

ARKIN REPORT (MPD intelligence - informant)

Very biased info almost nothing on assassination & police cover-up - in case file

CIVIL DISORDERS, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, February 12 - April 6, 1968.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.

Memphis, Tennessee is located in the extreme South West corner of the State of Tennessee bordering Northern Mississippi to the South and divided from Arkansas by the Mississippi River. In 1968 the population of the City of Memphis was 541,900, and the Metropolitan population of the City and its environs was 829,900. ¹⁾ There are 178 square miles within the City Limits.

The racial breakdown of the population according to most recent Special Census Reports is that within the City Limits there is a white population of approx. 62.7 % and a Negro population of approx. 37.3%. ²⁾

ECONOMY.

Memphis is a well known cotton center located in one of the world's richest cotton producing areas. More than one third of the cotton produced in the U. S. is bought and sold each year on Front Street in Memphis, Tennessee. Memphis is also the world's largest hardwood lumber market, and Memphis is surrounded by rich and productive agricultural hinterlands, and is the Chief Rail Center between St. Louis and New Orleans and for more than a century has been a major distribution center. In recent years as well there has been considerable Industrial development in the Memphis area. ³⁾

RACE RELATIONS.

By whom?
RKN 1/7

During the Administration of the late John F. Kennedy, Memphis was cited for the excellent progress it had made in race relations during a period when race relations were just beginning to dominate the National News. And though there are in Memphis crowded areas occupied by both Negroes and White people in which there is some sub standard housing, by and large Memphis has more housing projects and improved low rent housing than any City of comparable size in the South. ⁴⁾

LOCAL POLITICS.

Since 1964 the Memphis Negro Community has become increasingly active in local politics and local government, and with nearly 85,000 registered Negro Voters, the Negro Community is becoming increasingly more powerful in the political structure of the City.

The Memphis Negro Community was very active in the elections of the Fall of 1967. ⁵⁾ In this election the City of Memphis changed from a

LOCAL POLITICS (continued)

Commission form of government to a Mayor and City Council Form of Government.⁶⁾ However, in this election, the favorite of the Negro Community, former Mayor William Ingram was defeated and Henry Loeb was elected Mayor. There was as well a Negro Candidate for Mayor, A. W. Willis, but he did not poll enough votes in the Negro Community to be regarded the favorite of his people.

PREPARATIONS:

by whom? At the beginning of 1968 Memphis realized that it had been picked out as a Target City, along with a number of other American Cities with similar racial components to be used as a proving ground where the Negro Community could push for increased benefits.

In so far as Memphis had had no previous racial trouble of any consequence this was a matter of total community concern. The Intelligence Unit of the Memphis Police Department had been aware for a number of years of a growing Negro Activist movement within the City⁷⁾ which though it represented only a small percentage of the total Negro population⁸⁾ had succeeded in causing considerable racial tension which culminated in the Riot Alert of July 27-31, 1967, at which time the National Guard had been called to the City by the then Commissioner, Claude A. Armour.

MEMPHIS POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Memphis found itself in the spring of 1968 with a Police Department of 850 men, who though they had had the experience of dealing with a number of local racial incidents, and who though not totally unprepared were far from adequately equipped to cope with a major disorder. Liason had been made with other Law Enforcement Agencies in the Memphis Area, who could be depended upon for re-inforcements. The Intelligence operations of the Memphis Police Department were increased, and it may be said that the Department had its hand on the pulse of the City, and was aware of increases in tension and the general climate between the Negro and White Communities. Much planning and study had been given to the means of controlling possible disorders.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO FEBRUARY 23, 1968

February 12, 1968

930 of 1,100 City Sanitation workers left their jobs without warning demanding recognition of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union as their bargaining agent and asking redress of a series of grievances. It is worthy of note that there had been a similar strike by Sanitation Employees going on in New York at this time, which had been settled and workers received pay increases. Mayor Henry Loeb maintained that the work stoppage was illegal. ⁹⁾

February 13, 1968

On February 13, 1968 Supt. Ed. Rice of the Sanitation Department reported that the men who had remained on the job were beginning to receive threats and harassment. ¹⁰⁾

Approximately 1000 Sanitation strikers and sympathisers met at the Rubber Workers Union Hall on Firestone, where they were addressed by T. O. JONES local President of the Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. (AFSCME). It is significant that at this meeting the REV. EZEKIEL BELL, a militant Negro Presbyterian Minister was introduced and he brought the race matter firmly into the discussions, stating among other things, "Either our demands will be met, or there wont be any City. I am not a man of violence, but if it takes burning down and destroying, this we will do." This meeting was covered by an intelligence source of the Memphis Police Department. ¹¹⁾

Following the meeting at the Union Hall approximately 1000 Sanitation workers and sympathisers marched to City Hall, where they went into the City Council Chambers, filling it to overflowing, at which time Council Chairman, Downing Pryor requested that those standing along the walls go out into the Hall as they created a fire hazard. They did so at this time. But Police Officers in the audience remained. Then Councilman J. O. Patterson arose, and mentioned that he noted many police officers standing about and stated that he felt they would be of more use in the City, fighting crime than observing a peaceful demonstration of Sanitation workers. At this time the Policemen standing against the wall left as well. At 3:10PM the whole group adjourned to the South Hall of the Auditorium which provided seating for all, where the group was addressed by Mayor Loeb who stated: "I am here to serve all of the people of the City of Memphis. I am not here just to serve you and forget the rest, nor am I in turn to serve the rest and forget you." He then stated in effect that the Sanitation workers were breaking the Law, stating that a City Employee cannot strike against the City. He further stated that the new City Government had been in office one month and asked them to go back to work, as the City Government was working on a budget for the Fiscal year, and he stated there was a raise in the budget for the Sanitation workers. ¹²⁾

February 13, 1968(continued)

Mayor Loeb was followed on the speaker's stand by P.J. Ciampa, International Field Staff Director of AFSCME, who listed 10(ten) grievances the Sanitation Workers had, and started his vilification of Mayor Loeb, which continued throughout the strike, introduced publicly the racial issue into the strike, admitted the coalition of Union and Civil Rights interests, and said the problem had to be resolved to insure peace and tranquility in the Community. 13)

The ten(10) grievances (demands) formulated by the Union and presented by P.J. Ciampa were:

1. That Local 1733, AFSCME, be the representative of the workers.
2. That workers should have a grievance procedure plan.
3. The City should have a dues-checkoff plan for the workers (where-in The City would automatically take out Union dues before they get their pay checks.)
4. Some recourse for the workers in regards to suspensions.
5. The City should pay for workers Life Insurance & Health benefits.
6. There should be some uniformity in promotions.
7. There should be sick leave benefits.
8. Vacations.
9. Pay for working on holidays.
10. Overtime. 14)

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February 14, 1968

On February 14, 1968 a garbage truck was attacked by 8 Male Negroes at 7th and Chelsea. It was not damaged. 15)

ON February 14, 1968 at the Rubber Workers Union Hall, PETER PARKER Male Negro, one of the local leaders of the Sanitation Strike, addressed the workers saying, "Obey the City Laws, but if the Police or anyone else grabbed any one of them, beat the living hell out of them." Principal speakers this date, represented the coalition of Union Representatives, and Civil Rights leaders in the City. Several ministers spoke and CORNELIA CRENSHAW, an Ingram supporter in the recent elections spoke complaining of similar injustices at the Memphis Housing Authority. JESSE EPPS, Staff Member of AFSCME from Mississippi talked of the strike that had been successfully concluded in Pascagoula, Miss. He urged unity in the coalition, and referred to the four groups that were involved in Pascagoula, as "Blacks and Whites," who stood for the strike, and "Niggers and Crackers." He said there were some Niggers and Crackers in Memphis too. Civil Rights Leader, and Ingram supporter, O. Z. EVERS head of the local chapter of C. O. R. E spoke, and P. J. CIAMPA, Union leader who stated: "We just left Rome, talking to your Emperor-God Loeb, who sends word to you Egyptians that the answer is still "No."

February 14, 1968(continued.)

JOSEPH PAISLEY, a White Male, State Organizer for AFL-CIO in Nashville, pledged the support of 150,000 Union men in Tennessee. He urged the strikers to remain in Unity, and to pay no attention to the News Media that might attempt to urge them to go back to work. JAMES BLAIR, a White Male, Spokesman for the Electrical Workers Union, and WOPC talked of successful strikes in the City, and passed out Union Literature. VASCO SMITH, Male Negro militant, and Vice President of the Local Chapter of N. A. A. C. P., and the Shelby County Democratic Club pledged the support of the 10,000 members of these organizations to the strike, stating: "When you become headlines, people become aware of you." P. J. CIAMPA concluded the meeting by urging the strikers to seek support in their neighborhoods, and particularly from the local ministers. He said, "If any man seeks your job, then he is a thief and has stolen it. I want you to treat him as a thief and do a good job." 16)

VASCO SMITH, held a meeting on the night of 2/14/68 of the N. A. A. C. P., where the boycott of the Memphis School System showing support for the Sanitation Strike was proposed for February 15, 1968. 17)

MAYOR HENRY LOEB, met with CHARLES BLACKBURN, Director of Public Works, and FRANK C. HOLLOMAN, Fire and Police Director, and then ordered the hiring of new employees to replace the strikers. The Police Department would furnish escort for the Garbage Trucks.

February 15, 1968.

February 15, 1968 a Sanitation work was attacked and had most of his clothing torn off him as he was going to work. Another garbage truck driver was attacked and cursed by a man carrying a pistol. And threats were made that an incident might occur on February 16, 1968 at the Bellevue Dump, where strikers were alleged to have said they were not going to let a "damned truck out." 18)

At the Union Hall on Firestone, February 15, 1968 the strikers were addressed by O. W. PICKETT, local Negro real-estate man and politician, who stated that they planned to bring 150,000 people to the City, and that the Police would then be so busy watching them, they would not be able to guard the garbage trucks. CORNELIA CRENSHAW spoke again, as well as P. J. CIAMPA, who reported that the Garbage Strike had made National News. WILLIAM LUCY, another Union representative stated that they were being supported by the Unions in Detroit. And the REV. EZEKIEL BELL spoke again stating: "I am not advocating violence, but if someone hits me with a brick, I will hit back." He further talked of the Negro cause, and injustices over the years, and made the statement: "By next week there will be no children in the schools, but they will be marching in support of the Sanitation Strike." 19)

February 16, 1968

ON February 14, 1968 an order had been put out, effective February 15, 1968, that there would be no days off for the Uniform Division of the Memphis Police Department. This included Traffic as well as Ward Cars and Commanding Officers. 20)

On February 16, 1968 eight Sanitation workers still working were threatened and harassed. 21)

In an article in the Press Scimitar, 2/16/68 KLV, EZEKIEL BELL well known in the City for his militant stand, is quoted as saying: 'If he (Mayor Loeb) wants to play rough, we know how to play rough too.' 22)

In this same article Mayor Loeb's telegram to P. J. CIAMPA was quoted, which read: "You are encouraging the men in the Sanitation Department to engage in illegal activities. . . I will not meet until they have ceased their illegal work stoppage which is endangering the public health and welfare. When the men return to work I will sit down with a representative committee and attempt to solve any problems that exist." 23)

In an article in the Commercial Appeal of 2/16/68 MAXINE SMITH, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, is reported to have sent a strongly worded resolution to the Mayor in support of the demands of the Sanitation workers, and stated that if no action were taken that the NAACP would begin a series of protests with an all night vigil 2/19/68. Other plans included marches and boycotts of unnamed merchants, and thousands of telephone calls to tie up City Fire and Police lines. 24)

At the meeting at the Union Hall on Firestone approximately 900 Sanitation strikers and sympathisers were addressed by JESSE EPPS, P. J. CIAMPA, T. O. JONES, TOMMY POWELL, and WILLIAM LUCY who reported on their meeting with the City Council, and stated that the method of dues check off was the big issue now. CORNELIA CRENSHAW got up at this time and stated that there were members in the audience (referring to intelligence sources) who were not one of them but spying for their enemies. REV. EZEKIEL BELL, spoke and stated that on Monday February 19, 1968 they would be joined in their marches by friends from outside the County. REV. SAMUEL B. KYLES, then talked and outlined the NAACP plans, stating that the more fearless ones would lay in front of the garbage trucks to keep them from moving. He also stated they had many more plans such as using their telephones. 25)

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February 17, 1968

On February 17, 1968, a Sanitation Truck was fired on with a pistol by someone in a passing car. No one was hurt.²⁶⁾ Three sanitation workers were threatened that if they continued to work their houses would be burned down by the NAACP.²⁷⁾ Information received was that word had been spread among the striking Sanitation workers, that they were to make those who continued to work sorry they did so.²⁸⁾ A crowd of 100 to 125 teenagers was dispersed near the Driver Street Sub-Station on February 17, 1968.²⁹⁾

At the Sanitation Striker's meeting at Union Hall on Firestone, 300 strikers were addressed by ELDER PATTERSON, REV. CHAMBERS, P. J. CIAMPA, WILLIAM LUCY, JIMMY SHEPHERD, Chairman of the Retailers' Union, MR. AUGUSTINE, President of the Local Teamster's Union, O. W. PICKETT and the REV. EZEKIEL BELL, who on this date stated, "People are saying this is a racial issue, and it is." He said, "I don't like black rats, and I don't like white rats. If you go back to work, you are rats. If they hire any white men, they are white rats. If they hire any black men they are black rats. I hate rats." GERALD FANION was also present at this meeting as well as CORNELIA CRENSHAW.³⁰⁾

February 18, 1968

On February 18, 1968 there were two fires started in Garbage Trucks in East Memphis. Both were handled by the Memphis Fire Department.³¹⁾

MAYOR LOEB and leaders of the City Striking Sanitation workers traded proposals during a face to face confrontation in a meeting called by the Memphis Minister's Association at St. Mary's Cathedral. JERRY WURF, president of the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFSCME) joined the 10 hour session after midnight. MAYOR LOEB suggested a cooling off period in the strike, and promised to stop hiring any new employees if the Union would promise to refrain from any violence during the breathing spell.³²⁾

February 19, 1968.

