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CITY OF LAWRENCE, KANSAS

LAWRENCE FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE
50th ANNIVERSARY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview of Richard Raney

October 19, 2016

1 (16:30:45)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Today is October 19th, 2016. I
3 am local historian Tom Arnold interviewing Dick
4 Raney at the Lawrence Public Library for the City
5 of Lawrence Fair Housing Ordinance 50th
6 Anniversary Oral History Project.

7 At the time the ordinance passed in July,
8 1967, Mayor Raney was serving as a city
9 commissioner and as the mayor of Lawrence and as
10 mayor he signed the ordinance.

11 Mayor Raney, I would like to start off by
12 having you tell me a little bit about your early
13 background, including what brought you to Lawrence
14 and what you were doing here in the mid 1960s.

15 **MR. RANEY:** I was a middle 30s pharmacist,
16 owner of three drug stores in Lawrence. Beyond
17 that, decided to run for the City Commission and
18 served four years, did not choose to run for
19 reelection. I got sort of busy.

20 (10:23:33)

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. And you had told me
22 before that you came to Lawrence to attend K.U.
23 and then stayed, or had you moved here before
24 that?

25 **MR. RANEY:** I really stayed, came here from

1 Osborne, Kansas, my hometown, and skipped my
2 senior year in high school, thinking that World
3 War II might be demanding of my presence and that
4 maybe a year at K.U. before getting drafted would
5 be helpful. As it is the war was over a month
6 before I matriculated.

7 (10:24:06)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. And was your degree in
9 pharmacy?

10 **MR. RANEY:** In business.

11 (10:24:09)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** In business, okay. And so you
13 opened the pharmacy after you graduated?

14 **MR. RANEY:** Yes, three, actually in the first
15 decade of my being here.

16 (10:24:19)

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay, great. Where did you live
18 at the time or -- I know you had mentioned that
19 you, after you were married you and your wife
20 moved into a neighborhood up near Iowa.

21 **MR. RANEY:** We lived across from the 4-H
22 grounds for the first year and a half of our
23 marriage. Then we had two children, Michelle in
24 '54, Rich in '55, and moved to our current
25 address, my current address, 5 Westwood Road in

1 Lawrence.

2 (10:24:53)

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. And was that in an
4 all-white neighborhood at that time?

5 **MR. RANEY:** Oh, certainly.

6 (10:24:58)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. And would you, how would
8 you kind of characterize Lawrence at that time in
9 terms of the degrees of segregation and some of
10 the observable discrimination?

11 **MR. RANEY:** Well, certainly economically and
12 residentially very segregated.

13 (10:25:15)

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** You had mentioned that as a
15 pharmacist many African-Americans were customers
16 of yours because of your willingness to work with
17 them and provide them credit as needed and that
18 that gave you some insights into the
19 African-American community and their struggles.
20 Can you describe that a little bit?

21 **MR. RANEY:** Provided me with quite an
22 education. There were four other drug stores in
23 downtown Lawrence at that point in time, and,
24 having a very tiny little drug store to begin
25 with, I was finding it very difficult to establish

1 clientele, and some blacks came in and needed some
2 credit, I offered them, and they were uniformly
3 punctual and reliable and friendships formed as a
4 result of that relationship.

5 (10:26:11)

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** So how would you describe some
7 of the struggles that they faced in the 1950s and
8 the levels and types of discrimination?

9 **MR. RANEY:** Just what we think as a classic
10 lack of opportunity. The top jobs, there was not
11 a black serving the public in downtown retail
12 Lawrence at that point in time and for a number of
13 years following that even. It was a low wage
14 country.

15 (10:26:43).

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** And so for many
17 African-Americans were they in that era, in the
18 '50s, denied even access to certain businesses and
19 --

20 **MR. RANEY:** There were no haircuts, no food
21 service. There were no downtown restaurants,
22 maybe out of city limits restaurants, that would
23 serve a black.

24 (10:27:04)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** And I assume it was observable

1 by the housing segregation that that kind of
2 discrimination carried over into housing as well
3 at the time?

4 **MR. RANEY:** Well, and just a principle that
5 blacks will not be served food in a restaurant in
6 Lawrence. When Wilt Chamberlain came here, I
7 think in 1957, that was still true.

8 (10:27:27)

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** You mentioned that you served
10 from '65 to '69 on the City Commission. What
11 inspired you to run in 1965?

12 **MR. RANEY:** I thought there were certain
13 delinquencies Lawrence as a community was not
14 offering the broader community base, certainly a
15 swimming pool among them. I thought less of the
16 fair housing aspect and yet that became a very
17 important item on my agenda before long at all, so
18 if I had a single incentive to run for the City
19 Commission it was to tend to level the playing
20 field.

21 (10:28:10)

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Great. You had, we had talked
23 also earlier about at your pharmacy kind of a
24 cross section of community leaders and others in
25 the town would gather there for breakfast and

1 you'd talk about the issues of the day. Did these
2 kind of issues come up in your discussions then?

3 **MR. RANEY:** You know, not so very much. When
4 these things were formalized in terms of votable
5 issues, whether it be just the commission or the
6 larger community in the case of the swimming pool,
7 then those were issues almost exclusively talked
8 of, but prior to that time, memory fails me, I
9 don't -- we had a lot of fun but I don't know what
10 we talked about.

11 (10:28:54)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay, fair enough. You only
13 served from '65 to '69. Why did you decide not to
14 run again? You had mentioned just --

15 **MR. RANEY:** I was busy. I had the drug
16 stores here and interests in Emporia, Coffeyville,
17 Fort Scott, Ottawa.

