

3. *BROWNSVILLE, HAYWOOD COUNTY, TENNESSEE, AND THE YEARS OF THE VIETNAM WAR*

Towards an Oral History

In the course of a year, starting in August 1995 and ending in another August, in 1996, I taped an extensive series of interviews with people from all walks of life, from both the black and the white communities in Brownsville and Haywood County, Tennessee.¹³³ My primary object was to enquire into the nature of the legacy of the Vietnam War in this Southern community in rural West Tennessee. In my discussion of the interviewees I have distinguished between the civilians and the Vietnam veterans. The reason for the distinction I have made is that while it is true that all interviewees can be identified with the Southern community of Brownsville and Haywood County, it is also true that only a limited number of them was sent to Vietnam; the others, constituting the majority of the people I interviewed, were in America for the duration of the Vietnam era.

To what extent was the perception of the Vietnam War, in the case of those who were in Vietnam, colored by their experiences? Similarly, how did those who were in the United States during the Vietnam era perceive the war? Were there any further distinctions within the two groups referred to above? For example, as regards the civilians, were there any noticeable differences between those who were emotionally involved because their sons, husbands, grandsons, cousins or nephews, or friends, were in Vietnam and those for whom Vietnam was a distant war? Correspondingly, focusing on the Vietnam veterans, were their perceptions of the war in any way colored by rank, or anything else, such as the fact whether they were drafted into the service or whether they volunteered?

I also wanted to establish the Southernness of all interviewees and therefore asked the black and white members of this West Tennessee community to share with me, if they could, their thoughts and feelings about the South, the Civil War, civil rights and race relations. Discussing the Vietnam War in the South has a special significance, for while it is true that the Vietnam War has had a lasting impact on the United States as a whole, its legacy in the South is different. The rest of America may have felt that it was the first war that was lost, but the South had experienced military defeat a hundred years before the other American regions became acquainted with it. An important question therefore is, to what extent was the perspective of the Vietnam War of each interviewee colored by the legacy of the Civil War, or, as some of them put it, the War Between the States?

The people I interviewed received no advance briefing other than a

short announcement of the subject over the telephone by either one of my contacts in Brownsville or myself. On more than one occasion I had a chance meeting with individuals, in the library, in the street, or in a convenience store, and was able to interview people on the spur of the moment. The interviews were recorded on tape. All interviewees received a transcript and were given an opportunity to make known to me their objections, if any, to my using their texts or certain parts of the texts. One interviewee asked me to disregard part of the interview. There were others for whom the actual remembering was emotional and painful, which was why they asked me to stop the tape. Invariably I switched it off. It has been my experience that once the machine was switched off, the same people would pass on interesting information off the record.

It would have been impracticable to publish all the transcripts that have been made. I have selected the most significant parts, some of which are reproduced in this chapter verbatim. I have left out irrelevant parts of the conversation and repetitions.

As indicated above, the interviews have been divided into two categories: the civilians and the Vietnam veterans. I will discuss the civilians, by far the larger group, first.

I. THE CIVILIANS

(i) MARTHA JANE WILLIAMS (white)

North Washington Avenue, lined with a variety of traditional Tennessee trees, including tulip poplar, dogwood, magnolia, black walnut, and pin oak, and lined also with the sidewalks and wired telephone poles that are the connection with the rest of the country, is one of Brownsville's main arteries that going south will either sweep you round the courthouse in a partial or complete circle or if your journey is to the north, take you away from it. Since the opening of the Eisenhower Interstate Highway system, most of the traffic bypasses Brownsville, and North Washington Avenue has assumed a more Southern quality. Its relatively peaceful atmosphere fits the mostly beautiful homes, at least one of them belonging to the antebellum era.

Martha Jane Williams lives in an elegant, white structured home halfway down the Avenue, down from the courthouse square. She is a charming lady in her seventies with a noticeable West Tennessee accent. She said, "I came in '46. Came right after the Second World War. My husband marched off into the Second World War." Martha Jane had never felt an outsider in Brownsville, because it is very like towns in Mississippi. "And my family is from Mississippi. Very alike."

VOOGT: In what way?

WILLIAMS: Well, closed, church-oriented, politics, pride in the town. . . . After Phil (Mr. Phillip Williams, deceased) came back from the war and we were coming back into West Tennessee, I had gone home in Mississippi and stayed with my family, because he was gone three and a half years. He volunteered for the service. Had a child and therefore was not subject to the draft. I did not know he had volunteered until he was gone. He did not tell (chuckling) and I don't blame him because he would not have had to have dodged the Germans for it, I would have killed him on the spot (more chuckling). Which is probably the reason he did not tell. But, anyway, he was in that invasion of North Africa, Sicily, and Italy.

A cousin of Martha Jane's mother had been the Methodist minister of Brownsville. Martha Jane remembered hearing her relatives talk about Brownsville at family gatherings at Christmastide, saying how much they liked the city. It was this that persuaded her to go and look at the town with her husband. She wanted a small town. She said, "I wanted a traditional kind of town; I wanted church. I wanted those things. Had an excellent school system. It had review clubs, book clubs, and it had an active church, everything. And people who defend it." She went on to say that she was the only newcomer that they had had "in forever".

To explain what kind of town Brownsville was, Martha Jane talked about a meeting of the Literary Society that she attended shortly after moving there. Ms. Marion, the president, said, "Now, we are very ingrown in Brownsville and we *must* be receptive to people who come our way. . . . we must make them feel at home. So whenever we have a stranger who comes in, we must seek them out, be friendly, visit with them." She said that Dee West's mother-in-law replied to this, "Now, Marion, don't talk to me about going to see new people. Now, when you push me, it is a problem. Don't talk to me about going to see new people. I don't have time to visit the people I already know that I like." That was the kind of society Martha Jane and her husband moved into in 1946.

