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CITY OF LAWRENCE, KANSAS

LAWRENCE FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE  
50th ANNIVERSARY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview of Richard & Phyllis Sapp

October 28, 2016

1           **MR. ARNOLD:** Today is October 28th, 2016. I  
2 am local historian Tom Arnold interviewing Dr.  
3 Richard Sapp and Mrs. Phyllis Sapp at the Lawrence  
4 Public Library in Lawrence, Kansas, 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, Richard was a professor on the faculty of  
9 the University of Kansas and Phyllis was active in  
10 community organizations, such as the Lawrence  
11 League of Women Voters.

12           To start off, I would like to have both of  
13 you tell me a little bit about your backgrounds  
14 and what you were doing in Lawrence in the 1960s.

15           **MRS. SAPP:** You go ahead.

16           **DR. SAPP:** We came to Lawrence in 1957 when I  
17 got a position with the University of Kansas in  
18 the Physics and Astronomy Department, and that was  
19 just at the end of the era when Wilt Chamberlain  
20 had made some inroads in the civil rights areas by  
21 the sheer size of his presence, such as  
22 integrating barber shops and movie theaters.

23           A big issue right after we came was the  
24 swimming pool. There was a private pool called  
25 the Jayhawk Plunge down on Sixth and Florida

1 Street and it was open only to members, white  
2 members was understood, and an attempt was made to  
3 try to integrate that pool and instead it was  
4 closed and so the city was doing without a public  
5 pool at that time, and later there was a temporary  
6 one down in the south part of town, before the  
7 swimming pool complex was constructed downtown.

8 I was invited to participate in the picketing  
9 and protesting at the Plunge but I had just  
10 arrived in town and didn't have a firm grasp on  
11 the local politics by any means and I also felt I  
12 didn't have any tenure at the university and I  
13 just didn't want to stick my head out at that  
14 time. Later, of course, I was on more firm  
15 footing and then I could participate in these  
16 things that I wanted to.

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I came because Dick came.  
18 We'd just been married a few months before but we  
19 knew each other at Ohio State University, where I  
20 did my undergraduate work and Dick did his  
21 graduate work, and I was very happy to move west  
22 from Ohio. I grew up in northern Illinois and my  
23 parents had come from South Dakota so I always  
24 felt that going west was best and happy to move  
25 out here.

1 I had been to Lawrence once with a group from  
2 Ohio State coming to a conference so I liked the  
3 place, and I liked the fact that it was near a  
4 city, that's been a big advantage, or two cities  
5 actually.

6 But Dick's right about the swimming pool. I  
7 don't remember it was members only because I  
8 actually went there with a neighbor or friend  
9 asked me one time and I wondered about this, but I  
10 decided I would go and see what it was like.  
11 Wasn't that much, that great a swimming pool, for  
12 that matter.

13 So after that we did not participate in it,  
14 and we didn't go to any pool unless it was open to  
15 the public until the one downtown was opened. We  
16 would not join a swimming pool, and our children  
17 remember that. It was one of their first lessons  
18 or one of their early lessons in, you know,  
19 everyone needs to have access to these public,  
20 what should be public, like the pool.

21 (9:58:13)

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And I'll come back to  
23 the swimming pool, I've got a question about that  
24 later, particularly in what involvement you may  
25 have had in the effort to get the bond issue

1 finally passed after the Fair Housing Ordinance  
2 passed the same year but later.

3 When you arrived in Lawrence in those early  
4 years how did the racial environment, the climate  
5 of racial relations strike you, how did the  
6 degrees of discrimination, segregation strike you  
7 as compared to what you may have been used to and  
8 the attitudes that you had grown up with in Ohio?

9 **MRS. SAPP:** I moved to Ohio when I was about  
10 14. I don't -- it was pretty usual -- well, no,  
11 it was worse than in northern -- in northern  
12 Illinois, very near Wisconsin border, there wasn't  
13 much said about, at least about black/white kinds  
14 of things. I know there was discrimination  
15 against Jews, to a small extent anyway, at least  
16 talk about it, but not, I don't think excluded, at  
17 least not from anything I knew about it. Of  
18 course, I was pretty young and I didn't know about  
19 things like country clubs and that kind of thing.

20 So when we moved to Columbus, southern Ohio,  
21 I was taken aback by some of the segregation, and  
22 particularly in our high school. We had a black  
23 fellow who was very active and well liked. We  
24 went on a senior class trip to Washington, D.C.,  
25 and he was not allowed to eat in the cafeteria

1 where we were eating. I've always regretted that  
2 I went into the cafeteria. I guess I didn't know  
3 what to do at that point, because I remember one  
4 of the teachers staying out with him and I don't  
5 know where they went to find some food. That  
6 shocked me, so that was part of the whole thing.

7 (10:00:32)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Richard, how did you  
9 find Lawrence compared to your experiences growing  
10 up?

11 **DR. SAPP:** Actually my small hometown in  
12 southwestern Ohio was very much like Lawrence when  
13 we came.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

15 **DR. SAPP:** It was understood that blacks had  
16 to use certain facilities and not others, certain  
17 area in the theater where they could sit but not  
18 others. All that kind of thing was very familiar  
19 to me and I didn't like it, I never liked it, but  
20 I had never really taken any public stands against  
21 it up to this time.

22 (10:01:07)

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. To describe Lawrence a  
24 little bit, what you found once you came here, you  
25 have already mentioned the inroads that Wilt

1 Chamberlain and some of the K.U. athletes made and  
 2 also the swimming pool issue. What other aspects  
 3 of discrimination or segregation in Lawrence  
 4 struck you at that time as being, you know,  
 5 particularly objectionable? Was housing  
 6 segregation quite obvious?

7 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, it certainly was there. It  
 8 was very much so, fairly obvious, I think, yes,  
 9 and I think there was still some segregation in  
 10 the theater. Well, I don't know in the theaters  
 11 really, or in just, in some of the public places  
 12 like this, because I think with Wilt coming they  
 13 got the theaters desegregated.

14 The restaurants, I'm not really -- well, we  
 15 didn't have that many restaurants. In fact,  
 16 Lawrence was really, when we came here Lawrence  
 17 had something like 27,000 people, which to me was  
 18 very small, because I'd always lived in bigger  
 19 cities, and I don't know, the kind of restaurants  
 20 that were here, I don't really know too much about  
 21 that.

22 But, yes, and we kept hearing about  
 23 segregation, and this Lawrence League for the  
 24 Practice of Democracy had started working against  
 25 segregation and toward integration and what could

1 be done there. It made a person, well, it made me  
2 very indignant to see people not able to buy homes  
3 and such.

4 Now, this is getting toward the ordinance and  
5 what we did for that so maybe Dick wants to speak  
6 before I do.

7 **DR. SAPP:** Well, I was just going to comment  
8 that this is leading right into our first kind of  
9 involvement. We think it was somebody at the  
10 League of Women Voters who told us about a program  
11 of white people visiting in negro people's homes  
12 in Lawrence and talking about their experience  
13 with housing segregation, so we went to one of  
14 these meetings at James and Elizabeth Chieks'  
15 house, C-h-i-e-k-s.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** Near the hospital.

17 **DR. SAPP:** It was over in that area --

18 **MRS. SAPP:** That's where they could buy a  
19 house.

20 **DR. SAPP:** -- near the hospital, and there  
21 were six or eight of us visiting there and we  
22 talked about their experience in trying to buy a  
23 house where they saw a realtor and he told them  
24 where he could show them a house in Lawrence and  
25 it was only in areas where black people already



1 lived, essentially redlining.

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right.

3 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, that's what we've heard.

5 It's been described by several people to us.

6 **DR. SAPP:** So that really fired up my feeling  
7 of this is very unfair and play along to our other  
8 activities, I think.

9 (10:04:39)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. How about your own  
11 neighborhood where you all lived? Was it --

12 **DR. SAPP:** All white.

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** All-white neighborhood?

14 **MRS. SAPP:** All white.

15 (10:04:45)

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, pretty much the surveys  
17 that were done at the time showed that most of the  
18 neighborhoods were either --

19 **DR. SAPP:** North Lawrence, East Lawrence, --

20 **MRS. SAPP:** The hospital.

21 **DR. SAPP:** -- some in the northwest, --

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, kind of Pinckney, --

23 **DR. SAPP:** -- around Pinckney.

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- West Lawrence neighborhood,  
25 but even within those neighborhoods usually it was

1 confined to a block or two --

2 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- where they tended to be  
4 congregated.

5 Any other forms of discrimination that were  
6 apparent? Employment discrimination? If you went  
7 to a store downtown would you most likely find  
8 only white clerks in most of the stores or --

9 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. Yes, I would say so.

10 (10:05:19)

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** What would you say, before I get  
12 into -- and I want to talk to you about not only  
13 what motivated you all to get involved, which  
14 you've already touched on, but also talk about  
15 kind of what motivated other people that you  
16 recall, but what do you think were the major  
17 impediments to bringing about changes to those  
18 things? I mean, were there, and I don't expect  
19 you to name names, but groups or local interests  
20 that were opposed to change that you can remember?

21 **MRS. SAPP:** Oh yes.

22 **DR. SAPP:** Well, about this time in the  
23 middle '60s was when there was a fair housing bill  
24 in the Kansas Legislature and people in Lawrence  
25 were amazed to find that the fight against that

1 bill was led by realtors from Lawrence. Four,  
2 four agencies sent people over there to testify  
3 against it. I could name some names but it's  
4 probably not important anymore.

5 (10:06:20)

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** You can probably find those  
7 names in the newspaper if you wanted to look for  
8 them.

9 **DR. SAPP:** Yes. And so, again, that was  
10 motivation for us to try to do something better  
11 here, since we were not going to get it on the  
12 state level apparently.

13 (10:06:40)

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. So would you say, and  
15 I'm jumping a little bit ahead, but was part of  
16 the motivation of moving forward to pursue a local  
17 ordinance the disappointment --

18 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- with the fact that the state  
20 wasn't taking action?

21 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

22 **MRS. SAPP:** Definitely.

23 **DR. SAPP:** Definitely.

24 **MRS. SAPP:** The Human Relations Commission  
25 had been formed, what, around, around '64? You

1 probably have the date better than I.

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Little bit earlier than that, I  
3 think about a year after the swimming pool, '61,  
4 '62 time frame.