Approximately 1800 Sanitation strikers and sympathizers gathered at the Union Hall on Firestone to meet with JERRY WURF, International President of AFSCME, who presented T. O. JONES with a check in the amount of \$5,000.00 from the Union to the Garbage Strike in Memphis. T. O. JONES in turn presented the check to Chairman WILLIAM LUCY. Present at this meeting were: REV. TURNER, JESSE EPPS, P. J. CIAMPA, EZEKIEL BELL, REV. EDWARD BROWN, pastor of Mt. Pisgah Church, and President of the Church Committee of the NAACP, CORNELIA CRENSHAW, REV. JORDAN, JAMES PAISLEY, and JAMES BLAIR. No new plans or strategies were revealed at this meeting.³³⁾

February 20, 1968

An all night vigil planned by the Memphis Ministerial Association began approximately 6:30 PM 2/19/68 with approximately 35 persons led by PROF. DOUGLAS HOWARD of MSU who had been active in the Anti-Viet Nam Demonstrations in 1967, and who is a known member of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, marched in front of City Hall on the sidewalk, carrying signs which read: "We Shall Overcome", "Watts also waited too late.", "Jobs, Jobs, Jobs." etc. It appeared that periodically through out the night replacements were coming in to keep the march going. At 3 AM there were only 11 Male Negroes still marching. The vigil concluded at 6 AM. P. J. CIAMPA, WILLIAM LUCY, TAYLOR BLAIR, and JAMES PAISLEY, along with JERRY WURF, T. O. JONES, and PETE PARKER were observed in the vigil at 10:10 PM on February 19, 1968. Throughout this vigil the participants were orderly and there were no incidents. 34)

On February 20, 1968, Leaders of striking sanitation workers called for an economic boycott, as talks sponsored by the Memphis Minister's Assn. continued without results. Daily marches from Clayborn Temple AME Church to City Hall and back again, commenced. 35)

On February 20, 1968 the NAACP staged a demonstration in front of Mayor Loeb's home, at 365 Colonial. This involved approximately 2 young male whites, and female whites, and approximately 7 young male and female negroes. 36)

On February 20, 1968 a business where garbage had been collected was threatened, and also on this date, the family of Asst. City Atty. Art Shea was threatened. 37)

At the meeting of the Sanitation Strikers at the Union Hall on February 20, 1968 they were addressed by BAXTON BRYANT of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations who stated that the Council's interest was in the poor. JAMES TAYLOR BLAIR, JAMES PAISLEY, P. J. CIAMPA and T. O. JONES all called for strikers to put the squeeze on those going back to work. They were addressed as well by the REV. HENRY LOGAN STARK, and COL. GEORGE W. LEE, who stated: "There will be no peace until the Iron Curtain is removed from Russia, the Bamboo Curtain from China, and the Jim Crowism from the United States." He was followed by REV. PATTERSON, CORNELIA CRENSHAW, and the REV. EZEKIEL BELL, who said the vigil on the night of the 20th would be in front of MAYOR LOEB'S house, stating, "We want to hurt him," and called for a boycott Loeb's Barbecue's. He further stated that the white Ministers had been engulfed by the White Power Structure of this Country, and continued, "so all you have left is Black Ministers from their pulpits telling the truth." He re-iterated, "I don't advocate violence, but if one of those wine-head scabs comes in my back yard and picks up my garbage, I am going to kick the hell out of him." He was followed by the REV. EDWARD CURRY, with the Job Corps of WOPC. No new plans or strategies were discussed at this meeting. 38)

February 21, 1968

Information was received February 21, 1968 that there would be a vigil in front of Mayor Loeb's home on this date. However this vigil never took place and nothing unusual occurred. 39)

At the Union Hall on Firestone approximately 950 strikers were present and they were addressed by REV. WALKER, T. O. JONES, P. J. CLAMPA, JERRY WURF, TOMMY POWELL, EZEKIEL BELL, JESSE EPPS, CORNELIA CRENSHAW, O. W. PICKETT, and CHARLES ARMOUR, but most of the discussion was centered around methods for Sanitation workers on strike to get financial relief. 40)

February 22, 1968.

A City Council Committee studying the City's position in the Sanitation ~~Strike~~ agreed to recommend recognition of the Union, and a dues checkoff. 41)

In the Press Scimitar of February 22, 1968, staff writer, Charles A. Brown, reports that at the City Council Meeting (a Committee meeting) Councilman Lewis Donelson stated that he thought the Council had authority to pass an ordinance establishing general policies and methods by which workers deal with the City, if it wanted to pass such a measure. Donelson is further quoted as pointing out to the Union Officials that this meeting was not an official session of the Council, and that no such ordinance could be passed at that time. Councilman Netters, urged that the Council be given time to consider the matter, saying, "We can try to give you the things you are asking for." There were at this time approximately 1000 Sanitation strikers and sympathisers in the City Council Chambers at City Hall. O. Z. EVERS, militant Negro Political Leader addressed the crowd following the adjournment. He repeatedly urged the crowd to stay in the Council Chambers "until the Council recognizes the Union, and recognizes that they can over rule the Mayor." He further stated, "If they want to take some one to Jail, they can take all of us." 42)

On February 22, 1968 a Wura Car Lieutenant reported that garbage was being dumped in the street in front of 734 Walker. 43)

At Union Hall on Firestone February 22, 1968 there were approx. 950 strikers and strike sympathisers present who were addressed by Rev. WALKER, T. O. JONES, P. J. CLAMPA, JERRY WURF, TOMMY POWELL, REV. EZEKIEL BELL, JESSE EPPS, CORNELIA CRENSHAW, O. W. PICKETT and CHARLES ARMOUR, and the move was made to assemble in the City Council Chambers at 1PM and stay there until the City Council arrived at some decision. By 1PM the City Council Chambers were filled, and after Council Members recessed (The City Strike Committee) it was suggested that they go to the South Hall of the Auditorium but this suggestion was overruled and they stated that they were going to stay there until they got some consideration. This was followed by a number of speeches by JESSE EPPS, O. Z. EVERS, JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., and JERRY WURF.

February 22, 1968 (continued)

The City Council Strike Committee returned to the Council Chambers at 4:45PM and reported that the Strikers' demands had been approved by the Committee with a vote of two with one abstaining (Mr. Lewis Lonelson) after which JERRY WURF, International President of the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFSCME) thanked the Committee for their support and the Committee meeting was adjourned. ⁴⁴⁾

However, earlier in the meeting, sandwich meat and bread and a huge coffee urn had been brought to the City Council Chambers at approx. 3PM and the Rev. Ezekiel Bell had called his church asking that they bring 300 or 400 sandwiches stating over the telephone that they had decided to stay at City Hall three or four days if necessary. ⁴⁵⁾

At one time the REV. EZEKIEL BELL stated they would stay there as long as 40 days if necessary. He also called VASCO SMITH asking him to come down to speak, and to make arrangements for lawyers in case the people get foolish. However after COUNCILMAN DAVIS adjourned the meeting by stating they would meet with the City Council at 2:30PM February 23, 1968 in the South Hall of the Auditorium where a vote would be taken by the Council as to whether or not the recommendations of the Committee would be accepted, the Council Chambers were cleared and all of the picnic equipment removed at approximately 6PM. ⁴⁶⁾

However, when JESSE TURNER, President of the Local N.A.A.C.P., left the meeting before the Committee decision it was reported that he had gone to advise all the strikers and strike sympathisers to bring their garbage to the front steps of City Hall. He was in the company of an unidentified white man at the time he is said to have arrived at this decision. ⁴⁷⁾

February 23, 1968

On February 23, 1968 a threat was received by REFUSE REMOVAL SYSTEMS INC. The caller advised this company that they had better get out of the garbage business.⁴⁸⁾ Bomb threats were reported both at Mayor Loeb's home and at City Hall on February 23, 1968,⁴⁹⁾ and a Men's clothing store at 144 N. Avalon was threatened,⁵⁰⁾ and there were rumors of a possible disturbance at Owens College between John B. Smith and his militant Invaders, and the College Administration. Furthermore a March and Demonstration sponsored by the N. A. A. C. P. was to be led from Clayborn Temple to City Hall and back at approximately 12 Noon.⁵¹⁾

At the Union Hall on Firestone on the morning of February 23, 1968 approximately 600 strikers and strike sympathizers were addressed by T. O. JONES who announced that they were to meet with the City Council in the South Hall of the Auditorium at 2PM, and he stated he wanted them all to be there, and for them to call their friends as they wanted to pack the place. He further stated, "We are going to this meeting in a peaceful manner. We don't want to give the Police no excuse to arrest us. So if you have been drinking, please don't come down. You know drinking has a way to make us cut up." ⁵²⁾

T. O. JONES was followed by P. J. CIAMPA, who introduced MR. JERRY WURF, who read an editorial in the morning paper, showing in the cartoon a picture of a Negro Man sitting on a Garbage Can. WURF said, "The papers are still against us." Then he reported that the Council Committee had recommended the Union proposals and announced that their recommendations would be presented to the City Council for a vote this date.⁵³⁾

TOMMY POWELL, AFL-CIO, then spoke saying that the proposal was a good one, and that he hoped for its success, but he too made an issue of the editorial in the Commercial Appeal of that date. He too, said, "We want Mr. Loeb to know that we are not coming down there for violence. We are coming in a peaceful manner, but determined." ⁵⁴⁾

O. W. PICKETT then spoke and was followed by CORNELIA CRENSHAW, who said she had met that morning with COUNCILMAN J. O. PATTERSON, and that she understood that the proposal made yesterday had been changed and that she did not think they were going to like it. She said, "You see men, the City Council does things behind your back." ⁵⁵⁾

P. J. CIAMPA then introduced a MR. ROSS who was the Executive Secretary of the AFL-CIO, who substantiated CORNELIA CRENSHAW'S remarks. He further said, "It is about time for this City to realize that we are tired of being kicked around like dogs. We want more money and better working conditions."

The REV. EZEKIEL BELL then came to the speaker's stand with a sleeping bag, and said, "Men, I am tired of this thing. They invited us down yesterday. We didn't want to come, and then they wanted to put us out. I say to you, if they don't approve our proposal, we ought to stay. Not move. Stay." ⁵⁶⁾

February 23, 1968 (continued)

T. O. JONES closed the meeting by re-iterating again, that they wanted peace and no trouble at the meeting at 2PM. He stated again that if they had been drinking for them not to come. ⁵⁷⁾

Early on the morning of February 23, 1968, Director Frank C. Holloman, Chief J. C. Macdonald, and Capt. J. G. Ray and Lt. E. H. Arkin of the Intelligence unit had gone to the Auditorium and with the manager of the Auditorium personally examined the exits and entrances with a view toward planning a security pattern in the event a disorder should occur in the building following the Council Meeting.

> Prior to the arrival of the Councilmen, and the Strikers and Strike Sympathisers, Capt. J. G. Ray and Lt. E. H. Arkin positioned themselves in the old projection booth at the top of the Auditorium, with Walkie Talkie Communications with Headquarters, a tape recorder and binoculars where they could observe the crowd. Inspector Sam Evans, Capt. John Molnar, Capt. Glenn Moore and members of the Emergency Squad were detailed to the auditorium during the Council Session, and were directed by Director Holloman, to use extreme restraint during the meeting and to do nothing to provoke an incident, and all reports are that their conduct in the auditorium was highly commendable. ⁵⁸⁾

At 1:45PM February 23, 1968 the Memphis City Council assembled in the South Hall of the Auditorium, where a group of tables had been placed together on the stage. Approximately 1000 strikers and strike sympathisers had assembled in the auditorium proper. Chairman of the City Council, Downing Pryor then read the following proposal.

Whereas on February 22, 1968, the Committee on Public Works of the City Council held a hearing and made certain recommendations relative to requests of the striking employees of the Department of Sanitation and

Whereas the City Council has fully considered same, Be it therefore resolved that the Council recommends that:

1. The right of employees of the Department of Sanitation to form and join a Union be recognized.
2. Their right to elect Union officials of their choosing be recognized.
3. Their right to select representatives to negotiate for them, and on their behalf be recognized.
4. These employees be included in Civil Service.
5. Provisions for fair promotions be provided.
6. Fair hospitalization, adequate life insurance coverage, and a uniform pension plan be afforded.
7. A fair sick leave and a uniform vacation plan be established.

February 25, 1968 (continued)

8. A meaningful grievance procedure with the right of union representation at all steps be established.
9. A wage increase be provided at the earliest possible date.

Whereas the Council finds that the Mayor has agreed to these recommendations. Be it further resolved that the Council recognizes that the Mayor has the sole authority to act in behalf of the City as its spokesman in the current matters involving the Sanitation Department.