VOOGT: That still applies now?

WILLIAMS: It still applies in a certain class. Now, there are a lot of people who have moved, but the whole has not changed. And some of their descendants have inherited [it]. But, fortunately, new blood has come in (chuckling).

We wandered over several other topics. We talked about Tennessee and other Southern states. Martha Jane then said, "Brownsville is like Mississippi. Not Tennessee; but Brownsville is very like - and I think it is

because it is an agricultural [community] with a high black population. Both of the things make it like Mississippi, in-grown, few people controlling the money. And that's the way it is."

On the Vietnam War:

VOOGT: Somebody told me, now, correct me if I'm wrong, that in Marceline's Beauty Parlor, the women would talk during the Vietnam War years about how to get deferments and who would get them. They would talk about their sons and what worried them.

WILLIAMS: That was just a certain group. It was not the general - most of the people did not have any involved -, of a certain clan and that sounds (pause) hard. I don't mean it to sound that.

On deferments:

VOOGT: Earlier you said [something about] the people who went to Vietnam; all the people who should have fought that war somehow did not end up doing that. Can you explain that?

WILLIAMS: Well, that is simply because they knew there were ways to stay out.

VOOGT: Other people who went could not stay out?

WILLIAMS: Because they did not know not to. Most people went to school [college or university] that had no intention of going to school at all and they would get an educational deferment or they would be required on the farm and this was the absurd thing: they hadn't worked a day in their lives and all of a sudden, they were needed on the farm.

It was obvious that deferments were controversial. Martha Jane said that if you had enough money and the right connections you could avoid being drafted. We passed on to the Vietnam War itself. Martha Jane said that she did not feel the impact of the war until Helen Veirs' son was about to go. (Helen was a close friend). What she said next was very important to her: "Everything must be personalized for it to really come across."

WILLIAMS: I knew that we had been in the Vietnam War. I knew all sorts and kinds of things, because somehow it really never had been true until I knew that one young man who was going; and the distress of his mother, who is not given to public distress at all. And she came by here and we sat in her car and she was telling me that

Tom was going to Vietnam; and I have never seen her that distressed; and then I began to realize what this war really was. And prior to that it had been somebody else's war.

VOOGT: Before that it was something on television?

WILLIAMS: Yes, or the newspaper. I am an avid reader. But I did not know anybody who had gone, and there were a handful. Now I think this with Tom is an exception, and there are one or two people that I know of that are exceptions, but it seemed to me, and I don't know whether this is accurate, but it seemed to me that this war was fought by the people who had the least to defend.

VOOGT: What do you mean by that?

WILLIAMS: Well, it has always been my opinion that if you have extensive property, you should be the one going marching off to war to defend it. And it seemed to me the Vietnam War more than any that I have ever read about or known about, the people who had the least to defend were the ones who were being marched off to war. So that put me in a defensive position before it ever started. Of course, I don't think we ever should have been there at all, at all. From everything that I have read, and personally I don't think there is any question but that the Vietnam War was the beginning of the disastrous drug problem. . . . Then the fact that we lost it, now you could declare a thing a victory if you want to, but you lose the war, as any fool knows. . . . The lack of respect to the veterans coming back is an absolute blot on this country, in my opinion. I think it is a blot. They did not declare, they were not responsible, they did what they could, they came home and nobody paid any attention to the fact that they had ever done a thing, as opposed to tickertape parades and confetti, and marching down the street. Oh, I think it is just. . . I don't want to talk about the Vietnam War!

We were getting towards the end of the interview when Martha Jane said, "Now, when somebody told me, told a group of us that you were doing something on the Vietnam War, did you know. . . this was a big group socially, and everybody just looked perfectly blank and they said, "Why, I did not know anybody that was involved in the Vietnam War. That was the general. . . . It was as if it had never been!" When asked if she could remember any names, there were only two that came to mind. Perhaps it is understandable that twenty-five years after the event Martha Jane could not recall the exact number of Haywood Countians who had been to Vietnam or who had been killed there.

Summing up, we find that Martha Jane Williams saw a close similarity between Brownsville and the plantation culture of the Mississippi of her early years. She came to Brownsville with her husband after World War II because it offered the kind of life with which she was familiar: church and

an active social life. Fifty years later she was able to say that nothing had really changed, which does seem to make Brownsville and Haywood County a conservative Southern community.

The aspect of the Vietnam War that touched her emotionally was the draft. She was convinced that the wrong young men were drafted. The people whose sons, according to her, should have been fighting in Vietnam, belonged to "a certain clan" who had the might and means to stay out of the war. Martha Jane's remarks confirm the idea that the Vietnam War was basically fought by the poor and uneducated. Another thing that upset her was the lack of respect for the Vietnam veterans, especially because in her case it contrasted with the ticker tape parades that welcomed her husband back after World War II.

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(ii) EARL RICE (black)

In his office at Haywood High School I talked to vice-principal Earl Rice, who was in his early fifties when I interviewed him. As I entered, he was just finishing talking to a student to evaluate a remark. We had met before and talked a little about personal matters, before moving on to the Vietnam War. Earl Rice had been drafted after graduation. As he put it, "They could not wait to swear us in." Students were allowed to come home for thirty days to take care of business. During that period of time they had what was called a medical. He was given a one-year deferment. When that ended he was given an educational deferment, lasting two years.

