

D: ...what was known as a roving bureau. I covered areas of the state where we did not have a full-time bureau. And St. Augustine was one of those areas. I just traveled all over North Florida, generally speaking, to small counties. And..

C: How long have you been with the paper?

D: I been with the paper 23 years. And, when I first came here, they just asked me if I would sort of like to do a public relations job. They didn't really think there was any news in a small county. But our problem was, we had a bureau in Gainesville, had two people down there; had a bureau in Ocala. We had bureaus in Tallahassee, we had a bureau in Daytona Beach. All the big cities, but people would write in and say, "Hey, <sup>You know</sup> I can read about <sup>a</sup> county commission meeting in Ocala, but you don't ever write anything <sup>to us</sup> about Nassau County and Clay County," <sup>Well,</sup> ~~those~~ <sup>were</sup> small counties then and still, some of them still are. Starke ~~was~~ another county. So they just asked me if I would travel in these counties and meet the officials. Dig up any stories I could. And it was really sort of a pleasant, it was a very pleasant job. <sup>You know,</sup> ~~it~~ furnished me with an automobile, gave me an expense account. I was more or less on my own to dig up anything. It was the kind of job most anybody could have done. But I enjoyed it and cultivated a lot of friendships. And then I discovered in St. Augustine that that was one of the, is a city that's just constantly filled with news. So basically, from about 1959 up to 1965, I spent a great deal of time in St. Augustine. You know, they had the, they had the railroad strike...

C: The Railroad strike, um hum.

D: ...and a lot of dynamiting. And there ~~were~~ <sup>was</sup> just big stories down there, happening every week. So I was down there at the start of this racial ~~strike~~ <sup>strife</sup>. And I got caught up in it \_\_\_\_\_. And, the thing that I remember, 'course, you know, they had a few bombings. There were just incidents here and there that, more or less, began to multiply and tension between the races began to increase. And so, then, I think, \_\_\_\_\_, and certainly I don't fault ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup> for this, they decided,

because of the King's people, they decided that, since there was racial tension there, and the fact that it was the oldest city in the nation, that it would attract attention to passage of the Civil Rights Bill that they were after at the time. And, it was a very carefully planned campaign. I think you could have gone to any city, but St. Augustine was, <sup>being</sup> ~~an~~ the oldest city, was the image they needed, you know, to be able to raise funds, to be able to use a slogan—"The Oldest Segregated City in the Nation". And they were very clever with it. And, of course, if you're going to demonstrate, you've got to attract attention. <sup>And</sup> ~~And~~ I remember that...

C: By the way, did anybody ever specifically state that to you, from the organization, NCLC?

D: Never did, but it was just known. I know I talked with some of the guys that were experts and they covered this <sup>all over the</sup> ~~whole~~ country, and they said "So what?", you know, they were real shrewd. Naturally this is what they're doing, but they've got a cause. They want to attract attention to it--they're dead if you can't attract attention to it. They are slick, the people in St. Augustine, constantly. For example, King, I remember King. It was either in Los Angeles or San Francisco. And a big dinner was scheduled there and he was attempting to raise money for his cause. I know it was California--it was either San Francisco or Los Angeles. And so, they passed the word in St. Augustine--somebody very mysteriously called me at the Times-Union, and said, "by the way, did you know that a white guy," and I may be just a little confused on this, "but there is a black couple, a white guy that owns a cabin out in a very isolated area of the beach that he's going to turn this over to King." And I said, "No, I didn't hear that." And I said, "Who are you?" And he said, "Well, never mind, I just wanted to tip you." I'm pretty sure it was somebody, a friend of King's. I thought it was some redneck. And so, I didn't print the thing about it. The next time I went to St. Augustine, and that story was all over St. Augustine that that cottage, that particular cottage, vacant, was going to be used by King, and everybody expected me to cover it.

~~So~~ So what happened?

Some rednecks went out there and just blasted it. Blew all the windows out. Did you read up on that story, by the way?

C: Yes, I'd read that story.

D: So, King was able to say, "You see what I mean? The oldest segregated city." And the money just poured into it. That was the way they maintained their momentum. And I'm pretty sure they passed out the stories, here again. <sup>you know, but</sup> They felt they had a cause. They had to do a few things in a devious manner. Why, in all, they were doing the same thing in the Congress; they were doing the same type stuff, the whites were, to keep blacks out of...to keep blacks from integrating <sup>the</sup> restaurants and things like that.

C: Since you covered St. Augustine for such a long period, did you, how would you compare it, as far as race relations were concerned, with other communities?

D: I felt that race relations there were above the average compared with other communities <sup>now</sup> that I've seen. I was born and reared in Georgia, and there was less segregation, less animosity, open animosity for blacks than in many communities in Florida, in north Florida, and many communities that I know in Georgia. And, blacks live, whites sort of live in the same block down there in some areas. And I never, 'course, don't misunderstand me, segregation—they're segregated. Blacks ~~cannot~~ <sup>could not</sup> use restrooms and didn't use, they did not eat in restaurants there, and, but, you just never ran up on, now this was in St. Augustine. I think in some of the rural areas, like Hastings, it <sup>was</sup> a different story, where agriculture is predominant. You know, I just never ran up on ~~any~~ racial bitterness in St. Augustine, up until we began to get these few incidents that were more or less started <sup>I think,</sup> by ~~the~~ Dennis. <sup>C: Right, D:</sup> Dennis was the guy that first organized it down there. When he started, of course, a lot of people got excited. Then, I think, he got a reaction from a certain element there that was, was just natural. They were the old Southern whites, and I think most of those were rural people.

C: What sort of guy was ~~Hastings~~ <sup>Hayling</sup> like in those days?

D: Well, 'course ~~Hastings~~ <sup>Hayling</sup> was a, he was a person that always seemed to be very bitter.

That, now, he, he got, <sup>and</sup> he was the type person, I thought, that, he, there was no way in the world he was going to compromise. He was making demands that, in a sense, he knew maybe they were just, <sup>he</sup> but he knew they would never <sup>met.</sup> He used to do foolish things like this. They had a ~~was at~~ a Klan meeting. Did you hear about that?

C: Right.

D: So he goes to the Klan meeting. Goes out just looking for trouble. And he was a very bitter man about conditions, and maybe justifiably so, but his attitude, his dogmatic approach to any problem there that, you know, people were willing to listen to, why just made most of the people in St. Augustine dislike him intensely.

C: I really...

D: I think a lot of blacks felt, not a lot, but some blacks felt the same way. They said, hey, you know, if this guy would just keep his mouth shut, we'd get along.

C: Yeah.