5 **MRS. SAPP:** Okay. Okay.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** But they really didn't become a  
7 very active organization I would say until  
8 probably '64 and after.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** All right, yes. So people there  
10 took up the cause, and the League of Women Voters  
11 had helped or encouraged the Human Relations  
12 Commission to get started, and I just don't  
13 remember who specifically set up this program  
14 where we'd go and visit at the Chieks' or at  
15 someone's house and hear firsthand what their  
16 experiences with housing were but I think it  
17 probably arose out of the study that the League of  
18 Women did. They always, and they still do,  
19 research and study an issue, will take a stand on  
20 issues, not on political candidates, so I can't  
21 say exactly but -- and it was a small -- it wasn't  
22 that huge a number of people did this but I think  
23 there were several groups that --

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. I can actually --

25 **MRS. SAPP:** -- did this and it just was so

1 powerful to hear people actually, you know, say I,  
2 you know, I was not allowed to buy a house  
3 anywhere but here or here or here, and they had  
4 the money. This was not low cost housing  
5 necessarily, this was people who were what we  
6 might say middle class economically and they could  
7 have afforded a house in other areas.

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** I also, this probably should come  
10 later, but I will say that in our neighborhood on  
11 our street we had a couple of black families move  
12 in after, after the ordinance.

13 (10:08:59)

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Well, that's good, because we've  
15 tried to get a sense in some of the interviews as  
16 to whether people saw change come about. I know  
17 often change comes about slowly, but that is  
18 something I'd like to raise with you to kind of  
19 get a sense of how apparent change was after the  
20 ordinance was passed.

21 Yes, actually in the probably '64, '65 time  
22 frame the NAACP did a housing survey --

23 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- and they found that of all  
25 the new neighborhoods built since the early 1950s,

1 not a single black family resided in any of them  
2 and I think then at the time the ordinance was  
3 passed somebody else had done a survey and found  
4 by then there was only one African-American family  
5 in all those neighborhoods, so it hadn't changed  
6 much in that time.

7 The United Church Women of Lawrence did a  
8 housing survey and I think did some housing visits  
9 and gathered signatures in support of fair  
10 housing, the League of Women Voters I know did  
11 their own study, so there was quite a bit of  
12 interest and activity.

13 Now, we've already touched on it a little  
14 bit, but a group that actually started looking  
15 into it even earlier was the League for the  
16 Promotion of Democracy. Were the two of you  
17 involved in that organization?

18 **MRS. SAPP:** We were not members of that  
19 Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy. We  
20 did know about it. We were told about it when we  
21 moved here and I think we were just getting into  
22 the community and into the university and what was  
23 going on and that, then into the League of Women  
24 Voters, which had many of the same members in  
25 these groups, so we were not actually members but

1 we certainly supported -- they were the very first  
2 grassroots, I would say.

3 (10:10:41)

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. They actually started in  
5 1946 and the story is in their own little history  
6 that they wrote that it came about because an  
7 African-American World War II veteran had come  
8 back to Lawrence after fighting in the war and was  
9 ejected from a movie theater in Lawrence because  
10 he wouldn't sit in the colored-only section and  
11 that upset enough people that they formed that  
12 group to start fighting discrimination.

13 You have talked a little bit about what  
14 motivated the two of you to get involved in these  
15 types of groups and to work on bringing about  
16 these kind of changes. Can you kind of generalize  
17 other people who were involved and what kind of  
18 motivated them in general and was there pretty  
19 significant involvement of the university  
20 community in that? Were they particularly active,  
21 some of your colleagues and --

22 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

23 **DR. SAPP:** Yes, yes, I would say.

24 **MRS. SAPP:** I'd say a big part of it was from  
25 the university. University people didn't worry

1 about the customers; they had the customers, the  
2 students. They didn't worry about losing their  
3 jobs, or losing friends, for that matter. I mean,  
4 there would be some but, you know, it tended, I'm  
5 going to reinforce what a lot of people think,  
6 that university people, people who work and teach  
7 at universities are liberal and -- at least in  
8 these views.

9 (10:12:08)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, and generally --

11 **MRS. SAPP:** I would say so.

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- far more diverse because  
13 they've come from all parts of the country so they  
14 have a different, broader world view.

15 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, this is very true. As I  
16 said, my experience of like, I don't -- I'm sure  
17 where I grew up in Rockford, Illinois, there was  
18 no -- blacks were able to sit anywhere in the  
19 theater. I don't remember a thing about being  
20 segregated, so all this was a surprise; not a  
21 surprise but, you know, just foreign to me,  
22 different.

23 **DR. SAPP:** Another source of my motivation  
24 was that in the middle '60s we had become members  
25 of First Methodist Church and I became first a



1 member and then the chair of what they called the  
2 Committee on Social Concerns and so I was sort of  
3 casting around for a direction to lead some  
4 activity in the area, in that area and fair  
5 housing popped up on my horizon partly through  
6 that, so when I went to Fair Housing Coordinating  
7 Committee I was recognized as a representative of  
8 a fairly substantial church in town.

9 (10:13:32)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Very good. So that was  
11 kind of your entree into that organization?

12 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Now I was going to ask you about  
14 the churches, because we've also found that there  
15 was quite a bit of activism coming out of a number  
16 of churches and certain churches in particular.  
17 Plymouth Congregational Church had a Social Action  
18 Committee, I think the Unitarian Church had one,

19 --

20 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- and so --

22 **MRS. SAPP:** Unitarians were active.

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** So would you say that the  
24 churches were very much kind of a, provided a  
25 foundation of support, in addition to really

1 university people, in trying to bring about  
2 change?

3 **DR. SAPP:** Yes, and I imagine some of the  
4 names on this list here are people connected with  
5 the black churches in town. [referring to a list  
6 of the members of the Fair Housing Coordinating  
7 Committee from 1966]

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I would also say, though,  
10 about churches, there were a number of people who  
11 I'm sure were not as enthusiastic about it. We  
12 did not have everybody agree on things in the  
13 church and we really didn't stay with -- well, we  
14 stayed with the church for awhile but got a  
15 little, not so happy with some of the attitudes.

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

17 **DR. SAPP:** I can illustrate the way pressures  
18 could be brought to bear to people who didn't have  
19 protections. The young man who was local manager  
20 of a savings and loan on Ninth Street, it was  
21 Anchor Savings & Loan, his wife wrote a letter to  
22 the editor in the Journal-World in support of fair  
23 housing and some of these realtors came to his  
24 office and said shut your wife up or you've lost  
25 our business.

1 (10:15:31)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Wow. That's an eye-opening  
3 story.

4 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

5 **MR. ARNOLD:** I actually heard a similar story  
6 from one of the other people I interviewed about a  
7 visit that he actually personally got by people  
8 who didn't like some of his activities.

9 Would you say, then, following up on that,  
10 that there was, towards the university people,  
11 towards especially the ones who were involved in  
12 bringing about change through the churches, that  
13 there was a degree of resentment among certain  
14 segments?

15 **DR. SAPP:** Certainly resistance.

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Resistance?

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Resistance.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** And who did that primarily come  
19 from? And again, don't mention names necessarily,  
20 but who did it come from and kind of what were  
21 their motives in fighting change, other than just  
22 an acceptance of this is the way it's been, don't  
23 rock the boat?

24 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, they were afraid of losing  
25 business, business people, people who own

1 restaurants or stores or things like this.

2 And what else would you say? I would say  
3 just like this. The realtors themselves brought  
4 up I thought rather specious arguments, but it was  
5 important to them. They felt, I'm sure they felt  
6 somebody else would get the business if they gave  
7 in to this, and one of the very valuable things  
8 about having a law we found was that the, and the  
9 realtors found was that they could say "This is  
10 the law" to people who were selling homes, you  
11 know, "You don't have a choice of who you sell  
12 to," and they found that actually it worked in  
13 their favor.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

15 **MRS. SAPP:** We heard that from a man who had  
16 been very much against the law and within a couple  
17 years was very much for it.

18 (10:17:36)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** That's an interesting point.

20 Do you recall any, as you started getting  
21 involved and working on the fair housing issue do  
22 you recall any particular individuals who played  
23 kind of important leadership roles, who stood out  
24 as having, you know, taken on particularly  
25 prominent roles in helping to mobilize support?

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, Glenn Kappelman, who was a,  
2 I know you've heard of him, a realtor, and he was  
3 very much for equal rights, for fair housing. He  
4 stayed with the realty board and worked from the  
5 inside, this is how he put it, and we found that  
6 that was very valuable. Instead of, you know,  
7 quitting and saying, "Well, I don't like your  
8 attitudes," he worked -- Glenn was very good at  
9 talking with people and he had patience. Where I  
10 would tend to say some, become quite indignant, he  
11 would be much more patient with it, so I think  
12 Glenn was one of the most valuable people that we  
13 had working with this, because he was involved  
14 with the business community. I'm sure he was a  
15 member of the Chamber of Commerce, all that kind  
16 of thing.

17           Who else, Dick, would you say?

18           **DR. SAPP:** I think Reverend Dick Dulin was  
19 useful as chair because he was pretty much not  
20 subject to any pressures, although he was only  
21 associate pastor and so forth, but he was, as I  
22 recall, he was a very calm person and kind of kept  
23 us focused and moving toward objectives and he was  
24 a good leader.

25           (10:19:39)

1           **MR. ARNOLD:** Good. Since you bring up his  
2 name, and he, of course, was the youth, or I think  
3 the campus minister at Plymouth Congregational  
4 Church, so you're right, he wasn't necessarily  
5 under any particular pressure from, even maybe so  
6 much from the congregation itself, but as the head  
7 of the Fair Housing Coordinating Committee he  
8 obviously played an important role in that group,  
9 but describe the Fair Housing Coordinating  
10 Committee to me, how you recall that it came  
11 about, who the members were, what organizations  
12 sort of supported it and were involved with it, as  
13 best you can recall.

14           **DR. SAPP:** We were not involved with it at  
15 its inception so we don't know about that at all.  
16 The list of people who were members in 1966 pretty  
17 much identifies the groups who were being  
18 represented there, if you know who the people are.

19           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

20           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, okay, [reading from the  
21 1966 list of Fair Housing Coordinating Committee  
22 members,] Ann Moore, Tom Moore was with the K.U.  
23 Y. I don't think we even called it YMCA, YWCA. I  
24 had been involved with the YWCA when we came here,  
25 the campus one, and then it became a joint one and

1 Tom was hired with that, and Tom and Ann were  
2 Quakers, Friends, and with all the attitudes that  
3 go along and very good in the community; again,  
4 patient, kind people, working that way.

5 Reverend Louis Branch was black.

6 **DR. SAPP:** With the church at New York, Ninth  
7 and New York, Saint --

8 **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, St. Luke's?

9 **DR. SAPP:** St. Luke's.

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

11 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

12 **MRS. SAPP:** That was a black church, and  
13 that's still, of course, going on. The churches  
14 are still very much black or white I'd say.

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** The Stanfields were black.

17 **DR. SAPP:** They were members of that church.

18 **MRS. SAPP:** And Ben Hanan was pastor of the  
19 First Christian --

20 **DR. SAPP:** First Christian.

21 **MRS. SAPP:** -- Church, and his wife.

22 Dorothy Adams was the wife of a professor at  
23 K.U. and I'm not sure what other things she did  
24 but she was very active in the community so -- and  
25 Jean Shaw was, too. Ed Shaw was at K.U.