RICE: At the end of the two years, the war was ending and requiring large numbers of troops to go in and so I was free so to speak. I had no other problems. And so basically during that time it was different for me. I felt a little betrayed, because I had spent all of this time spending my money, time studying and working, trying to get an education and then as soon as I got out, I was to be drafted into Vietnam. I had mixed emotions. However, some of the friends who went to be examined, - take the physical exam, the same time I did - they later entered into the service and they were killed during the war. And to think that I could have been among that group if I had not gotten the medical deferment that I did. It was not that I was trying to get out of the war or anything. It was just the luck of the draw, because I was the only son at home. No

one else was at home with my mother and father and all my other brothers and sisters lived either away in New York, Chicago and way away, and they lived in Stanton.

We were involved in student protests. Many of the students felt that it was not a war that we were or should have been involved in. And we felt that the war should have been scaling down rather than escalating. It was a feeling that they were not trying to win the war.

The vice-principal of Haywood High School raised an interesting point. The majority of the local Vietnam veterans that I interviewed were convinced that the United States could have won the Vietnam War. Their arguments ranged from denouncing the policy of hit-and-run, which implied that you "surrendered" the land you had just conquered to the enemy - it also meant that there was no frontier, which to them seemed all wrong - to the claim that American planes were sent on bombing missions with just two bombs each instead of a full load, in order to increase on paper the number of missions flown. Secretary Robert McNamara's name was mentioned in connection with the war of statistics, which was condemned by the fighting men as futile. Earl Rice went on to talk about student protests at Lane College.¹³⁴ There had not been any major riots; it had been, what he called, more of a vocal silent-type protest, which meant that although the students made themselves heard, it was done in a dignified way. Picket signs were used once in a while.

On deferments:

An ingenious sort of protest was used by some students: to stay out of the war, they got married.

RICE: You had to marry prior to going in.

VOOGT: Did that change at all?

RICE: No, it lasted pretty much throughout the Vietnam War. They continued that after I left school as far as I know. I know it was a popular thing going on during that time, because guys were getting married and taking wives. They said, "Well, let's go on and get married." And so many of them did and that was an automatic deferment during that particular time. [This is not quite accurate; the Selective Service Classifications list for the 1948-1976 period indicates that a deferment was granted to registrants who were married with one child or more].

VOOGT: There was no other possibility?

RICE: If you continued your education in college. But what they did was they caught a lot of college students between graduation and graduate school. So it made it very difficult to do that because,

you see, I graduated in June and I was called for, to report for my physical examination, written exams and all of that in July, July 8th. (After all these years Earl Rice remembered the exact date). I really had no time to apply for graduate school or anything between that. So they caught us in-between.

He went on to say that he had received the medical deferment in July or on August 1st. He applied to teach and was hired in September. "In actuality," he said, "I had my teaching and my medical deferment going concurrently at the same time the first year. Then the year after that the teaching deferment, the educational deferment, was utilized."

Meanwhile news from and about Vietnam was plentiful. "You could not avoid Vietnam," he said. "I mean, it was on the news. The body bags coming in, in 1967, 1968. They were shipping them home. It was on the nightly news, it was on local television, local radio stations. All the boys who were from Brownsville, Haywood County, the Jackson area, - they were giving an account of what was going on in their lives. The local papers were giving accounts of what was happening in Vietnam with the local boys." Earl Rice said that the local servicemen talked on the local radio; or their parents would talk on the issues regarding the Vietnam War at social gatherings of the church, and out in the community people would ask, "How is your son doing?"

On civil rights in Brownsville and Haywood County:

Perhaps the pivotal place in the black community is the church. On Sundays as well as on weekdays at church meetings and social gatherings, people would exchange news. Vietnam would almost naturally come up.

RICE: . . . you must remember that this was going on about the same time we were doing a lot of the civil rights protesting. Vietnam was going on and we were right in the midst of the civil rights movement in 1966, 1967, 1968. That was crucial in the civil rights movement. They were both running concurrent at the same time.

VOOGT: How did that go in Brownsville?

RICE: Brownsville was one of the hotbeds of the state of Tennessee. Brownsville, Haywood County, Summerville, Fayette County. During that time here it was very difficult. A very transitional time, especially for blacks. It was a hard time. We had a voter registration drive that was going on, trying to get the right to vote, because during that period of time in Haywood County, blacks were not allowed to vote. We did not have the right to vote. It was

not until 1960 that blacks gained the right to vote again in Haywood County. They had to go through a registration process. They had it back after the Civil War during the early time, but they had lost it over I don't know the exact period of time. I guess the late 1800s or the early 1900s, somewhere in that period of time. They had lost their right to vote and so this was a period of time with a lot of activities going on in the civil rights movement. We had meetings of Dr. King. I never recall him coming to Brownsville. Jesse Jackson came to Brownsville, Hosea Williams came to Brownsville during that period of time. We had a group that was called the Haywood County - Fayette Work Camp; that was a group of college students who came in to work voter registration during the summers. They came from colleges across the North, out of the West. They came here and they worked during the summer and we canvassed the whole county, preparing people for voter registration and this lasted from the late 1950s until 1970. This school was built in 1970. This was the first integrated setting. We had what was known as "Freedom of Choice" in Haywood County. "Freedom of Choice" meant that you had the option to send your child into an integrated setting or not to, and it was very sparingly that parents would undertake the tremendous burden. They were not accepted. I think we started out with approximately six or eight high school students going through integration, freedom of choice.

VOOGT: And then they would go to?

RICE: To the previous all-white high school which was Haywood High School at that time. There was one at College Hill. And the all-black high school here at that time was called Carver High School. That was over on Jefferson Street, where the current Board of Education is. The current Board of Education housed what was the Science Wing of Carver High School.