Be it further resolved that with these assurances the Council urges the employees of the Department of Sanitation to return to their jobs and allow their representatives to complete the negotiations in this matter. 59)

This caused much controversy from the audience. As Chairman of the Council, Downing Pryor, was adjourning the meeting, T. O. JONES and JESSE EPPS hollered from the audience that they wanted to be heard. At this time Mr. Pryor advised them that this was a Council Meeting and not a Public hearing and adjourned the meeting at this time. 60)

At this time T. O. Jones hollered out, "Give us the mike" and started walking up on the stage asking for the microphone, but the power had been turned off on the microphones at this time by the Auditorium authorities at the request of Downing Pryor. A few remarks were made by the REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR, and some of the other ministers at this time to the effect, "If they don't give us the microphone then we will take one." They were joined by the Union leaders in their demand for the microphone. 61)

T. O. JONES then said, "You see what promises are. They have lied to us again." He further stated, "The proposal was not the one that had been agreed upon the day before, and said, "you can see the Councilmen are with the Mayor. They won't even give us a microphone so that our president can talk to us." 62)

At this time VASCO SMITH came to the podium with the editorial page of the Commercial Appeal in his hand stating, "I want you to see this picture. Here they got a black man on top of a garbage can. They say we are stinking black folks. What are we going to do about this paper." The answer from the audience was, "Boycott the paper!" 63)

JERRY WURF, International President of the American Federation of State, County, Municipal Employees (AFSCME) came to the podium and backed up VASCO SMITH'S statement stating: "You see the white folks in this town don't like you because you are black." "This picture proves what I am saying." He then went on to say that the proposal agreed on by the Council was not the one they had agreed on the day before, and added, "We are not going to accept no \$ (5) five cent an hour raise." 64)

February 23, 1968(continued)

A. W. WILLIS, Mayoral candidate in the recent elections and state legislator then addressed the group and said, "I am glad to see you standing together. This is the only way to get anywhere. We had the same problem in Nashville where a family of more than 3(three) cannot walk down the street or they will be arrested and given a 10 year sentence." He continued "65) to say, " We have a Bill in the House now, I am fighting, to avoid such a thing. " 65)

JESSE TURNER, local President of the N. A. A. C. P. then addressed the group and stated among other things, "What we ought to do is bring all our garbage and dump it on Main Street. " 66)

O. Z. EVERS, militant head of C. O. R. E. then addressed the group and stated, " I am going to call a meeting tonight of my council and ask them permission to bring to this City, H. Rap Brown, and Stokely Carmichael. If they want trouble, we will give them trouble. " 67)

Following EVERS, JESSE EPPS spoke, stating, "As I have said to you before, if we can do this thing in Mississippi, we can do it in Tennessee, but I don't know now. This City is worse than Mississippi. " 68)

T. O. JONES then addressed the group and stated, "When we leave here we are going to march from here to Mason Temple. We are not going to march on the sidewalks but down the middle of the street. I would like to say this, I am not going to be responsible for what anyone does. " 69)

JESSE EPPS then advised the audience to wait for the Union heads to start the march and for them to follow. At this time they all filed out of the 70) Auditorium in an angry mood, prepared to march South on Main from Poplar.

When informed that a march on Main had been decided on by the group, and that the group had reacted in a disorderly fashion to the proposal of the City Council, walking out of the auditorium on JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR, who had begun to speak, The Police Department was faced with the decision of whether to confront this large and angry group in front of the Auditorium,

February 23, 1968 (continued)

harassed and cursed from the beginning of the March. 71)

*See
23-0-1*

The line of the Police Squad Cars were ordered to drive bumper to bumper to the East of the Marchers, in an attempt to keep them four abreast. According to the Statement of Ptlmn. Jimmy Carol Kellum, who was riding in one of these cars, between Jefferson and Court there was a line of officers marching between the Squad Cars and the marchers, but the behavior of the marchers became so unruly, it was necessary for these policemen to drop back and let the strikers move closer to the center line. The marching Policemen then formed on the East of the Squad Cars placing the Squad Cars between them and the marchers. 72)

Radio tapes reflect that at 3:41PM the men were ordered to take their gas masks off, and re-inforcements were asked for the intersection of Main and Jefferson and at 3:45PM the cars were ordered to drive bumper to bumper and hold the marchers to the curb. At this same time, Motorcycles were ordered to stop Northbound Traffic at Main and Jefferson. 73)

As the marchers arrived at Main and Court radio tapes reflect they were marching 8 and 10 abreast, with their arms locked. At this time the order came out that sirens were not to be used. At 3:55PM radio tapes reflect that the marchers were trying to start arguments with the police, but the Police were ordered to ignore them, and to keep the march moving. 74)

As the marchers got to Gayoso on South Main in front of Goldsmiths Department Store an eye witness relates the following: "On Main just South of Gayoso the march had stopped and the marchers became very loud and started cursing the Police who were riding with the emergency and regular squad cars parallel to the line of marchers. At this time I had stopped the car I was driving and was standing outside the car approximately 10 ft from the front of the march observing T. O. JONES and the Male Negro in the green sweater. T. O. JONES then walked to a black squad car, motioning and hollering though I did not hear the words he used, but I heard him and saw the gestures he was making. I then heard a cry from the Male Colored in the green sweater to turn the squad car over. At this point I moved up closer to this particular Squad car, and I saw T. O. JONES MOVE IN FRONT of the Squad Car in order to make it stop. And then he hollered, 'Yeah, tip it over.' and to this reply JOHN KEARNEY (the man in the green sweater) motioned for the rest of the marchers behind him to help him tip the Squad Car over. And at this point approximately 15 or 20 other marchers placed their hands on the right side of the car and began to rock it. The car was occuppled by six(6) Uniform officers. And at one point the car was tipped on its left side approximately at the rims and the lower panelling, and I thought it was going over. Capt. Glenn Moore called for other officers to assist him with their shoulders and hands to prevent the car from being turned over." 75)

February 23, 1968(continued)

Radio tapes reflect that this incident occurred at 3:56PM. At 3:57PM the men were ordered to get their gas masks on and to come in. At 3:58PM Inspector Sam Evans reported on radio that he heard glass breaking in Goldsmiths. However there were no windows broken, as Goldsmiths are equipped with new riot proof glass and though the windows move when pressure is applied they do not break, but give off a sound as if glass were breaking. 76)

An order was then given by Asst. Chief U. T. Bartholomew to disperse the crowd, North and South of the incident. Chemical Mace was used, and proved very effective, and seven arrests were made. Police on foot were provided with gas masks and riot sticks. The crowd was dispersed in a matter of minutes, with a minimum use of force. A portion of the marchers reformed South of the scene and continued on to Clayborn Temple. 77) At 4:10PM the crowd was reported to be under control. 78)

This police action became controversial and there was considerable reaction to it in the National Press. 79). A complaint was registered with the Internal Security Bureau of the Memphis Police Department by Jacques Wilmore, the then Southern Regional Director of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, who was in the march along with BAXTON BRYANT of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, BOBBY DOCTOR, and other members of MR. WILMORE'S staff, who were Maced at this time. 80)

In the Commercial Appeal of February 24, 1968, Staff writer, Joseph Sweet, quotes Mayor Loeb as stating: " Events of today demonstrate that Memphis will not tolerate Civil Disorder and with the continuing support of all the people of this City to whom I am most grateful for their expression of confidence, order will be maintained. " 81)

On the night of February 23, 1968 Director of Fire and Police, Frank C. Holloman, met in the Room of Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, at Hotel Peabody with the following members of the local Negro Community: REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JESSE TURNER, Local Pres. of the NAACP; GERALD FANION, and JACQUES WILMORE, Southern Regional Director of the Office of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, and two other members of his staff BOBBY DOCTOR, and ROSETTA MILLER. At this meeting BAXTON BRYANT, and the others complained of the indiscriminate use of Mace in front of Goldsmith's Department Store, and of the alleged excessive force used in the arrest of JOSEPH KEARNEY, Male Negro, who was one of the Male Negroes who along with T. O. JONES President of Local 1733, AFSCME, had attempted to overturn a Squad Car in front of Goldsmith's Department Store.

Director Holloman at this time pointed out to them that there was no evidence of the use of excessive force as JOSEPH KEARNEY (who was easily identified because of the green sweater he was wearing) had resisted arrest, and attempted to use a knife on the officers, which knife had been confiscated at the scene and was being held as evidence in this case, Director Holloman further advised them that the use of MACE at this time had not been indiscriminate, but used

February 23, 1968(continued)

only after attempts to break the glasses at Goldsmiths had been observed, and in the considered opinion of the officers at the scene a disorder existed and therefore had to be brought under control. 82)

To summarize the events of February 23, 1968 and evaluate them though there had been previous near riots in Memphis in the summer of 1967, February 23, 1968 represents the first time when the Memphis Police Department was confronted and attacked by a large and unruly crowd. They re-acted coolly and efficiently, prevented a serious tragedy from occurring, arrested seven of the offenders, and dispersed the crowd by using Mace in a matter of minutes without any excessive force having to be used against the Demonstrators in the March. It was a major test for the Department, and the men of the Department met it with much credit to themselves, and the Department.

February 24, 1965 (Saturday)

Harassment of businesses and vandalism increased on February 24, 1965 with 7 incidents being reported.⁸³⁾ Furthermore garbage was thrown in the street in the area around Fourth and Chelsea,⁸⁴⁾ and one person was assaulted in a Harlem House in a discussion of the Sanitation Strike.⁸⁵⁾

Known
 Information had been received that our informers had been noticed at the meetings at the Union Hall and had been threatened with bodily harm, and for this reason new observers were sent to Union Hall on this date. One of these Louis McKay, Male Negro, while in the Union Hall on Firestone, where there were approximately 500 Sanitation Workers and Sympathisers assembled was spotted as being a Memphis Police Officer, and grabbed as he attempted to leave. He was disarmed of his weapon, and a canister of Mace he had on his person, after he had taken several blows in a struggle with Union men. At this time CORNELIA CRENSHAW left the platform and advised the men holding Pllmn. McKay not to hurt him because that is what they wanted, "downtown". He was then dragged to the platform where he was met by TAYLOR BLAIR, White Male, Public Relations man for the Electrical Workers Union, who kept saying in a loud voice that McKay was, 'a dirty black son of a bitch' and that he had sold his race out. After being publicly harassed McKay was finally released and turned over to a Uniform Lieutenant outside the building, who brought him to Headquarters, and later to John Gaston Hospital, as he had been manhandled.⁸⁶⁾

At 6PM the same evening approximately 600 people assembled at Mason Temple. They were in a highly emotional condition, and there was much talk of tearing the City apart, and of bringing in STOKELEY CARMICHAEL. CORNELIA CRENSHAW spoke up for boycotting the newspapers and Main Street stores. In addition to her REV. LEROY DONSON, REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, and MR. ROSS, Executive Secretary of the AFL-CIO spoke to the group. The REV. KENNE WHALUM spoke at this time and said this was not a race issue, but a Human Right issue, and went on to say that it was hard to control the issue when there were so many factions trying to turn it to their own interest. MRS. THOMAS MATTHEWS was present at this meeting and talked to one of the informers stating that she would be glad when STOKELEY CARMICHAEL arrived, stating that he had been called and would be here in a couple of days. At this time the REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON Jr. got up and stated, 'We are here to discuss very serious business which will determine the fate of this City.' He was told then that men from the News Media were in the Church, and he answered, 'All right then, some of you rough men, we want them out of here. I know there are no policemen here--they should have learned their lesson at Union Hall today.' Then someone said, 'There are one or two here now.', and the REV. LAWSON said, 'I still want you to leave and you men know how to do it. Just remove them.' At this time the informers left the meeting.⁸⁷⁾

February 24, 1965, City Officials went into Chancery Court and obtained a broad injunction against the strike from Chancellor Robert Hoffman which gave the City the right to seek Contempt of Court citations against any leader of the Union who engaged in marches or other demonstrations and also prohibited the strike itself.⁸⁸⁾

February 25, 1968 (Sunday)

On February 25, 1968, one Sanitation Employee had his home vandalized,⁸⁹⁾ and information was received that two Black Muslims from out of town had come to Memphis armed, for the purpose of assassinating Mayor Henry Loeb. This was checked out, but the Black Muslims were not located.⁹⁰⁾

February 26, 1968 (Monday)

On February 26, 1968 there was a bomb threat to a Loeb's Laundry, and another threat received by a female white citizen.⁹²⁾ Further, there were rumors abroad that Mayor Loeb's home would be burned,⁹³⁾ and that Lowensteins and Goldsmith's Department Stores would be burned.

