three years there and he said he never preached on race, and yet every time after a sermon he would get all these comments from people. "I didn't like your sermon

on race!" you know, "I didn't like what you said about blah, blah, blah . . ." because they would . . . you know it was that thing about interpreting scripture . . .

GKZ: Perception.

DH: . . . and they were taking what he said as like some coded, veiled . . .

SS: Right.

DH: . . .message when he would say, "Be a responsible Christian."

GKZ: That would do it.

SS: Well yeah, they were not, right?

DH: So I'm just . . . and the interesting thing about them too is the women of that church, which I think some of them must have been the women who attended the coffee with Team 6, which was Lucy Montgomery and I forget who else; but Lucy Montgomery was the one who was the most outspoken. She said they were, she called them "delusional" and said they were all "schizoid" was the word she used.

SS: Referring to?

DH: These women, the Hederman women and some of the other women that attended, but they were all members (evidentially) of this church so I'm reading the book about the church, and it's talking about these Methodist woman from Galloway who split off and refused to give their money because it was going to the National Council of Churches which was then supporting the Delta Ministry.

SS: Oh yeah that was wildly . . .

DH: . . . and was helping bail out of jail the people that would be arrested in front of their church every Sunday. It was just an interesting.

PH: That's great that there's that kind of a book.

SS: Yeah to document.

PH: Document it.

DH: It's, I mean obviously, it's his first person account of his experiences but it's a really telling tale about what life was like and how religion was interpreted.

SS: I think it's wonderful that you're going to get more deeply into this angle. Because I think religion is just used in so many devilish ways, and any enlightenment you can put on, you know, analyzing that would be wonderful.

DH: Well I'm hoping that I can find something that will help me identify where some of those women who had attended the coffee, some of these women who broke off . . .

SS: They were the same.

DH: . . .into this, you know, created this splintered group.

GZH: Oh the splintered group was open to integration?

DH: No.

GZH: Oh it was the other way.

DH: No it was opposed. It was opposed.

GZH: I see.

SS: After the national church said it was okay.

DH: The national church said . . .

SS: Or did Galloway change its policy?

DH: Galloway changed . . . this was before Galloway changed its policy, but even after Galloway had, I think before this minister (his name is Cunningham) before Cunningham came I think they had about 3,500 members. By the time he left, they had about 2,500

members and a large number of them had actually formed their own church which they called the "Independent Methodist Church."

GKZ: This is like the people in the South who started schools so that they wouldn't have to integrate.

DH: Exactly.

PH: Virginia had that famous one didn't it?

DH: In Prince Edward County.

PH: Prince Edward County was the most famous of all of those.

GKZ: You know a different meaning of independent.

SS: Indeed!

DH: Yes it is.

GKZ: It's true they are independent they are doing something on their own.

SS: One of my favorite bumper stickers is, "The Religious Right is neither."

PH: You know I was telling our minister, you know Peter Gomes died as you know. But I was telling him about this bumper sticker that I saw said, "Don't be born again just grow up!" Peter, he ruined month after month every time I saw him, he said, "Well get . . . you said promised you were going to get me one!" I guess now on the internet you maybe could get one but I went to every little shop in Harvard square and when I was in New York!

GKZ: You can design your own. My daughter designed one for my bumper.

SS: She did?

GKZ: Which says something like, well she made two I can't remember which one I have. But it sort of that people shouldn't be impatient when they are behind me. It's

something like, "With any luck this could be your grandmother driving!" or something like that.

PH: How cute.

DH: How cute.

GKZ: Or don't you wish?

PH: Oh that just reminds me I just have to show you something that my daughter just sent me if you are talking about the religious thing. I won't read it too much to you but the little bit.

SS: What was the name of the book again I'd like to write it down?

DH: It's called *Agony at Galloway*. And you can get it used on Amazon it's not in print anymore. But it came out in about 1980 and the man's name is Cunningham. I think it's W.R. or W. J.

GKZ: Well that's enough it can't be too . . .

SS: He was the minister, and he wrote the book.

DH: He was the minister. He wrote the book. He was the one who was the minister from about 1963 to June of 1966.

GZK: It's so interesting how change happens. I mean that's a wonderful example, "No, no, no, no . . ." and then, "Oh."

SS: Yeah.

GKZ: I have a friend who is an Episcopal priest, and she decided long before, a few years before it was generally acceptable to marry gay couples. That was before her church had agreed to this, but nobody gave her a hard time. But then she went a step

further, and said that she would not marry straight couples until her church agreed to let marriage of gay couples. So, you know . . .

DH: Oh wow!