18 (10:29:10)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Were you pleased with
20 what you accomplished during your four years?

21 **MR. RANEY:** Oh, I would love to have been
22 able to serve longer, but I think my primary
23 mission had been at least partially served.

24 (10:29:28)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. I'm going to get, before

1 we get into a more detailed discussion of the fair
2 housing and your time on the City Commission I
3 just want to ask you again some general questions
4 about what Lawrence was like in that era. How
5 would you describe, you know -- you've talked a
6 little bit about the kind of discrimination that
7 was apparent but how would you describe kind of
8 the tenor of race relations between the white and
9 the black community at that time?

10 **MR. RANEY:** Well, I think it was best
11 described by a industrialist that occurred, a
12 meeting occurred even after I was off the
13 commission and the industrialist said that when a
14 patrol car cruised East Lawrence all the black
15 children waved at the policeman and some black in
16 the back of the room said, well, if you didn't
17 wave you got hit over the head.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** Huh.

19 **MR. RANEY:** And that probably well described
20 a fundamental problem.

21 (10:30:33)

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Now obviously by the
23 late '60s, early '70s, racial tension kind of
24 broke out into some unfortunate violence in
25 Lawrence but --

1 **MR. RANEY:** Well, --

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- earlier in the decade, in the
3 '60s, did you sense that kind of building
4 frustration and tension within the black
5 community?

6 **MR. RANEY:** Not prior to '65. By '67
7 anti-Vietnam sentiments were running very, very
8 high, particularly at the university level,
9 because those were the students most affected.
10 They were going to Vietnam and too many of them
11 were getting killed.

12 (10:31:10)

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** And did you see, did you have a
14 sense that there was kind of an intersection
15 between the two issues, that of the race issues
16 and the Vietnam protest issues?

17 **MR. RANEY:** As a tertiary thing but not a
18 primary.

19 (10:31:24)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. And how about the
21 protests at the university? Obviously, you know,
22 reflected issues related to Vietnam and probably
23 kind of a reflection of national racial issues,
24 but as a local issue and the concerns of local
25 African-American residents what would you say were

1 some of their key frustrations in that time frame?

2 You've mentioned the swimming pool as one.

3 **MR. RANEY:** Basic services. They were
4 remiss. I think the large, larger, older black
5 population were not particularly expecting that
6 kind of thing. The younger people were beginning
7 to understand better segregation, what was
8 happening to them that their parents might have
9 accepted but they wondered whether they should
10 accept those things.

11 (10:32:20)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And it's interesting you
13 bring that up but one of the previous
14 interviewers, or interviews that I conducted the
15 interviewee mentioned that the high school was
16 kind of a hot bed of racial frustration among some
17 of the African-American students. Did you have a
18 sense of that or observe any of that?

19 **MR. RANEY:** It permeated the entire community
20 and it focused around the high school. There were
21 some very articulate black voices being heard and
22 stimulating, well, the need for one black
23 cheerleader seemed to be outrageous in certain
24 areas of the white community. It seemed very
25 reasonable when most of the starting football

1 players, or at least half of them, were black and
2 they couldn't have one black cheerleader.

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

4 **MR. RANEY:** It was purely offensive.

5 (10:33:11)

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes. We mentioned a little,
7 talked a little bit about the pool, but in 1960
8 there was an initial protest by a number of
9 African-Americans over denial of access to the
10 Jayhawk Plunge, which was a private pool, but
11 frustration that there was no public pool
12 available to them and that they couldn't have
13 access to the private pool. Did those protests --
14 what was the reaction of kind of people generally
15 in Lawrence over those protests and was there
16 concern that this was the beginning of a larger
17 movement that would continue?

18 **MR. RANEY:** I don't know that the thought was
19 it was going to be a larger issue in the future.
20 It was a very painful issue focused on that very
21 thing. A lady owned the Jayhawk, or the Plunge,
22 whatever it was called, and denied blacks the
23 option of paying their 25 cents and swimming and
24 the community had some articulate voices
25 supporting the lady's being able to discriminate

1 on that basis. Others rose up against that
2 thesis.

3 (10:34:28)

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** What would you say in general
5 terms was the, were the primary impediments to
6 bringing about change or any, or groups within the
7 community that were most resistant to change and
8 what their motives were?

9 **MR. RANEY:** I don't know that they were
10 groups as such. I think the Klan existed in
11 Lawrence at that point in time. I would like to
12 minimize the Klan's influence on community affairs
13 and yet maybe the Klan had some influence, but
14 there were articulate voices that were as
15 segregationist as Alabama ever dreamed of being.

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Huh.

17 **MR. RANEY:** Georgia or Mississippi.

18 (10:35:09)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And would you say that
20 was just kind of a cross section of the community
21 among some people who had particularly --

22 **MR. RANEY:** Well, I would think --

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- racist points of view?

24 **MR. RANEY:** -- numerically those
25 segregationist voices were few, but they happened

1 to be loud.

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

3 **MR. RANEY:** And in some cases quite
4 influential in the affairs, in the affairs of the
5 community.

6 (10:35:29)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** And others may have been
8 reluctant to stand up to them or speak out against
9 them because of fearing of being singled out or
10 ostracized or targeted?

11 **MR. RANEY:** Well, it didn't seem like there
12 were enough integrationists being heard at that
13 point in time.

14 (10:35:45)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. One group that that
16 seems to have gotten involved, as we look at some
17 of the community organizations that were fighting
18 discriminatory practices, were often associated
19 with the university faculty members, students. To
20 what extent would you say that the presence of the
21 university in Lawrence helped to spur change by
22 making people more aware of some of these issues
23 and why they needed to be reversed or changed?