There were two marches on February 26, 1968. The Press Scimitar of that date reports on the morning march in which approximately 130 persons were involved under the caption of: Orderly March made by Strike Sympathisers. These persons carried placards with the captions: 'Dignity and Decency for our Sanitation Workers', 'Keep Your Money in Your Pocket.' and 'Jim Crow must go.' This march was monitored by a Police Helicopter which gave frequent reports as to the size and mood of the march. The afternoon march started at 3:45PM and had approximately 150 marchers. According to Baxton Bryant, Executive Director, of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, the marches were to continue for the remainder of the week of February 26- March 2, 1968. Baxton Bryant had been overheard on February 24, 1968 by Inspector E. C. Swann of the Memphis Police Department making the remark, "We have got to make this a racial incident if we are to succeed." ⁹⁵⁾

On the evening of February 26, 1968 there was a meeting of the Ministers' Association at Clayborn Temple. REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN, Associate Pastor of Clayborn Temple, noting JOHN B. SMITH, a well known Negro Militant and activist in the meeting called on him to speak, at which time JOHN B. SMITH made a fiery speech, stating, "We should scatter garbage all over City Hall." He further stated that prayer was no longer any good. "We have to get out and beat the White Power Structure." REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, pastor of St. James A. M. E. Church and President of the Minister's Association took exception to JOHN B. SMITH's speech, stating that people had the right to talk, but not to violence. JOHN B. SMITH is alleged to have retorted to this remark: 'You do the praying and we'll do the rest.' ⁹⁶⁾

February 27, 1968 (Tuesday)

There was one instance of Malicious Mischief reported on February 27, 1968, and one trash fire started. There was a fire at 392 Carpenter, and rumors were abroad, that the Sanitation workers were planning to burn down the houses of the scabs who were picking up the garbage, and that MARTIN LUTHER KING JR, STOKELEY CARMICHAEL and other black Militants were to arrive in Memphis on February 28, 1968. ⁹⁷⁾

February 27, 1968 (Tuesday) continued

Approximately 300 Strike Sympathisers marched to City Hall on 2/27/68, and when they arrived at the City Council Chambers, only 40 seats were left, which they filled, and the rest of them remained in the foyer at City Hall. Council Chairman DOWNING PRYOR stated that the Council would conduct its regular business and that MR. JERRY WURF would be given 30 minutes after they finished their business to go over the Union issues again. 9b)

Chancellor Hoffman had all of the 23 defendants in the Injunction hearing ordered to his Court for violation of the Injunction, and at 3:30PM Sheriff's deputies served these citations, and those in violation went to Judge Hoffman's Court, but Chairman Pryor promised that the Council would remain in session so that they could return and air their views. 9c)

Noted at the City Council Meeting this date were REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., MAXINE SMITH, REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, BAXTON BRYANT, WHITTIER SENGSTACKE JR., and EDWARD HARRIS, photographers for the Tri State Dejeaner, JUDY DRAPER COULTER, long time Civil Rights activist, REV. DICK MOON, JUDGE BEN HOOKS, JIMMY SHEPHARD, REV. H. RALPH JACKSON, REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN, JESSE TURNER, O. W. PICKETT, CORNELIA CRENSHAW, O. Z. EVERS, REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, GERALD FANION, REV. EZEKIEL BELL, REV. SAMUEL B. KYLE, ALVIN KING, MR. HERSCHEL FEIBLEMAN, of U. E. O., SAMUEL CARTER, REV. WILLIAM SMITH, REV. LOWE, the REV. T. C. LIGHTFOOT, REV. ATKINS, ROSETTA MILLER, and JACQUES WILMORE, Southern Regional Director of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. The ministers were allowed 30 minutes to air their grievances. REV. WM. SMITH came to the platform and talked about the history of racial problems. REV. SAMUEL B. KYLES came to the platform and stated, "We are surrounded by Police, who are really ready for us. They have them all lined up around us in Emergency Cars ready to gas us again. We came peacefully and this is the greeting we get. Whose City Hall is this? We are being treated like criminals. They won't even let us use the rest rooms." Then the REV. BEAUCHAMP spoke saying that white men and negroes should get together and communicate. 100)

The REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., then spoke saying that he wanted to talk about two kinds of sticks, one, the stick of the Police Officer which he used in his brutality against the black man, suppressing him in his progress for the past 300 years. The other stick was that used by the wheels of the City Government wherein if the stick of Law Enforcement did not suppress the black man then the stick of the Legislative body did. He then stated that the group congregated was a peaceful group, but pointing to the Police, he stated, "it appears that we are surrounded by the Gestapo." He then made reference to the February 23 incident inferring that the Police started the disturbance. He said he had been gassed three times trying to stop Police Brutality. JERRY WURF then returned to the Council Chambers and went over the 9 issues on record, and mentioned that the dues checkoff demanded by the Union was the crux of the matter. The meeting was then adjourned.

February 27, 1968(Tuesday) continued.

On the night of February 27, 1968 a Mass meeting was held at St. Paul Baptist Church which was attended by 250 to 300 persons, where again the Rev SAMUEL B. KYLES, re-iterated his complaints of being surrounded by the Police, and treated like cows. He then made the statement, "This was a labor issue in the beginning, but it is a race issue now, and we are at war." 102)

The Union heads were then introduced, and they were followed by the REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN, Associate pastor of Clayborn Temple, C. M. E. Church. He too spoke against the Police, stating, "We are not violent. We come in peace. We want Justice." He turned then to the audience and said, "I know you are proud that you are black. I am proud that I am white. Everyone should be proud of what they are." 103)

The REV. SAMUEL KYLE concluded the meeting by saying, "If they put the Union leaders in Jail, the preachers will have to take over." adding, "If they put the preachers in Jail, then the members would come next." 104)

February 28, 1968(Wednesday)

On February 28, 1968 a cache of dynamite was found at 853 N. Dunlap, and suspicious cars were noted at the Democrat Road Sanitation Dump & Sub-Station. Three cases of vandalism were reported at 630 Chelsea; 853 N. Dunlap, and 2867 Yale. 105)

On February 28, 1968 at 3PM the Local NAACP sponsored a march from Clayborn Temple to City Hall, returning down Main Street from City Hall to Clayborn Temple again. 107)

On the night of February 28, 1968 there was a Mass meeting at St. James A. M. E. Church at 600 North Fourth for the Sanitation Strikers which was attended by approximately 300 people, who were addressed by BISHOP HAMLIN, REV. ROWE, JERRY WURF, P. J. CIAMPA, WILLIAM LUCY, JOSEPH BASKLEY, TAYLOR BLAIR, JESSE EPPS, T. O. JONES, REV. RALPH JACKSON, O. W. PICKETT, REV. E. L. BROWN, REV. E. C. LIGHTFOOT, REV. EZEKIEL BELL, REV. HERRON, DICK MOON, VASCO SMITH, BISHOP J. O. PATTERSON SR., GERALD FANION, REV. SAMUEL B. KYLES, MRS. THOMAS MATTHEWS, and the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, who reported that he had met with the young people that afternoon at Centenary Methodist Church, and had received their commitment to support the Sanitation Strike, and that he would meet with the College Students on February 29, 1968, and get their commitments. 108)

February 29, 1968(Thursday)

In the Commercial Appeal of February 29, 1968, MAYOR HENRY LOEB reported that there were 317 men working in the Sanitation Department, 108 of whom had never gone out on strike, and 62 workers who had returned to work, and 147 new men who had been employed since the strike. 109)

February 29, 1968 (Thursday) continued.

In the Press similar of 2/29/68 Mayor Henry Loeb is reported to have presented an open letter to the Sanitation Workers, re-iterating that a strike by Public employees was illegal, and stating that we are a Nation governed by Law, and that as Mayor he had sworn to uphold the Law. He further stated that as a pre-condition to any agreement, that the strike must end. After these conditions were met he promised to set down with the employees or their representatives and work out any differences that existed between them. 110)

On February 29, 1968 one Sanitation worker received a threatening telephone call, and one paper boy was threatened in Dixie Mall, 111) and there was one case of vandalism at 761 Firestone. 112)

On February 29, 1968 there was also a Mass March participated in by the students under the leadership of the Rev. Harold Midalebrook, on Main Street, which lasted until the stores closed, and at 5:30PM 27 male and female Negro teenagers and one male and female white teenager, marched from Clayborn Temple following the same route as the mass March until they got to Main Street, at which time they picketed these stores on Main Street until 6:30PM, focusing their attention on Goldsmiths, Ferrel & Lowenstehs, and Lowenstehs Department Stores, and some of them singing and chanting, "don't buy from that store no more." 113)

There was a mass meeting at Mt. Pisgah Church at Park and Marechal Neil on the night of February 29, 1968. There were approximately 200 people at this meeting. Ministers and AFL-CIO leaders addressed the assembly. GERALD FANION and a news photographer from the Tri State Defender, EDWARD JAMES BARRIS, were arrested outside this meeting for jaywalking by two traffic officers, which created a disturbance and a reaction from persons such as MAXINE SMITH, Local Executive Director of the NAACP, and BAXTON BRYANT, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Human Relations Council, who were present. Almost immediately following this arrest, members of the Internal Security Bureau initiated an investigation.

The Investigation reflected that the arresting officers had used Poor Judgement, and they were charged with Neglect of Duty, and on the following date, March 1, 1968, Director Frank Holloman went to Division III of City Court at 9AM before the Hon. Judge Ray Churchill, and asked that both the charges against MR. GERALD FANION, and against MR. EDWARD JAMES BARRIS be dismissed as the Police Department was in error in this case. JUDGE CHURCHILL then dismissed the charges. 114)

On February 29, 1968 Union attorneys asked that the State Chancery Court Injunction against the Strike leaders be removed to U.S. District Court, because it violated their Constitutional Rights.

In an article in the Commercial Appeal of 4/5/68, captioned Day to Day March Events, Shattered by Sniper's Bullet., it is indicated that on February 29, 1968 the Police arrested persons who refused to leave the Council Chambers, after a meeting in which the Council again refused concessions in the strike, is apparently in error, as Police Department Records do not reflect that any arrests were made at City Hall for this reason on this date. 22 - 115)

MARCH 1, 1968 (Friday)

Federal Judge Robert Mackae refused jurisdiction in the petition issued by Chancellor Hoffman against the Union Leaders. The Press scimitar of 3/1/68 reported that Judge Mackae stated that he had no jurisdiction in the Sanitation Strike case, and ordered it remanded back to Chancellor Hoffman's Court. Judge Mackae further stated, that in order for a case to be removed from State to Federal Courts it must be shown that the plaintiffs are being denied a specific legislated right establishing racial equality. (116)

Increase in tension was noticeable on March 1, 1968 with 3 cases of vandalism: reported as well as an attempted Arson at 753 Edith, four cases of threats and harassment to Sanitation workers, and a disturbance at Hollywood and Chelsea oriented around the Sanitation Strike, (117) as well as rumors that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and other SNCC members were coming to Memphis. (118)

There was a march of 270 Striking Sanitation workers at 3:20PM March 1, 1968 from Clayborn Temple to City Hall, but it was an orderly march and there were no incidents. (119)

March 2, 1968 (Saturday)

On March 2, 1968, The Tri-State Defender, a weekly newspaper, circulated largely in the Negro Community in Memphis carried several articles on the incident involving the confrontation of the Police & the Marchers on February 23, 1968 under such captions as: BEING BEATEN by COPS, calling the Police Action of that date vicious attacks by racist Policemen on Black Citizens and referring to this incident as one of Police Brutality. In another article in this same issue written by Whittier A. Sengstacke Jr., and EDWARD BARRIS under the caption, NEGRO COMMUNITY, LABOR, MINISTERS BACK SANITATION WORKERS, they reported that Local Citizens staged several marches during the week protesting Police Brutality, and their sympathy with the Sanitation Workers. This article further reported that a Blue Print for backing the Sanitation workers had been adopted by 150 ministers meeting at Mason Temple during the week. (120)

On the same date, the MEMPHIS WORLD, another Negro weekly published in Memphis carried similar articles under such captions as: STRIKING GARBAGE WORKERS BATTLE POLICE IN MEMPHIS. (121)

In the Commercial Appeal of March 2, 1968 MAYOR HENRY LOEB is reported to have met with 75 Local Ministers on the strike situation, and is said to have reported the meeting to be friendly and productive. (122)

On March 2, 1968, 3 cases of Vandalism were reported, and 8 cases of threats and harassment to sanitation employees not on strike. There was as well a fire at Fourth and Monroe believed to have been set by arsonists, and rumors of fires on Dunlap Street which did not materialize. (123)

March 2, 1968 (continued)

On March 2, 1968, 135 Negro and White students were led in a march from Clayborn Temple to Main Street by the Rev. Henry Logan Starks, where they picketed various businesses until approximately 1PM when they returned to Clayborn Temple. 124)

At 3PM, March 2, 1968, 338 striking Sanitation workers marched from Clayborn Temple to City Hall and back between 3:30PM and 5PM. Both of these marches were orderly. 125)

March 3, 1968 (Sunday)

Though March 3, 1968 was a Sunday, Vandalism continued, 8 specific cases were reported along with a garbage barrel fire at 1440 Menager. 126)

There was a meeting at the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, on the topic; *The Reason Minority Groups Dislike the Police*, at 9:30AM March 3, 1968. The Rev. Ezekiel Bell, pastor, presided, and Det. E. E. Redditt of the Memphis Police Department was present and attempted to explain police responsibilities and actions, but was asked such questions as, "How frequently are Police Officers psycho-analyzed," by obviously unfriendly persons at the meeting such as JUDY COULTER, FW, a long time Civil Rights worker. It was apparent that REV. EZEKIEL BELL, tolerated Det. Redditt, but was not unduly pleased about having him at the meeting. The meeting was attended by approximately 3 Male Whites, 12 Female Whites, and approximately 27 Male and Female Negroes. 127)

There was a meeting March 2, 1968 at the A. M. E. Church on West Shelby Drive in Shelby County, of Ministers and Strike sympathisers. One of the speakers at this meeting was ROSETTA MILLER, Field Representative of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, who stated, that she had been called a female RAP BROWN, and a sister to STOKELEY CARMICHAEL, but she stated that she believed in Non-Violence but believed in Speaking up. Referring to a Chinese Grocer, with whom the Negro citizens in that area had been having trouble, as he was impolite to them, she stated: "You black people better wake up and get together, just as the Sanitation Workers have brought Memphis together, it is going to take all of us uniting together to get the needed results, because the white man is not going to hand you anything, particularly on an individual basis. --then referring back to the Chinese Grocer, 'I am saying the Chinaman is going to leave, if I have to do it myself.' 128)

REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR. was also a speaker at this meeting, the first reported in Shelby County, and spoke of the Minister's alliance, and asked persons at the meeting to boycott Downtown Stores, Loeb Enterprises, and the Commercial Appeal and Press Scimitar, and asked for total black involvement. 129)

MARCH # 4, 1968 (Monday)

The Commercial Appeal of March 4, 1968 reported that an 6 hour Gospel Singing was planned for that date at Mason Temple, 988 Mason, sponsored by the Concerned Citizens Committee for Sanitation Workers and their families. 130)

On March 4, 1968 four cases of vandalism were reported two of which were directed against Loeb Enterprises, and between 7:35PM and 8:25PM between 7 and 17 pickets ¹³⁰⁾ marched in front of the Loeb's Laundry at Lauderdale and South Parkway.