D: But, as incident, as each incident occurred, you know, the bitterness just increased gradually over a period of months and years and pretty soon it reached a point, you know, where the community was paralyzed, virtually, between black and white. And Hailing was responsible to a great degree with that. Now, another thing too that makes me think that St. Augustine was, the bulk of St. Augustine people, and, of course, later I think we discovered the bulk of whites everywhere, is when they got weary from all this marching--I know they were selling the thing, or they thought it was selling--King agreed to, King pulled out and <sup>[Halstead]</sup> "Hoss" Manucy agreed to pull his troops off. Then Hoss Manucy started up again, and they began to get this, a few things occurred. Like, what Hoss was doing, he was ~~is~~ collecting money, no doubt about it in my mind. For the first time in his life he was getting nationwide recognition. He was getting his picture and stories in all the papers. But, generally speaking, he was collecting money to pay for the fines of the whites that were arrested, and he was going around, <sup>from</sup> merchant to merchant, collecting. Now, <sup>and</sup> I don't know whether that's true and I certainly don't want to be quoted on that. But there's a guy down

there--I know the whites that were real bitter against the blacks, and I knew one of these guys. He worked for an engineer, and he told me about Hoss. He said, "You know, everybody just turned against Hoss, the whites turned <sup>against</sup> him because they knew he was getting money and he was taking a big crack off the top. Thirty, forty fifty percent of it and putting it in his pocket." So they fell out among themselves, really, but once the people decided they were tired of that down there, they just said, I know the last time Hoss Manuey's people were playing around the street, a woman just came up to him and said, "Why don't you go home and take a bath, you know, and get off the streets and we're sick of all this and we're sick of you." Once the community decided that they wanted to get rid of it, it was amazing how speedily they began to issue orders, court orders that got the Klan out. They chased the Klan out of there. And I don't think this guy, Dan, I forget his name now...

C: Warren, Dan Warren.

D: Dan Warren really began to act until he felt he had the community behind him. Boy, once he got that sense, <sup>OR</sup> feeling, he began to just take action--probably was unconstitutional, but he got the people out of there. I, St. Augustine is a very conservative town. It is a Catholic town. Of course the amusing thing to me is, I had a Catholic that I knew, a devout Catholic, <sup>a guy</sup> ~~we got~~ about 35 or 40, and he called me over and he said, "What do you think of the Klan?" I said, "Well, not much." He said, "I was going to help those guys," but he said, "I went out to their meeting the other night, last night," he said, "they were cussing the Catholics more than they were the blacks." And I said, <sup>Well,</sup> "That's part of it. They hate everybody, you know." And, so, you had a Catholic mix down there, but...

C: Old Manuey was Catholic too, wasn't he?

D: Manuey was Catholic, and I had this preacher down there from California.

C: Connie Lynch.

D: Connie Lynch, of course he was the guy that proclaims it. But starting off, the

things that I remember most, if you want to jot this down--do you got this on there?

C: Yeah.

D: Mrs. Peabody came down. 'Course everybody had been expecting Mrs. Peabody there, and that was at a point in time when nobody was really seriously upset about the possibility of a racial strike in St. Augustine. And they had an Easter parade down there. I believe she came down maybe a week later. And the Easter parade usually comes, falls on Easter Sunday, I believe, of course, it could have been in late March.

C: It was late March.

D: Late March of that year, as well as I recall. So, they were very polite and they were arresting ~~people~~<sup>#</sup> and putting them in jail. And the demonstrators--they were putting them in jail. People were sort of having fun, you know, with them. They thought, well, a little excitement in St. Augustine. Mrs. Peabody came down, and they very politely arrested Mrs. Peabody. I don't think she came down--I interviewed her, and I asked her if she would plan to go out and try to integrate restaurants with blacks. Well, she just wasn't really sure about that. She didn't know what she would do. She was <sup>a</sup> very frightened person, because she had heard all these horrible tales about the South. So finally, Mrs. Peabody gets courage enough and they go out to the Ponce de Leon and they try to get in with a bunch of blacks. So they came and arrested Mrs. Peabody. <sup>well,</sup> I was at home, and this was a Sunday evening and they called and told me that they had arrested her. So I rushed down to the jail and I went and interviewed Mrs. Peabody, and I knew the jailer. I knew the sheriff. The sheriff said, "Sure, come on down." So, I went to the jail, and the jailer's wife let me in. She said, "Come on in, Hank," just as if I, you visiting me tonight, "Come on <sup>n</sup> in, glad to see you." And they said, "Just a minute. Mrs. Peabody, we'll get Mrs. Peabody for you." So I went in the living room, you know, of the jailer~~s~~<sup>there</sup>. The jailer's, of course, lived there. And, Mrs. Peabody came in and we sat down and talked. Well, I was the first guy to interview her, but this United Press reporter found out about it and he begged <sup>let</sup> ~~have~~ him come, so he came in. I forget his name, he was out of Atlanta. He came

in and sat with us. So we interviewed Mrs. Peabody. And the jailer's wife <sup>would come</sup> ~~was coming~~ around. She <sup>would say</sup> ~~was saying~~, "Would you like some more coffee, Mrs. Peabody?" you know, and she was bringing around, and she was calling and addressing her as if she had been an honored guest in <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ house, and she was in the jail. The next day, of course, by that time there were fifty newspaper people there. And I got a call from Boston-- there was an afternoon paper <sup>I believe</sup> that we could've been--it wasn't the Herald, the Herald's the one I get so much stuff, but I, they wanted me to call. They didn't have anybody down there. And I said fine, I'd be happy to. I said, "Look, we on these deadlines, but this is big news. Anytime you get a new lead, give it to us because we got five, six editions. So, I, they must have had fifty reporters down there. Everybody camped outside. So they're passing orders out, saying "Now, nobody gets in the jail but Hank Drane and somebody from the records, you know, Harvey Lopez from the records." So, you know, all these guys standing there, and I'd go in the jail. And I went in the jail the next morning. I'd interviewed Mrs. Peabody; of course, the wires, <sup>AP had</sup> ~~they did have~~ to pick that up. Most of the other papers picked it up. And so, word got out that I was the guy that could go into the jail at any time, which I could. And it was just real funny to me. One of these newsmen come up and said, they'd say, "No, you can't go in the jail," or "couldn't I get in and talk with Mrs. Peabody?" "No, \_\_\_\_\_." And then I'd walk in and they'd say, "Oh, excuse me," and they'd let me in, you know, and then still explain to the guy. Everybody's very nice. Of course, the sheriff down there, he's pretty much a showman himself, old L. O. Davis. <sup>A</sup> Nice guy. He was the type of sheriff that he knew a lot of the people down didn't want no law and enforcement, so he just abided by their wishes. He was nice to everybody and it was sort of a carnival atmosphere ~~around there~~. So, Mrs. Peabody, they <sup>her</sup> ~~allowed to~~ have a news conference. Now, can you imagine that? Ten o'clock, we're going to have a news conference. Sheriff agreed to it. I went in and found out Mrs. Peabody was fasting. She had kind of refused to eat. So I went out and called my newspaper, you know, up in Boston, to tell them Mrs. Peabody was fasting.