SS: Good for her.

GKZ: . . . so she was pushing, pushing, pushing and now it's . . .

PH: This is from my daughter whose husband is the bishop of Ohio. You can see how religious she is. It goes way back to President Bush. Thank you so much for educating the people regarding God's law, blah, blah, blah . . . In Leviticus I have some problems could you help me regarding some elements of God's law that are bothering me. Leviticus . . . blah, blah, blah . . . states that I may possess slaves, both male and female, provided they are purchased from neighboring nations. A friend of mine claims that this applies to Mexicans, but not Canadians. Can you please clarify why can't I own Canadians?" and "I would like to sell my daughter into slavery as is sanctioned in Exodus 2:17" I won't go into where these things are. "In this day and age what do you think would be a fair price for her?" and " I know that I am allowed no contact with a woman while she is . . ." I won't go into that. "The problem is how do I tell? I try asking her but most woman take offense?" This is the period thing I didn't mean to read that one. "When I burn a bull on the alter as a sacrifice I know it creates a pleasing odor for the Lord, it says in Leviticus 1:9, the problem is my neighbors. They claim the odor is not pleasing to them. Should I smite them?" It goes on and on.

SS: Oh that's lovely!

PH: It's so cleaver because here it is laid out.

DH: And your son in law wrote that?

PH: No, no.

SS: His wife.

PH: My daughter sent it to me. It was a letter somebody wrote. God knows who.

DH: I was going to say I've seen that . . . I have had that circle around me in the internet before and I was going to be really excited if I . . .

PH: Yeah I'm sure it came through the internet.

DH: . . . if I sort of knew vicariously . . .

SS: Who wrote it.

GKZ: But the interesting because I took a course this winter (I belong to . . .

SS: Yes.

GKZ: . . .Harvard Institute for Learning Retirement) on the concept of God and it was partly a history of various ideas in Western culture. The interesting thing is that this adherence to the Bible as the literal truth is fairly recent.

PH: Is it?

GKZ: Yeah, and this Bible worship is really not the way it was for many, many centuries in the Christian church.

PH: See I didn't know that. I can't believe it. I mean I just thought it got worse.

GKZ: Well, yeah, I think the . . . well let's not go off into that. But it does seem . . .

PH: It's great literature and that's what it is. I mean for God's sake.

DH: Would a program like WIMS work today to bring people together, and if so what spheres might it be useful?

GKZ: Well just as an example this same friend was part of a group that met for five years (women) on both sides of the abortion issue. And I think nobody exactly changed their minds but they did come to a much greater . . .

SS: They found common ground.

GKZ: understanding of each other's positions. So this kind of—at least this was dialogue in the sense, I think, that can work. But I don't . . . certainly abortion would be and still is one of the issues on which you might hope to find common ground or understand one another's positions if nothing else.

PH: There's also there was a club I read the book I'll have to look up the title and the author, very good book about a Jewish woman and a . . .

SS: Palestinian?

PH: An Islamic and a Presbyterian.

SS: Christian.

PH: A Presbyterian or whatever she was. And it was a club and they got together and they went to all the different churches, and it was so well written, and what they learned and how they learned through these other experiences in these other churches in New York. I have it in the other room what it was but it was one of the best things like that that I've ever read. It's something you'd want to do but I'd never get around to doing anything like that.

SS: There's another group I can't remember . . .called Women of Peace, I think, and it takes a Jew, a Muslim, and a Christian Arab from Israel and Palestine I guess. Is the Muslim from? I don't know I think they are all Israeli. And they travel around this

country talking about the situation from their each prospective but they work as a team. They are all seeking peace.

PH: Was Ezella Wizenski, have something like that, Gerry?

GKZ: Probably.

SS: They came to Maine they were fabulous! They really were!

PH: So you heard them?

SS: Yeah.

PH: That's so great.

SS: A friend of ours from the U.N. is the organizer of it. So I wrote, "Women will always come together across racial lines to improve their communities, I think." It's so different now though isn't it? And technology has a lot to do with it, but also the issues are different I think. Although when one of you was out, we were talking about the latent racism about this driving much of the movement to make Obama a one term president I think. I think we're not out of the woods even though we have a black president. But the difficult issues because laws now are on our side and custom is increasingly I think helping but issues like abortion and religion God! What she really means!

GKZ: Yes.

SS: . . .are certainly tough ones. But I think women can, do come together and find more easily can find common ground just because we relate to one another in different ways.