There were two marches on March 4, 1968. At 3:45PM - 334 Sanitation Workers marched single file in an orderly fashion from Clayborn Temple to City Hall and back. This march was led by the Rev. H. Ralph Jackson, REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, and the REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN. The second march involved 43 Male White and Male Negro teenagers, who marched on Main Street between 5:45PM and 7:30PM picketing various businesses. Only one incident is reported, that being the case of the picket on Main at Madison who threatened and cursed Female Negro customers coming out of Walgreens. No arrests were made. 132)

On the night of March 4, 1968 at 7:30PM there was a mass meeting at the Eastern Star Church at 1334 Exchange. Ministers and Strike leaders addressed the group. Notable among the speakers were the REV. EZEKIEL BELL, who stated, "You know I always say a lie is a lie. Memphis is going to be a better city to live in, or there won't be no Memphis at all." There were cries from the audience at this time, 'We will burn it.' to which the REV. EZEKIEL BELL retorted, "We can do that too." The REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, head of the Negro Minister's alliance then spoke: "The last time at the City Council Meeting they made a believer out of me. They lied to us the same as the Mayor did. We are going to start marching tomorrow (March 5, 1968) at 1:30PM. We are going to this meeting. They are not going to fool us out of there anymore. We are going to stay until they do something about our Sanitation problem." 133)

IT IS NOTABLE, that JOHN B. SMITH, notorious local black militant, and several of his Invaders were at this meeting, and passed out copies of Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks, (Black Thesis, Vol. 1, No. 7). 134)

MARCH 5, 1968 (Tuesday)

The Commercial Appeal of 3/5/68 carried a story under the caption: **MAYOR WARY OF PARLEY PLAN** which reported that there was some talk of a Mediation Board to be formed for the Sanitation Strike which was to be composed of one member of the City Government, one representative of Organized Labor and an Impartial Third Party. The purpose of the Board was to assist in Governmental Employee Relations. 135)

The Press Scimitar of 3/5/68 carried a story under the caption of: **STRIKE CROWD ALERTS POLICE AT CITY HALL**. This was the story of the arrest of 121 Strike Sympathizers when they refused to leave the City Council Chambers. The story went on to say that the Strike Dispute was back in Chancery Court after a Federal Judge had refused for the second time to intervene. The story goes on to report that there were 200 Policemen in the building, and that the City Hall had been ringed with 100 Sheriff's Deputies, and states that the mass arrests capped the boisterous ending of the Council Sessions on that date. The meeting is reported to have been punctuated with angry outbursts, cheering, singing and at times profanity. 136)

The rowdiness came at the end of a day that saw strike activity also going on in the Courts, in the Union Hall, and in the Streets. Those arrested voluntarily marched out of the Council Chambers two abreast under Police escort, and between solid lines of Policemen, stretching from City Hall to the Police Station. All arrested parties were booked on City and State Charges of Disorderly Conduct, then released without bond about two hours later.

The arrests followed an abrupt adjournment of the City Council in the middle of an emotional address by the REV. EZEKIEL BELL. The minister attacked the Council for not supporting the Sanitation Workers. He is quoted as saying, "I say you men have no backbone." He then shook his finger at the Councilmen and said, "And you are all going to hell." At this point Councilman Donelson grabbed the microphone and shouted, flushed and angrily, "Mr. Bell, Mr. Bell, we have listened to you patiently. Either you speak to us with respect, or I will move for adjournment." To this the REV. BELL retorted, "If I insult you by telling you the truth, I can't help it. I don't like rats. I don't like black rats. I don't like white rats." The Council then adjourned with much dissent from the audience. 137)

At this point Asst. Chief Henry Lux walked calmly to the front of the room amid a throng of milling Negro Ministers and ~~said~~ over a bull horn, "We don't want any trouble, and we don't anticipate any trouble. If you choose to stay you will be in Violation of a City Ordinance and a State Law." Chief Lux then gave the group 30 minutes to leave. He repeated this order again in a calm voice. During the 30 minutes REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON began organizing the method in which the group would submit to arrest, with the crowd chanting,

MARCH 5, 1968 (Tuesday) continued.

'We want jail.' Several Negro ministers urged those who did not wish to be arrested to leave, and many of them did. 138)

While the Sanitation Workers and Sympathisers were marching across the Street to City Jail a group of pickets who had been outside the Council Chambers marched back to Clayborn Temple, where the militant young Negroes were having a meeting. 139)

On March 5, 1968, one home of a sanitation worker was set afire at 1554 Standridge by a Molotov cocktail type firebomb. 140)

Following this mass arrest Maxine Smith, Executive Director of the Local Chapter of the N. A. A. C. P. lodged a complaint with Director of Fire and Police Frank C. Holloman, asking him to take action against Police-men and Policewomen who humiliated the Negro women who were arrested. Mrs. Smith charged that Police officers called Negro women by the first names and even made her stand with men in a washroom used by men. 141)

Mr. Holloman said the reason Mrs. Smith was called 'Maxine' instead of 'Mrs. Smith' was because she was booked as Maxine Smith in accordance with generally accepted policy. "The policy of booking persons in the jail has always been to use the first, middle, and last names and not to include Mr. or Mrs. regardless of race, creed or economic position of the prisoner." He further added, "Of the 119 arrests made, we have received complaints from three arrestees. One complained that when his property was returned to him, one stick of chewing gum was missing. One stated a screw was missing from her eye-glasses. The third constitutes your complaint," he told Mrs. Smith. He said, "Bitterness and hate for whatever reason will surely never solve any problem regardless of its origin. I would enlist the cooperation of your organization to join in facing the future and working with reason, temperance and good will to make ours a better society with equal opportunity for all." 142)

MARCH 6, 1968 (Wednesday)

On March 6, 1968, Chancellor Hoffman held the seven top Sanitation Union Leaders in Contempt of a Court Order and gave each 10 days in Jail, and a \$50.00 fine, but said they could purge themselves by calling off the four week strike. 143)

IT IS WORTHY OF NOTE that the copies of Afro Americans Speak, Black Thesis, Vol. 1, No. 7, carries on the last page a description of how to prepare Molotov Cocktails for use in riots. 144)

MARCH 6, 1968 (Wednesday) continued

On March 6, 1968 the harassment of Loeb Enterprises continued with four cases of Vandalism reported, and two groups of pickets reported, one participated in by the REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN. There were in all 17 reports of Vandalism and Threats to Sanitation Workers on March 6, 1968. 145)

On March 6, 1968 the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK and ED CARTER, a Male White, came to Director Holloman's office with the complaint that the handle had been removed from a drinking fountain on the 6th floor at Central Police Headquarters to keep the Sanitation workers from having a drink. It developed that this particular fountain on the 6th floor had never been connected, and that this charge was drummed up to aggravate Police, Black Community relations. 146)

Furthermore on March 6, 1968 C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) a group which grew out of the Minister's Alliance during the Garbage Strike published a circular trying to call the shooting of Patton Johnson, Male Negro in a burglary on the night of March 2, 1968, the result of his having marched with the Sanitation workers on the morning of March 2, 1968, calling for Marchers to take his place. 147)

At 4:30PM March 6, 1968, an unruly march of 100 Negro and Male White teenagers started at Clayborn Temple. The march was led by a Male White and a Male Negro carrying a placard which read: 'Justice is dead in Memphis.' They were followed by 6 Male Negroes carrying a coffin. Other placards in the march read: 'Your Kingdom may burn down, King Henry.' Marchers became boisterous at City Hall, and placed the coffin at the top of the stairs and formed behind it, while the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK and the REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN took out their Bibles and performed a mock burial ceremony, over Justice and MAYOR LOEB. At this time the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK stated that the teenagers would march every day from this point on. 148)

There was a Mass Meeting at Clayborn Temple at 7:30PM on March 6, 1968. At this meeting the REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON made the following remarks: 'I don't go along with violence, but if violence does come don't tear up your own neighborhoods like they did in New York, New Jersey and Detroit. I won't destroy my neighborhood. That is where I live and I have to make the best of it. If you must have violence take it out East around Mayor Loeb's house.' 149)

MARCH, 7, 1968, (Thursday)

The United States Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, Ohio, was asked to determine if the Federal Courts should rule on the Constitutionality of the Injunction issued by Chancellor Robert Hoffman against the Sanitation Workers Strike. Union Attornies made another appeal in the State Courts, challenging Chancellor Hoffman's ruling that the Union Leaders were in contempt of his injunction because of their strike activities. 150)

Vandalism continued on March 7, 1968 with 12 instances being reported, four of which were directed at Loeb Enterprises. There were as well 3 threats to Sanitation workers, and a garbage fire reported. 151)

March 7, 1968, Det. E. B. Redditt, a Negro Detective with the Community Relations Bureau of the Memphis Police Department was approached outside of Clayborn Temple by Rosetta Miller, Field Representative of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, who stated that she had stayed outside the Temple to warn him not to enter because he had taken the witness stand against the Sanitation Strikers in Judge Hoffman's Court, and if he entered he would meet with bodily harm. She further stated that REV. E. L. BROWN, REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, and REV. EZEKIEL BELL, had all talked about him, implying that he was not the type of Negro that was needed. 152)

On March 7, 1968 as well in front of Clayborn Temple, Filmm. W. B. Richmond of the Memphis Police Department who was working an intelligence assignment, was approached by ROSETTA MILLER, of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission and well known local black militant, who told RICHMOND that she knew he was selling them out by coming to the meetings, and said if he appeared at any more meetings she personally would get up and point him out to the audience. She said she had some very rough boys that would lay him up in the Hospital for 6 months or more. She further said she would like to shoot him herself, for a person who would go back and snitch to the Mayor or the white jocks what was said at the meetings was no better than the white jocks themselves. She stated the white jocks were only using him.

There were two marches on March 7, 1968. The first was a loud, boisterous and disorderly march of approx. 120 Male & Female Negro teenagers, and one Male White, led by the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, who were shouting, "Down with Loeb" and "Loun with the Mace Spraying Cops." The second march was led by the REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., and it was a peaceful and orderly march. 154)

MARCH 8, 1968 (Friday)

The Press Scimitar of March 8, 1968 reported that Pickets had staged a Sit-Down across the entrance at the Garbage Pick up Site at 2432 Democrat Rd. Approximately 12 Sanitation Strikers and Sympathisers sat down at the front entrance, but got up and moved on order of the Police. There was no violence. The Press Scimitar reported as well that there were approximately 5 jires in trash cans in the South end of town over a widely scattered area. Director Frank Holloman attributed this activity and other vandalism to the inflammatory sort of addresses being given the youth involved in the Sanitation Strike by Local Ministers. 155)

On Friday March 8, 1968 the Wall Street Journal ran an article on the Memphis Sanitation Strike entitled: GARBAGE STRIKE PILES UP NEGRO UNITY. This article was written by Norman Pearlstine. He concludes his article with the statement: "Whatever his virtues, the Mayor (HENRY LOEB) clearly has chosen to make the garbage strike a major confrontation. In so doing he has given the Civil Rights Movement here, the catalyst it has needed. No one knows when the strike will end or who will win it, but the far more important issue now is whether the Ministers and other Civil Rights Leaders will remain united, and energetic after it is over." 156.)