They, big banner headline, you know, the first edition. Well, then, ten o'clock, Mrs. Peabody came in all dressed up and painted up real pretty, you know, and on national television there. So, she had a news conference on the jail steps. It was sort of a ridiculous situation more than anything else, but she finally left. But I just thought that that was a very humorous thing to me. That the people in the jail treated Mrs. Peabody as if she were an honored guest the whole time she was in the jail. And she just was, ~~thought it was the greatest thing in the world.~~ And, then, of course, later, when things got, King started coming there. They began marching around the square. One day I was driving from, back from Jacksonville, and a couple of guys motioned to me, asked me if I <sup>w</sup>ould pull over. I thought I knew who he was. And they talked to me and they said, "Look, we, as you know, we're, ~~the~~ <sup>were part</sup> of the whites who are trying to get this city, or trying to protect the city from all these people ~~that~~ are coming out." Of course, they were \_\_\_\_\_ people. They said, "The paper, the blacks are getting all the publicity, and we feel like that our side should be heard and we know about you and we trust you, and we'd just like to get some stories. How do we go about it? <sup>What can we do?"</sup> And so, I became, at that time, sort of the liason between ~~the~~ <sup>Manuey's</sup> group and the people that came there. But they were beginning to attack cameramen, for example, and so, then Hoss got the idea that they'd hold countermarches. I guess you saw some stuff on that.

C: Um hum, um hum.

D: See, what the blacks would do is they would, they had a church service, then they would, they'd start marching at exactly ten o'clock. They'd march around the square and they'd have a little violence, and then they'd go back in. <sup>It</sup> ~~They~~ would take exactly thirty minutes. Exactly thirty minutes for them to march. Now, the reason why I knew it took thirty minutes is because my second edition deadline was at 10:40. That was the edition that came to St. Augustine. And I had ten minutes to call in a new lead. And the only place that, you know, everything downtown was just closed up.

They were warning people to stay out. And the only place that was open was a bar down there called the "Ship's Bar". I knew the bartender. And, so, I'd say, "Now, Jerry, I want you to hold this telephone for me. I got to come in and call in a new lead." He'd say, "OK, Hank, we'll hold it." So I used to go, rush in, as soon as the last black got safely back into the ~~black~~ <sup>black</sup> area, and I'd rush into that, rush in there, and give them a lead. Just call up and say, "Hey, I've got a new lead." I'd say, "the blacks marched again around the square and there was some bricks thrown, two attack, two ~~edgy~~ <sup>injured</sup>." Maybe about five, six paragraphs. I never will forget that because they had a piano player there, a single on the piano playing; usually about that time everybody was drunk in there, so, the reveling and the excitement; they'd just been out and ~~know~~ <sup>they'd do</sup> a little singing, and I had to make that telephone call, to yell in there. But I did, I must have done that twenty-five times. So, I sort of became the liason between the, as I say, between the <sup>manucy's</sup> crowd and the media. I remember they began attacking the press. And so the guys of the press were all staying down at \_\_\_\_\_ Hotel there, \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: Everybody's business was dead in town because no tourists were coming in. Very few. They were scared to come in. You know, headlines all over the country, and St. Augustine had a horrible summer except Jimmy \_\_\_\_\_. His hotel was filled with newsmen. So Jimmy, so all the newsmen stayed there, and <sup>well, Hoss</sup> wanted to march, and he said we got to get some publicity, one of the countermarches. He asked me if I would talk to the newsmen. \_\_\_\_\_.

Hell, no, we're fuming. We don't care if we get the publicity or not. So I had to go back, ~~and~~ we set some rules. And there would be no attacks on newsmen. And I said, "You got to announce right here now, because, Hell, myself, I hadn't planned \_\_\_\_\_ people come up and hit me in the back with umbrellas and various things like that, and jab me and try to provoke me in some way. Because everybody down there, the funny thing, <sup>the part</sup> ~~probably~~ about it was, everybody, every newsman down there,

somebody walked up and say, "Hey, where are you from?" They'd say, "Well, I work for the Atlanta papers," or "I work for the Jacksonville papers." You know, they always listed a Southern paper. Nobody worked for any Northern newspapers. So, at any rate, once I was announced, they came around and other newsmen were injured at that particular time. And, I do remember getting back to Mrs. Peabody. I, she finally caught on that I was the only one interviewing in the jail. She finally refused to give me an interview. She said, "You're not being fair." She said, "You're getting all the news and I don't think that's fair." And she stopped talking to me. But I remember the Boston, I think it's the Boston Herald, they printed only on Sunday. And they called me and asked me if I would go in and interview a minister in jail down there and shoot some pictures of him. And, of course, I...

C: Was that William England? William England?

D: Was he a red-haired...

C: Yes.

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... getting a little touchy.

D: And I said, "Look, somebody's going to write \_\_\_\_\_, you might as well let me write it." But, they were buying newspapers, <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ people <sup>in St. Augustine</sup> all over the country to see what was being written about them, so that they could go to...you know, they put the newsmen on a black list, that's what they were doing. But some of the wealthy people there were getting papers--the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Boston papers. They were just buying every newspaper they could find, get in there to the newsstand to see what was being written about them, and if something was written they thought was a lie, they'd blacklist the newsmen. Some of them had to leave, no question about it. And they'd watch the television program. It was the same situation. So, anyway, I <sup>was writing</sup> ~~write~~ for the Boston paper. I just told them that...course I didn't \_\_\_\_\_ newspapers a whole lot, when they're filing all that much copy in the paper, so it's not that, I don't think they would have cared \_\_\_\_\_; it'd be just the idea that the Boston paper would know a little more than the Times Union. I remember they nicknamed me "Henry Damon"--D-A-M-O-N, and I wrote quite a few columns for the paper under the name Henry Damon. But one of the funniest instances down there relating to ~~the~~ newsmen is, I got interviews with, of course, with several newsmen, but this guy in particular, if you want to mention this; you don't have to quote me on it at all, I'm just telling it like it is. He asked me, AP wanted an interview with Hoss Manuey. Now Clarence Jones of the Miami Herald had one, had one of the most comical features of Hoss that you've ever seen. He came home, went out to Hoss's house and he talked about it. Man, you know, Hoss out there <sup>had</sup> ~~have~~ a swimming pool filled with bottles, and there were babies \_\_\_\_\_. You know, just absolutely a slam at Hoss. Hoss couldn't read very well, He asked me what I thought of that story. He said, "You know, I thought it was all right," but, he said, "I'm not sure it is. Some of the guys thought that he was, poking fun at me." I said, "Well, Hoss, he talked about the cars running around, but I thought it was a real good story." He said, "~~well~~, if you say so, that's all right." He said, you know, he was really going

at it, they went after these guys. They really would, with violence, maybe not shoot them or anything, but would beat the Hell out of them and threaten them in some way. But, the AP wanted a story similar to that, so Paul Wills--that's P-A-U-L-W-I-double L-S--Paul now is, he worked for AP, he was an AP man out of Tallahassee. And they sent him down to relieve Don McKee--M-C-K-double E. Don was one of their experts with the AP on racial strikes. He'd been to Birmingham, he'd been everywhere.

C: I think I've seen his name.