Rice went on to describe the difference that was made by the integrated school. He believed that the new high school was the success that it was, because no one could lay claim to the building, which was totally new. The whites could not say to the blacks that they were infringing on their new building, and the blacks could not tell the whites that they were coming into their school, infringing on their rights. Everybody moved into the new building at the same time, which made it a much better situation. Earl Rice sincerely believed that what also helped was that there was a new private school, the Tennessee Academy. It was "the hard core students" that attended the new private school. "Their parents were not in favor of integration and it gave them an out." He said that as a result there was less racial violence. The private school only lasted nine or ten years, after which parents who wanted their children to attend private schools, sent them to Jackson or Memphis.

One of the major factors that happened during that time, according to Earl Rice, was that blacks and whites opened up a dialogue. A second important factor at the time was the educational level of blacks living in the Haywood County area. He went on to speak of Tent City.¹³⁵

RICE: We had what we called a Tent City in Haywood and Fayette County. The reason they called it Tent City was because they evicted the people from their homes and the only place they had to live was in those canvas tents. They evicted them because they were registering to vote.

VOOGT: And they were renting those houses?

RICE: They were sharecroppers. Many of them. And so when they were forced off the land of the white man, [they moved to the land] that was owned by blacks, [who] provided homes for them to live, the tents on the land, until they could get houses built. Until they were able to buy land from blacks, a half acre or an acre of land. All of these things helped it stabilize simply because of the fact that the land - much of the land was owned by Fayette County that had a tougher time. They had a larger Tent City. Lasted a longer period of time. The one in Haywood County only lasted for probably six or eight months. Fayette lasted into a year and a half, two years.

VOOGT: It went through the winter?

RICE: It gained national fame, the one in Fayette County. It was nationally known, because it was a thing that brought the national news media in - ABC - and they covered those stories on the Tent Cities here in Haywood County and in Fayette County over in Summerville. We had both running together.

Earl Rice returned to the subject of the Vietnam War, shifting from civil rights back to the war. "There were mixed emotions about the war," he said, "because many people felt that a tremendous number of young black Americans were being drafted into Vietnam." The overrepresentation of blacks in the Armed Forces during the Vietnam War is a controversial subject. Recent scholarly writing on this aspect of the war does not focus on the high percentage of blacks drafted during the Vietnam War era; instead, much has been written on the unfairness of the draft, which put uneducated young men and those from poor families at a disadvantage. In a recent book on the Vietnam War the subject of how the draft affected young blacks is ignored. Instead it offers an extensive discussion of the Vietnam Summer, the 1967 coalition of liberals, radicals and New Leftists.¹³⁶ In the summer of 1967 anti-war demonstrators traveled to the cities to raise an anti-war sentiment. The organizers attempted to expand opposition to the Vietnam War from college students to working-class young people, who were more likely to be

drafted into military service.¹³⁷ *Oliver North Returns to Vietnam: One More Mission*, also mentions the grossly unfair process by which people were selected to participate in the Vietnam War, but does not distinguish between the different races. Instead it emphasizes that poorer Americans universally served.¹³⁸

Arnold R. Isaacs, in *Vietnam Shadows: The War, Its Ghosts, and Its Legacy*, has some interesting statistics on the draft, but has nothing to say about the over representation of blacks in the Vietnam War. "Of the nearly twenty-seven million American men who reached draft age between 1964 and 1973, only 40 percent served in the military. Of those, only about 25 percent went to Vietnam, representing just one-tenth of the draft-age male population. Among the college-educated ... the percentage was far lower."¹³⁹ Vice-principal Earl Rice said that he thought that records showed that perhaps disproportionately more blacks were killed in Vietnam. I asked him why this should be so?

RICE: The reasons I do not know. I do not have the answer to all of those. They had no means of getting out of the war. [The rich] went to Canada, they had legal deferments, they had medical deferments, and many of them that did not take those, they moved out of the country or they just refused to go! Where on the other hand we really did not have the opportunity or we did not have the choices. So we had to face the music by going into Vietnam. I suppose that would be one of the major reasons why there are the disproportionate numbers of blacks - I suppose also that the records show that you had a large number that volunteered, because they felt they were getting a better life out of the South by going into the military. It was a way out of poverty, the hard times. Many of them had already gone in prior to the war. They were already in and then they, at that particular time, I think, were locking you in for four years.

We turned to the local Draft Board. He said that if people went for a deferment, they had to go before a committee. And he added, "there were no blacks serving on those Draft Boards."¹⁴⁰

VOOGT: Never?

RICE: Not at that particular time.

VOOGT: And during later years?

RICE: The later years, probably about 1980, 1981, 1982, I can't remember. You remember Ray [Dixon] served on it. He taught here at the high school. He came on the Draft Board late 1980s or early 1990s, and he was probably one of the first that I know to serve on

the Draft Board in Haywood County.

You would have to be nominated to serve on it. Not having the right to vote or anything of that, you were not going to be nominated for a position to serve on the Draft Board, because it was a political thing.

VOOGT: You all felt that was unfair.

RICE: Yes, it was totally unfair. If you are going for a deferment and you have these people make the decision on, you know, basically whether you go into the service or not. And often times did not quite understand the situations.

We wandered over several other topics, and then the realities of the present intruded upon our discussion of the things of the past. A buzzer sounded and the excited laughter and talk of students penetrated the serene atmosphere of the vice-principal's study. A student needed to see him.

For Earl Rice the Vietnam War era was a pivotal period during which the civil rights protest demonstrations and the war coincided. It was clear to him that the American government was not trying to win the War in Vietnam. At his college in Jackson, Tennessee, there were quiet student protests, which was in keeping with the way anti-war demonstrations were organized on other Southern campuses. According to Rice there was a feeling in the black community that a very large number of young blacks was drafted into Vietnam. Rice also thought that a disproportionate number of blacks was killed in Vietnam. At the same time he found it difficult to pinpoint the reasons for this. He suggested that the blacks who were drafted did not have the means to stay out of the war, but he also showed himself aware of the popularity of a military career among blacks as a way out of poverty.