On Friday, March 8, 1968 a reliable intelligence source reporting on the Youth March for March 7, 1968 stated that at 4PM 76-100 teenagers, mostly young females gathered at the Minimum Salary Building at Clayborn Temple, where under the direction of a young Female Negro named PAT (Mayweather) they made placards reading: 'Garbage is no problem. Loeb is a problem. This is our City Too.' When they got to City Hall they were addressed by the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, Youth leader, who stated, "Today we are bringing up empty garbage cans, but if nothing is done, we will bring up so much garbage, that he (Mayor Loeb) will not be able to stay in here for all the rats." They had been advised before the march, by the young Female Colored in charge at the Minimum Salary building to play it cool and observe all traffic rules, and give the Police no cause to arrest them. 157)

MARCH 9, 1968 (Saturday)

On Saturday, March 9, 1968 the Press Scimitar carried a story, captioned: 75 SANITATION TRUCKS ROLLING--Record for Strike Period. The article further related that Sanitation Department supervisors reported that approximately 50 Strike Sympathisers and Strikers went to the Democrat Rd. Dump that date and heckled workers for 2 hours. This newspaper

MARCH 11, 1968(Monday)

On Monday, March 11, 1968, the following article was printed in the Mobile Press, under the caption: **PROLONGED GARBAGE STRIKE COULD SPREAD DISEASE and CAUSE RACIAL VIOLENCE.** The article contained an outline of events in the Memphis Sanitation Strike and further stated: "Civil Rights leaders have said the demonstrations (in Memphis) will not stop even when the strike is settled. They termed the strike only the catalyst which united the City's Negroes, about 40% of the population, and promised the drive would continue for other goals including increased employment opportunities and better housing." 165)

The Press Scimitar of 3/11/68 carried the story: **TWO ARRESTED AT SCHOOL IN GARBAGE STRIKE EFFORT.** The story goes on to relate that two youths went into the Cafeteria at Carver High and attempted unsuccessfully to persuade students to join the March. They were ordered to leave the cafeteria by school officials but instead they sat down on the floor and were subsequently arrested. They were identified as JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, Male Negro 20, of 1279 Pennsylvania, and WILLIE JAMES JENKINS, Male Negro 18, of 86 West McLemore. They were charged with Resisting Arrest and a State Charge of Disorderly Conduct. 166)

There were only two cases of vandalism reported on March 11, 1968, but a Demonstration of approximately 17 strikers and sympathizers led by REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN, the REV. EZRAEL BELL, and the REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, was staged at the Democrat Road Dump. There was no violence and no arrests were made but the demonstrators cursed and threatened the Sanitation Workers and the Police. 167)

On March 11, 1968 a throw-away leaflet was circulated at Northside High school advocating a massive walkout by the students at 12 Noon to join the marchers at Clayborn Temple. These leaflets were passed out by MURRAY AUSTIN ERVIN, Male Negro who was president of the Senior Class at Northside, and a Male Negro ALEX JOHNSON. When approached by an Intelligence officer of the Memphis Police Department, ERVIN stated the White Power Structure in Memphis was behind all the trouble, and stated that the black majority at Northside High School was against the white Power Structure. 168)

IT IS WORTHY OF NOTE: that at 12:30PM March 11, 1968 a large group of students from Northside High School marched to Clayborn Temple, led by five Male Negroes between the ages of 18 and 22. 169)

MARCH 11, 1968 (Monday) continued.

The regular march on March 11, 1968 consisted of from 150 to 175 Male and Female Negroes led from Clayborn Temple by the REV. H. RALPH JACKSON. However, approximately 25 feet behind this orderly march, a group of 125 to 150 young Male and Female Negroes who were marching four abreast, and shouting "Down with Loeb" and "We Hate Hunkies" though cautioned about their behavior by the Police Department to regroup and march single file, this group remained disorderly and had to be followed back to Clayborn Temple by Capt. John F. Molnar, Lt. York and other Police Department Squad Cars. Upon returning to the Temple, REV. EZEKIEL BELL, and H. RALPH JACKSON, were observed by Capt. Molnar and Lt. York, congratulating the young people on their return for their behavior, and observing Capt. Molnar and Lt. York, these ministers turned to them and stated: "We don't like you. What time do you go off duty? We will be back after dark."

170)

MARCH 12, 1968 (Tuesday)

An article published in the Commercial Appeal on March 12, 1968 under the caption: NEGRO PASTORS TAKE REINS AS GARBAGE STRIKE LEADERS IN SWITCH TO RACIAL PITCH, written by Joseph Sweat, notes that this change in leadership has been subtle, and for a number of reasons: the main one being that Union Leaders were too bottled up by Court decrees to do much leading. THE REV. H. RALPH JACKSON is quoted as saying: "I have become a Union leader." REV. EZEKIEL BELL is quoted as saying: "When 98% of the men involved in a dispute like this are black, then you have a racial matter whether you like it or not." REV. WM. SMITH is quoted as saying, "You know that if these men did not have black faces, you already would have found a way to settle this thing." REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., is quoted as saying: "All right if you want to leave it to Uncle Bubber upstairs (Mayor Henry Loeb) and say you don't have any responsibility in this thing, go ahead. Then the black Ministers will just go fishing, and let what happens in this town just happen." JESSE TURNER, President of the local Chapter of the N. A. A. C. P. has asserted the interest of his organization in the strike and has publicly taken up the Civil Disobedience theme and urged Negroes "to bring your garbage down here and dump it on Main Street." 171)

On March 12, 1968 there were reports of Sanitation workers being cursed on their trucks and of a Sanitation worker being threatened at his home. There was a Bomb threat at Booker T. Washington High School, and a shooting at Claybrook and Parkway but no one was injured. There were also three cases of strike oriented vandalism reported on this date. 172) There was further a rumor abroad that out of town agitators from Atlanta and Chicago would arrive in Memphis to create a planned disturbance over the weekend of March 16-17, 1968. 173)

MARCH 12, 1968 (Tuesday) continued.

On March 12, 1968 - 18 Demonstrators were led to the Dump on Democrat road by the REV. HENRY LOGAN STARKS, and a Male Negro named JOYNER, believed to be REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN'S assistant. However, this demonstration was orderly. 174)

Students from Douglas High School on this date, brought copies of a leaflet similar to that distributed at Northside High, calling for students to participate in a march to Clayborn Temple at 12 Noon on March 13, 1968. 175)

While being interviewed by officers of the Intelligence Section, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, and WILLIE JAMES JENKINS, brought out that they had been sent to Carver High School, by the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, who was in charge of the Youth Demonstrations for C. O. M. E. 176)

MARCH 13, 1968 (Wednesday)

On March 13, 1968 the Press Scimitar carried a story under the caption: CITY COUNCIL REJECTS BID FOR DUES CHECKOFF. The story reports that the City Council blocked Councilman J. O. PATTERSON'S attempt to pass an ordinance allowing for a dues checkoff, and did not allow him to call for a vote on a separate resolution which brought vocal reaction from PATTERSON and a walkout by approximately 300 strikers and strike-sympathisers who were at this meeting. After the walkout it was announced that ROY WILKINS, and BAYARD RUSTIM would be the first of a group of nationally known Civil Rights leaders to visit Memphis in the days to come. 177)

On this same date, the Commercial Appeal carried a story by Joseph Sweat, Staff Writer, under the caption: ROY WILKINS, BAYARD RUSTIM Due Here to Support Strike. This story revolves about the walkout from the City Council Meeting and quotes the REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., as saying, "This will be the first of a whole series of people coming in here from all over the Country to help you march and lead you on to Victory." Ministers stated that strike leaders have grown weary of submitting their case to the City's elected officials. 178)

On March 13, 1968 three cases of vandalism were reported, and the trash in a garbage truck servicing Charjean School was set afire in the truck. Furthermore garbage was thrown in the street at Florida and Parkway, and there were pickets in front of the Loeb Enterprises at 822 Thomas and at Chelsea and Manassas, but there was no report of trouble at these locations. It was further reported this date that the children at Porter Junior High School and at Booker T. Washington High School had been threatened that they would regret it if they did not participate in the student marches led by the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK. 179)

God named
Max
Max's McLaughlin / r Inform called
Mason Smith
or what?

MARCH 13, 1968 (Wednesday) continued.

At 12:20PM March 13, 1968 170 teenagers were led by the REV. E. L. BROWN from Clayborn Temple to City Hall, and upon the return trip about 50 of this group separated from the Main group, and one of this group attacked an elderly Male White on Second Street. This splinter group led by the REV. ULYSSES GRANT and the REV. JOYNER rejoined the main group at Beale and Hernando, and when Memphis Police Department Squad cars passed in front of Clayborn Temple, they yelled to the officers, "We dare you to come into the Church." The REV HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK is reported to have said to this group upon their return, "We have gone up there and prayed they would change their minds. If they don't by tonight, they will wish they had." 180)

At 3:25PM a second march of 30-40 students was led from Clayborn Temple, and this march was followed by approximately 125 adults. There were no incidents involved in this march, but after the group returned to Clayborn Temple they were addressed by REV EZEKIEL BELL, who carried on a tirade against the City Council calling them "Jackasses." 181)

MARCH 14, 1968 (Thursday)

ROY WILKINS, executive Director, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and BAYARD RUSTIN of the A. Philip Randolph Institute encouraged sanitation workers and their supporters in speeches to an estimated 9000 persons gathered at Mason Temple on March 14, 1968. 182)

On March 14, 1968 in the Press Scimitar there was a story under the caption: 6 ARE ARRESTED BLOCKING GARBAGE TRUCKS. 6 Sanitation Strike Sympathisers were arrested when they blocked the road to the entrance to the Democrat Road Dump. Two of those arrested had been arrested earlier in the strike and placed on 60 day probation by Judge CHURCHILL. They were; REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN, and WILLIE JAMES KIMP of 1015 Palermo. After the arrest the other demonstrators left. This same story reports that MAYOR LOEB, following a meeting at an Industrial Exhibition at Memphis State University was faced with a group of more than 100 youths, protesting the garbage strike. He spoke to them and invited them to the City Council Meeting on Thursday. 183)

On March 14, 1968 garbage trucks picking up garbage at Douglas High were met with a barrage of bottles from the students. 30 people were arrested at 3rd and Pontotoc and charged with a State Charge of Disorderly Conduct following an encounter of Marchers with Garbage trucks at that location. 184)

MARCH 14, 1968 (Thursday) continued.

Between 5:45 and 6:30 PM approximately 60 teenagers marched from Clayborn Temple to Handy Park and Court Square where they broke up in small groups and returned to Clayborn Temple at approximately 6:30 PM. 185)

MARCH 15, 1968 (Friday)

In the Press Scimitar of March 15, 1968 a story appeared under the caption: **GRAND JURY INDICTS 8 GARBAGE STRIKE SUPPORTERS.** The story goes on to relate that the 8 Garbage Strike supporters arrested on February 23, 1968 in front of Goldsmith's Department Store in the incident where a Squad Car was rocked, and Mace had to be used to disperse the crowd, the Grand Jury returned a 2-Count indictment against each of the offenders on the charge of: **PROWLING & TRAVELLING FOR THE PURPOSE OF INTIMIDATING CITIZENS (Nightriding) and DISORDERLY CONDUCT.**

The Journal
This article further reported that City Judge **BERNIE WEINMAN** ruled that charges for the arrest of 13 adults and 17 teenagers at 3rd and Pontotoc where an attempt was made to block a Sanitation Truck were legal arrests. However, he decided to wait until the following Tuesday to decide whether to hold these subjects to the State on Disorderly Conduct Charges. This same date in Judge Churchill's Court, **CHARLES BALLARD**, and **JOHN B. SMITH**, well-known local black activists were released on probation by **JUDGE CHURCHILL** following charges placed against them. This same date the **REV. MALCOLM BLACKBURN** was held to the State on a \$500.00 bond, for **DISORDERLY CONDUCT** and **CONSPIRING TO INTERRUPT COMMERCE.** 186)

The Journal
In another article in the Press Scimitar under the caption: **STRIKERS TOLD TO BE PEACEFUL**, Director of Fire and Police **FRANK C. HOLLOMAN** is reported to have complained that the Courts were being too lenient on those arrested in strike incidents. He is quoted as saying: "I am not trying to run the Courts, but I have my responsibilities. I am going to discharge my to the City of Memphis and leave the Courts to discharge theirs." 187)

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On March 15, 1968 there were 8 threats to Sanitation workers reported, 188) and three incidents of strike oriented Vandalism as well as one attempt arson. 189) Furthermore Molotov Cocktails were used to start garbage fires at Hernando and Vance, 190) and weapons were confiscated at Porter Junior High School, and Booker T. Washington High School, after students there were threatened if they did not participate in the marches. 191

MARCH 16, 1968 (Friday)

On March 15, 1968 at 5:57PM approximately 100 teenagers, Male and Female conducted a loud and boisterous march down Main Street, and picketed Goldsmith's Department Store, chanting: " Up with Ingram, Down with Loeb. ", and as they returned to Clayborn Temple, "Burn, Memphis, Burn. " 192)

MARCH 16, 1968 (Saturday)

On March 16, 1968, the Commercial Appeal carried a story written by George Bryan under the caption: *Truancy Crackdown Ordered by Judge to Curb Rowdiness in Garbage Strike Marches.* The story goes on to report that Juvenile Judge Kenneth Turner, issued an Order directing the Police to arrest all youths younger than 16 found on the Streets during regular school hours. This order was clearly intended to curb rowdy youths, many under 15, who have marched on the Downtown Streets in sympathy with the 5-week old Sanitation Strike. Director of Fire and Police Frank Holloman is quoted as stating: "They will be arrested no matter what they are doing and charged with truancy." 193)

On March 16, 1968 there were three instances of Vandallism reported and reports of three threats against Sanitation workers and local businesses. 194)

At 9:40AM 100 adults and 20 small children were led in a March from Clayborn Temple to City Hall by the REV. RALPH JACKSON, & the REV. HENRY LOGAL STARKS. There were no incidents. At 10AM the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK and a group of 25 teenagers set out to picket East Gate Shopping Center, and later Southgate Shopping Center, and at 10:55AM 50 teenagers picketed the Poplar Plaza Shopping Center. 195)

Information was received on March 16, 1968 that Police calls were being monitored on both frequencies by C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) and the Minister's Association. 196)

At 5:30PM pickets in front of Goldsmith's Department Store, attacked a Female Negro Customer coming from the store. 197)

MARCH 17, 1968(Sunday)

On March 17, 1968(Sunday) The Commercial Appeal carried a story under the caption: KING TO LEND VOCAL SUPPORT AT STRIKE RALLY. The article reported that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., would speak to a Mass Meeting Monday night March 18, 1968 in support of the Memphis Sanitation Strike. This story also reported that four youths had been arrested in Clayborn Temple after a Molotov Cocktail had been thrown in a nearby grocery. The story also reported that MAYOR HENRY LOEB had proposed a referendum in August as to whether the City should allow dues check-off for Sanitation workers. MAYOR LOEB said he would not agree to demands for a check-off unless the referendum showed that a majority of the City's residents favored a check-off. 198)

On Sunday March 17, 1968 The Community on the Move for Equality (C. O. M. E.) published a four page newspaper, called the C. O. M. E. Appeal, in support of the Garbage Strike. 199)

On March 17, 1968 there were four cases of Vandalism reported, and a report of the harassment of a Female White, by a group of Male Negroes on Front Street, who shouted 'Black Power' to her, as they passed her car and pointed a pistol at her. 200)

There was also a Firebomb thrown on 3/17/68 at 977 Driver, 201 and a strike oriented Aggravated Assault at Manassas and North Parkway. There were as well many rumors of trouble makers flowing into Memphis from the North. 202) There was also a disturbance at 2275 Marble where 25 Male Negroes gathered around a Garbage Truck and had to be dispersed. 203.