D: Yes, and he, he and I roomed together. He immediately looked me up. He knew that I was in with the sheriff and the rednecks. Of course, he knew Martin Luther King so well, that I told you the other night on the phone, He called him one morning at three o'clock. He got it, just \_\_\_\_\_. AP called New York and said, "We understand somebody shot the King and we want to know if he's all right. We haven't heard anything." I called the sheriff's the day after \_\_\_\_\_. AP just kept insisting, you know, referred to that call, all the way from St. Augustine. So he called King's, the place where King was staying and they said, "he's asleep." Don said, "OK, I got to talk to him, I got to hear his voice." So King got up and <sup>took</sup> ~~came to~~ the phone ~~and said, "Don,~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_"~~ But, King, but anyway, we worked as a team. We covered the blacks, and the blacks were a little suspicious of me because, maybe old times, usually with a southern paper, probably was reflecting the views of the whites, which then they were probably right, even though I wouldn't say \_\_\_\_\_. And, so, Paul Wills was there. He replaced McKee. And, so, I went with Paul in his room at the \_\_\_\_\_ and I said, introduced to Paul, said, OK, he said, I sat down in the chair and he said, "Have a seat." Then Hoss takes this, reaches in his back pocket and he gets out of his belt a .38 caliber pistol. He said, "OK, sir, ask some questions." Wills stayed with him about thirty minutes and there wasn't an unfriendly question asked, I can assure you of that. And to this day, Paul himself gets a big bang out of interviewing Hoss with a .38 pistol ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ But I saw him do that on several

occasions with TV people. He'd just say, "OK, fellas, run your cameras, ask your questions."

C: Was old Hoss anything before the racial crisis? Was he even known in the community before?

D: I don't think too well, He was generally known. Hoss, he formed this hunting club. And Hoss...

C: Did that exist before the crisis?

D: Yeah, that existed before the fight.

C: It did.

D: I never, and of course, the idea was, Hoss was, you know, raising money, you know, in any way he possibly could. But, I never, I had seen Hoss, you know, this big old black Western hat on, and, but, I don't think a lot of people knew him, but he's had a lot of natural leadership instincts about him. And he just took over after a while. He was tough; there's no question about that.

C: The attorney general, James Kynes, said that, that business people encouraged Manway...

D: They did.

C: ...to sort of keep the blacks away.

D: Right.

C: What happened in St. Augustine was really tragic. But, these blacks came in and they started marching. For a period of about a week, all they did was just march. And I myself talked with the mayor down there who was a doctor.

D: Yeah, Shelley.

C: Yeah, Dr. Shelley. And I told Dr. Shelley, "Dr. Shelley," I said, "look, don't let those people march. Get the police and just move everybody out of there. Don't let all those rough, tough people come in there. And, in a week's time, the newspaper people will leave, and they're dead if they don't have a newspaper." And so, he said, "well, now," he said, "those people can march, have the right to march down there. I'm not going to say that nobody can go down there and watch them." So, you know, that's was just

like mixing <sup>oil with</sup> ~~water and~~ fire. And so as long as they could provoke these people into attacking <sup>the</sup> news, the tv people were getting thin. See, when they first started down there, the first ploy was to get arrested. They'd go around to these places and they'd arrest them and after about three or four days of shooting after that, the networks didn't want...tv was a big thing. The networks didn't want it. Old hat. So, whenever, I seen a few people trying to get in, don't know why. So then they got the idea of marching around the old slave market. OK, for about a week, they had violence. And the tv people ate it up. Then for about another week, people just said, "Ah, hell, let them march." They began and the marches got old. Even if <sup>it</sup> ~~there~~ was a little violence <sup>t</sup>, the marches got old. So what <sup>were</sup> ~~could~~ they <sup>going</sup> do? They started wading in the beaches. You know that was a ~~thing~~ <sup>that</sup> Every time King and his people would turn up with something <sup>that</sup> they would inflame the whites. So, you know, wading, this is where wading got a big start on the beach. <sup>And</sup> Everytime they'd go out there, instead of just letting them go in and wade, those people, you know, were on time and one of the most unusual things <sup>at least, a</sup> ~~car driving~~ <sup>drives</sup> up and these guys were raising the hood, bang, knocking them in the head. But, it would have been a very, very dangerous situation down there <sup>until Farris Bryant</sup> sent the troopers in there. But in every way, as I say, you know, they were just outsmarted. And King was able to keep that thing going until July 4th, when the Civil Rights bill was passed.

C: Right, right.

D: Boy, I'll never forget that night the Civil Rights bill was passed and they had that long march. Those people not only marched, well, it was the night before it was passed. They not only marched, they marched through those dark streets. And I was marching with them. By that time, just about everybody was mad at the newspaper people. Blacks and whites and everybody else. And I know I was walking down the \_\_\_\_\_ and I said, "Jesus, I don't want to even walk with them. I don't want to march with some of the whites, where on the sidewalk the ( next page )

whites are going to get it. I don't want to march with the blacks, you know, because they might ~~walk~~ throw something or shoot them." So what we did is we marched with <sup>the</sup> policemen and <sup>their</sup> ~~his~~ dogs. I figured nobody was going to hit one of those dogs. But they marched, they kept marching and went all through the blackest alleys of the town. Just courting any kind of violence because <sup>the</sup> Congress was on the border to pass <sup>ing</sup> that bill. Fortunately, nothing happened that night, \_\_\_\_\_ ~~of that~~ violence. But that was an intensive thing that I wouldn't \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Why did they get the dogs in? Did Davis get the dogs specifically for...

D: Well, now this was, this was the chief of the police department. They started training dogs down there and just \_\_\_\_\_ most of them was brought on by the fact that ~~the~~ St. Augustine was becoming a battleground for civil rights. And, but actually ~~the~~ dogs <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ not uncommon. I don't think they were common, but they, other police departments had them. Most policemen <sup>gave them</sup> ~~created a~~ fantastic training with those dogs, and of course, they, I remember a lot of them, for instance, were, you know, chasing burglars. I got a good story--went out chasing a burglar across the roof of a downtown building with a dog, and the dog catching <sup>him</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. But, I think, generally speaking, that that was the start of it. They decided to get <sup>some</sup> ~~trained~~ dogs. They knew about it and they saw a battleground starting. I know that the beach, a, you know, that, where they kept advocating something. They always came up with something new that would cause the whites to trigger some violence so it would get <sup>passed</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. And they just kept the press down there, I think, for about three or four weeks while that bill was being passed. Once the Civil Rights Bill was passed, things just sort of ended real quick. That was what the blacks wanted. \_\_\_\_\_.

C: What sort of fellow is Joseph Shelley, the mayor?