24 **MR. RANEY:** I think the best example of that
25 would be Franklin Murphy, then the chancellor of

1 Kansas University, later the president of UCLA and
2 then president of the Los Angeles Times, but at
3 the time he was here he had gathered the
4 restaurant owners of Lawrence together and made a
5 pronouncement that if they didn't start serving
6 blacks as they served whites, that the K.U. Union
7 was going to start serving T-bone steaks at a
8 price that they couldn't compete with and suddenly
9 almost all the restaurants in Lawrence opened up
10 their doors to the black community.

11 (10:36:56)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And the impetus for that
13 meeting between him and the restaurant owners has
14 actually been related to us. It was Wilt
15 Chamberlain, Homer Floyd, Charlie Tidwell, and,
16 oh, the other name is escaping me, a fourth
17 athlete. They actually went and met with the
18 chancellor and threatened to leave school --

19 **MR. RANEY:** Yeah.

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- if he didn't address that
21 issue, but it sounds like --

22 **MR. RANEY:** Gale Sayers was a member of that
23 group.

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** But it sounds as if that had a
25 real meaningful impact.

1 **MR. RANEY:** Economics became an issue with
2 regard to the restaurant owners.

3 (10:37:34)

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Do you remember any
5 specific incidents or problems that might have
6 motivated some people to start taking action and
7 addressing issues, such as, I mean, obviously that
8 meeting of the athletes with Chancellor Murphy was
9 one example, but does anything else come to mind
10 in those early years of things that really stirred
11 some people to action, particular events?

12 **MR. RANEY:** I think just getting the
13 attention of the white community, the vast
14 majority of whom were not objecting to the
15 integrated nature of this community, that the
16 community should be more integrated just came to
17 mind. It was not a preconceived thing.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

19 **MR. RANEY:** But it seemed so reasonable to
20 the vast majority, not to everyone, and to those
21 that didn't seem to accept that, they seemed to
22 have the loudest voices.

23 (10:38:40)

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** That's interesting you mention
25 that because I don't know whether you recall but

1 at the time the Human Relations Commission was
2 working on the Fair Housing Ordinance, before they
3 actually presented it to the City Commission a
4 signature drive was conducted to try and get
5 people to sign a statement that they supported
6 integrated housing in Lawrence and over a thousand
7 people signed it, so a pretty substantial portion
8 of the population of a relatively small town.
9 Would that then not have surprised you that that
10 number of people were willing to speak out?

11 **MR. RANEY:** You remind me of that. I'd long
12 since forgotten it. I don't think I was surprised
13 at that.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes.

15 **MR. RANEY:** That someone had the energy and
16 the integrity to make that petition a petition was
17 maybe the surprising thing.

18 (10:39:30)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And it's interesting, if
20 you look at, and the city has actually plotted
21 out, because the signatures or the names of
22 supporters that was published in the Journal-World
23 included their addresses and the city plotted out
24 where all those addresses were and it was actually
25 quite widely dispersed throughout Lawrence. It

1 makes it appear that there was pretty widespread
2 support for those kinds of changes, which must
3 have been encouraging to those of you who thought
4 such changes were needed.

5 **MR. RANEY:** I'd almost forgotten about that.

6 (10:40:00)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes. Did you ever feel any
8 pressure as a member of the City Commission from
9 some people, or even as a business owner who
10 worked with the, you know, who welcomed the black
11 community as customers, did you feel pressure from
12 certain segments to not be as willing to make
13 changes that would be beneficial to
14 African-Americans or to do business with
15 African-Americans?

16 **MR. RANEY:** Not so much doing business but
17 incorporating African-Americans into your service
18 core, whether it be a waiter, a waitress, someone
19 behind a cosmetic counter or somebody mixing a
20 chocolate ice cream soda. That's where the black
21 community was noticeably missing and they wanted
22 jobs but they knew better than to apply.

23 (10:40:54)

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** Interesting. You had mentioned,
25 and I found it fascinating because it's maybe not

1 a recognized element of the story of Tiger
2 Dowdell, who obviously was tragically shot in some
3 of the violence, but that he had worked for you at
4 one point?

5 **MR. RANEY:** He was our evening deliveryman.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

7 **MR. RANEY:** Very popular with the girls that
8 he hauled across the campus with our delivery
9 vehicle.

10 (10:41:17)

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Because he gave them rides, you
12 said?

13 **MR. RANEY:** Yes, free rides.

14 (10:41:21)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Great. Did you have other
16 African-American employees?

17 **MR. RANEY:** Yes.

18 (10:41:25)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** And did you feel any pressure or
20 take any criticism over hiring, having, you know,
21 racially mutual hiring practices?

22 **MR. RANEY:** Certainly no criticism directed
23 at me. I probably was a little too big and too
24 frightening to be affected that way.

25 (10:41:46)

1 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. In addition to your
2 position on the City Commission, as well as your
3 role as obviously a fairly prominent businessman,
4 were you involved in any other community
5 organizations that tried to promote ends to
6 discrimination or address discriminatory
7 practices?

8 **MR. RANEY:** Not prior to my service on the
9 commission. Post-commission I was on the Ballard
10 board, Headquarters [Counseling Center],
11 Cottonwood, KANU, the university radio station, a
12 number of university committees.

13 (10:42:24)

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Now, when we talked
15 earlier, and again, you don't need to mention any
16 names whatsoever, but you had mentioned one
17 incident when you were having lunch at the
18 Eldridge Hotel of hearing something that kind of
19 helped to motivate you to want to serve --

20 **MR. RANEY:** Tremendously.