In talking about civil rights protests and the Vietnam War, Rice did not connect the two, i.e. he did not say that the Vietnam War had an effect on race relations; he merely pointed out that the two were going on simultaneously. Rice mentioned that Brownsville was one of the [civil rights] hotbeds of the state of Tennessee and pointed out that Jesse Jackson and Hosea Williams both visited Brownsville during the days when the local community was in turmoil.

(iii) HAYDEN and HARBERT THORNTON, JR. (white)

Eating out is one of the pivotal activities in West Tennessee. It is quite common to make a two-hour journey to eat BBQ at Bozo's, an inconspicuous, yet famous, restaurant known by all Southerners from Paducah, Kentucky to Oxford, Mississippi, and beyond. On a bright sunny day in July, Harbert Thornton, Jr., and his wife Hayden, both in their seventies, invited me for lunch. We traveled to a new restaurant, about an hour away from Brownsville which they had recently discovered. As we drove along the country roads of Haywood County, past fields of soybeans, corn, and cotton, we talked about the South and the Vietnam War.

Harbert talked about the first settlers, who came from North Carolina and Virginia. One of the first settlers, a Mr. Bond, was the richest man of Tennessee and owned six hundred slaves. For white people in the South, life was pretty genteel up till the Civil War, which changed everything. He said, "I do not know how many of our young men were lost, but it hit every family, of course." After the Civil War, "with the change of the slavery system", farmers could no longer produce the same amount of cotton they had been able to raise before with all their free help. He said that some black families chose to remain. "They did not have anywhere to go." Yet, they only did if they had a good relationship with their former owners. They would stay on the plantation and they would be paid.

VOOGT: They did not become sharecroppers then?

Harbert THORNTON: Well, that is a bit of a hard term to define. A sharecropper raises the crops on the shares and the landowner furnishes the land and their equipment and the mules, and a place to live. So, I suppose that was a healthy step for the ones that wanted to go that route. They were independent. They were given so many acres for cotton and their families chopped it and gathered it and they raised their hogs for meat and had a milk cow and they had a calf they killed once a year. And they were free in that sense of the word and treated right. I suppose the ones that really wanted to move to the cities or just go somewhere were the ones that did not feel like they had been treated fairly or properly.

He went on to say that he had had seven families on his farm. They had their own equipment and worked "spot" and just rented x-numbers of acres. They rented what they thought they could work. "That is what you call tenant farming. Probably had it in our area more than the great plantations down in the Delta of Louisiana," where the blacks worked on

a share cropper basis or for daily wages. "You were trying to work five or ten thousand acres, you would need a lot of help at times. That was their way of doing it. There probably was not any other way."

VOOGT: What would be your answer to the question, "Tell me about the South?"

Hayden THORNTON: Well, of course, I would think the warmth and friendliness in the South is very important, and the hospitality. People take tremendous pride in their homes, their yards, and they want that to be evident, you know, what they do. And we do have some of the loveliest architecture, and lovely homes anywhere.

She added that Southerners love to entertain, love cooking, and love delicious and attractive food. Southerners love parties. We talked about several other topics, then moved on to Vietnam.

On the Vietnam War:

Hayden did not remember having many serious thoughts about it, until she had a son who was reaching the age of the draft. At the time she was busy with her family, and it was not a worldwide war. She went on to say that the war had been going on so long then that they were beginning to feel they were not getting anywhere with it. She felt it was a stalemated situation and that "it was not the way our country had always dealt with war." The reality of the war hit them when their cousin Norman Lane was killed in action. "That brought it home very real to us."

VOOGT: Did you notice when other local boys were sent to Vietnam?

Hayden THORNTON: That is the problem. The ones in college did not go. That's what our son did the whole time.

Harbert THORNTON: They all knew that if they went to college, they would not have to go to Vietnam.

VOOGT: But they could not stay in college forever.

Harbert THORNTON: Four years.

Hayden THORNTON: I expect Taylor (their son) was kind of near the end of the war when he reached that age.

Harbert THORNTON: I don't know if he had a personal friend drafted, see, they were all in college.

Then Harbert referred to the Civil War practice of hiring somebody to fight for you, which must be a universal phenomenon. When, for example,

Napoleon drafted young men of fighting age in Holland nearly two hundred years ago to fight in Russia, the rich were able to find poor young men to take their places in exchange for a sum of money. Harbert stressed that it was done in the North during the Civil War. I asked him about the South. He said, "We'll never know. Can you imagine hiring a guy, and you saying, 'Here, I'll give you \$ 100,- to go take my son's place.'" Then, connecting the Civil War and the Vietnam War, he said, "That's about what we did. We turned around and did the same thing in the Vietnam War." That was what the practice of keeping young men in college, came down to, he argued.

When the war was over and they saw "the POW thing" on television, they felt it was awful that the United States had to suffer something like that, and "not have any end results to it". Harbert concluded, "I think that was the saddest for everybody."

What transpires from the interview with Hayden and Harbert Thornton is their sense of history. Their point of reference is the Civil War, "which changed everything". Other than the Vietnam War, which because of the unfair draft system, hurt relatively few families, the Civil War "hit every family" in the South. A further example of the Thorntons' sense of history is provided by Harbert's comments on the draft during the Vietnam War, which he felt was as wrong as the practice in the North during the Civil War of "hiring somebody to fight for you". The Thorntons see the Vietnam War within the context of the Civil War, and it is this that is reflected in Southern writing, notably in the Vietnam War literature of Southern writers.