D: Generally speaking, Shelley is like most people in St. Augustine, <sup>was a,</sup> He was sort of a right winger, not as much <sup>though</sup> so as some of the doctors down there. Some of the old doctors down there, my God, you know, they fight over the PTA down there. 'Course that was sort of outside, that was just something <sup>that</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ erupted because of the black

thing and it was a sort of a spin-off from it. But Shelley was a good mayor and a very pleasant person. But he was just stubborn as hell and he was not going to say or do anything, suppress anyone from, <sup>any</sup> doing thing about expressing violence. He was sort of pig-headed about that in my view. I wouldn't want to be quoted as saying that he was pig-headed, but he did, you know, I think a lot of this stuff, you can just say well, that right at this time, because I know this is exactly what ?. I, the problem with St. Augustine is it just all of a sudden became legal-less because the whites did not want to exercise the leadership to say, "OK, let's settle this thing." Now \_\_\_\_\_ tried, you know, <sup>he got a brick</sup> ~~to break through this~~ <sup>the window of this place</sup>. And so they said, hell, you know, there's a bunch of people invading out of town and costing us all this money to our tourist economy. Let the whites take over, so they encouraged it, no question about it. They encouraged it for a while. And it was a legal-less situation down there. I remember on one occasion, somebody from St. Augustine or a number of people from St. Augustine called CBS to talk to Walter Cronkite about the one side he covered. They said, "All you covered <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ the blacks down here. You haven't talked to the people of St. Augustine, the leaders of the community about what the situation is here." So the next night, Cronkite got on CBS and said that they had had complaints so they wanted to talk to the man that was recognized as the leader of the, of St. Augustine. They want to identify him, they said. On the screen comes Hoss Manuey. And giving the white people's side. He was saying...you know, he had this big old hat on and he was saying, "Well, the problem is if all these niggers, you know, would get out of here," It was really <sup>really</sup> something. And, but that was the problem. It was legal-less for a good bit, for several weeks for the simple reason that nobody, leaders of the community, would stand up and say, "Now look, let's settle this damn thing once and for all. Let's recognize, let's recognize the whites that are in here are just as much to blame for stirring up trouble as we think the blacks are." And so, and then we're playing right into the ~~h~~ hands of King and his troops. Absolutely. Doing <sup>it</sup> exactly, he couldn't have written the script better. Our parts better. We're

playing right into his hands. Everybody realizes that.

C: Um hum. Was Herbert Wolfe doing, not doing anything either? I mean, he was an influential figure...

D: Herbert was generally regarded as a very strong person in town, and he was. I knew Mr. Wolfe. I went out and talked with him; you know, he just sort of threw up his hands and talked with somebody. He was very \_\_\_\_\_ as much as...he and Bryan were very close. I think it was Herbert Wolfe who recognized that local law enforcement would not be able to cope with the situation. But they didn't want to cope with the situation. Hell, I remember one incident down there—~~it was~~ a police sargeant, and he was walking down the street with his civilian clothes on, and had some type of a...and he did this purposely...some type of a sword in a scabbard, and he just walked down with that ✓ sword. Nobody knew who he was. So a patrolman stopped him. They were taking all weapons, any weapon, any knife or anything. You know, they had marshall law down there where they'd stop cars. They could stop you without any kind of a warrant and search your car if you drove through the streets of St. Augustine. And they'd confiscate any type, and man, they had guns and axes and knives of all descriptions. Just piles of them stocked there at the national guard amory there. But, Wolfe recognized that L. O. Davis, a politician, wasn't going to get out and arrest whites. But if a situation came up where a white jumped on a black, you know, unless it was just so obvious they had to do it, they weren't going to arrest...they usually arrested both people, black people, white people involved, you got to arrest him too for fighting.

C: Um hum.

D: So, really, it was, I wouldn't say it was completely a lawless community. I think L. O. Davis would have, would have prevented a black killing a white, but they were resentful. \_\_\_\_\_ lived there. They were resentful of these people who came into, were in St. Augustine, marching in the streets. And they were outraged by it. Hell, L. O. had rednecks, detectives. They were just deputizing people right and left, and most of them were, were people who were causing all the problem at the time.

You remember the policeman jumped him \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: He was mad as hell. He went in to pull him out. He didn't go in there to protect him or nothing. He went in there to pull him out. He was just after his wallet. So you had that kind of a situation, and I think that I can understand, to a degree, how they felt. They loved the town. They felt that they were being invaded unjustly. St. Augustine was being made an example of, before the nation that was going to hurt its reputation. <sup>It</sup> Really wasn't that bad of a <sup>town</sup> ~~time~~, and it all was a set-up. And, so they brought the state troopers in there. More professional people. And the troopers didn't want to be there. They absolutely didn't want to be there, because once outside police came in, my God, you know, they, the townspeople resent it. So the troopers came down under those conditions. The townspeople resenting them, they didn't want to be there. They were really in sympathy, most of them, with the townspeople. But they did an outstanding job. They really did an outstanding job. There's no question in my mind about it. And there's still a major over there. I talked with him about two years ago, who was very instrumental in that, yeah, in it. They, they were given orders and they followed them one hundred percent. Now, Wolfe, I'm sure, is the guy that got Farris Bryan to <sup>send those</sup> ~~send those~~ troops down there. Just by, what you might say, a stroke of fate or something. I was getting ready to call \_\_\_\_\_ ~~one~~ ~~of them~~. Don McKee was there. He was \_\_\_\_\_. I picked up the phone, dialed my number, when suddenly a wire crossed and I got in on a conversation between Wolfe and Farris. I recognized their voices, you know, because he was \_\_\_\_\_ and because I knew A. G. Woodward and I finally interviewed him a number of times, but I just phoned on several occasions to receptions he had for politicians, and the gist of what he had to say was that I think we need more troops in \_\_\_\_\_. So he was doing that. And I talked with this guy, and he said, "What can you do? What can you do? I live here. I've got to live here after it's over. I'm doing everything I can behind the scenes," and, he said, "it's

just a bad situation." I, but I got in on that conversation and was able to write a story. Bryan just said, "sure, we'll sign. How many more do you think you need? I'll talk to \_\_\_\_\_." He said, "We, at the very least, need around fifty more." He said, "We need at least that many." So, I wrote a story the next day on those same things. Well, I <sup>colled Woodward</sup> ~~caught a little~~ and I told <sup>him</sup> ~~them~~ that I had gotten in on <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ conversation. He laughed about it. He said, "Well, don't quote me, just say that the governor's promised a local fisherman that's he going to send more troops down." They did a masterful job. The first guy that came down--and I wish I could remember what his name was--colonel or a major--and he was...

C: It was a Jordan, wasn't it? Jimmy Jordan or something?

D: One of them, one of them, this was the first guy that came down there, he did his best. He leaned over backwards to try to appease both sides. So consequently he got very little results and he, so they sent a second man in. Now you can find out who this is. I remember he was about 5'10", <sup>a</sup> stocky guy, and he got orders to come down and crack down on these guys. And I talked with him and he told me he was. He said, "I want you to know \_\_\_\_\_ these people. We're going to your newspaper. We're not going to tolerate any violence whatsoever." And they were letting them get away with things, you know. For instance, the troopers maybe, might a few had saw a fight or something, they weren't rushing over and arresting the guy. They were maybe going over and separating, and saying, "Now fellas, you know ~~Am~~ Be nice." So this guy that came down, I believe his name was Sullivan, he got all his troopers down there. He invited them down and he said, "Heed the \_\_\_\_\_ law out there. I know how you feel," but, he said, "we're going to have \_\_\_\_\_." So the next day, out at the beach, this bunch had gone out in the water the day before, and had just beaten the hell out of some people. The troopers had been told to let these people go out in the water. The troopers didn't go out with them, they just stood by on the beach. So, the next day the troopers waded into the surf to the black people. So this white started attacking. Those troopers just started beating the living hell out of him. And that



D: For a period of time, they'd just walk out in the streets and stop the fight. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_. Gotta get out. He had a knife, they'd take them in a pocket. They took  
pocketknives and everything. Just so many strange people.