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- on the City Commission and
22 make a change in the community. Can you relate
23 that story to us?

24 **MR. RANEY:** This is fully a year before I
25 declared my candidacy, and I ran away from the

1 drug store once or twice a month and was able to
2 have lunch at the Red Slipper Room in the Eldridge
3 Hotel.

4 The place was very busy and the maitre d'
5 said there was one table of four with two guys
6 sitting there and he would check with them and if
7 it was okay with them if I sat with them, and I
8 sort of knew them and I sort of didn't but they
9 were two leading Lawrence industrialists, and
10 speaking of the swimming pool in this regard, not
11 the Fair Housing Ordinance, "the darkies could
12 swim in the river; they didn't drown very often
13 anyway, did they?" And that was defensive of the
14 lady who wanted to eliminate or deny blacks access
15 to her swimming pool. It gave me a sense of
16 despair. I had two young children at that time.
17 I didn't want them to grow up that way.

18 (10:43:46)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** So definitely that was, when you
20 decided to run for the commission incidents like
21 that were in your mind and were symptomatic of the
22 sort of changes you wanted to bring about?

23 **MR. RANEY:** Some two years later perhaps, and
24 I was then newly elected to the commission,
25 Chancellor Wescoe brought me a letter that one of

1 those two men had addressed to the chancellor and
2 saying exactly the same thing: Well, why don't we
3 just have them buy their own swimming pool if they
4 want to go swimming? And he said, "Dick, can you
5 do anything about that?" And I said, "Well,
6 that's about 80 to 90 percent of the reason I ran
7 for the commission."

8 (10:44:30)

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Interesting. You had also
10 related to me an incident where someone came to
11 your pharmacy one day and made kind of a veiled
12 threat about the Klan possibly not being happy
13 with some of the things you were doing. Can you
14 just relate that again? Again, no names need to
15 be mentioned.

16 **MR. RANEY:** Well, that was about it. He was
17 a dedicated customer and patient and I was
18 surprised that he addressed me on that score
19 because he knew me well enough to know where I
20 stood but he told me candidly that some of the
21 Klan members were terribly disappointed in me,
22 they were my patients and customers in many cases,
23 and he said, "Dick, would you like to see a list
24 of them?" He pulled a list out of his pocket and
25 I said, "No, I think I'll be very happy to sleep

1 very tight tonight and not know their names." Now
2 I'm sorry I didn't.

3 (10:45:32)

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** And was that --

5 **MR. RANEY:** I didn't look at that list.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Was that while you were a member
7 of the City Commission or --

8 **MR. RANEY:** Yes.

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- was that before?

10 **MR. RANEY:** Yes, that was, yes. That was
11 when we were dealing with those issues, --

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

13 **MR. RANEY:** -- fair housing, swimming pool.

14 (10:45:44)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** So clearly there were some
16 people in town who weren't necessarily happy with
17 the direction things were --

18 **MR. RANEY:** Terribly unhappy.

19 (10:45:49)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** That's disappointing to hear but
21 not surprising, I guess.

22 When you became a member of the commission,
23 you've already mentioned the swimming pool, but
24 what particular issues were you most concerned
25 about and most hopeful that you could bring about

1 positive change?

2 **MR. RANEY:** You know, I don't think I had a
3 long-range view beyond those issues we've already
4 visited concerning. We were interested in better
5 streets, but these were mechanical things. We had
6 a gifted city manager, Ray Wells.

7 Ray, incidentally, was a spiritual guide in
8 our efforts to create the Fair Housing Ordinance
9 and the swimming pool. He offered us lovely
10 guidance. Ray was a far-seeking, far-looking
11 manager, knowing what he thought we should be
12 thinking about in terms of improving this
13 community.

14 Ray was a mechanical guy, too. He knew the
15 pressure behind all the fire hydrants in town, so
16 he wasn't just a dreamer, he was a technician, and
17 excellent in both regards.

18 (10:47:15)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Great. How would you
20 characterize the receptivity of the commission at
21 the time in April, 1967, when the Fair Housing
22 Ordinance was brought up to you? Was it greeted
23 with a fairly open mind or were there set
24 positions already do you think?

25 **MR. RANEY:** You know, with the passage of

1 that ordinance I was amazed, I think all of our
2 commissioners, amazed at how little organized or
3 even how little outspokenness there was denying
4 the validity of that as a thing the community
5 should be about. I think there were those that
6 probably quietly didn't like for it to happen but
7 they didn't articulate a case, nor did they try.

8 (10:48:15)

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Was fair housing would you say
10 an issue that was at all on your radar or
11 something that you felt like was a concern of the
12 public or were you, did you anticipate that that
13 was an issue that was going to come up to the
14 commission?

15 **MR. RANEY:** I don't know what my anticipation
16 might have been or any of our commissioners. With
17 near unanimity, when addressed to this as a
18 problem, with near unanimous consent the
19 commission agreed that that was a problem that we
20 had. I don't know how far-sighted we were in
21 anticipating that. I wouldn't want to exaggerate
22 our capacities, but once it was presented to us
23 people that objected were, almost all the people
24 that objected were just a few realtors, and only a
25 few of them.

1 (10:49:17)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** There was actually a group
3 called the Lawrence Fair Housing Coordinating
4 Commission, I don't know whether you remember them
5 at all, but they were kind of --

6 **MR. RANEY:** Very little.

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- an umbrella organization of
8 the NAACP, the League of Women Voters, the United
9 Church Women of Lawrence. I know probably as a
10 city commissioner you may have met periodically
11 with some of those kinds of community groups. Do
12 you remember any of the particular issues or
13 concerns that they would bring up to you or was
14 fair housing one of them or it so long ago that
15 it's difficult to remember?