PH: That was the great part of the League of Women Voters. We had to, Cambridge had to give it up because there were so many other things, so many were working for Planned Parenthood and so on and so forth. But you got such a variety of people because

I joined when I first moved here in 1956 or whatever. From all religions and all interests. But if you were a regular League of Women Voter you had to work on a local issue, a state issue, a national issue, and an international issue so you maybe didn't . . . they were called units and there was stuff that you had to really prove that you studied these things, and had workshops on them and so on and so forth, a great idea basically. And it's . . . I don't think there's anything quite like that. I mean I don't think the League is as strong as it used to be. Maybe it is in some places, but certainly not here because they gave it up. Boston, I don't know what they are up to. But the idea to bring a whole lot of people together and force them to study certain things. Of course abortion would never have been on that list ever I guess ever, I don't think, they wouldn't have had that as an issue. Even today, I don't see how they could actually.

GKZ: I think one of the key things about the WIMS model is the under the radar, low visibility . . .

PH: Yeah that's true.

GKZ: . . .action and I think that, it's harder now because it's so hard to do anything without you know being jumped on by the press or being noticed by somebody but I think it is, it's so much more useful to try to connect with people without all the apparatus representing somebody. I think the thing was we didn't represent anybody. We went ourselves. Maybe we had the ties to League of Women Voters or . . .

SS: Yeah there were those connections.

GKZ: Those were sort of. But they were, I don't feel reading the materials I've read either that people were there, you know, representing Jewish women or representing League of Women Voters women or you know whatever.

PH: No.

SS: No, we used that to make the connections.

GKZ: But it was essentially the individual, person to person.

SS: Yep.

GKZ: And under the radar. I think that kind of action is still a good model for change.

SS: I do too.

PH: I can't picture what it would, where you would go and what you would do and how you would set it up today.

GKZ: Well do you know that Public Conversations Project? Are you familiar with that?

PH: Oh I heard something over on Broad Street someplace . . . I used to hear about it but I don't know anything about it.

GKZ: Because that was, they were the sponsors of the dialogue about abortion that my friend was in on and that's the kind of model for . . . it's not all women.

PH: Explain I can't remember anything about it.

GKZ: Well I don't want to go into it because.

PH: But it's just groups of people getting together?

GKZ: No it's . . .

PH: Conversations I know.

GKZ: It's a directed conversation. It's a controlled conversation on very hot topics.

SS: And you sign up to? It's people from different perspectives?

GKZ: Yeah.

PH: And you sign up?

GKZ: No. They have projects. They have some international ones. You know sort of the peace and reconciliation model.

PH: Okay. There's so many things like that, but you don't hear much about it. Maybe they are supposed to be under the radar, I don't know. But gosh! There's a lot of Arab/Israeli stuff going on. You sort of wish they could all get together somehow students and . . .

SS: I'm sorry personally that we didn't, that I didn't keep up connections the friendships that I made. But, you know I went on to graduate school and international work so and I was I guess I think I was also totally drained . . .

GKZ: Yeah, I'll bet.

SS: . . . by the end.

PH: You must have been tired.

SS: Diane and I and Mom went to Nantucket for two weeks and just chilled and _____ (1.55.18), but and then I went on with the rest of my life.

PH: Oh you did a wonderful job though my God when I think back on all you did.

SS: Well . . .

PH: Under the radar.

SS: With the help of many wonderful women.

DH: Okay so last question, how did Black Power affect your feelings about the Civil Rights Movement?

GKZ: I remember feeling a kind of loss, you know, it was very easy to feel emotionally attached to non-violence and to the nobility I would say of the movement in that phase. And to feel connected somehow to the struggle that black people were going through.

Black Power, of course, was divisive you know. It was "them," and it was I don't remember being sort of actively frightened by it, but it was a threatening kind of thing. So there was no place for a well-intentioned white woman in the Black Power scheme of things.

PH: I just thought they were slitting their own throats half the time, personally. Angela Davis and people like that.

SS: How do you mean slitting their own throats?

PH: Well hurting the cause I should say. You know . . .

SS: Anger . . .

PH: Because people had such an easy way to say, "Oh look, they are dangerous, they should be all locked up." We might not have thought that but I knew that it had to be done, and they had to probably that was the way they had to do it because that was their way of protesting and I couldn't blame them for protesting but I just thought the way they did it was very bad for the cause. And that horrible time during the Chicago Democratic convention, it was just awful; or Watts or any of the times when you can't blame the people that did those things because it just happens sometimes, but as you were talking about non-violence, just prayed that all that could have been done like that program that we saw on the television about the what was that the program that we loved so?

DH: The Freedom Riders?