C: Is there any truth to one of the charges that, I guess this is <sup>early</sup>~~early~~ in the crisis,  
that Davis would take the weapons...or the state police would take the weapons from the  
whites and then give them to Davis, and Davis would give them right back to them?

D: I don't doubt that. I think they did a lot of things \_\_\_\_\_. They tried  
to cooperate with Davis. They got to the point where Davis himself just, he had the  
power. You know, he'd tell them, he'd say \_\_\_\_\_. That could be  
true, I'd have to believe that.

C: Um hum.

D: <sup>That</sup> To me, but to me, Farris Bryant \_\_\_\_\_.

C: What'd you think, then, of Simpson's decision, of course, to tell them to stop, that  
he couldn't use the patrol to stop the marches. He tried to stop the night marches...

D: Yeah, he tried to stop the marches. Well...

C: Did you cover any of those cases in any way that went up to Simpson's court?

D: Yeah, well, I testified when it was <sup>all</sup> over, coming from the Jacksonville area. Yeah,  
they, I believe Bryant did order a \_\_\_\_\_. It was just a federal court  
ruling. I think you could argue either way. They had the right to march, I mean,  
that's what he said.

C: Um hum.

D: The right to demonstrate, what, under the Article I of the Constitution.

C: Right, Constitution.

D: And freedom of speech, freedom of..

C: Assembly.

D: Yeah, freedom of assembly. So, I can't quarrel with the city.

C: What sort of man was he, was Simpson? I mean, I've talked to him, but how did you

find him in those days?

D: Well, you know, they called him \_\_\_\_\_ Simpson, that was his name. I know he asked me a question I don't understand. I don't think he must have thought my answer was very fine, but he said, he aksed me if, if I had ~~an~~ noticed any animosity, or heard anybody threatening, making threats \_\_\_\_\_. And so I said \_\_\_\_\_ I hadn't heard anybody threaten to kill anyone. \_\_\_\_\_ and the FBI \_\_\_\_\_ was watching, and \_\_\_\_\_ after that. And I said, "I think the man that is likely \_\_\_\_\_ is you." And I've heard a lot of people say "I wish you'd come to St. Augustine." But I thought Simpson was, even though a Southerner, that he leaned over backwards to make sure that the blacks had freedom of assembly. He was pretty tough, and he was the one that put the fear of God in the hearts of some of those people like Hoss Manley. They got Hoss up there, and they named the members of that club. You know, Hoss wrote them out on a brown paper bag. Hunting club, he got thenames of them. He showed them to me, and he wrote them out in scribble pencil on a brown paper bag. But Hoss was, Hoss was, I think, more afraid \_\_\_\_\_. (Inaudible)

C: Was there any truth to the charge that was made that there were FBI in the Klan? You know, that they had joined secretly the Klan?

D: I believe so. We heard that, and I think it got out among the Klan that there was... I'm sure there must have been <sup>?</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. I'm sure that some of the people that were demonstrating with the whites or intended to be anti-black--part of local gang or part of the Klan--I don't think there's any question about that.

C: Did President Johnson ever intervene, to your knowledge?

D: No, I'm sure that he was keeping very close watch over here, but to my knowledge I don't know anything that Johnson did. They were just so awed the night that it all sort of ended. The night before that they had blacks...they finally broke through the line. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ I called it a riot. Maybe I was a little strong-worded, \_\_\_\_\_. They broke in lines, the police couldn't hold

them back. Just fighting, you know, \_\_\_\_\_. And there were a lot of people  
\_\_\_\_\_. And so, you know, people were fighting wanted to know who they were  
fighting. Big fight developed between two, two whites. Just, God, he must have been  
about six feet and six inches tall, and weighed about two hundred fifty or sixty pounds.  
And he was down there demonstrating. And somebody attacked a patrolman, this guy named  
Buddy that I wanted<sup>to</sup> to talk with about Hoss. He was one of the guys that lead this  
group out at the beach. Blonde-headed guy and they had some clubs, you know. He  
was the one that planted all the \_\_\_\_\_, but, and he was trying to work with Hoss  
at first, then he fell out with Hoss about the money. I think Buddy was sincere and  
respectful, and he wanted to get them and get them out of there, by violence if necessary.  
But if he raised any money, it was for the cause, it wasn't to put in his pocket. So,  
Buddy grabbed the policeman. Buddy was about five ten, weighed about \_\_\_\_\_;  
now just as tough as he could be. But he was small. I guess Buddy wasn't but about  
\_\_\_\_\_. So this big guy came up to him and said, he said, "Don't bother the  
patrolman. Don't bother the patrolman." And he kind of shoved Buddy back. And Buddy  
swung at him. And this guy hit Buddy and knocked him as far as from ~~me~~<sup>here</sup> to that pole.  
Dammit, \_\_\_\_\_ at the one way back by the closet door. I was standing there  
watching. And he hit him, and you know, Buddy, it was just like in running back as  
fast as he could. And he finally crashed into an automobile. But you know Buddy came  
into him and they had the damnest fight there you ever saw in your life, until some-  
body broke it up. So I went over to the hospital \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ we \_\_\_\_\_ about twenty five or thirty, but I don't think  
anybody was seriously hurt. One of the injured guys over there was this big guy and  
he was standing there in the hospital talking to his little mother, who was about  
five feet three inches tall. He was crying, he \_\_\_\_\_.  
"That \_\_\_\_\_ died down there." He said, "I was just trying to help the patrolman."  
He was actually crying like a ten-year old kid. And he said, "One of them guys hit me  
and cut me a lot like that." So she said, "Now, don't cry, baby." She was just babying him.

Just a number of unusual situations. Anybody ever tell you the story about, I wanted to talk about Brock. I think that will give us somewhat about what I did, then you can ask me some \_\_\_\_\_. Joe Fulbright, trying to please everybody. Very nice to the newsmen. He's just a heck of a good guy. He joined a group of businessmen, saying, you know, "Gee, let's, let's try to end this thing. We're against segregation." \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_. They tried to work <sup>out</sup> ~~on~~ a solution to it and that's when the \_\_\_\_\_ got  
 \_\_\_\_\_. So Fulbright, he worked with the newsmen, he was very friendly to them. And I don't know whether you, he started throwing acid down then. And he came down there while we were all eating breakfast one day, and had a little package \_\_\_\_\_.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ it was some type of an antidote for acid. Had instructions on \_\_\_\_\_ if someone throws acid, quickly get water. Mix it with this and wash it eyes out. Courtesy of the \_\_\_\_\_. Had a \_\_\_\_\_.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ probably going around and <sup>shaking</sup> ~~checking~~ hands with everybody as if he were presenting \_\_\_\_\_, a carnation or something. Then Fulbright, after he, the newsmen left, then everybody began to decide well, Jesus, you know, he was really against us. Because the first thing Brock did when they settled it, is he let blacks come in, in his restaurant. Everytime they had a demonstration the blacks, they'd go to Brock's restaurant, for the benefit of the tv camera. You'd have to drag them, \_\_\_\_\_. Well, King knew they were down there. King got arrested \_\_\_\_\_. One night they demonstrated at ~~the Brock's~~ <sup>m</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> hotel ~~until~~ two o'clock in the morning. And he came, then he got real tough. He got this man, \_\_\_\_\_, and he gave the bastards hell \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Yeah, right.