(iv) MARGARET KIZER (white)

Margaret Kizer is one of the mainstays of the city of Brownsville. She "invented" City Beautiful, a committee of volunteers, who take enormous pride in the city, keep it clean, take care of flowerbeds, and so on. In her seventies, she still worked for the Chamber of Commerce. Husband Jerry Kizer is a World War II veteran, who fought at Iwo Jima.

We first talked about Owen Burgess, the editor of the *Brownsville States-Graphic* during the Vietnam War, and a cousin of hers. A POW in Germany during World War II, he was decidedly a Democrat. He wrote his own column, which had much humor in it.

Brownsville was very special, Margaret said. Being older than Memphis, it had historical significance. It did not grow because it was not directly on the river (the Mississippi) as Memphis was. Then she said, "I hate to say it is Southern because it had so many slaves. But the original people here [were] settlers; one man had more slaves than anybody in

Tennessee and they worked the land. A lot of people tell you that's one of the big differences in Brownsville." In the past the farmers of the West Tennessee cotton belt heavily depended on slave labor. Historically, then, the presence of slaves certainly made Brownsville a Southern town. But I wanted to know what made Brownsville a Southern town in the nineteen nineties. "Just the culture; and it has not changed too much." She explained, "The closeness of the families and the values that we cherish." The values she meant were spirituality, family, and close connections.

On the Vietnam War:

The Vietnam War did not mean much to her, because she did not have anybody in it.

On the Civil War:

We passed on to other subjects and we discussed a new monument in Mississippi. She said, "that really makes you want to go back and read more about the Civil War." (This was on the basis of the new monument in a park in Vicksburg, commemorating the battle of Vicksburg). She continued:

Either the Daughters of the Confederacy or one of those groups put up, raised the money for it, so that's one thing, and we were so glad to see it. And it is in the shape of Tennessee, up on a beautiful hill. It is beautiful to go down there. They have resurrected a ship that was sunk at the battle of Vicksburg. You see all about that, and then they tell you about the battle of Vicksburg. Like I said, it makes you want to go back and study about it. And what a time they had. It makes you so sad to know that brother fought against brother for no real reason, you know. I mean there was a reason at that time; that they [had] slavery, but someone said to me, 'Well, the North brought the slaves, got them to begin with, and then brought them down to the South, then they fought us over the slaves.'"

VOOGT: Brought them from the North? Where would they come in?

KIZER: I was not familiar enough with the history of the North.

What Margaret Kizer shares with many residents of Brownsville is a sense of pride. She is proud of the physical appearance of the community of which she is a part and for which she feels responsible and is actively involved in enhancing its prosperity and preserving it for future generations. She bears witness to the Southern spirit which ultimately

goes back to the plantation culture of the antebellum period, which she shares with a certain group of whites in the region, characterized by a strong sense of pride. It is an attitude reflected in the major regional newspapers published in Memphis and Jackson, Tennessee, and is perhaps best defined as pride in Southern culture. Typically, Margaret is well versed in the history of the county and in Southern history. Typically, again, the Vietnam War in her case is dwarfed by the war that was fought a hundred years earlier, as evidenced by her fascination with the recently built Civil War monument in Vicksburg. This is contrasted by her dismissal of the Vietnam War as a conflict that meant nothing to her, as no-one close to her was involved in it.

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(v) MARCELINE JACOCKS (white)

For many years Marceline Jacocks owned a beauty parlor next to the Ritz theater, just off the square, across from the courthouse. I had known her for some ten years, when she visited our home in the wooded rolling hills of Birmingham, Alabama. Friendly, generous, and kind-hearted are the best words to describe her. She is also a great talker, and she had much to say about the Vietnam War. First of all she pointed out that right up to the time we were speaking, people were "very, very emotional about this issue". In fact it was very emotional for her to talk about it. Reaching back in her memory she discussed the American presidents of the Vietnam War era. In other interviews I had found that nobody really loved president Johnson. Most Haywood Countians I met strongly disliked him. This is what Marceline had to say about him, "But, Johnson... president Johnson was the one who escalated it, and he was just despised because he was just sending men over there for no reason. No one could understand what was going on, because it was not like the German war where we fought in World War II, where you could recognize the enemy. - You could not recognize the enemy in Vietnam, because they had women and children killing our men over there. Even the children."

Her words were reminiscent of the scene, at the beginning of *Apocalypse Now*, where a helicopter descends on a village square and American soldiers are seen helping the natives, and a Vietnamese child blows up the helicopter, soldiers and all. The fact that little Vietnamese children were seen as enemies also comes up in discussions about My Lai, where it is sometimes mentioned as an argument to account for the atrocity.

Back in the 1960s everybody was saying, "Why are we over there?"

Marceline added, "So, why would you volunteer your son to go?" During the Vietnam War, consequently, people were not as patriotic as during World War II. In the 1940s war people even wanted their sons to fight for their country.

JACOCKS: Because they saw why they were going, the reason to go. But, in this so-called undeclared war no-one could understand the reason why we were there, because the French had just pulled out. They had been there, what, six years?

VOOGT: Longer than that.

JACOCKS: With no conclusion to why they were there. They pulled out.

She then went on to talk about the deepening American involvement after the French had left. Asked whether she had been aware of developments at the time, she replied that it was all on the news. She had two children in college. "I was so wrapped up in working and keeping my children in college that I did not get involved in the politics of it." However, she was aware that the American involvement in Vietnam was questionable, "as to Johnson's wisdom on the matter".

Vietnam still weighed heavily on her mind. It was obvious that she still closely followed the news about it, and did not miss a thing. She asked me, "Did you see that in the news about two or three weeks ago where Robert McNamara went to Vietnam?" She regretted that she had not brought the paper from Florida, where she lived at the time of the interview. She resumed, "All these years he has been out, he has questioned whether the episode really happened! They are questioning now whether this Gulf of Tonkin, whether the episode even happened! And that makes it more heartbreaking." Marceline believed the newspaper report in *The Daily Commercial* from Leesburg, Florida, that said president Johnson knew what really happened.