1           We women who didn't have paying jobs did a  
2 lot of League of Women Voter type things and other  
3 work.

4           I don't remember Jim Griffiths. Do you,  
5 Dick, --

6           **DR. SAPP:** No.

7           **MRS. SAPP:** -- a reverend? Mike Marr was at  
8 the university and was very active in these kind  
9 of things.

10          "Petey" Cerf, Ann, Mrs. Raymond Cerf, Ann  
11 Cerf was involved with all kinds of things in  
12 this.

13          (10:22:58)

14          **MR. ARNOLD:** Tell me a little bit about her.  
15 Her name comes up quite a bit as a real leader in  
16 the early '60s.

17          **MRS. SAPP:** Well, she had a forceful  
18 personality. I wouldn't say that she got mad --  
19 well, I'm sure she did get mad about things but  
20 she didn't show it in that way, but she was  
21 forceful and when she talked about something you  
22 listened, you heard. I liked her tremendously and  
23 most -- well, I don't know that most people did  
24 but most people who were on her side or felt she  
25 was on their side.



1           She got a lot of things started and done and  
2 she did have some financial, was in a financial  
3 position to put money toward some things, too, so  
4 she got a number of things going in town.

5           (10:23:52)

6           **MR. ARNOLD:** Good. Had she been a long-time  
7 Lawrence resident, do you know?

8           **MRS. SAPP:** She certainly had been here  
9 awhile when we came and I don't know when they  
10 came. Her husband --

11          **DR. SAPP:** Was at the university.

12          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, taught -- wasn't he a violin  
13 --

14          **DR. SAPP:** Musician.

15          **MRS. SAPP:** Musician.

16          **DR. SAPP:** Raymond Cerf.

17          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

18          **THE SPEAKER:** Cello.

19          **MRS. SAPP:** Cello.

20          (10:24:13)

21          **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. So she was involved in  
22 community organizations?

23          **MRS. SAPP:** And her son, William Dan, is  
24 involved in things now, more financially than  
25 anything else right now. I see his name on

1 various things. I don't really know him.

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

3 **DR. SAPP:** He writes, or at least he was  
4 writing trenchant letters to the editor of the  
5 Journal-World.

6 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, yes. Well, "Petey" died a  
7 number of years ago, I can't tell you when, it's  
8 just that she's still a presence.

9 (10:24:43)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. As I said, her name has  
11 come up. Fred Six said that she played an early  
12 leadership role, spurring action by a number of  
13 people.

14 **MRS. SAPP:** She also lived near where we  
15 live.

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Which meant I saw something of  
18 her, I guess.

19 Marion Boyle, her husband was in the Art  
20 Department at K.U. and didn't know her real well.  
21 I think she worked at Haskell for awhile and then  
22 at K.U., too, with students, with students needing  
23 tutoring, needing help, students who were  
24 disadvantaged, I guess we might say.

25 Howard Rosenfeld.

1           **DR. SAPP:** History professor.

2           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. And Lee Ketzell, who has  
3 been involved in all kinds of things, I'm sure  
4 you've come upon her name, and she's someone you  
5 could interview I'm sure. I talked with her the  
6 other day to see what she remembered about League  
7 of Women Voters. She's doing a lot still in the  
8 community.

9           Ada Swineford.

10          **DR. SAPP:** At the university.

11          **MRS. SAPP:** (indiscernible) and she, yes, she  
12 was at the university but she left to go to  
13 Washington State so she didn't do a whole lot.

14          And I don't know Reverend John Ayres, that  
15 doesn't --

16          **DR. SAPP:** I think the list makes pretty  
17 clear that the religious institutions and the  
18 university provided a lot of the --

19                 (10:26:17)

20          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, exactly. And then so  
21 really the university community, the church  
22 community, and then groups like the League of  
23 Women Voters, United Church Women, which I'm sure  
24 there was a lot of involvement of people among  
25 those groups, the NAACP, --

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. Now Dorothy Keltz, --

2           **MR. ARNOLD:** She was on the Human Relations  
3 Commission at --

4           **MRS. SAPP:** But I don't know, her husband  
5 wasn't at the university I don't think. See, all  
6 these people who had to watch what they said and  
7 did because of business were, I don't know whether  
8 you say --

9           **DR. SAPP:** I forget what Keltz' job was.

10          **MRS. SAPP:** Harold Keltz. I don't --

11          **DR. SAPP:** Hal Keltz, yes.

12          **MRS. SAPP:** Hal Keltz.

13          **DR. SAPP:** He was not at the university but  
14 --

15          **MRS. SAPP:** And she was very active so that  
16 would be somebody --

17                   (10:27:05).

18          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, and I think she was  
19 actually on the Human Relations Commission --

20          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, she was.

21          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- at the time the ordinance  
22 came up. She was in charge of their little  
23 housing subcommittee so she was probably very --

24          **MRS. SAPP:** Ah, I know that she was involved.

25          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- (indiscernible) so obviously

1 she had been involved with housing.

2 **MRS. SAPP:** That would be very interesting to  
3 know what her husband did just in light of this,  
4 you know, was there pressure. I certainly --

5 (10:27:26)

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. I --

7 **MRS. SAPP:** -- didn't see any pressure, that  
8 she felt any pressure.

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- can probably go back and find  
10 that out. [Hal Keltz owned the Lawrence Surplus  
11 store]

12 Just for the record for the transcribist, I  
13 just want, because I can't remember if we  
14 mentioned it when you first started reading the  
15 list, the list you just read was of members of the  
16 Fair Housing Coordinating Committee in 1966.

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, as of April 25th, 1966.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

19 **DR. SAPP:** Somewhere I --

20 **MRS. SAPP:** Says beginning list of interested  
21 persons, actually, rather than members, but  
22 beginning list of interested persons, so that's  
23 when it was just getting formed.

24 **DR. SAPP:** Well, somewhere in our collection  
25 I found a letter I had written to Dorothy Keltz

1 expressing my personal opinions about the need for  
2 fair housing and it's just now become apparent why  
3 I wrote her on that subject.

4 (10:28:13)

5 **MR. ARNOLD:** Exactly. And the other  
6 interesting thing that this brings to light is,  
7 and I had asked a couple people previously and  
8 they just weren't sure, but was there, before the  
9 Fair Housing Ordinance proposal was even brought  
10 to the Human Relations Commission by the Fair  
11 Housing Coordinating Committee had there been some  
12 interaction between Human Relations Committee  
13 members and the committee talking about this  
14 beforehand, and it sounds like if she was involved  
15 both in the housing --

16 **MRS. SAPP:** I'm sure there was because there  
17 was so much go-between --

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

19 **MRS. SAPP:** -- between them. The League of  
20 Women Voters sent observers to various City  
21 Commissions and committees and such and Lee Ketzell  
22 was one of the observers --

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

24 **MRS. SAPP:** -- of the Human Relations  
25 Commission.

1 (10:28:57)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** So let me ask you why fair  
3 housing, of all the, you know, employment  
4 discrimination, the swimming pool issue, the  
5 schools and educational opportunities, of all the  
6 different things why did so many people seem to  
7 coalesce at that time around the fair housing  
8 issue? Do you have a sense of that?

9 **MRS. SAPP:** I think that the people who were  
10 being discriminated against brought it to our  
11 attention somehow, you know, that it really did,  
12 this -- we were aware of it in various ways but  
13 this going to the Chieks' home and having them  
14 say, you know, "We could afford a house other  
15 places but we were only allowed to buy over here  
16 by the hospital or one of those other places." It  
17 was so unfair.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

19 **MRS. SAPP:** So, and perhaps maybe a little  
20 easier to work on than employment. Employment is  
21 such a great, huge, big issue to try to do  
22 something about.

23 **DR. SAPP:** Discrimination and segregation was  
24 such a huge, massive problem, an individual needs  
25 that focus, place to enter it, fair housing seemed

1 like one of them but we quickly realized, you  
2 know, that jobs, education, there are other very  
3 important things.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

5 **DR. SAPP:** But this was something that we  
6 could address directly so that's where we focused  
7 our attention.

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Sure.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** And certainly now we're realizing  
10 so much about low cost housing. We, well, --

11 **DR. SAPP:** Oh, that was so interesting, it  
12 came up at our recent meeting that they quickly  
13 leaped beyond housing discrimination to the  
14 problem of --

15 **MRS. SAPP:** The meeting at the library.

16 **DR. SAPP:** -- affordable housing, which has  
17 been a problem in Lawrence ever since.

18 (10:30:59)

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Lawrence has always  
20 been, as I understand it, one of the more  
21 expensive communities in Kansas.

22 **MRS. SAPP:** The younger people who weren't  
23 involved with this, you know, took on that, which  
24 is very good.

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.



1           **MRS. SAPP:** I'm glad people are taking it on  
2 because I think that's very important, too, and I  
3 don't know -- well, I think the city and county  
4 need to have a fund.

5           **DR. SAPP:** Well, there seems to be some  
6 activity in that area, so --

7           (10:31:25)

8           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And it's actually  
9 interesting, a thought that crossed my mind when  
10 that woman brought it up at that program we  
11 attended, that there is a lack of affordable  
12 housing for older people and someone who is  
13 disabled like her, but I can actually recall in  
14 reading some of the history of the work being done  
15 towards fair housing there were at least some  
16 voices at that time, and I'm not sure anything  
17 really got traction to work on it, but who  
18 expressed concern about affordable housing,  
19 particularly for older retired people and lower  
20 incomes being a problem, so clearly that's been on  
21 people's agendas for a very long time.

22           **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, so many things came in. You  
23 know, the nursery schools for children or  
24 prekindergarten education came up also in the  
25 early '60s.

1 Now, Jesse Milan, have you heard about --

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** We interviewed Jesse last  
3 Friday.

4 **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, wonderful. He was just a, he  
5 and his wife are terrific people, and Alversa was  
6 very much involved with getting the first nursery  
7 school for, what, low income, The Children's Hour,  
8 it's called, and a number of us worked on it.  
9 Hilda Enoch was one of the people who helped get  
10 that started, and Alversa Milan, and the ideas  
11 came, and the need was certainly there, so some of  
12 us got to work. I remember interviewing people,  
13 families for --

14 **DR. SAPP:** Jesse Milan ran for the City  
15 Commission more than once. We supported him  
16 strongly, tried all ways to get him on. In the  
17 preliminary, primary voting he was always first  
18 and -- but then in the general election he was  
19 always fourth out of the three to be chosen.

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

21 **MRS. SAPP:** It was very discouraging for them  
22 and for us, for, I mean, all kinds, the people who  
23 wanted him, and they eventually moved back to  
24 Kansas City. I'm sure he told you about all of  
25 this.