D: And, I did a story on that, a feature story. Then he got real tough. Everybody said, "Hooray for Brock, great guy," you know, had all the whites. All the newsmen, they liked him, he was a good guy. Then all of a sudden, Brock, first they reached a truce-- his restaurant was one of the first ones to let them in. And all was well then.

\_\_\_\_\_ the blacks \_\_\_\_\_. The blacks got mad about it. They bombed his place. His place got such a reputation, that tourists stopped coming, then they wouldn't stay there. So, you know, he almost went bankrupt; as a matter of fact, I believe he had to give up his share of the restaurant, came to work in Jacksonville

C: Um hum.

D: But he is now back here.

C: He's back? Um hum.

D: Yeah. He was kind of a pathetic creature. Nice fellow. So, he, Brock, there was another side of it, though, I thought was most interesting. There he was, you know, prospering \_\_\_\_\_ everybody else thought \_\_\_\_\_ and all of a sudden the business people and \_\_\_\_\_ everybody else, nobody would go there, because they bombed his place. Time-bombed his place.

C: Looked like he completely lost his <sup>cool</sup>~~pool~~ or, I don't think I should put it that way, but it looked like he was interested in trying to settle this thing, but then when they jumped in his pool and then those rabbis, I think it was same day, said they'd pray for him.

D: That's right. He did...you know, here was a guy that was caught up in something that was so big that he didn't really understand it, and he was trying, really, to please everybody. And he could please nobody. He went along with the businessman. Let's give it a try. He, then when they began to jump in his pool, the rabbis prayed, yet he resented the fact that he needed praying, that he was a bad guy. Well, that's when he turned tough. And then when they decided, you know, when all the blacks, Hoss was down there all the time, and when they settled the thing and everybody went home, he was one of the first to integrate. He was the first place that was integrated. So basically, he tried to please everybody, and ended up <sup>ing</sup>pleases nobody. And he was a great guy, you know, just the nicest person. Just a <sup>nice</sup>    type guy, you know. \_\_\_\_\_ . But, you know, you can imagine—I did a feature story and I don't know if you saw it. \_\_\_\_\_ you don't imagine sitting in my

motel room, now in, on all the networks, reporting it. I looked and I see where all these people have demonstrated, and I'm a bad guy. But anybody could do a story \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: Well, I stayed with him and he debated King. That was just talking with him, and we finally talked. At his front door. He told me \_\_\_\_\_.

The police had a few spies themselves, and King got, knew exactly what King was going to do. But King didn't care. And so everybody just \_\_\_\_\_ from Brock's Hotel and that's where they had \_\_\_\_\_ . And so King was the blacks, ... He told me, he said, no, really, he told ~~me~~ <sup>King</sup>, he said, "Gee I got a load of churches for you." So they didn't \_\_\_\_\_. He said, "but I have to live <sup>in</sup> this community. And if I, if I let blacks come in here, then my white customers wouldn't come. And I'd go into bankruptcy. And I got my whole life into this business. This is, this is me, my life. All my savings and everything else. I know one night I was out at the beach, and this black guy came right up, quietly. Black guy came into the restaurant, just asked somebody if they served food. And I said no, they didn't. And he said, "We don't serve blacks in the city, and I'm sorry." The black guy said, "well, gee, you know, that just \_\_\_\_\_." He sat down, stopped at a couple of places. So the guy said, he said, "just park your car over there." He said, "You park that thing and you just stay there \_\_\_\_\_." So he went \_\_\_\_\_ to where a big, huge dentist was, \_\_\_\_\_. Just a part of the attitude. <sup>Well,</sup> Looking back now, I would say that seventy percent of the blacks were willing to accept and really afraid of \_\_\_\_\_. They didn't want to be the leaders \_\_\_\_\_. Once it came, I think everyone breathed a sigh of relief. Everybody said, "Hey, you know, the South, look at the South, you know, all those bastards that hated blacks down there--now they're integrating their schools, and integrating their restaurants. They're doing better than the North." But the compassion was there all along. Compassion was there, no question in my mind at all.

C: Yeah.

D: I know I felt that way myself.

C: It's tough to make that break.

D: Yeah, I felt that way myself. Well, I really was never, I never had the courage because, Christ, I don't, you're risking your own standard in the community. But, ...

C: What...you know, one of the fellows, people that I talked to the other day was Frank Upchurch's son.

D: Hamilton.

C: He...yeah, Hamilton. He was telling me about the, one of the things he noticed, he said the newsmen over here were awfully young. He said that, he said, "I don't know if they're inexperienced," he said, "but they're ~~all~~ <sup>awfully</sup> young." Did you notice that?

Were the newsmen young ~~in~~ <sup>in St. Augustine?</sup>

~~D:~~ Not that it matters, but I suppose what really matters were they inexperienced? <sup>D:</sup> Well, I thought they had some pretty good \_\_\_\_\_...

C: Um hum.

D: ...of course. I thought some of them, some of their writings were slanted, a lot of them were slanted. I know this guy from Newsweek, and I forget his name, he wrote one of them slanted pieces of \_\_\_\_\_, but one guy I know over there they roughed up.

Oh, yeah, I \_\_\_\_\_ little gal was knocked down.

I think, \_\_\_\_\_ she was knocked down by one of our own people trying to get out there; knocked over ~~a cab~~ <sup>her head</sup> and lay there crying. \_\_\_\_\_

then a white doctor \_\_\_\_\_ and she lay there crying. Nobody would help her ~~up~~ or anything.

C: Oh, yeah, she came out of the bushes or something, wasn't it?

D: ~~Yeah, and~~ <sup>Hell,</sup> that was just, that was something that ~~we didn't~~ <sup>he just</sup> dreamed <sup>ed up</sup> \_\_\_\_\_

We all said, "hey, somebody \_\_\_\_\_." I saw it. She was as much knocked over by her own people. She was just there and she got knocked down. And of course, it scared the hell out of her, no question about it. But, I never saw anybody strike

a child \_\_\_\_\_ . Now, but the funny, one of the funny things about the countermarches \_\_\_\_\_ were they marched all night. Everybody just having a good time. And marching, they'd march through the black area, marching, marching. Dave, I thought this was going to be \_\_\_\_\_ they would have turned the tables on \_\_\_\_\_. As they marched, started marching through the first part of town, there would always with the black children \_\_\_\_\_ saying, "all we want is to, is a fair deal. We want a good education." And, of course, Hoss could see there was such important signs--little children holding them up, Hoss, Hoss could tell that he was out, knew he was down, because the television cameras were just there \_\_\_\_\_ kids. So Hoss says, "all right," he says, "we ain't going to boss nobody." You know, he knew that King \_\_\_\_\_. That stopped their marching.

C: I had read somewhere that some of the, well, no, I didn't read it, I guess it was Shelley, in fact, that was arguing it to me, that some of the violence was set up for the cameras. That, I don't know, did you hear any of that, that the black people there would pretend that they were being beat up and the cameramen would run their film, and take pictures of them.

D: It's possible that that happened, but they didn't have to sell you.

C: Um hum.