JACOCKS: During the war they were drafting the boys to go. Nobody really wanted to volunteer. There were some, a few that did volunteer, but most of them had to be drafted to go, because nobody wanted to go.

Off-hand she mentioned two young men who had been killed: Larry Land and Danny Overton. Danny had been in her son's class at school. She thought he might have been drafted, because "the government had this rule that if you were in college, you did not have to go." As a consequence everybody "joined up to go to college" to keep from going

to Vietnam.

JACOCKS: Then they (the U.S. government) decided that was unfair, because there were so many that were not capable of going to school. So they declared that unfair. So then, the next law they made they said that if you were in a National Guard unit you were exempt. So everybody was trying to get their sons enrolled in the National Guard to keep them from going. Needless to say the National Guards filled up and they could not take anymore. And even our governor of the state of Tennessee, which was Frank Clement at that time, had a son, and he's our son's age too. He was that age to be drafted. The National Guard in Nashville got filled up and he pulled rank over a group in Memphis and enrolled his son down at Memphis; and he would drive it. You have to go once a month to the meeting.

Marceline's husband Solon then said that a lot of young men volunteered. The problem was that there were not enough volunteers, which was why they needed the draft. Marceline went on to say that when the unfairness of the draft was recognized in Washington, they came up with the lottery and numbers and they would draw the names. "They started at the low end of the scale like one, and my son drew 325, which was one of the higher numbers." (This was good; in 1969, for example, the highest lottery number for the group born from 1944 through 1950, was 195). With the new lottery system you had to go when your number came up, even if you were in college." Solon and Marceline Jacocks had also tried to keep their son out of Vietnam.

JACOCKS: We tried to get our son into - You did not feel at all unpatriotic about what you were doing, because you did not want your son to go get killed needlessly.

VOOGT: You all felt this was a different war.

JACOCKS: It was totally different. But anyway, we tried to get our son in the Naval Air. And, unfortunately, our son's eyes were not 20/20. They were 20/40. So, he could not get into that. But we were not the only people doing it. Everybody was trying to keep their sons from going. They were doing whatever they could and if they could pull rank, they were doing it.

As an example she mentioned someone who had an appointment with her in her beauty parlor and used her telephone to call one of the state representatives in Washington. "She cried and just begged him on the

phone to just please do something to keep her son from going."

When the war was at its worst, anti-war demonstrators were arrested on suspicion of communist sympathies. Many of these men defected to Canada, despite the certain knowledge that they could never return to the United States.

JACOCKS: . . . they will be prosecuted if they come back. But then they ended the war. I say they ended the war. It has been a mystery to this day as to how it was ended. Because Nixon said when he was running for office, "If you'll just elect me..." It is just as plain, I can hear him saying it right now. He said, "If you will elect me for your president, I can end this war." So the other ones who were running against him said, "Well, there are men there who will be killed between now and if you get elected, so why not tell us how to end this war now?" And he never would say a thing about what he intended to do. But he was elected and when he got in as president, he ended that war. And to this day nobody knows how he ended it. And you just wonder what concessions he really did make to end that war.

Did Marceline Jacocks feel that Nixon was honest? "He was smart and not a crook like Johnson. Johnson had no feeling at all that those men were being killed over there." She argued that people despised Johnson. She passed on to post-war feelings about the Vietnam War in America. ("It really tore this country apart.") Returning again to their efforts to keep their son out of the war, she repeated that she did not feel bad about doing whatever she did to keep him out. In the end the war ended before his number came up. She explained the lack of patriotic feelings during the Vietnam War by calling it strictly a politicians' war. This was not a local but a national feeling. To emphasize her point she mentioned that the Vietnam War Memorial Wall in Washington D.C. "was put together by the veterans for themselves. They made money themselves and put that wall there." Marceline's dislike of Washington politics shone through when she added that it took president Reagan six months "before he made his presence known at that wall. And he only did it then under pressure". She was convinced that the Wall had a healing effect on the nation.

The discussion then moved to the veterans. She remembered that *The Commercial Appeal* out of Memphis ran a series of articles on veterans. Since there was a VA Hospital in Memphis it was not illogical for the paper to write about wounded soldiers who had been sent to the Veterans Hospital. One article stood out in her mind vividly. It was about a young man whose picture in the paper showed the nicest young man in there. Both of his legs had been blown off. They asked him if he would volunteer again if he could. "And he said, 'Are you crazy? Look at me. I

have no legs.” Her story evoked *Fortunate Son*, the Pulitzer Prize winning autobiography of Lewis B. Puller, Jr., who lost both legs in a booby-trap incident in Vietnam.

Solon and Marceline both visited the Vietnam War Monument in Washington D.C. They scratched off Danny Overton's name to take back to his parents, and also brought back Bob and Beverley Johnston's son's name. "Nineteen years old. Their only son. And they just sat there and just cried." As they were getting ready to travel on the road, Marceline concluded, "And that was just the way it affected our family and our life."

The interview with Marceline Jacocks focused on the War in Vietnam, narrowed down to the one aspect of the draft law from the point of view of a mother whose son was eligible for the draft during the Vietnam War era. A quarter of a century after the end of the war her anguish could still be detected. Her account points to the basic unfairness of the draft; it shows that the sons of those who had might and means basically did not serve in Vietnam.

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(vi) COUNTY COMMISSIONER FRANKLIN SMITH (white)

In his spacious office at the courthouse in Brownsville, County Commissioner Franklin Smith talked freely about the draft and Vietnam.