1 (10:33:46)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Jesse's role in Lawrence  
3 is really fascinating, I mean, not only being the  
4 first African-American teacher but then I guess he  
5 became I think the assistant director of youth  
6 programs for the city's park and recreation system  
7 and really fought for a lot of causes but took a  
8 lot of heat from people who didn't like the  
9 leadership role he was playing and the kind of  
10 changes he was trying to bring about and he says,  
11 "I probably wouldn't have lasted as long as I did  
12 in this town except for some of the students I had  
13 taught and their parents, white students and white  
14 parents, who kind of helped protect me," but a lot  
15 of other people were very much against him.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, he did so much good for  
17 children who had problems, physical problems. He  
18 would work with them. Well, and all kids, the  
19 kids loved him. He was there with our kids and,  
20 you know, he was just so good with them, so good  
21 with people, such a good -- they were a wonderful  
22 family and terrible that they weren't accepted. I  
23 mean, nowadays they would just be part of  
24 everything.

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, and they were actually

1 themselves victims of housing discrimination when  
2 they tried to move up to larger houses.

3 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, sure they were. It's -- but  
4 they helped bring about change by being who they  
5 are.

6 I brought up that about the nursery schools  
7 because that tied in with then, with getting into  
8 housing, too.

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

10 **MRS. SAPP:** The whole thing, the education  
11 part.

12 (10:35:21)

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** There were certainly arguments  
14 made at the time, and I think you can still make  
15 very good arguments and I think Robert Casad's  
16 article that was published in February of '67 made  
17 the argument that to a significant extent housing  
18 is the root, if you segregate everybody into one  
19 area that means they all go to the same what  
20 generally turn out to be substandard schools,  
21 their employment opportunities tend to be limited  
22 because there may not be as many jobs available in  
23 that area so often integrating housing opens up  
24 opportunities and so that's sometimes the best  
25 place to start.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** That's another thing with lower  
2           cost housing because of job opportunities and one  
3           of the reasons that we got the bus system started,  
4           and I don't think I worked on that, but to have a  
5           bus system so people could get from where they do  
6           live to where the jobs are, one of the most  
7           important parts of having the bus system, and  
8           certainly in those days that would be a, would  
9           have been a problem.

10                   (10:36:21)

11           **MR. ARNOLD:** Sure. Well, up to now we have  
12           kind of talked about background so let's jump into  
13           focusing a bit more on the process for bringing  
14           the Fair Housing Ordinance to the Human Relations  
15           Commission and then getting it passed.

16                   Do you recall, again, I think we talked about  
17           this a little bit earlier, but what sort of drove  
18           the timing? And I think actually in December,  
19           1966, Reverend Dulin signed out a letter to  
20           whoever was the mayor of Lawrence at the time  
21           saying, you know, I'm representing the Fair  
22           Housing Coordinating Commission, we intend to  
23           bring a proposal for a Fair Housing Ordinance to  
24           the Human Relations Commission, and then at their  
25           first meeting in early January, in fact I think

1 probably was a record attendance, 60 some of you  
2 attended that Human Relations Commission meeting  
3 in which the idea for the ordinance was proposed.  
4 Do you remember what drove the particular timing  
5 of it in late '66 or early '67?

6 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, the state ordinance was --

7 **DR. SAPP:** The failure of the state ordinance  
8 certainly turned up the heat.

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

10 **MRS. SAPP:** I think that's --

11 **DR. SAPP:** I don't know how long it took from  
12 --

13 **MRS. SAPP:** Not long.

14 **DR. SAPP:** But it wasn't very long. We sat  
15 in the Fair Housing Coordinating Committee talking  
16 about this and I finally said let's go to the City  
17 Commission and try to get them to do something.

18 **MRS. SAPP:** Get something local, we can't get  
19 --

20 **DR. SAPP:** Yes, yes.

21 **MRS. SAPP:** And it went fast. What, it took  
22 six months? July they passed the ordinance?

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Yes, from the 4th of  
24 January it was presented to the Human Relations  
25 Commission and passed in the middle of July, so

1 that was pretty impressive.

2 **MRS. SAPP:** And the people on the HRC, like  
3 Fred [Six] and others, you know, got the  
4 information and got the thing written in record  
5 time I would say.

6 (10:38:11)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** And was your impression that the  
8 Human Relations Commission was quite receptive to  
9 the idea and --

10 **MRS. SAPP:** Oh yes.

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- very interested in helping  
12 you move it forward?

13 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, yes.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good.

15 **DR. SAPP:** I have a quote from that time  
16 nobody else seems to remember but I do very  
17 clearly. The mayor at that time, Dick Raney, the  
18 younger Raney, commented when the ideas were  
19 presented, he said, "You know, I've never  
20 understood why realtors have any right to tell us  
21 where we can live."

22 **MRS. SAPP:** That was at the meeting where it  
23 was passed.

24 **DR. SAPP:** So when he was there at the recent  
25 meeting I reminded him about that. He didn't

1 remember it.

2 (10:39:03)

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, yes. It's interesting  
4 how some things stand out in your mind and you  
5 recall and for somebody else --

6 **MRS. SAPP:** It impressed us because he was a  
7 businessman.

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** His father was a businessman, and  
10 he was -- well, Jim Owens is another businessman  
11 who was involved with all this. He had the floral  
12 shop and --

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yep, and he was on the human  
14 relations, had been on the City Commission but by  
15 then was on the Human Relations Commission.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** Right.

17 (10:39:22)

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** So it comes up to the Human  
19 Relations Commission in January. They're very  
20 receptive and start, obviously, researching --

21 **MRS. SAPP:** Right.

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- and drafting. And who do you  
23 recall kind of played the main role in pulling it  
24 together?

25 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I'm not sure, except Fred



1 was so involved, but I'm sure --

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Fred Six?

3 **MRS. SAPP:** Fred Six, but I'm sure, I think  
4 they virtually all worked on it and I'm not sure  
5 how much the coordinating committee did from then  
6 on.

7 **DR. SAPP:** I don't --

8 **MRS. SAPP:** I don't think -- I think --

9 **DR. SAPP:** It seemed almost like it just  
10 needed somebody to say let's move ahead.

11 (10:40:05)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, I think --

13 **DR. SAPP:** Let's do it.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- Professor Casad was involved  
15 and I think he had been involved with the Fair  
16 Housing Coordinating Committee, --

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- although when I interviewed  
19 him he didn't remember being heavily involved, he  
20 sort of had the impression he was kind of brought  
21 in for his expertise.

22 **MRS. SAPP:** I think he was, I think he came  
23 in for expertise, yes.

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Now, a --

25 **MRS. SAPP:** I think he had the right, you

1 know, he would, he could have been involved but  
2 not everybody could be active.

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. As the Human Relations  
4 Commission was working on the ordinance a couple  
5 other things were going on on the side that the  
6 Fair Housing Coordinating Committee seemed to have  
7 been orchestrating. One was the seven articles  
8 that were published in the Journal-World in  
9 February.

10 **DR. SAPP:** That was my idea.

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Was it? Tell me about that.

12 **DR. SAPP:** Typical university professor, get  
13 some experts to tell about things.

14 (10:40:58)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** What was your intended audience  
16 or who were you hoping to influence by those  
17 articles?

18 **DR. SAPP:** Anybody with a reasonable mind.

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Were you hoping --

20 **MRS. SAPP:** The thinking public.

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, this was hoping that kind  
22 of the general public would therefore be convinced  
23 that they shouldn't oppose this or was it targeted  
24 at the City Commission to try and get them  
25 pressure?

1           **DR. SAPP:** No, it was general.

2           **MR. ARNOLD:** General public? Okay.

3           **DR. SAPP:** The last article, the one by the  
4 sociologist, Jack Barr, I remember he said, "Well,  
5 said it would be good if we could progress past  
6 these discriminations, but," he says, "but it will  
7 take a long time with human people being what they  
8 are."

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

10          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

11          **MR. ARNOLD:** And sadly we're still seeing  
12 some truth to that.

13          **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

14          **MRS. SAPP:** I remember your contacting  
15 people.

16          **DR. SAPP:** Yes, some of the first people I  
17 thought of contacting, you know, said, well, I  
18 kind of, I'd like to, I have some ideas in this  
19 area, but I don't think I can stick my neck out at  
20 this time.

21                   (10:42:02)

22          **MR. ARNOLD:** That's interesting. So you  
23 actually reached out to people you thought would  
24 be good candidates to author these articles and  
25 some were more receptive than others?

1           **DR. SAPP:** Well, as I say, they were just,  
2 felt like they were subject to pressures.

3           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

4           **MRS. SAPP:** But enough people did, although  
5 when I go back and read them I think those are  
6 learned articles, very well written, but I wonder  
7 if the man on the street or the woman on the  
8 street, so to speak, paid a lot of attention to  
9 it.

10          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

11          **MRS. SAPP:** Because they were just written in  
12 a, what would I say, a more professorial or just  
13 for an audience that -- but we needed to get the  
14 people who were thinking people who would say,  
15 well yes, this is right, and if so and so, if, you  
16 know, if enough other people are doing it I'll  
17 join in.

18          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

19          **MRS. SAPP:** You know, I won't, we won't feel  
20 the pressure if there are ten of us instead of one  
21 or a hundred instead of ten or whatever.

22          **DR. SAPP:** And I think the --

23          **MRS. SAPP:** I think the --

24          **DR. SAPP:** -- list of authors also  
25 illustrates the importance of the religious and

1 educational communities within Lawrence.

2 **MRS. SAPP:** You know, the university has had  
3 such a big impact on Lawrence because say when we  
4 came Lawrence was something like 27,000,  
5 university had 12,000 students.

6 (10:43:31)

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, Lawrence really was a small  
8 town.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** You know, the university has  
10 always been a really important part of Lawrence in  
11 all kinds of ways, providing employment for not  
12 only people who are teaching there but all these  
13 people who help in one way or another, and so it  
14 has a big influence really.

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** And some people view it  
17 negatively, I've run into that. I used to; I  
18 don't anymore.

19 (10:44:02)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, Fred Six, when I  
21 interviewed him he said that he did not think that  
22 that kind of change could have been brought about  
23 at the time if Lawrence wasn't a university town  
24 and the diversity and more, freer thinking that  
25 university people brought to challenge things that

1 they thought were wrong.

2 **DR. SAPP:** I remember when Leonard Clark and  
3 his then fiancée, later wife, came to the first  
4 meeting and told about their problems trying to  
5 rent an apartment where the apartments were  
6 advertised in the paper but when he went he was  
7 told they were all taken but the advertisement  
8 continued in the paper and I said to him, I said,  
9 "Leonard, you are in a position to embarrass this  
10 town."

11 (10:45:02)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** And another university couple  
13 that we've been told also suffered discrimination,  
14 unfortunately we've been trying to track them down  
15 to interview them, but did you know Bob and Gladys  
16 Sanders?

17 **DR. SAPP:** Oh yes.

18 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, yes, yes. I can get you  
19 their information.