16 **MR. RANEY:** Fair housing was one and there
17 were other issues but I would be remiss in
18 thinking that I remembered much.

19 (10:49:54)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Obviously the Human
21 Relations Commission played a pretty important
22 role in both constructing the ordinance and then
23 in making the case for it to the commission and
24 they had just had it presented to them as a
25 proposal by this Fair Housing Coordinating

1 Commission in January and then presented it to the
2 commission in April. How would you characterize
3 the relationship between the City Commission and
4 the Human Relations Commission in that time frame?
5 Was it a group you all trusted their judgment? I
6 know it was a number of fairly prominent citizens
7 in town who were --

8 **MR. RANEY:** Well, Fred Six articulated the
9 Human Relations Commission's goals eloquently.
10 Fred was a bright young attorney then, later
11 became, as we know, a Kansas Supreme Court
12 justice. Fred presented his commission's views in
13 such an articulate, understandable, reasoned way
14 that you would have to be pretty stubborn not to
15 listen carefully.

16 (10:51:02)

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Very good. And he was really
18 the primary author, and I asked him how that fell
19 into his lap. It was either because he was the
20 secretary of the Human Relations Commission or the
21 fact that he was an attorney, but he ended up
22 being really the primary author of the ordinance.

23 **MR. RANEY:** I don't think we changed one word
24 in the ordinance as he presented it to us.

25 (10:51:24)

1 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. And it was interesting
2 that he modeled it after, and I don't know whether
3 you recall this, but a great deal of it was
4 modeled after Iowa City, --

5 **MR. RANEY:** Iowa City.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- Iowa, because --

7 **MR. RANEY:** We thought we were the No. 2 city
8 in the country. I don't know that we were, but we
9 felt that we were.

10 (10:51:38)

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes. Well, so you don't recall
12 that there was any effort to wordsmith or fight
13 over any of the wording, it was pretty well
14 accepted as it was written?

15 **MR. RANEY:** I think exactly as it was
16 written.

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

18 **MR. RANEY:** That's my memory.

19 (10:51:53)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** There were a couple of things in
21 the ordinance that I just wanted to ask you a
22 question about. One was, and I don't think this
23 was unusual compared to other similar ordinances,
24 but one of the penalties for a violation was 30
25 days in jail.

1 **MR. RANEY:** I don't remember that.

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** I was just going to ask you,
3 that sounded like something that maybe the real
4 estate agents would have found a little
5 controversial.

6 **MR. RANEY:** Some of my protagonists might
7 have enjoyed my being in jail at least 30 days.

8 (10:52:20)

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Another thing that was in the
10 ordinance, and this was kind of interesting, it
11 was sort of a, kind of a positive appeal to the
12 good will of the people of Lawrence but it said,
13 "The City of Lawrence is a center of culture whose
14 democratic principles are being constantly
15 observed by foreign students and visitors from all
16 over the world," and then it went on to kind of
17 justify, use that as a justification for why we
18 should have fair housing in the city. Was that
19 kind of larger consideration something that the
20 commission viewed persuasively?

21 **MR. RANEY:** I think so.

22 (10:52:57)

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** So really the city's reputation
24 was, besides just doing the right thing the city's
25 reputation was certainly something of concern?

1 **MR. RANEY:** We represented the flagship
2 university in the state of Kansas and for honestly
3 several states around and that we should as a
4 community be so far behind an enlightened
5 university attitude was offensive to many of us
6 wanting to call Lawrence our home.

7 (10:53:25)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** And I don't know whether you
9 recall but both, I think it was Vice Chancellor
10 Surface wrote a letter --

11 **MR. RANEY:** Jim Surface.

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Jim Surface wrote a letter to
13 the commission at the time supporting the
14 ordinance and saying it conformed with the
15 university's housing policies at that time, which
16 had gone through their own process of evolution
17 till they had finally embraced nondiscrimination
18 in university housing, but also Ted Owens, who was
19 then the basketball coach, wrote you all a letter
20 and said how important this was to him because
21 when he went out to recruit athletes he would
22 promote Lawrence as a city which would be
23 desirable for them, and particularly selling it to
24 their parents, desirable to having their student
25 athlete attend the university there, so was the

1 university's support important to you all in the
2 process?

3 **MR. RANEY:** Oh, very much so. As a sidebar
4 to that, I later appointed Ted, with support of
5 the commission, to the Human Relations Commission,
6 and I imagine 35 to 50 faculty members, many of
7 whom I didn't know, came to me with their support,
8 and maybe of those 50 only two of the 50 would not
9 support the ordinance.

10 (10:54:43)

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Interesting. You made a comment
12 that was quoted in the Journal-World, I think at
13 the time that the ordinance was presented to you,
14 in which you praised it as, quote, a magnificent
15 piece of work, so obviously you personally were
16 quite pleased with the product that the Human
17 Relations Commission had brought up to you. Do
18 you think that was a reflection, again, kind of
19 the open-mindedness of the commission or a
20 recognition of the quality of work that the Human
21 Relations Commission had done in putting it
22 together?