There were also 8 pickets led by an adult Female Negro in front of the New Public Library at 185 E. Norwood, scheduled to open 3/18/68. 204.

MARCH 18, 1968(Monday)

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. told an estimated 13,000 cheering persons at Mason Temple that they should consider a work stoppage if their demands were not met in the strike. He promised to return to Memphis at a later date, and lead a Massive March for the strike, and asked that all persons in sympathy with the strike to stay away from work, and asked students to stay away from school, on March 22, 1968. 205)

MARCH 18, 1968 (Monday) continued.

There were three cases of strike oriented vandalism reported on March 18, 1968. (206)

On March 18, 1968 the following Southern Christian Leadership Conference personnel (SCLC) registered in the Lorraine Motel: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., & REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY in Room 306.; BERNARD LAFAYETTE in Room 314; REV. ANDREW YOUNG, in Room 303; REV. JAMES L. BEVEL in Room 301, MR. JAMES HARRISON, of Atlanta, Ga. in Room 305; BRIG CABE, Official photographer for S. C. L. C. in Room 304; W. RUTHERFORD of Atlanta, Ga., in Room 312; DOROTHY F. COTTON, Secy to DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., in Room 307, and the REV. ROGERS of Atlanta, Ga. in Room 302. (207)

MARCH 19, 1968 (Tuesday)

On March 19, 1968 four threats to Sanitation workers were reported, four cases of Vandalism to businesses, three cases of arson, and one case of an attempted arson, and a Garbage fire on McLemore was reported. (208)

Furthermore following the address of DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, on 3/18/68, school teachers attending the Mass Meeting were approached by Black Power Advocates and told if they went to school on Friday, March 22, 1968 their cars would be burned and they would be harmed. They were advised that there would be a Black Power advocate at every school in the City. (209)

Intelligence sources reported that REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING left Memphis for Hattiesburg, Mississippi on 3/19/68 but that the REV. RALPH ABERNATHY remained in Memphis and was meeting with REV. H. RALPH JACKSON, JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR., and the REV. T. C. LIGHTFOOT in numerous strategy meetings. (210)

On the night of March 19, 1968 there was a Mass Meeting at Warren Temple on Mississippi at Williams, where the REV. JAMES BEVEL of S. C. L. C. addressed the assembly on the Mass March planned for Friday, March 22, 1968. He asked everyone to stay away from work and march, and for them to keep their children out of school on that day and the full week of March 24-30, 1968 so they could participate in the boycotts planned for that week. (211)

MARCH 20, 1968 (Wednesday)

The Commercial Appeal carried an article on the morning of 3/20/68 under the caption: KING'S EYE ON WASHINGTON, in which it was pointed out that MARTIN LUTHER KING JR, did nothing to hasten the settlement of the Garbage Strike, but saw how many Negroes were aroused and quickly decided to attach himself to the local issue. DR KING'S discovery that a ready made crowd of followers was waiting for him in Memphis made him decide this would be the beginning of the Washington Movement. This project was foremost in King's mind as he spoke in Memphis on 3/18/68. The Sanitation Strike made a handy starting point to make his pitch for bigger things. 212)

In the Press Scimitar of 3/20/68 in an article captioned: HURRY UP TRY FOR ENDING STRIKE, it was reported that the City Council would have three ordinances for consideration when it met in Special Session 4:30PM 3/21/68 in an effort to settle the Sanitation Strike on the Eve of the second visit of Martin Luther King Jr. to Memphis scheduled for 3/22/68. 213)

On 3/20/68 two instances of Strike oriented vandalism were reported and threats were made to burn down both Longview and Merrill schools on Friday, March 22, 1968, the date of the proposed Massive March to be led by MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. , and an obscene telephone call was received by the wife of white City Councilman, Jerred Blanchard. 214)

On 3/20/68 Black Power Groups were ranging around the schools in South Memphis intimidating teachers and students, threatening them against holding classes on 3/22/68. 215)

The rumor was as broad as well, that the militant Negro Minister, REV. EZEKIEL BELL, had made arrangements for STOKELY CARMICHAEL to come to Memphis and speak at his church. 216)

On 3/20/68 Local Black Power militant leader, JOHN B. SMITH along with other Black Power advocates went to the principal of Douglas High School, and demanded that he be allowed to speak to the students in the auditorium of the school. He was however, told to leave. 217)

Intelligence sources revealed that the organization of students for the planned march on March 22, 1968 was in the hands of the REV. HAROLD MIDDLEBROOK, S. C. L. C. and C. O. M. E. member, and the organization of adult groups and participation in the march was in the hands of local militant Black Power leader: REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR. , pastor of Centenary Methodist Church. 218)

MARCH 20, 1968(continued)

Intelligence reports further revealed that GERALD FANION, another Negro leader was organizing a large rally to be held on the parking lot at the Club Paradise on the night of 3/21/68, which was to be broadcast over local radio station WLOK. 219)

Furthermore on 3/20/68 JAMES BEVEL on the staff of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader(SCLC) made an incendiary anti-war speech to the students at LeMoyné College referring to President Johnson as, "another Hitler," and denouncing the Viet Nam war, stating colored soldiers should be fighting for their own rights here. BEVEL had been brought to LeMoyné College by a Negro Drama Department instructor named LEE, and was noticeably friendly with CHARLES CABBAGE, local Black Power activist, and his group known as the Invaders who were observed in the audience. 220)

Police assignments remained constant 3/20/68 and involved the escorting of garbage trucks through the City, and the patrolling of marches and demonstrations, as well as the regular neighborhood patrols. 221)

MARCH 21, 1968 (Thursday)

On 3/21/68 City Council Members voted against Negro Councilman, J. O. Patterson's proposal allowing a dues checkoff for the AFSCME Union, and passed instead a resolution calling for mediation sessions with both sides sitting down with Frank B. Miles, a former Federal mediator. 222)

On 3/21/68 DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., was in Greenwood, Mississippi, organizing his Poor People's Campaign, using a tenant farmer's shanty as the symbol of the campaign. In Memphis, however, DON STEVENS, of WHBQ., Radio Station received a telephone threat on the life of MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., wherein a man with what was described as having an Italian accent advised MR. STEVENS that if MARTIN LUTHER KING returned to Memphis he would be shot 3/22/68. An attempt was made with Southern Bell, Telephone and Telegraph Co., to check out this call, but it was developed that it was made from a pay telephone booth, and nothing further could be developed about the caller. 224)

Tension was generally high in the City on 3/21/68 and Black Power activists were going around to the schools in the City, threatening the children, and teachers, and threatening to strip their cars and damage the schools if anyone showed up for classes on 3/22/68. Such threats were reported from Wisconsin Street School, Gordon School, and Humes and Northside High Schools. 225)

MARCH 21, 1968 (Thursday)

A large number of placards were delivered to Clayborn Temple Headquarters of the Labor Union-Ministerial Alliance coalition during the strike by the C. A. Davis Printing Co. Some of them were for local merchants and read: 'Closed Today--We are on March.' 226)

Memphis Housing Authority employees were receiving threats allegedly from Cornelia Crenshaw, who had been active in the Strike, and a former Mayor Ingram supporter and Memphis Housing Authority employee. 227)

There was as well a rumor of a threatened walkout by Negro employees at the Baptist Hospital. 228) And at a meeting sponsored by the Union and the Ministers Alliance at the Mt. Olive C. M. E. Church there were talks about how teachers could participate in the marches without being docked in their pay for being off work. 229) At these meetings, mimeographed and xeroxed copies of H. Rap Brown's letter from prison in Louisiana was being circulated by Negro Activists, and the Ministers were distributing the C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) letter enlisting the support of Memphis School teachers in supporting the march to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., planned for 3/22/68. 230)

This date as well a carbine is reported to have been purchased by a Negro associated with the activists. 231) A private business, also was threatened in the downtown area, as well as Hamilton High School, and a bus service in North Memphis. 232)

On the evening of 3/21/68 MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. returned to Memphis and held a strategy meeting at the Lorraine Motel, with reference to the proposed March to be held 3/22/68. And rumors were abroad that H. Rap Brown would come to Memphis to participate in the march, though it was known that he was in jail in Louisiana at this time. 233)

MARCH 22, 1968 (Friday)

On March 22, 1968 Memphis was visited with the heaviest snow fall since 1892, and the Press Scimitar of that date carries a story under the caption, 'King March Cancelled by Snow.', and on its editorial page carried the editorial, 'Give Mediation Full Chance.' 234)

MARCH 22, 1968 (Friday) continued.

Furthermore on the night of 3/22/68 suspicious Male Negroes in automobiles were observed in the vicinity of Mayor Loeb's home. Shots were fired into a home in one instance resulting from strike agitated tension, and there were three reported instances of strike oriented vandalism. 235)

Despite the snow however, there was a meeting of teachers held at the Mt. Olive C. M. E. Church on Linden at which the REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR. was the speaker, and a mimeographed letter was circulated in the City pledging the support of the Alcy Rd. , Home owners Association to the Sanitation Strike, as well as the C. O. M. E. handbill entitled COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE FOR EQUALITY INVITES YOU TO MARCH FOR JUSTICE AND JOBS. Simultaneously the Invaders and other militants were circulating a mimeographed sheet entitled Perspective of Black Power, by the Invaders, which was in essence a militant and hate philosophy statement. 236)

Threats were made to employees at the City Shops as well and JAMES MORRIS LAWSON JR. announced that the march for March 22, 1968 had been cancelled due to the snow, and that REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING would return to Memphis later in the week to lead a massive march. About 100 strike leaders, and Ministers were at Clayborn Temple, making plans during the day of March 22, 1968 despite the weather. 237)

MARCH 23, 1968 (Saturday)

The heavy snow which was still on the ground 3/23/68 stopped most of the strike oriented meetings. However, there were 22 pickets mostly Female white, and Male white (only 4 male Negroes and 2 Female Negroes) from Southwestern, and Memphis State University led by the REV. ULYSSES GRANT BARVEY (Male Negro) at the Poplar Plaza Shopping Center in East Memphis carrying placards for the Sanitation Strikers. 238)

Also an incendiary letter, very pro-labor, and anti-Loeb, which was written by the Rev. C. O. Basinger, pastor of the 1st Congregation- al Church, was discovered. This letter was dated February 23, 1968, but it is believed it was circulated much later than this. It is believed that 1000 copies of this letter were printed. 239)

Only one incident involving a threat to a citizen, and two instances of vandalism were reported. 240)

MARCH 24, 1968 (Sunday)

Sunday, March 24, 1968 the heavy snow was still on the ground, and it was a quiet day, with no demonstrations taking place, no meetings, and only two instances of vandalism reported. (241)

MARCH 25, 1968 (Monday)

On 3/25/68 in a story under the caption: Strike Mediation Talks Stymied, the Commercial Appeal reported that due to the action of Judge Hoffman of Chancery Court, who had held several of the strike leaders in contempt of his Court, strike mediation talks had been stymied. However, on 3/25/68 Chancellor Hoffman ruled that participation of the Union and Strike leaders in the mediation negotiations was legal even though he had served injunctions against them. (242)

It is further worthy of note that the March Issue of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, the organ of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a known Communist front organization carried a glowing story of the Sanitation Strike, and the union of the Black Community in Memphis, slanting the story, so that it would seem that the Sanitation Strike was a great uprising of the oppressed in a backward Southern City. (243)

And in both the Commercial Appeal and the Press Scimitar the Memphis AFL-CIO Labor Council published quarter page statements re: their support of the Sanitation Strike, and their opposition to Mayor Loeb and his policies. (244)

On 3/25/68 activities started picking up, and 7 instances of strike oriented vandalism were reported. (245) And handbills printed by C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) asking for the boycott of the Commercial Appeal and the Press Scimitar for the coverage they were giving the Sanitation Strike and such items as Handbone, a cartoon of an old Negro, and his wise sayings, be discontinued in the paper. These handbills were circulated on Main Street and in other parts of the City. (246)

On 3/25/68 intelligence sources reported that the Plans for the week were as follows: 3/26/68-- A meeting of Strikers and Sympathisers at Union Hall on Firestone; a march of adult strikers, and later in the afternoon a march of student sympathisers of the strike, and in the evening a mass meeting at Trinity Church. 3/27/68 REV. RALPH ABERNATHY was to speak at Mason Temple; and 3/28/68 REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING was to lead a Mass March and address a Mass Rally at Mason Temple in the evening following the March. 3/29/68 REV. C. L. FRANKLIN, father of