20 **DR. SAPP:** They moved back to Carolina --

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** North Carolina.

22 **DR. SAPP:** -- fairly recently.

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. We've been trying to --

24 **MRS. SAPP:** Do you have their address and  
25 phone number?

1           **MR. ARNOLD:** The city does and the city has

2           --

3           **MRS. SAPP:** Okay.

4           **MR. ARNOLD:** Well, if you have their phone  
5           number that will be great. The city has mailed  
6           them at their new --

7           **MRS. SAPP:** I know who does.

8           **MR. ARNOLD:** -- address and e-mailed them but  
9           has not heard back.

10          **MRS. SAPP:** I know who does. Shirley does.

11          **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. If you could get that for  
12          us that would be great because I'm actually, as I  
13          said, I'm hoping to go back and interview Reverend  
14          Dulin.

15          **MRS. SAPP:** They came, they came after fair  
16          housing. They came in the '70s, didn't they? And  
17          the Physics Department had two black professors  
18          come.

19          **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

20          **MRS. SAPP:** One was a graduate, I guess he  
21          was a graduate but he'd been teaching, he wasn't a  
22          real young person, and they were great, you know,  
23          really good people and all, and one of the black  
24          families who lived on our street was Marilyn, I  
25          can't say her last name, she was in --

1           **DR. SAPP:** Law.

2           **MRS. SAPP:** A law professor.

3           **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

4           **MRS. SAPP:** And these people didn't stay too  
5 long and you know why, because they were offered  
6 more money at other places --

7           **MR. ARNOLD:** Sure.

8           **MRS. SAPP:** -- because there were not that  
9 many minority professors or people qualified to  
10 teach and all the universities and colleges were  
11 trying to diversify their faculties, --

12           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right.

13           **MRS. SAPP:** -- were under pressure to, so --

14           **DR. SAPP:** Our physics (10:46:34) black  
15 professor was quickly lured away by the federal  
16 government for some sort of black education  
17 project, paid him a lot more than what --

18           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, the pay, and you can't blame  
19 the people either.

20           **MR. ARNOLD:** Sure.

21           **MRS. SAPP:** But the Sanders, yes, they did  
22 stay here and Bob taught in some form of biology.

23           **MR. ARNOLD:** Could be microbiology?

24           **MRS. SAPP:** Microbiology.

25           **MR. ARNOLD:** Something in the biosciences.



1           **DR. SAPP:** And the --

2           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, Gladys --

3           **DR. SAPP:** Taught math.

4           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, she taught math at the high  
5 school.

6           **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

7           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, or junior high, high school,  
8 but not at first. They came and they lived in the  
9 Sunflower duplexes, which was where we had lived  
10 for several years when we first came here, and  
11 they had two children, Sylvia and William. I  
12 think they had Sylvia when they came but William  
13 was born after they came here. We knew them quite  
14 well for a number of years and then kind of -- the  
15 university grew so much we, and a lot of other  
16 people, you kind of ended up in more your area,  
17 like the physics, astronomy, --

18           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

19           **MRS. SAPP:** -- chemistry people and just  
20 because it was so big you didn't see the other  
21 people. We're very active with the retirees group  
22 at K.U. now, the Endacott Society, and one of the  
23 wonderful things about it is getting reacquainted  
24 with people from all areas of the university.

25           But anyway, --

1           **DR. SAPP:** I don't even know everybody in my  
2           own department now.

3           **MRS. SAPP:** -- Gladys would, Gladys is very  
4           forthright, and she's a very good artist, too.

5           **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

6           **MRS. SAPP:** She, yes, she's --

7           **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. I hope we can get ahold  
8           of them and see if they'd be willing, because  
9           while I'm back in North Carolina interviewing the  
10          Dulins I would love to do them as well.

11          **MRS. SAPP:** That would be great. I think  
12          they would, I really do, and I will get the phone  
13          number.

14                   (10:48:36)

15          **MR. ARNOLD:** And even if they ended up, if  
16          they came a little bit later it would still be  
17          interesting to see what their experience was post  
18          Fair Housing Ordinance as compared to pre Fair  
19          Housing Ordinance.

20          **MRS. SAPP:** I'm not sure when, I thought it  
21          was --

22          **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, I'd have to go back and  
23          look.

24          **MRS. SAPP:** -- after '70, but it -- no, wait  
25          a minute. I'm trying to think --

1           **DR. SAPP:** I thought they'd come in the --

2           **MRS. SAPP:** -- of from the ages of our  
3 children. It must have been in the later '60s,  
4 because our kids were born in '61 and '63 and they  
5 were still fairly young. It was -- was it before  
6 we went to Berkeley or after? That was a, Dick  
7 got a sabbatical and we spent a semester out  
8 there, and that, talk about integration, they had  
9 integrated the schools by busing, I mean really  
10 integrated them.

11           **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

12           **MRS. SAPP:** Our children were in the minority  
13 as whites, --

14           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

15           **MRS. SAPP:** -- which was I thought excellent,  
16 and they had very good teachers at the whole  
17 school, which isn't very good or hasn't been very  
18 good for quite awhile but was excellent in 1970.  
19 They were really working to bring all children  
20 up --

21           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

22           **MRS. SAPP:** -- to standards, so --

23           (10:49:45)

24           **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, my own children went to a  
25 -- I was a career naval officer and spent my tour

1 before coming to Lawrence, we spent quite a bit of  
2 time at a big U.S. Navy base we have out in Japan  
3 and we have DOD school system there and the DOD  
4 high school, my children were minority in that  
5 high school and they had a wonderful experience  
6 and I thought there wasn't any better way for them  
7 to really learn other cultures and be exposed to  
8 --

9 **MRS. SAPP:** Wow. Which is why we --

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- that kind of diversity, which  
11 I think is important for everybody.

12 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, why we need it.

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, absolutely.

14 **DR. SAPP:** They've got to be carefully taught  
15 one way or the other.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** This whole schools, getting the  
17 schools integrated, which Lawrence did to some  
18 extent by busing, our children went to Hillcrest  
19 school and a lot of the kids from Stouffer Place  
20 from graduate students from other countries went  
21 there, too, so that was I thought very good.

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good.

23 **MRS. SAPP:** But, oh, kids are, you know, if  
24 they're not told that they shouldn't accept people  
25 they just accept them so well.

1 (10:50:59)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Yep, absolutely.

3 Let me take you back again to those articles  
4 we were talking about. Was there any negative  
5 reaction? Was there letters to the editor in  
6 response to any of them, that you recall?

7 **DR. SAPP:** No reaction that I remember.

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

9 **DR. SAPP:** But the realtors did have their  
10 turn. They had a big ad in the Journal-World  
11 about forced housing and that was rebutted by the  
12 local chapter of the NAACP.

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

14 **MRS. SAPP:** Have you seen that ad?

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** I've seen an ad that was  
16 actually run at the time the state was considering  
17 it in which, is this the one in which the realtors  
18 basically called fair housing kind of a  
19 Marxist-socialist doctrine?

20 **MRS. SAPP:** '65. That was probably the one.

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** Is the one I've seen, --

22 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, that's the one.

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- and I think this was run when  
24 the state was first considering --

25 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

1           **DR. SAPP:** Now locally --

2           **MR. ARNOLD:** -- and describes a philosophy of  
3 curbing the property-owning class is a  
4 Marxist-socialist doctrine, so they took their  
5 position pretty strongly.

6           **DR. SAPP:** Now locally a lawyer, Don Hults,  
7 who had been a former state senator, appeared to  
8 testify against the Lawrence ordinance --

9           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

10          **DR. SAPP:** -- on behalf of the Lawrence  
11 realtors board.

12          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

13                   (10:52:39)

14          **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, do you kind of recall the  
15 nature of their arguments against it? Although  
16 Fred Six gave us a very good description.

17          **DR. SAPP:** I think I had a copy of the  
18 newspaper article that quoted him.

19          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Yes, Fred went into a  
20 great deal of legal detail about what their legal  
21 positions were, which he just thought were not  
22 worth very much.

23          **DR. SAPP:** Yes, right.

24                   (10:53:05)

25          **MR. ARNOLD:** The other thing I wanted to ask

1       you about is the other part of the campaign that  
2       the Fair Housing Coordinating Committee kind of  
3       had going in parallel to the Human Relations  
4       Commission working on the ordinance in addition to  
5       those articles was a signature campaign in which  
6       they published the signatures of, --

7               **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, right.

8               **MR. ARNOLD:** -- in two different times, I  
9       think there was like 900 in one full page ad that  
10      they published and then three or 400 more, so well  
11      over a thousand signatures of people, and not only  
12      did they have the people's names but also their  
13      addresses, and the city mapping people have  
14      actually mapped where all those people live and  
15      found it was a pretty widespread group of people  
16      who lived all over town, and were you surprised,  
17      do you remember, at that widespread level of  
18      support or do you feel like Lawrence, there was a  
19      fairly broad-based group of people who were ready  
20      for this kind of change?

21              **MRS. SAPP:** I felt they were ready, yes.

22              **DR. SAPP:** Yes. I was heartened. I don't  
23      remember being personally involved in that idea  
24      even but, so the list just appeared in the paper  
25      and I thought, gee, this is great for Lawrence.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I think we signed it and  
2 knew about it.

3           **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

4           **MRS. SAPP:** But no, we didn't -- we weren't  
5 among the people who got it going.

6           (10:54:34)

7           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And it's interesting  
8 that even --

9           **MRS. SAPP:** I don't think --

10          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- I think about three years  
11 before the United Church Women of Lawrence did a  
12 similar campaign which they worked through the  
13 churches and got about 845 signatures, so there  
14 clearly was, again, Lawrence was a pretty small  
15 town so if you get over a thousand signatures was  
16 not insignificant at the time.

17          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

18          **DR. SAPP:** Right.

19          **MR. ARNOLD:** So it does show that there was a  
20 fair amount of support out there.

21          **MRS. SAPP:** I think the realtors were finding  
22 themselves kind of in the minority and I think  
23 once the ordinance was passed, which was, what, on  
24 a six month, it was really just, I don't remember  
25 any problems that like people said I'm not gonna



1 follow this or that kind of -- they may have said  
2 it but you didn't read about it in the paper or  
3 hear about it.

4 (10:55:24)

5 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. And there didn't appear  
6 to be a big backlash in terms of letters to the  
7 editor. There were a couple of voices but not  
8 very many that objected to the ordinance.

9 When the ordinance, in April, I don't know  
10 whether you were at the meeting at the City  
11 Commission, but Fred Six presented the ordinance  
12 to the commission.

13 **MRS. SAPP:** Uh-huh. Yes, we were there.