23 **MR. RANEY:** The commission was a gifted
24 commission, in my judgment, and I think with
25 perhaps only one minor exception on the City

1 Commission that that was felt.

2 (10:55:32)

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. When the commission held
4 hearings or -- and I know none of your meetings
5 were devoted strictly to this issue, but in going
6 back and reading the newspaper accounts, at one
7 meeting you all heard the proponents and then at a
8 separate meeting the mostly real estate business
9 representatives came in to speak in opposition.
10 Were you simply persuaded by one case over the
11 other or --

12 **MR. RANEY:** I think even in the case of the
13 real estate community, and I don't think the
14 majority of that community was represented by
15 those opposed to the ordinance, I think the basis
16 for their objections were so shallow, in our
17 judgment, simplistic and out of date that they
18 were easily overlooked. I think our votes were
19 unanimous, always supportive of the ordinance, and
20 in a way trying to assure realtor X that this
21 wouldn't ruin him.

22 (10:56:49)

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. I'm going to mention
24 some names to you of people who may have played an
25 important role, just to help stimulate your

1 memory, and tell me, you know, what your
2 impressions of them were and the role they played.
3 We've already talked about Fred Six, but another
4 person who's been mentioned as helping to sell the
5 case was Glenn Kappelman, who was a realtor
6 himself and a member of the Human Relations
7 Commission and was very supportive of fair
8 housing. Do you recall how he may have influenced
9 you?

10 **MR. RANEY:** An elegant, lovely human with all
11 of the right instincts.

12 (10:57:26)

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Another person that was brought
14 up by Fred Six who he thought played an important
15 role just because he was such a prominent local
16 businessman was Mike Getto, who I guess owned the
17 Eldridge at the time?

18 **MR. RANEY:** His, Mike Getto, Sr.'s,
19 father-in-law owned the Eldridge.

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

21 **MR. RANEY:** Billy Hutson.

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

23 **MR. RANEY:** And then his, Mike Getto's son
24 served two years on the City Commission with me,
25 and I still maintain a friendship with him. He

1 lives in California. I think the balance of my
2 fellow commissioners are all now gone.

3 (10:58:05)

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** That's too bad. Another name
5 that comes up frequently is a leader in the
6 African-American community who also I think helped
7 to make the case for the need of the ordinance,
8 because he was a victim himself of housing issues,
9 was Jesse Milan.

10 **MR. RANEY:** Jesse was a well qualified
11 educator, articulate, deserving of a place on the
12 commission. He ran and did not get elected. I
13 think Lawrence suffered as a result of that.

14 (10:58:36)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Another individual who
16 came forward was Homer Floyd, former K.U. athlete
17 who at that time was serving as the director of
18 the Civil Rights Commission for the State of
19 Kansas.

20 **MR. RANEY:** A gifted young man, not only on
21 the football field but intellectually.

22 (10:58:53)

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Very good. So it sounds as if
24 there was very much of a cross-section of support,
25 which must have given you confidence as you moved

1 forward, and fairly narrow opposition that clearly
2 was not convincing to the commission at the time.

3 **MR. RANEY:** Well, we made a lot of friends
4 from that effort that we probably would never have
5 made otherwise.

6 (10:59:16)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. I'm going to ask you one
8 fairly specific question and if you simply don't
9 recall this that's fair, but there was actually a
10 newspaper article that mentioned a meeting at John
11 Emick's' home with the city attorney and some
12 other city commissioners in late June in which
13 there was some discussion of possible changes to
14 the ordinance, and do you recall that at all?

15 **MR. RANEY:** I don't recall that.

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

17 **MR. RANEY:** I don't think I must have been a
18 part of that meeting.

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, I'm just --

20 **MR. RANEY:** Now, Commissioner Emick served
21 the commission beyond my term.

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

23 **MR. RANEY:** So it might be that that was
24 after my tenure, I'm not sure.

25 (10:59:59)

1 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Would that have been
2 unusual, that business meetings were being held
3 informally like that?

4 **MR. RANEY:** Yes. I'm surprised that it
5 happened, because that would be unheard of in my
6 --

7 (11:00:07)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. There was also some
9 mention that a couple of people suggested that the
10 ordinance should have been put to a public
11 referendum. Was there ever any consideration of
12 that or did you ever feel any pressure to do that?

13 **MR. RANEY:** Not, not by this commission.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

15 **MR. RANEY:** There might have been voices
16 outside, but not in this commission.

17 (11:00:31)

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** So no discussion among
19 yourselves that you would ever have considered
20 doing that?

21 **MR. RANEY:** We were so unanimous in our
22 thinking, both appointed commissions and elected
23 commissions.

24 (11:00:42)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Very good. Did you have any

1 concerns about what the public reaction would be,
2 whether there would be any negative reaction
3 towards that, or did you feel --

4 **MR. RANEY:** From the drug store/soda fountain
5 point of view there was very little mention made,
6 very little.

7 (11:01:00)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good. So given the passage of
9 the Fair Housing Ordinance and the fact that there
10 didn't seem to be much overt opposition to it
11 would you say, and I think we've already kind of
12 touched on this, but if you could just elaborate
13 on your thoughts, that the community in general,
14 other than some small group of voices, was fairly
15 receptive to change?

16 **MR. RANEY:** I think they were almost
17 inattentive, nonplussed. You see, this ordinance
18 only affected those people in the commercial area,
19 residential, commercial area. It didn't affect
20 private homeowners, it didn't affect a person that
21 had a spare bedroom that they would rent to a
22 student.

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

24 **MR. RANEY:** So unlike the swimming pool,
25 which affected taxpayers, affected your sense of

1 race being in the swimming pool with a black body,
2 that affected a much larger segment of the
3 community.

4 (11:02:10)

5 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And since you bring up
6 the swimming pool, it was later in 1967 that the
7 bond finally passed to build the public swimming
8 pool but that was, I think, on the third attempt.

9 **MR. RANEY:** Yes.

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** What would you say was the
11 nature of the opposition that caused it to fail
12 the first two times? Was it race concerns or was
13 it simply the public not wanting to put forward
14 the money, or a little of both?