PH: The Freedom Riders! I mean that was just so amazingly wonderful. But not everybody is made just to be quietly stones thrown at them walking over bridges. I mean there aren't very many people I know that would do that. They would carry a gun of

course now. Anyway, I just thought some of that black power stuff was very destructive of the whole movement that was all I meant.

GKZ: Well in a way I don't quite agree that it was destructive to the movement. The movement had changed, had become something else, as movements do.

PH: You mean but it didn't help the movement. It didn't help bring it along.

SS: Well it helped me understand that any social justice movement has to be multi-dimensional.

PH: Yeah.

GKZ: And it will change.

SS: Yeah.

GKZ: It can't be in the same.

PH: But I could argue that a lot of white people were going along okay until all of the sudden here comes this destructive thing and, "They should all be locked up we don't want any part of that."

SS: Right.

PH: I'm just being the devil's advocate.

SS: No, no, no, you're right. I mean it turn a lot of people off, there's no question about it. But it sort of had to be part of the whole picture, I think.

GKZ: I sort of feel that way, that it was the next stage. It was not a good stage in a sense. It was a very destructive stage in the sense, but it was what came next.

PH: It's a fact you mean, not that you would want that to happen.

SS: No as these . . .

GKZ: As development.

SS: As these things will

PH: It doesn't have to be part of the development. If you look at the Martin Luther King or Gandhi or whatever. I mean I wouldn't want to give it credit because I wouldn't want to see it happen again.

GKZ: Why should it happen again?

PH: Well maybe it will over gays. I mean, God only knows. I don't believe in that kind of violence. I don't think it proves anything. I think it boomerangs.

SS: Yeah, but, when I mean the frustration and just . . .

PH: It's a fact. I agree.

SS: Steam has to blow off somewhere.

GKZ: I think, I felt that I admired and loved the non-violent movement partly because it sort of sanctified the black community. It made them into such amazing people that they could go through what they went through and be so steadfast and so strong. So my emotional alliance was with that.

SS: Me too.

GKZ: And I think like a lot of people, it also was sort of sneakily comforting to think of these people as so noble and long suffering. When the Black Power movement arrived it was as if the lid blew off that.

SS: Yeah, exactly.

GKZ: And sure, people may be long suffering but not forever, and there was a huge amount of rage and frustration to be expressed. It was real. But it left people like us out, you know, the sort of well-meaning, liberal white people had to say, "Oops there's no

place for me in this development. There's nowhere for me to connect with that. In fact it rejects me and hates me, so now what?"

SS: I remember feeling exactly the same way, Gerry, but also thinking, "And then there will be something after this."

GKZ: Well I think some of the time I thought that.

SS: And it's all part of a continuum and wasn't it wonderful that we got to be a tiny part of the first part?

GKZ: There's also something I don't know how this fits in, but I think part of what I felt. I think people like me who were Jewish felt an alliance with black people because it was the oppressed, and it was about prejudice, and about oppression. And so that's different when the oppressed rise up . . .

SS: And oppress other people!

GKZ: "We're not going to take it anymore!" Then you don't have that alliance anymore. You know unless you want to be a freedom fighter in the ghetto. I mean you know there is precedence for that too. But I think too the funny thing to say, but I'm just trying to think of what I mean. Suffering has a kind of glamour that rage does not. Does that make sense?

SS: Well dignity, nobility as you said earlier.

GKZ: Yes.

SS: Or dignity.

PH: You think of those Freedom Riders on the bus. I mean all those wonderful women, more than just the main one I mean.

SS: Do you know Shirley was a Freedom Rider?

PH: Was she?

SS: Yeah and there's a guy who was looking through the Mississippi state archives for something else (a journalist) and he came across the mug shots of the Freedom Riders and he decided to see if he could find them now. And he put, he made a book.

PH: He did?

SS: Yeah, it was written . . . it was in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine or someplace.

PH: I think I saw it.

SS: Yeah and he did find a number of them and told their stories since they were Freedom Riders with their mug shot and their current picture.

GKZ: Oh I wish I had seen that.

SS: I got in touch with him. Shirley was not in the article because she died in 2000, but I got in touch with him and said, "Did you come across Shirley Smith's mug shot?" and he said, "Absolutely!" And I said, "Could you send it to me?" and he did. And then he wanted to know all about, you know, what I could tell him about her and I put him in touch with her sons and stuff. So . . .

DH: Did you tell them the story about showing her the newspaper that Selma had elected a black mayor?

SS: I don't know, if I did—the day she died.

PH: That's a good example of how things have really changed when you have black mayors in Selma.

SS: That was the day she died.

PH: That was the day she died.

SS: Yeah.

End of Interview