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** And everything that I can tell,  
15 the commission seemed fairly receptive, at least  
16 the majority of them. Was that your impression,  
17 that there wasn't a whole lot of pushback? I  
18 mean, Dick Raney even was quoted in the paper  
19 after it was presented praising it as a great  
20 piece of work, so were you confident in the time,  
21 at that time that you thought it was going to pass  
22 the City Commission? Did you feel like --

23 **DR. SAPP:** Yes, there was just one, one guy  
24 who was very conservative businessman downtown who  
25 -- and the farthest he could go was to say, "Well,

1 I don't know, I have to think about this," you  
2 know.

3 **MRS. SAPP:** I probably, I was a whole lot  
4 younger then, but I was sure it would pass. I  
5 wasn't surprised that it passed.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good.

7 **MRS. SAPP:** I mean, we worked, all -- so many  
8 people worked on it. No, I think it was, it was  
9 time.

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

11 **MRS. SAPP:** I think people realized it was  
12 time.

13 (10:56:41)

14 **MR. ARNOLD:** And Fred Six kind of pointed out  
15 that really the members of the Human Relations  
16 Commission at that time he felt was a pretty broad  
17 and prominent cross section of the community and  
18 their influence on, not that most of the city  
19 commission wasn't receptive anyway but that just  
20 gave a little extra weight to it with those kind  
21 of people behind it.

22 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, yes, and I think people in  
23 the community said, oh, accepted having a Human  
24 Relations Committee, --

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** -- accepted that we needed --

2                   (10:57:12)

3           **MR. ARNOLD:** A couple other things that were  
4 sent up to the City Commission at the time they  
5 were considering the ordinance was a letter from  
6 Vice Chancellor Surface which said the university  
7 is fully supportive of this, it's in accordance  
8 with the university's housing policy, which had  
9 already, the university some years earlier had  
10 gone through its own process of finally getting  
11 around to integrated housing policy, so the  
12 university administration was behind it, and then  
13 also there was a letter, I don't know if you  
14 recall, from Ted Owens, the basketball coach.

15           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

16           **MR. ARNOLD:** And he said, you know, I go  
17 around the country recruiting athletes to come to  
18 K.U., I tell their parents that they're coming to  
19 a wonderful town where they'll be treated fairly  
20 and we need this, an ordinance like this to back  
21 that up. Do you think that those types of  
22 expressions of support were influential in helping  
23 to push it through?

24           **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, I think so.

25           **DR. SAPP:** I think so, yes, yes.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. It's, again, having, being  
2 in a university town that helped but certainly  
3 people have always been very enamored of K.U.  
4 basketball so if they thought, people thought, you  
5 know, you might not get a recruit because of this  
6 I'm sure they would --

7           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Every little bit helps.

8           **MRS. SAPP:** -- pretty much say, "well."

9           **DR. SAPP:** You know, housing for students  
10 really underwent a great change just since we came  
11 here. When we came in '57 most of the men  
12 students still lived in private --

13          **MRS. SAPP:** Rooming houses.

14          **DR. SAPP:** -- rooming houses. There were no  
15 Daisy Field dorms at all.

16          **MRS. SAPP:** But it was integrated through --  
17 wasn't the stadium housing integrated, their  
18 housing below the, underneath the stadium? I  
19 think the housing was integrated.

20           (10:59:07)

21          **MR. ARNOLD:** It wasn't initially but --

22          **MRS. SAPP:** No, I mean by then --

23          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- it was one of the first  
24 things, it became integrated, then the big fight  
25 was whether the university would continue to allow

1 private landlords to advertise housing on  
2 campus --

3 **MRS. SAPP:** That's right, that's right.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- that would not allow  
5 African-Americans into that housing and the  
6 university finally, under some pressure, finally  
7 took a position that yes, we're not going to allow  
8 those landlords to advertise on campus.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, I do remember, now that you  
10 remind me.

11 (10:59:35)

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** I think that was kind of the  
13 last fight, and Gale Sayers was actually involved  
14 in the protests related to making that change, so  
15 the athletes at K.U. definitely played a role in  
16 --

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Definitely.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- helping to bring about  
19 change?

20 **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

21 (10:59:48)

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** One thing I noted in reading the  
23 meeting minutes of all the human relations council  
24 meetings, and I, or Human Relations Commission  
25 meetings and then also I think the City Commission

1 meetings on this issue were that the two of you  
2 were present at every one of them. Was that just  
3 because of your involvement with this particular  
4 issue or did the two of you normally attend those  
5 on just general issues?

6 **MRS. SAPP:** No, we didn't normally.

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

8 **MRS. SAPP:** It was because of this.

9 **DR. SAPP:** We were very committed to this  
10 issue.

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

12 **MRS. SAPP:** I would say we were interested in  
13 others and we did go to some other meetings but we  
14 didn't go regularly.

15 (11:00:23)

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Now, when the City  
17 Commission held, during two different sessions,  
18 one the proponents of the ordinance presented  
19 their case and then later Don Hults and I think  
20 one other realtor were the only people who showed  
21 up speaking against it at a separate session, but  
22 do you recall in the session of the proponents  
23 people, as I recall, spoke in favor of it, like  
24 Jesse Milan, Homer Floyd, who was the director  
25 then of the Kansas Civil Rights Commission, do you

1 think voices like theirs, voices of people who had  
2 been discriminated against, played an important  
3 role in swaying the commission that this was the  
4 right thing to do?

5 **MRS. SAPP:** I think so, yes, and the -- do  
6 you want to say something about the Kansas  
7 Advisory Commission, or Committee for Civil Rights  
8 with -- Dick was a member of this.

9 **DR. SAPP:** We kind of progressed from the  
10 local level and I got involved at the national, --

11 **MRS. SAPP:** At the state.

12 **DR. SAPP:** -- I'm sorry, at the state level,  
13 too.

14 (11:01:27)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, I'd like to hear about that  
16 as well.

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, I was not on the one that  
18 went to that, but first let me say, Ruth Shechter  
19 in Kansas City was director or head of that Kansas  
20 Advisory Council for Civil Rights and I found a  
21 copy of a letter she sent saying thank you for  
22 sending a copy of the Lawrence ordinance and  
23 congratulations and we got, at least we got  
24 something through after losing at the state level.

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** She was very pleased with that.  
2 She was a very good person to have directing this  
3 and just spent all kinds of time involved. I  
4 think she had come through from the Jewish, what,  
5 I don't know what organization but I think she'd  
6 started out in that way, but, yes, you can go  
7 ahead. We've got oodles of material from the  
8 Kansas Advisory Council and we both attended a  
9 number of the meetings when Dick was on it.

10           (11:02:33)

11           **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, describe that organization  
12 and how you were involved with that.

13           **DR. SAPP:** I didn't know whether you -- I  
14 think we both went. George and Mandy Caldwell  
15 were very social minded, involved in things, told  
16 us about a meeting in Topeka where they were going  
17 to talk about fair housing and so we were coming  
18 right off of this hot topic in our minds so we  
19 wanted to go to this meeting, and they had a  
20 realtor from someplace in Colorado as the  
21 principal speaker, spoke about they had gotten  
22 fair housing ordinance in Colorado and what was  
23 involved, but he seemed amazed that they had been  
24 able to do that. He didn't realize that it could  
25 be done until it got done out there, so he was



1 kind of there to encourage us, but the executive  
2 director of the Kansas --

3 **MRS. SAPP:** Carl Glatt.

4 **DR. SAPP:** Carl Glatt.

5 **MRS. SAPP:** Glatt.

6 **DR. SAPP:** Kansas Civil Rights Commission, he  
7 was a white man and with I would say a very  
8 abrasive approach to things and he was under  
9 considerable fire and so at this meeting then we  
10 heard black people testifying against Carl Glatt.  
11 They didn't like Carl Glatt, they wanted to get  
12 rid of him, and so this was kind of a new  
13 phenomenon to me, so after the meeting we went to  
14 talk to their spokesman, who had presented their  
15 objections to Carl Glatt, and we just said, you  
16 know, we're just getting into this, we don't know  
17 much about it, but what if you get rid of Carl  
18 Glatt? What are you wanting? And he said, well,  
19 we have a man in mind who I think can do a very  
20 good job in that position.

21 So that's when --

22 **MRS. SAPP:** Homer Floyd.

23 **DR. SAPP:** -- Homer Floyd came on the scene  
24 there.

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay, that's very good.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Here is a -- oh, there were  
2 things about was this constitutional, too, that,  
3 you know, fair housing.

4           (11:05:24)

5           **MR. ARNOLD:** Fair Housing Ordinances. And  
6 that was probably resolved the next year when the  
7 federal fair housing law was passed.

8           Now, I had seen a letter that I think the two  
9 of you signed to the U.S. Senator from Kansas --

10          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

11          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- in support of fair housing  
12 nationally, so you all were obviously looking much  
13 bigger picture than just --

14          **DR. SAPP:** By then, yes.

15          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

16          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, here's one, Kansas Advisory  
17 Council on Civil Rights. It's an article then  
18 from the Kansas City Star on November 2, '66,  
19 realtors help write Colorado housing law.

20          **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

21          **MRS. SAPP:** That's kind of interesting.

22          (11:06)

23          **MR. ARNOLD:** And I know there was some  
24 effort, people like Glenn Kappelman, and even  
25 Homer Floyd went and talked at one point to the

1 Lawrence realtors to try and bring them on board  
2 and get them involved in the process, like it  
3 sounds like happened in Colorado, but they tended  
4 to be resistant.

5 **DR. SAPP:** Still licking their wounds.

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

7 **MRS. SAPP:** They just --

8 **DR. SAPP:** On that trip to Topeka I got  
9 acquainted with the woman that Fred mentioned as  
10 the chair of their local civil rights commission  
11 here in Lawrence, Mayzelma Wallace.

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

13 **DR. SAPP:** And I got acquainted with her on  
14 that and she was really a remarkable individual.  
15 I was very impressed with her.

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes. Fred said he got to know  
17 her very well and was thoroughly impressed with  
18 her.

19 **MRS. SAPP:** I did go to those meetings, I'm  
20 just not listed as a member of the committee and  
21 it's all kind of fuzzy to me, but I know Dick took  
22 an active part and I know I went to meetings in  
23 Topeka with that, and Georgella Lyles was another,  
24 a black woman in Lawrence who did quite a bit with  
25 this kind of thing. I remember Georgella well,

1 who was a good person, really good person.

2 Yes, Fred was really very involved with the  
3 whole thing at a time when he was establishing his  
4 own career and such, too. I'm sure he --

5 (11:07:49)

6 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Earlier in the  
7 conversation we talked about, I asked you about  
8 kind of if you could name some people who played  
9 kind of a prominent role in general in Lawrence in  
10 bringing about change. How about specific to the  
11 Fair Housing Ordinance? Can you name any other  
12 key individuals who you think played an important,  
13 particularly important role in making it happen  
14 and getting the ordinance up before the City  
15 Commission and getting it passed?

16 **MRS. SAPP:** I would say --

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Or was it pretty much a kind of  
18 a group effort?