15 **MR. RANEY:** I think it was 80 percent race
16 and maybe 20 percent economics.

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

18 **MR. RANEY:** I enjoyed my interaction with
19 merchants. The radio station gave me a
20 microphone. I went up and down the street
21 addressing individual merchants and putting the
22 mic. in their face and saying, "Aren't you
23 supportive of the swimming pool?" And they didn't
24 dare say no.

25 (11:03:03)

1 **MR. ARNOLD:** And I was going to ask you, the
2 next question is what do you think finally turned
3 the corner in late '67 when that bond initiative
4 passed? And you said it passed fairly narrowly,
5 but, what finally got it over the top?

6 **MR. RANEY:** Well, I think the community
7 conscience prevailed. I think it was a slow
8 coming thing, evidenced by the previous
9 rejections. This, as I recall, got a tremendous
10 turnout from the Lawrence public. Everyone felt
11 they had a little stake in this election.

12 (11:03:42)

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good. And you mentioned you
14 going around with a microphone to put some
15 business owners on the spot. Do you remember any
16 other efforts of proponents to try and get out the
17 vote and to convince people to vote in favor?

18 **MR. RANEY:** Well, I don't remember anything
19 specifically.

20 (11:04:01)

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. A few months before the
22 bond passed, I think in the late summer of '67,
23 the city rented a swimming pool in West Lawrence
24 and made it available to the public as an
25 integrated pool. Do you remember any of the

1 specifics behind what motivated that?

2 **MR. RANEY:** Well, no. I think it was a
3 suggestion that was easily accepted as a good
4 idea. It was a very hot summer, I recall that,
5 and it was such a partial solution as to not be
6 thought of as any kind of a solution really.

7 (11:04:43)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. There's actually a story
9 that's related, and I think it's in Rusty
10 Monhollon's book, about the '60s in Lawrence in
11 which sometime late in that summer there were
12 threats by some African-American youth towards
13 violence based on a number of their complaints but
14 one of which was not having access to a swimming
15 pool and so there was some suggestion in his book
16 that the commission might have acted because of
17 concerns that they wanted to head off violence.
18 Is that your recollection at all?

19 **MR. RANEY:** No.

20 (11:05:11)

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Do you have a sense that
22 after both the passage of the Fair Housing
23 Ordinance, the passage of the swimming pool bond,
24 that that had kind of created momentum towards
25 addressing other aspects of discrimination and

1 segregation in Lawrence? Did you sense that there
2 was a growing amount of community support?

3 **MR. RANEY:** I don't think I had much of a
4 sense of anything. I was just willing to accept
5 what had happened.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

7 **MR. RANEY:** And that was to me the
8 representation of progress. I didn't know where
9 to go from there.

10 (11:05:53)

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. We already talked a
12 little bit about some individuals who kind of
13 played an important role in both promoting the
14 Fair Housing Ordinance. Do you recall any other
15 individuals that come to mind, either in that
16 respect or in the civil rights movement in general
17 who were promoting change, or in the swimming pool
18 issue? Anybody else who -- I just want to make
19 sure you have an opportunity to recognize any
20 other individuals who you thought played a
21 positive role.

22 **MR. RANEY:** You've certainly touched on some
23 important ones. Oh, I remember Cliff Calvin, a
24 lovely human, a colleague of Glenn Kappelman's.
25 Cliff was very supportive and in the insurance and

1 real estate business and there were a number of --
2 Bob -- oh my. You're stretching my ancient
3 memory. Bob Charlton was another supportive
4 person. Up and down the street. I think Julius
5 Marks, owned Mark's jewelry store. I think Art
6 Weaver quietly supported. Yes, there were a
7 number. I'm sorry to only name a few, and there
8 were many.

9 (11:07:10)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Great. Let me just see if --
11 we've kind of covered a number of things. I just
12 wanted to talk to you a little bit about national
13 events, such as, you know, things like in 1968 the
14 assassination of Martin Luther King. Did you see
15 that, particularly as we got into the late '60s
16 and there was turmoil in the country, and some of
17 that may have spilled over into some of the unrest
18 in Lawrence? How did you see the community's
19 perceptions of larger national issues and how they
20 influenced what happened in the community?

21 **MR. RANEY:** Interesting as a sidebar, our
22 commission was meeting with some aggrieved black
23 citizens in the building on Massachusetts, the
24 senior center, and someone came in the room and
25 whispered in this lovely black lady's ear that

1 Martin Luther King had just been killed. She was
2 there to protest her father, who had been on the
3 garbage truck for 20 some years, never allowed to
4 drive the truck. Even though he'd never had an
5 accident he was always on the back end of the
6 truck, now he was too old to be jumping up and
7 down off that truck and back on, and wondering why
8 her father was where he was.

9 (11:08:34)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Huh.

11 **MR. RANEY:** Yes.

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** And you had mentioned I think
13 when you were interviewed by Rusty Monhollon, that
14 -- and you actually brought up that meeting in
15 which the word came to the community that Martin
16 Luther King had been assassinated and you said in
17 the book, or he quoted you as saying that when you
18 saw the reaction of the members of the
19 African-American community that was there that
20 night, that you came to the realization that
21 things were about to change in Lawrence. Can you
22 just elaborate on that a little bit and kind of
23 characterize their reaction and what you saw in
24 their eyes that led you to know that this was a
25 groundbreaking event that was going to lead to

1 changes?

2 **MR. RANEY:** Well, it was to me visceral. I
3 couldn't point to a single thing except what kind
4 of a commission would not address that girl's
5 father? And we did.