FOOTNOTES (continued)

- 243) *Southern Patriot*, March, 1968, in *News Accounts*, 2/12/68-3/25/68, p. 163.
- 244) *Press Scimitar* 3/25/68 and *Commercial Appeal*, 3/25/68, *Let Our Position be Crystal Clear*, *News Accounts*, 2/12/68-3/25/68, p. 164.
- 245) McDonald & Smith, Memo, 3/25/68, re: Threats to James McCarroll, 1501 Britton, *Threat Book III*, p. 9
 Wells & Hurst, *Vandalism*, 3/25/68, 827 Par, *Threat Book III*, p. 11
 Sides & Wheeler, " " 581 A St. Paul, " p. 12
 Jones & Williams, " " 914 Vollentine " p. 13
 Johnson & Rutherford " " 1209 Looney " p. 14
 McCrary & Skaggs " " 4184 Gwynne " p. 15
 Jordon & Cawthorn " " Loeb's, 1216 Jackson " p. 16
 Bridges & Kitchens, " " 632 E. Mississippi " p. 17
- 246) C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) handbill, *Stop Taking The Commercial Appeal & Press Scimitar*, *Sanitation Book IV*, p. 42.
- 247) Ray, J. G. Capt. Memo, 3/25/68, *Sanitation Strike Activities*, *Sanitation Book IV*, p. 43.
- 248) Redditt, L. E. Det., Memo, 3/26/68, re: *Sanitation Strike Activities around Clayborn Temple*, 3/25/68, *Sanitation Book IV*, p. 49.
- 249) Richmond, W. B. Report, 3/26/68 re: *Mass Meeting at Mt. Olive Baptist Church*, 3/25/68, *Sanitation Book IV*, p. 52-53.
- 250) *Commercial Appeal*, 3/26/68, article captioned: *Strike Mediation Talks Open*, *News Accounts*, 3/26/68-4/9/68, p. 1.
 3/26/68
- 251) Torti & Starnes, *Vandalism*, 1591 Pennsylvania, *Threat Book III*, p. 18.
 Rooker & Sanders, " " Loeb's, 1236 Thomas, " p. 19
 Torti & Starnes, " " 3/26/68, 2059 Castex, " p. 20.
 Wheeler & Sides, " " 929 S. Thru " p. 21
 White & Gallarno, " " 3417 Mountain Terrace " p. 22
 Massengill, Memo, 3/26/68 re: *Garbage in Street at Manassas & Dunlap*, *Sanitation Book #IV*, p. 48.
 Arkin, E. H. Lt., Memo, 3/26/68, re: *Sanitation Strike Plans*, 3/27/68--3/28/68, *Sanitation Book #IV*, p. 57.
 Tines, G. P. Insp., Report, re: *Mass Meeting Trinity C. M. E. Church*, 3/26/68, *Sanitation Book IV*, p. 61-62.

MARCH, 25, 1968 (continued)

blues singer, Aretha FRANKLIN, was to speak to a mass rally at Mason Temple and 3/30/68 REV. C. L. FRANKLIN was to lead another mass march on City Hall. 247)

On 3/26/68 BAXTON BRYANT, Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations joined GERALD FANION and other strike leaders at Clayborn Temple, to make plans for the massive march planned for 3/28/68. It was reported as well that MACEO WALKER, President of Universal Life, and the Union Protective Insurance Agency, and the Harlem Houses (a chain of Restaurants in the Black Community in Memphis) were closing so that their employees could participate in the mass march. 248)

Police Intelligence men at the Mass Meeting at Mt. Olive Baptist Church at Linden & Lauderdale 3/25/68 were asked to leave by REV MALCOLM BLACKBURN, white pastor of Clayborn Temple, and a Canadian National deeply involved in strike activities, and several of the invaders, a militant black group in town, and at one time were threatened with violence. 249)

MARCH 26, 1968 (Tuesday)

On 3/26/68 the Commercial Appeal carried a story captioned: STRIKE MEDIATION TALKS OPEN, but the story showed the opposing factions in the strike talks to be deadlocked, and agreement was not foreseen at this time. 250)

Vandalism
There were 5 instances of strike oriented vandalism reported on 3/20/68, and one instance of garbage being dumped in the street in one of the Negro neighborhoods. And there was a mass meeting 3/26/68 at Trinity C. M. E. Church. 251)

MARCH 27, 1968 (Wednesday)

On 3/27/68 the Commercial Appeal carried an article under the caption: "Strike's Food Stamp Aid to End." The article reflected that the Mayor had indicated his willingness to help alleviate the situation in order to prevent suffering on the part of the striker's families. Letters to the editor in the Commercial Appeal of 3/27/68 indicate a rise in feeling against the strike on the part of private citizens. 252)

MARCH 27, 1968 (Wednesday continued)

The Press Scimitar on 3/27/68 published the rules to be observed for the massive March planned for 3/28/68 as set down by the Police Department. Vehicles were barred from the downtown area for the period of the march. 253)

On 3/27/68, 9 cases of strike oriented vandalism were reported to the Police Department, and Sanitation workers came to the Police Department to swear out 3 warrants against a striker who had been harassing them. 254)

There were two marches on 3/27/68, one of adults leaving Clayborn Temple at approximately 2PM, and one of students leaving the Temple at 4:30PM and returning at approximately 5:05PM. Both marches were orderly. However, during the adult march, members of the black, militant group known as the hoodlums, were heard urging the pickets marching to put down their signs and to stop marching and fight and burn stores. 255)

Intelligence sources reported that the REV. H. RALPH JACKSON, of C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) had persuaded the young Presbyterian minister (REV. EZZIELEL BELL) not to bring STOKELY CARMICHAEL to Memphis. 256) Intelligence sources also reported that members of the DEACONS of Los Angeles (trained in Karate) had been observed around Clayborn Temple, and it was believed they would participate in the march on 3/28/68. 257)

March 27, 1968 C. J. M. E. leaflets (March for Justice and Jobs, called by MARTIN LUTHER KING and C. O. M. E., were distributed to Negro employees at the Methodist Hospital. 258)

Intelligence information 3/27/68 was that MARTIN LUTHER KING would arrive in Memphis at 10:22AM 3/27/68 from New York, and DR. ABELNATHY who has held a mass meeting at Mason Temple 3/26/68 stated the march would begin at 10AM 259) and called for a Black Man's holiday in Memphis on 3/28/68, and stated that if the march did not force the Mayor to meet the Garbage Collector's demands, they would lie in front of the garbage trucks and stop them if necessary. Intelligence sources also reported that the Union leaders and Ministers supporting the strike had Walkie Talkies, and Citizen Band Radios and had been monitoring Police calls, and also had mobile units equipped with Citizen Band radios. 260)

MARCH 27, 1968 (Wednesday) continued.

Mr. George Wallace, who had planned to visit Memphis 3/27/68 cancelled his planned visit to the City indefinitely. 261)

On 3/27/68, a Mr. Frank Flanigan, MW, 1331 National requested a permit to march along side MARTIN LUTHER KING with a march of his own (supposedly of white citizens) but when asked what his parade route would be, he refused to disclose it, stating: 'MARTIN LUTHER KING doesn't tell you what he is going to do.' 262)

At City Hall on 3/27/68 Union leaders walked out of the Mediation talks with the City, as the third day of talks neared an end and charged that MAYOR LOEB had in effect tied the hands of City representatives by not allowing them any decision making function. 263)

MARCH 28, 1968 (Thursday)

Tension was high on March 28, 1968 as a result of the activities, of C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality, and Local activists, in connection with preparations for the massive march planned for later in the day. Between 12:45AM and 7AM there were 11 reported instances of strike oriented harassment and vandalism. This was a noticeable increase over previous days. 264

Between 7:50AM and 9:05AM trouble was reported at Lester, Northside, Douglas & Booker T. Washington High Schools where small groups of Negro activists were attempting to block students from entering school and generally harassing them. 265)

The Press scintilar of 3/28/68 carried a story under the caption, "Students Hurl Rocks at Police", which reports of the disorders around Hamilton High School, a predominately Negro School in South Memphis around 9AM 3/28/68. The story reads as follows: 'A shower of bottles and rocks--some as large as softball, greeted Police Officers at Hamilton School, 1478 Wilson this morning as about 250 students massed on the school grounds before the downtown march.

"The flying rocks and bottles smashed the windows of one squad car, a police officer, S. B. Keithley was hit in the hand and a (press) photographer struck on the foot. Officers were leaping into the air to avoid the bouncing rocks. A police helicopter roared overhead.

"The rain of projectiles continued for over 10 minutes before the officers charged. Then students fled behind the school and down adjacent streets, massing again at the predominately Negro school later.

MAKCH 28, 1968 (Thursday) continued

"JAMES R. REID, a Press Scmittar photographer, said he never saw officers, pelted sporadically for well over an hour during the length of the disturbance, use clubs or force on the students, although gas masks were worn during the disturbance. Gas was not used.

"Jo Ann Tulbert, 14, Negro, a student at Hamilton, was injured. Rock throwers ceased their activity while a Fire Department ambulance crew escorted by officers removed her from the school. She was taken to John Gaston Hospital where she was treated for lacerations of the head. . . .

"Later the students formed up and marched North on Wilson toward the downtown area to join Dr. Martin Luther King's march there.

"At 9:14AMM the Police Radio order went out to use ~~gas~~ tear gas. When the students saw the police putting on their gas masks and preparing to use gas they retreated. The gas was not used, said Frank Holloman, director of Fire and Police.

"The trouble at Hamilton High had begun when youths outside the school tried to keep others from entering. It was an attempt to enforce the call by leaders of the garbage strike sympathisers for Negroes today to take a holiday from jobs, and school. " 266)

In this same article Police Chief Henry Lux is reported as saying 19,000 students were reported absent from school in the City. And further the article reports that J. D. Springer, principal of Booker T. Washington High 715 S. Lauderdale, said the Rev. James W. Lawson, pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, and a march leader was outside with others urging students not to attend Booker T. Washington. Springer reported about 1200 absent out of about 2,200, but said some were trickling in. 267)

At 11:55AM Lt. Jim Beach, reported that Negroes in the area of Lanier and Walker were spreading the rumor that a small child was stomped to death at Hamilton school this morning, and the Negroes in the area were becoming very upset. 268)

The Police Radio Log for 3/28/68 reflects that Police Helicopter #201, reported that at 9:29A, a crowd of 200 was marching West from LeMoyné College toward Clayborn Temple. At 10AM Police Helicopter #201 reported a crowd in excess of 3000 in front of Clayborn Temple. At 10:03AM the Radio Log reflects that the Q. & S. Liquor Store at 346 Vance was raided by approx. 25 men who took liquor. The Store was ordered closed. At 10:07AM a Disturbance was reported at Booker T. Washington High School. At 10:10AM Police Helicopter #201, reported that the streets from Vance to Clayborn Temple were packed with people. At 10:14AM Police Helicopter reports a group of 150 moving

MARCH 28, 1968 (Thursday) continued.

from Booker T. Washington High School toward Clayborn Temple. At 10:20AM a disturbance was reported at Southside High School. when the Police arrived it was reported that 15 or 20 youths armed with chains had fled in two cars. At 10:29AM a disturbance was reported at Carver High. 268)

The March on 3/28/68 was delayed due to the late arrival in Memphis of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was to head the March. He did not arrive at the Airport until approx. 10:22AM and in fact did not join the March until it had proceeded one block North on Hernando from Clayborn Temple. 269

Prior to the March some 5000 to 6000 people had congregated near Clayborn Temple. It was estimated by Police observers that at least half of these were teenagers of high school age. Police intelligence sources report Black Activist leaders, JOHN HENRY FERGUSON, and JOHN B. SMITH were on the steps of Clayborn Temple along with many other Invaders (a local black activist group).

At this point the C. O. M. E. (Community on the Move for Equality) group, which had charge of the parade and the parade marshalls, handed out literally hundreds of prepared placards, mounted on stout 4ft. pine poles. It is worthy of note that this was the first time poles were used for placards in any of the Demonstrations. Police intelligence sources observed many of the teenagers tearing their placards from the sticks and waving them menacingly before the march began. 270)

At 10:56AM DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING is reported to arrived at the head of the march. At 11:03AM the Police Helicopter reported 15-25 youths armed with sticks and rocks to be moving from Fourth and Beale toward Hernando. At 11:05AM Then Asst. Chief Henry Lux reported that the March had started, and Kay Pittman Black, reporting on the start of the March in the Press Scimitar., of 3/29/68 describes it as festive in feeling, but disorganized with marchers all over the streets paying no attention to the parade marshalls. At 11:06AM the Police Helicopter reported the march to have between 5,000 and 6,000 marchers. At 11:09AM the Police Helicopter reported 15-20 youths with sticks moving west on Beale to Main. At 11:17AM the Police Helicopter reported a third Helicopter in the air interjering with the Police Helicopter, stating it came within 100 feet of them. At 11:21AM Then Asst. Chief Henry Lux reported marchers were breaking out windows & tearing up everything at 2nd and Beale and Main & Gayoso and that they were running in all directions. At 11:22AM Chief Macdonald ordered that tear gas not be used except as a last resort., and at the same time Director Frank C. Holloman Greg O'Rear of the Tennessee Highway Patrol, requesting help. At 11:24AM the Helicopter reported that the Main march was held up at Main & Gayoso, and 15-20 people were reported attacking a car on Front Street South of Beale. And at the same time the Helicopter advised motor cycle officers in front of the parade to clear every-