19 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I think that's true but I  
20 think like Glenn Kappelman, who was not on the  
21 Human Relations Commission, --

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** He actually was.

23 **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, was he?

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** He was. In 1967 he actually had  
25 become a member.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Okay, I didn't realize, I didn't  
2 remember that. I would say all the people on the  
3 Human Relations Commission, Jim Owens and --

4           **DR. SAPP:** I can't think of anybody you  
5 haven't already mentioned.

6           **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Just wanted to make sure  
7 we didn't leave anybody out.

8           **MRS. SAPP:** You know, the thing, it just  
9 seemed to go through this, it was such a fight on  
10 the state and defeated but locally it just seemed,  
11 you know, I think maybe partly because the state  
12 one was defeated, that people, that enough people  
13 were rather indignant about that, too, and just  
14 said we'll go, because the City Commission just  
15 came along.

16           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

17           **MRS. SAPP:** Course, they'd heard from people  
18 about it.

19           (11:09:20)

20           **MR. ARNOLD:** And after it passed do you  
21 recall any particular grumbling among the local  
22 public or -- I've read somewhere that some people  
23 said, well, maybe this should have gone to a  
24 referendum, that there should have been a --

25           **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, well, that's always said.

1           **MR. ARNOLD:** But do you recall there was any  
2 significant pressure at all against it or was it  
3 pretty well accepted, to the best of your  
4 recollection?

5           **DR. SAPP:** I don't think I have a clipping  
6 but somehow I remember a report of a woman who  
7 owned and operated an apartment complex and she  
8 objected to this on the basis, you know, private  
9 property, I can choose to associate with whoever I  
10 want or not, and she pretty much expressed that  
11 forced housing point of view that the realtors  
12 were putting.

13           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

14           **MRS. SAPP:** Did she write a, do you remember  
15 --

16           **DR. SAPP:** She's the wife of a university  
17 professor, too.

18           **MRS. SAPP:** Did she write an article? How  
19 did you hear about it, do you remember?

20           **DR. SAPP:** That's what I can't remember now.  
21 I didn't find a clipping in our collection.

22           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I didn't see anything in  
23 there about it. I don't really remember that.

24           **DR. SAPP:** I don't remember her name so I  
25 can't name names.

1 (11:10:53)

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Well, the reason I bring that up  
3 is we had looked earlier at that letter to the  
4 editor that the two of you signed some weeks after  
5 it passed and I was wondering, do you think that  
6 was a response because there were some other  
7 negative letters about it and you were just trying  
8 to lay out the positive argument or did you just  
9 feel like at that point the City Commission  
10 deserved an "attaboy" for having gotten this done?

11 **MRS. SAPP:** Probably both.

12 **DR. SAPP:** Some relief.

13 **MRS. SAPP:** I don't really remember but I  
14 don't think we would have heard too much about it.

15 (11:11:26)

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, because you really, your  
17 letter to the editor both praised the fact that it  
18 passed, couple of paragraphs you kind of  
19 summarized here's what's in the ordinance, just to  
20 make people aware, and --

21 **MRS. SAPP:** Publicity, I think that was, that  
22 was another thing.

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

24 **MRS. SAPP:** Make sure people -- some people  
25 read letters to the editors and they don't read

1 other things.

2 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

3 **MRS. SAPP:** But, you know, that there's  
4 support for this. I'm sure there were people who  
5 grumbled about it and I'm sure there were people  
6 who owned, you know, a couple duplexes and don't  
7 want this done, but there were some exceptions for  
8 duplexes.

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

10 **MRS. SAPP:** And I don't know, I think for a  
11 lot of people the whole idea of selling your house  
12 to people, to, well, in this case, of course, to  
13 black people was losing money and that that comes  
14 with the redlining and somebody going in and  
15 saying your property values are going to drop and  
16 that kind of thing.

17 Financial, in other words, because a lot of  
18 people really couldn't afford to lose money.

19 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

20 **MRS. SAPP:** If you had enough money you could  
21 take a stand on that way, so there again, having a  
22 law meant that --

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Everybody was on an equal  
24 playing field.

25 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. That's a help.



1           **DR. SAPP:** I have one other experience.  
2           About that time, after it passed, we had next door  
3           neighbors who at some point got separating and  
4           divorcing and so they were going to sell their  
5           house and so I saw the woman in the driveway one  
6           day and I walked over and I said, "I just want you  
7           to know that as far as we're concerned we'd be  
8           happy if you sold your house to negroes or whites  
9           but we, don't think that we wouldn't like that,  
10          discrimination like that," and the woman, her jaw  
11          dropped. She just stared at me. She never said  
12          anything ever to me again.

13                   (11:13:59)

14          **MR. ARNOLD:** Interesting. But you commented  
15          before we started the interview that in fact your  
16          neighborhood did become integrated,  
17          African-American families moved in after the  
18          ordinance had passed?

19          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, a couple. They just didn't  
20          stay long because they were university.

21          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

22          **MRS. SAPP:** We lived right near the  
23          university, just down the hill, so it's --

24                   (11:14:16)

25          **MR. ARNOLD:** And you all were on Avalon, is

1 that --

2 **MRS. SAPP:** Avalon, and it's a very -- well,  
3 there are a number of people who aren't associated  
4 with the university but it's, at least it used to  
5 be mostly university people because they wanted to  
6 live right close to campus, which is what we've  
7 always liked.

8 (11:14:34)

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. So you all can say that  
10 you actually saw some actual change come about --

11 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, right.

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- as a result of the ordinance?

13 **MRS. SAPP:** Right.

14 (11:14:41)

15 **MR. ARNOLD:** And would you say that the  
16 neighborhood accepted these families without any  
17 issues?

18 **MRS. SAPP:** I never heard any problem about  
19 it.

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good.

21 **MRS. SAPP:** I'm quite sure it would be  
22 accepted by the people who lived there. We have,  
23 well, we have gay people, we have, I don't --  
24 we've had people from other countries or of other  
25 nationalities, we -- I don't believe there's a

1 black couple there now. I don't have as good a  
2 feeling for who all lives there. As we've gotten  
3 -- we've been there longer than anybody but I  
4 would say people are neighborly but don't have  
5 time to really neighbor. We don't have the kind  
6 of, you know, get-togethers that we once did.

7 (11:15:30)

8 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** And also there are not many  
10 children right now in the neighborhood and when  
11 there are children that's how you get out.

12 (11:15:38)

13 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. This may not be a fair  
14 question to ask because it asks you to kind of  
15 give me a general impression, but would you say  
16 that what happened in your neighborhood, did you  
17 have any observations that that was starting to  
18 happen more broadly in Lawrence after the  
19 ordinance passed, that --

20 **MRS. SAPP:** I think so.

21 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- neighborhoods were starting  
22 to integrate?

23 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, I think so.

24 (11:15:56)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** So you all can say based on your

1 observation and impressions that the ordinance did  
2 make a difference?

3 **MRS. SAPP:** Oh yes, I think it made a  
4 difference in attitudes. I think there were a lot  
5 of people -- this is my impression, I don't have  
6 any facts or, you know, really to base -- that  
7 there were people probably just waiting for  
8 something like this that were relieved or found,  
9 at least, as they went on, and people found --  
10 well, we did have friends, again, associated with  
11 the university who lived not many blocks from us,  
12 toward downtown, I think on Alabama, and they were  
13 in, I'm not sure whether they owned or rented the  
14 house, I remember Thelma telling me -- and she was  
15 at the high school as a counselor or something,  
16 but across the street the woman wasn't too happy.  
17 Now, Thelma was very low key and she said, I just,  
18 essentially she overcame this with kindness. She  
19 was very friendly, she would take things over to  
20 the woman and such and came around, so some of  
21 that is getting to know people.

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Absolutely.

23 **MRS. SAPP:** A lot of it.

24 (11:17:13)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** That's one of the biggest,

1 biggest arguments for integration is when you get  
2 to know the people you didn't think you liked  
3 before but then you find out they're just people  
4 just like you your attitude changes.

5 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. Well, we find that  
6 underneath everybody is pretty much, everybody  
7 wants the best for their family, they want a home,  
8 you know, they want employment.

9 (11:17:37)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Let's shift away from  
11 fair housing for just a second and we had brought  
12 up earlier the swimming pool. In November of '67  
13 the city finally in a public vote passed a bond  
14 issue to build the public swimming pool after it  
15 had failed a couple time previous, times  
16 previously.

17 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

18 **MR. ARNOLD:** What do you think finally  
19 convinced -- and I understand it didn't pass by  
20 much, but it passed. What do you think finally  
21 convinced a majority of the public that the time  
22 had come to build an integrated swimming pool and  
23 passed that bond issue?

24 **MRS. SAPP:** Well, I think people were worn  
25 down and I think the children had a lot to do with

1       it, I suspect, insisting they wanted a swimming  
2       pool, and not only the white -- white children  
3       wanted a bigger swimming pool, a good swimming  
4       pool. The little one they opened down south at  
5       23rd was not very big, and we took our kids to  
6       that. We would not join a private pool, and they  
7       knew that we wouldn't, that they wouldn't, unless  
8       there was a public one, and eventually we did join  
9       one out near the West Junior High because that's  
10      where they went and their friends were there and  
11      they could ride their bikes there.

12           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

13           **MRS. SAPP:** But that was after we had the  
14      downtown public pool open, and they did go to the  
15      one downtown, too.

16           So, okay, so why it passed then. Well, I  
17      think people, it's this issue is not going away.

18           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

19           **MRS. SAPP:** There are enough people pushing  
20      for it.

21           (11:19:20)

22           **MR. ARNOLD:** And obviously the fact, as you  
23      point out, there didn't seem to be much pushback  
24      to the fair housing issue so maybe attitudes were  
25      just starting to change.

1           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes. I can't think it was --

2           **DR. SAPP:** Yes.

3           **MRS. SAPP:** I think, I think coming up with  
4 the money for it. I'm not sure there were too  
5 many people who were against it. There were  
6 enough -- there were other swimming pool things.  
7 If you didn't want your kids swimming with  
8 children of other races or nationalities you could  
9 join a private one.

10          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

11          **MRS. SAPP:** But you needed, but we needed one  
12 that was available to all children.

13                   (11:19:52)

14          **MR. ARNOLD:** Somebody told me, it might have  
15 been Professor Casad, that he thought that both  
16 Baldwin and Eudora had integrated public pools  
17 before Lawrence did. Do you think there was any  
18 sense of pressure in Lawrence that other  
19 communities --

20          **MRS. SAPP:** Oh, I don't remember that but --

21          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- had integrated pools and you  
22 were behind?

23          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, I think so. I would think  
24 so, yes.

25                   (11:20:15)

1           **MR. ARNOLD:** Another thing I wanted to ask  
2           you is obviously there was a lot going on  
3           nationally in that time frame, racial tensions and  
4           of course action at the national level. The Civil  
5           Rights Act had passed, the Voting Rights Act. Do  
6           you think that national events put pressure on  
7           people here locally that they needed to recognize  
8           that change is coming, let's start adopting it  
9           locally because it's the right thing to do?