D: But, every night they would get out there and march. Of course, I would have said \_\_\_\_\_ and this was true. Newsmen would tip the black community when he was going to go up, where they would be. They had to be because where I \_\_\_\_\_ cameras were sitting right there. But here again, that's part of it.

C: Yeah.

D: You have to demonstrate, and if you don't want to attract attention to a demonstration, you ain't doing it right. And, so, you know, \_\_\_\_\_.  
And, of course, the press, <sup>their argument</sup> ~~they're arguing~~ with the press and <sup>we</sup> wonder today, "is this true," you know. Does the press itself make news? And it does, too, to a great extent.

And the press was concerned about this. You know, if we'd all gone home, there wouldn't have been anything. But yet, here, a bunch of people demonstrating, trying to gain freedoms that they thought were their dues. I think they were due, and so consequently this was their way of attracting attention to their quarrel. So I think it was the press' obligation to report it, even though they knew it was a lot <sup>of</sup> it was staged for the benefit of the press. And it's, you know, it's a dilemma that's been chewed over, time and time again. The press has argued about it. The very presence of the press, though, frequently makes news. I know that \_\_\_\_\_ we have a peace talks going on, going on between Israel and Egypt. Sadat, Sadat has some plan, what's the first thing he does? <sup>He</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ answers to the press, he tests <sup>the</sup> sentiment. He is, you know, <sup>they use</sup> television as the top commentator sometimes. Becomes so immersed in the talks that they were having. When we are, I think there's a question about it, we are map writers for the important people. It was a big story because the press covered it. \_\_\_\_\_. We gave aid and comforting because of Martin Luther King, but I think most of the movement now are trying to do it in a way to show exactly what was happening \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Were they getting, were ~~the~~ blacks getting treated at the hospital? <sup>OR was</sup> There ~~is~~ no problem as far as if they were beaten up then?

D: I don't think so. I, you might hear some <sup>arguments against that</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ but really \_\_\_\_\_ anybody we got \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: I think the people got very \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Right.

D: One kid had his skull fractured.

C: I wonder why, do you have any thoughts on why the doctors were so conservative? Over there?

D: Well, most doctors are conservative, you know, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~. I guess maybe it's because they get rich. But I think one thing \_\_\_\_\_ all doctors think \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_ I assume that they know that they may mean the difference between life and death, but down there they just \_\_\_\_\_ a fee. The hell with \_\_\_\_\_ surgeon and \_\_\_\_\_ most other places. But, \_\_\_\_\_, my God, they were the ones that lead the fight against the PTA.

C: Um hum.

D: Just absolutely ridiculous attitudes and the way they felt. They were just extreme right-wingists. Now I wouldn't include Shelley in that group. Shelley was part of them, but he was a bit more to the left. I thought, in a sense, he was, to a degree, a reasonable fellow. I don't believe he ever advocated violence.

C: Um hum.

D: His idea was, well, you know, blacks will go down there. They're going to go down there and march, and the whites are going to go there, they're welcome to go down there, and naturally there's going to be violence, and there's nothing I can do about it.

C: What about 1965? Was, did things just, were they really fairly peaceful in 1965?

D: I think so. I think, 'course I wasn't there in '65. That's when I left and started to become politically active.

C: I see.

D: And the, most of the acts \_\_\_\_\_, of course, happened in 1964. And I did notice this--after things quieted down, OK, a lot of people began to come back to St. Augustine, in late August and early September.

C: Um hum.

D: And I had so many people...I would talk with tourists and they'd say, "one of the reasons we came back here...we're from Massachusetts." A world of people came down from Massachusetts. They hated the Peabody's, and they'd say, they'd go around to merchants and say, "we're from Massachusetts, and we came down here because we resent the fact that Mrs. Peabody's down here trying to tell you what to do." So, the tourism industry picked up. One of the last memories I have of St. Augustine--they had this

fantastic <sup>flood</sup> down there, it was just fantastic.

C: Right, right.

D: I believe that was in September.

C: It was, yeah.

D: And Demon Stone made a \_\_\_\_\_. I was down there and the whole city was just flooded almost. There was only about one street that wasn't flooded all the way from, almost all the way from the bayfront down to the railroad station down there. We got out and walked in the thing. We ~~walked~~ waist deep in water. And that hurricane and various things like that hurt some, but they \_\_\_\_\_ forgot it, but you know the dregs of bitterness from being know, I think, \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: But, like everything else, people forgot about it and came and went. And I suspect that the relations between the whites and the blacks \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ about as good as any \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: And it was just something that happened, I think, was great \_\_\_\_\_. As far as I knew, look back on it now, it was one of the turning points of the relations between all of them. \_\_\_\_\_. When the racial strike was on, that was one of the turning points in breaking \_\_\_\_\_ with blacks, because I felt \_\_\_\_\_; there's no question in my mind that that was the catalyst for the passing of the Civil Rights bill. Probably would <sup>have passed, but</sup> ~~affect it~~. I think that it came early \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: \_\_\_\_\_. For instance, one of my major stories \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ but knew it was a big story and it covered \_\_\_\_\_. Just being there is something that stands out in my mind more than anything else I've...it was difficult... you know, we knew we were there covering it, but you got, there were times you just got tremendously discouraged and yet, when it was all over, altogether, I guess there was the excitement of feeling that you were involved. It was very simple \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: But, I just feel that as far as being a part of history, you know, say sitting on the rim \_\_\_\_\_ like he was supposed to do \_\_\_\_\_ things, that this is \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_. Really, it is a \_\_\_\_\_. I felt that  
 I still have \_\_\_\_\_. Perhaps I did the best at that time. Having  
 them \_\_\_\_\_. I'd like to understand why those people resented me, \_\_\_\_\_,  
 but I, there wasn't very much \_\_\_\_\_ understand why you can't judge  
 a \_\_\_\_\_. He was one of the greatest speakers that I've  
 ever heard. Absolutely spellbound. And there was maybe some new \_\_\_\_\_ that I  
 never knew about. "Course he was the key to the \_\_\_\_\_. One of the best  
 \_\_\_\_\_ black men \_\_\_\_\_. Everybody said that was his \_\_\_\_\_, so  
 \_\_\_\_\_.

C: Um hum.

D: After his death, we know Andrew Young, he's a very intelligent black. There are many,  
 many things that \_\_\_\_\_. You know, blacks are all for \_\_\_\_\_.  
 And I sort of got a warning of what was to come. There were some, there was two  
 main girls, \_\_\_\_\_ just went into a black area, \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_. You know it was dark and I got stranded with  
 Don McKee, the first \_\_\_\_\_ that the blacks \_\_\_\_\_. Nobody so McKee  
 said, "Look, I got to call \_\_\_\_\_ about \_\_\_\_\_." You know, all  
 the whites are leaving, and I said, "OK, stop at this bar." Jesus, I didn't have to  
 call \_\_\_\_\_. It was too late. \_\_\_\_\_ twelve o'clock.  
 These blacks \_\_\_\_\_ and they, they were trying to buy me drinks.  
 I couldn't understand what they were talking about, and I was about as \_\_\_\_\_ when  
 the fifteen minutes \_\_\_\_\_.