6 (11:09:32)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good. And I think often it's
8 the little things like that that end up adding up
9 and making a difference over time.

10 Were you surprised, and this would have been
11 mostly after your tenure on the City Commission,
12 but were you surprised at the kind of unrest and
13 violence that broke out in the late '60s and early
14 '70s in the city and on campus?

15 **MR. RANEY:** Well, really not surprised
16 because the nation was rising up against the
17 Vietnam War and we had a concentration of people
18 that age group who were going to be vitally and
19 perhaps terminally fatally affected and so
20 emotions ran very high, not at all surprising.

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes.

22 **MR. RANEY:** Keeping a lid on somehow was the
23 challenge.

24 (11:10:25)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And I've talked to a

1 couple of members of the, I don't know whether you
2 remember Ron and Don Dalquest, --

3 **MR. RANEY:** I do.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- members of the Police
5 Department, and they --

6 **MR. RANEY:** Twins.

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, they are. And they
8 described the challenges they faced in a very
9 small Police Department --

10 **MR. RANEY:** Very small.

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- that was trying to handle
12 this unrest and some of the descriptions that I've
13 read of the violence, you know, gunfire in
14 Lawrence. Did the city seem like a very dangerous
15 place and did order seem to be highly tenuous for
16 the average citizen, that you kind of lived in a
17 bit of fear?

18 **MR. RANEY:** It didn't affect me that way. I
19 bet it did some. I was young enough to be
20 bulletproof, and maybe if I had been my age now I
21 would have been more concerned.

22 In terms of affecting the larger community, I
23 can't hardly believe that we felt that way. We
24 knew the affected population and almost had to
25 stand aside, didn't know how to remedy --

1 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Just kind of had --

2 **MR. RANEY:** -- that war.

3 (11:11:41)

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes. Kind of had to let it burn
5 itself out and let the, --

6 **MR. RANEY:** Yes.

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- let the frustrations be
8 unleashed and then hopefully order would
9 eventually be restored.

10 Do you feel like as a long-time member of the
11 community that after that very difficult period
12 was over did it play in an unfortunate way any
13 positive role in continuing to promote change in
14 Lawrence?

15 **MR. RANEY:** I'd have to study that as a
16 question.

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

18 **MR. RANEY:** I don't have a ready answer.

19 (11:12:12)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes. I think often change is
21 incremental and sometimes difficult to measure
22 other than, you know, things like the swimming
23 pool obviously was one that was very visible and
24 affected people immediately, but many other
25 changes, like probably to the Fair Housing

1 Ordinance, --

2 **MR. RANEY:** There might have been a few dozen
3 other incremental changes so slight as to --

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, yes.

5 **MR. RANEY:** -- be hard to remember.

6 (11:12:34)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right. In reflecting
8 back on the role you played as a member of the
9 Lawrence City Commission for four years what
10 accomplishments are you most proud of?

11 **MR. RANEY:** Oh, I think those two. I think
12 my public service career is wrapped up with those
13 two.

14 (11:12:59)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Very good. Thinking back on
16 that fairly tumultuous period and the struggles of
17 people to bring about change, what do you think
18 young people today can learn from that and take
19 away as lessons in terms of promoting social
20 change and community activism today to try and
21 make Lawrence, or any community, a better place?

22 **MR. RANEY:** Well, I'm pleased that we're so
23 far advanced from where we were in the era that
24 we're talking about here today. Certainly there
25 are mountains yet to be climbed, but, oh, we're in

1 better shape now and progress is yet to be made.

2 (11:13:49)

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, yes. One thing that's
4 fairly evident in going back and looking at how
5 the fair housing issue worked its way up to
6 finally getting to the Human Relations Commission
7 and then to the City Commission is that it was
8 very much or in very many respects kind of a
9 bottom-up community-based movement that involved
10 organizations, as I mentioned before, the NAACP,
11 the League of Women Voters, there was a group
12 called the League for the Promotion of Democracy,
13 other groups like that. Do you believe that that
14 kind of community-based social activism is a way
15 to bring about positive change even though it can
16 sometimes take a long time?

17 **MR. RANEY:** Well, I certainly thought that in
18 that era past. I was an enthusiastic member of
19 the Elizabeth Ballard Center, North Lawrence, Penn
20 House, Cottonwood, Headquarters. Those were
21 properly motivated and represented advances in our
22 community as an attitude, so yes, I'm enthusiastic
23 in that sort of effort.

24 (11:15)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Are you still involved in any of

1 those --

2 **MR. RANEY:** No.

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- types of efforts?

4 **MR. RANEY:** I became too long of tooth.

5 (11:15:07)

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** But I'm sure you probably are
7 still associated with people who are, and I know
8 you represent a member of the community who's had
9 a long history of trying to bring about positive
10 change.

11 **MR. RANEY:** Well, with the help of my
12 grandsons we still enjoy contributing to all those
13 things we can manage.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Great. Well, I have come to the
15 end of my questions. I just wanted to give you
16 the opportunity if there's anything we didn't
17 cover or any other stories you remember that you
18 want to have the opportunity to relate while
19 you're here I open the floor up to you for
20 anything you'd like to add.

21 **MR. RANEY:** Tom, it's been a good visit. I
22 have enjoyed it. Thank you.

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Well, great. Well, thank you
24 very much, and again, thank you for participating
25 in our project and thank you for the important

1 role you played in bringing about the Fair Housing
2 Ordinance in Lawrence.

3 **MR. RANEY:** Minimal. Minimal.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** All right, sir.

5 **MR. RANEY:** Good luck.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Thank you very much.

7 *****

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