10          **MRS. SAPP:** And it's going to come.

11          **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

12          **MRS. SAPP:** I think people --

13          **MR. ARNOLD:** Did you have that feeling that  
14          people were --

15          **MRS. SAPP:** -- more and more, yes.

16          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- cognizant of what was  
17          happening around the country and feeling like --

18          **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

19          **MR. ARNOLD:** -- it's time for us to change  
20          here, too?

21          **DR. SAPP:** I think so.

22          **MRS. SAPP:** I certainly think so.

23          (11:20:56)

24          **MR. ARNOLD:** And certainly a university town,  
25          again, you would have had people who were very



1 well read and aware of what was going on and --

2 **MRS. SAPP:** And coming from other places.

3 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, exactly.

4 **MRS. SAPP:** And, you know, the library, I was  
5 thinking about this, we had too small a library,  
6 it was outdated, and wanted a library and pushing  
7 for a bond issue for that, which happened, as I  
8 remember, in 1970, the bond issue passed. It kind  
9 of goes along. It's, again, something our  
10 children need a better library facility.

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

12 **MRS. SAPP:** We all need a better library  
13 facility. On, there's fair housing, there's the  
14 swimming pool. The library is a little different  
15 because the library had been open to, of course,  
16 everyone, but just the idea of having a better,  
17 bigger, for the children, as well as for other  
18 people. I think Lawrence was very much a town  
19 that wanted things for its children, --

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Good.

21 **MRS. SAPP:** -- were aware of this.

22 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

23 **MRS. SAPP:** I think it always has been, so --

24 (11:22:05)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Now, unfortunately, even as this

1 progress was happening in '69 and '70 Lawrence  
2 erupted in some violence, --

3 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- some of it related to the  
5 Vietnam War --

6 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes.

7 **MR. ARNOLD:** -- and some of it also related  
8 to racial issues. Were you surprised when kind  
9 of, when that happened or did you sort of have a  
10 sense that there was kind of a lid on a boiling  
11 pot and that something was going to happen at some  
12 point?

13 **DR. SAPP:** We were on my sabbatical out at  
14 Berkeley for six months, in the first six months  
15 of 1970, --

16 **MRS. SAPP:** When the Union burned.

17 **DR. SAPP:** -- and that was just the end of  
18 the violence in Berkeley, the city park bust had  
19 happened the previous fall and things were  
20 beginning to quiet down there, so I picked up the  
21 San Francisco Chronicle and on the front page was  
22 a picture of Lawrence police macing black students  
23 at Lawrence High.

24 **MR. ARNOLD:** Wow.

25 **DR. SAPP:** And people said, "Ooh, what's

1 going on in Lawrence, in Kansas?" Gee whiz.

2 **MRS. SAPP:** We, of course, heard from some of  
3 the people here, and, Dick, but they were still  
4 using tear gas on campus.

5 **DR. SAPP:** Out there, yes.

6 **MRS. SAPP:** Out there. It wasn't completely  
7 over. Oh, it was a very interesting time to be on  
8 the west coast.

9 (11:23:28)

10 **MR. ARNOLD:** Did it surprise you when it  
11 happened in Lawrence or did you have a sense  
12 before you left that maybe things were kind of  
13 build-, that that tension was building?

14 **DR. SAPP:** I had not imagined that kind of  
15 thing happening. It was a shock to me.

16 **MRS. SAPP:** I don't know. It's -- I wasn't  
17 too surprised. I wasn't anticipating it but I  
18 wasn't too surprised because just, again, you're  
19 aware in a university town, the high school  
20 students, the younger students are aware of so  
21 many things because of that.

22 (11:24:04)

23 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. Actually that's been  
24 brought up to me by a couple of people is that it  
25 wasn't just the university but the high school

1 also was kind of a focal point of some racial  
2 tensions.

3 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, yes.

4 **MR. ARNOLD:** How old were your children in  
5 that time frame? They were still younger than  
6 high school?

7 **MRS. SAPP:** In, well, let's see, in '69 they  
8 would have been eight and six or so.

9 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.

10 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, they were well below that.

11 **MR. ARNOLD:** So you wouldn't have had  
12 personal experience --

13 **MRS. SAPP:** And out in Berkeley they were in  
14 grade school and they got excellent education and  
15 a very diverse, among, in a diverse setting.  
16 Teachers were diverse as well.

17 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right, right.

18 **MRS. SAPP:** And of course exposed to a lot  
19 of, a lot of other things around there, so --  
20 which we thought was very good for them, and, you  
21 know, children just accept these things. I  
22 suppose if their parents have taught them  
23 otherwise, but the friends our children, the kids  
24 they went to school with, that they chose to  
25 become closer to, there was no bearing on race,

1       you know, it was just various races and whatever  
2       and nobody seemed to be paying attention to what  
3       color your skin was, what your eyes looked like  
4       or, you know, I just never heard anything about  
5       that, and I volunteered in the art classroom once  
6       a week and so I was around the children some and  
7       such, because I was very involved in our workshops  
8       and activities out there. It was so, such an open  
9       time. You could just participate in all kinds of  
10      things without any formal basis really.

11           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

12           **DR. SAPP:** They also had a good anti-drug --

13           **MRS. SAPP:** Oh yes.

14           **DR. SAPP:** -- education program at Berkeley  
15      and that was very good.

16           **MRS. SAPP:** Starting, you know, first grade.

17           (11:26:05)

18           **MR. ARNOLD:** Interesting. Well, I'm coming  
19      close to the end of my questions, you'll be glad  
20      to know, but I want to give you the opportunity to  
21      blow your own horns a little bit. What are the  
22      two of you most proud of of the contributions you  
23      made to these groups and to these accomplishments  
24      back in that time frame?

25           **MRS. SAPP:** Well, getting other, working with

1 other people, getting other people involved,  
2 promoting the fact that we needed fair housing  
3 law, promoting integration of things, I would say,  
4 for me.

5 Fact that you stuck your neck out, but you  
6 got -- well, did you have tenure? Yes, by then  
7 you had tenure.

8 **DR. SAPP:** Yes, right.

9 **MRS. SAPP:** It took me quite awhile, I think,  
10 to realize that, the pressure that could be on  
11 people about their livelihood and such things.

12 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

13 **MRS. SAPP:** You know, because we -- I just  
14 didn't worry about that.

15 (11:27:19)

16 **MR. ARNOLD:** Dick, do you have any thoughts  
17 on what you are most proud of of your involvement  
18 at that time?

19 **DR. SAPP:** I was just resisting the concept  
20 of personal pride. I just got a lot of  
21 satisfaction out of doing the things that we did  
22 in connection with this. I'm so glad it all  
23 worked out.

24 (11:27:46)

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Right. The final question, in

1 reflecting back on how you were able to accomplish  
2 these things back then, if you were to talk to a  
3 group of young people today who wanted to know how  
4 they could bring about positive change what would  
5 you tell them based on your experiences back then?  
6 What lessons would you pass along?

7 **MRS. SAPP:** Go ahead. You dealt with young  
8 people for more years than I did.

9 **DR. SAPP:** Well, I just, I guess I would try  
10 to modestly say this is one way to go about it,  
11 but some people don't have the temperament to do  
12 it that way, they've got to storm the Bastille and  
13 sometimes that accomplishes things, too, so -- but  
14 that's not the way I like to work. In fact, in  
15 this whole fair housing thing I felt like I was  
16 kind of working behind the scenes somewhat. I did  
17 surface here and there, but like arranging those  
18 newspaper articles, my name does not appear  
19 anywhere in any of the newspapers that carried  
20 those articles.

21 **MRS. SAPP:** And not because you were afraid  
22 to put it in but because you didn't feel it was  
23 necessary.

24 **DR. SAPP:** It wasn't --

25 **MRS. SAPP:** You didn't have the standing in

1 the community --

2 **DR. SAPP:** I didn't have --

3 **MRS. SAPP:** -- or known in the community in  
4 the way these others --

5 **DR. SAPP:** As a physicist I had no expertise,  
6 that I've entirely an avocation to meddle in civil  
7 rights affairs.

8 **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, I don't call it pride but  
9 just feeling good that we were active in it, I was  
10 active in it, and tell people to go ahead and act  
11 on your beliefs as much as you can, but think  
12 about it, not just go out --

13 **DR. SAPP:** The other thing I'd say is it can  
14 be quite exhausting and I can't personally imagine  
15 myself involving myself in a series of issues like  
16 that over and over again, doing all this pushing  
17 through to -- I kind of exhausted my energy for  
18 that kind of effort.

19 (11:30:15)

20 **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, did the two of you get  
21 involved in anything along those same lines later  
22 on or was that --

23 **MRS. SAPP:** Not, not to that extent.

24 **DR. SAPP:** No.

25 **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay.



1           **MRS. SAPP:** Not to that extent. Yes, I think  
2 we were doing that while having small, but not,  
3 not infants but small children. You were still  
4 where you were working on research and --

5           **DR. SAPP:** Still building my career, yes.

6           **MRS. SAPP:** Yes, working on career and the  
7 teaching, which can take, as you know, as much  
8 time as you put in on it, and --

9           **DR. SAPP:** We went from advocacy to just  
10 being supportive of positive --

11           **MRS. SAPP:** I, you know, I'd say I was still  
12 involved with the establishing the nursery schools  
13 and things like that, but working with that  
14 somewhat, with the, whatever the league was  
15 working with at -- well, for the library, we  
16 worked for getting that bond issue passed. No,  
17 not to that extent.

18           **MR. ARNOLD:** Okay. Well, I have come to the  
19 end of my questions. I want to give you one last  
20 opportunity. Is there anything that I haven't  
21 touched on or any other memories you had which you  
22 really were hoping to have the chance to share,  
23 that this is your opportunity to do that, or have  
24 we covered everything you can think of?

25           **MRS. SAPP:** I think we've covered it.

1           **DR. SAPP:** Covered it.

2           **MR. ARNOLD:** Great. Well, thank you so much  
3 for your time. I think the passage of the  
4 Lawrence Fair Housing Ordinance is a real  
5 testament to how a group of concerned citizens can  
6 come together kind of at the grassroots level and  
7 push for change and make it happen, so I think  
8 your involvement in that is something both of you  
9 can be very proud of.

10           **DR. SAPP:** Yes, this is all preliminary.  
11 Next year will be the actual observance of the  
12 50th anniversary.

13           **MR. ARNOLD:** Right.

14           **MRS. SAPP:** But you've done good -- I thought  
15 Fred gave a very good talk. We are still on the  
16 mic?

17           **MR. ARNOLD:** Yes, but I can turn it off since  
18 I think we've wrapped up the formal interview.

19   \*\*\*\*\*

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