His father, a veteran of World War II and very patriotic, had served on the Draft Board. The different opinions Franklin Smith and his father had about the Vietnam War, illustrated the typical generation conflict of those days. His father had joined the service in World War II as soon as he got out of high school and went to Europe. Not until the late seventies did the commissioner's father "come around" and agree with his son that there was no comparison between Vietnam and World War II. "He thought people who went to Canada and dodged the draft were unpatriotic people. It was just a funny situation for people of his generation to understand why people of my generation were not knocking doors down joining to go to Vietnam and fight the war that we did not believe in. He did not understand that."

Franklin Smith was a student at Mississippi State when he had to go to Memphis to take a physical examination. He was declared A-1, the top priority in the draft, and "scared to death" that he was going to be drafted. He said that he did not know what he would do if he was drafted. "Whether I would go to Canada, whether I would go to Vietnam, what I would do." This was the time when student deferments had been done away with and the government was drafting people out of college.

We passed on to the local veterans. At Veterans Day celebrations the absence of Korean and Vietnam veterans was noticeable; the only people supporting veterans' organizations were the World War II veterans. This was because of the way they were treated when they came home from the war. "The World War II veterans have a special camaraderie among themselves that Korea veterans and Vietnam veterans never had." It made sense. "They (World War II veterans) came home as a group and they came home as heroes, and Korea and Vietnam veterans did not. They came home individually, you know, they served a year, they came home, and they were despised by, especially, young people." Although this was not the feeling in Haywood County, they were not looked upon as heroes, as they were for World War II. Franklin Smith said, "Vietnam veterans, when they came back, they just kind of came back. I mean, it was not any great welcome or anything. Of course, their family appreciated them being back and their friends did, but as far as the community, they did not do much."

Comparing the Gulf War and the Vietnam War, he thought that the Vietnam War had gone on too long. "And people saw it, I mean, we were not over there to win the war, you know. They would take some land one day and give it back the next and retake it." In the case of the Gulf War, the American public pulled together.

Here it was again: Franklin Smith, together with a few other civilians, and many Vietnam veterans that I talked to, were quite certain that the United States could have won the war if it had wanted to, in contradistinction to official history, which generally states the opposite. Are the Haywood Countians who feel that the North Vietnamese could have been defeated holding on to a myth, then?

On anti-war protests:

Franklin Smith had been involved in anti-war protests at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

VOOGT: There were protests there?

SMITH: All the time. Especially after Kent State.

VOOGT: And you all took part in that.

SMITH: Right.

VOOGT: What did you do?

SMITH: Mostly just had a march. Left the campus and went into downtown Knoxville.

The public in Knoxville tended to ignore the protesting students. They still as a group had not turned against the war as they did later in Nixon's years. In 1973 the American public just demanded that the U.S. get out of

Vietnam. Under president Johnson the war was still a good thing to the older generation of Americans, who did not question the government. "It took four or five years to the older generation that the war was not about patriotism and protecting America. It was basically an economic war. We were there for all the wrong reasons."

On the South:

SMITH: People from the South were a little more patriotic for a longer period of time. There were fewer protests on college campuses in the South than there were in the West. Probably your biggest protest came out of the West or the Northeast and the least amount in the South. I went to Mississippi State for two years. I don't remember a Vietnamese war protest at Mississippi State.

VOOGT: How do you account for the patriotism in the South?

SMITH: People supported government more, did not question what was going on in government. People as a general rule are more respectful of authority in the South than they are in the other areas of the country. You know, we say, "Yes, ma'am," and "No, ma'am." We just, we are taught to respect authority, and the government was the ultimate authority and when they said we needed to be there, we did not question that authority. I just think it is just a history, more history of our location in the country, we are just a more respectful people. Most of the people in the South are born and raised in the South, whereas in other areas of the country they came in from somewhere else. They were imports, they, you know -, that was before the migration state of Florida. Florida is different from Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee. But people were born and raised here, stayed here, and they were just more rooted in this area than say in California or New York or Illinois or somewhere.

Franklin Smith discussed the generation gap between the veterans of World War II and their sons, who were eligible for the draft during the Vietnam War era. The difference between the South and the rest of America was also evident on Southern campuses where there were fewer protests than elsewhere. Smith saw this as the consequence of patriotism, which is more prevalent in the South than in the rest of the country.

(vii) DR. TOMMY and PAMELA RUSSELL (white)

I have known Dr. Thomas D. Russell III and his wife Pamela since 1986. Pam was elected to the Haywood County Commission that same year; Tommy and son Thomas D. Russell IV, just like his father and he himself did before, practice dental surgery in a beautifully designed, recently built office at Peach Plaza, in the vicinity of the courthouse. The annual Fourth of July parties at their home are famous in Brownsville, as are the Christmas parties, when a huge, decorated Christmas tree reaches for the lofty ceiling of their home.

Asked for comments on the information on the project that I had mailed them, Tommy said, "I did notice that you said Southerners were used to defeat and I disagree with that. We are merely sadly acquainted with defeat; we're not used to it." And Pamela added, "We don't accept it very well." We turned to a comparison of the Civil War and the Vietnam War. I asked whether the two wars could be equated as bad experiences for Southerners?

RUSSELL: There is a big difference there, because the Civil War in the South, I think, is still a proud war. It is a war of which the South, even though they were defeated, was proud. Often [Southerners] were proud of their heritage, proud for what they fought, proud of their homeland, and proud of the valiant effort that they made in that war. And the only regret was that they lost.

The War in Vietnam was much different in that it was not a proud war. It was an imposed war against people that we did not know and against issues with which we were not familiar. [There is] no identity with the Vietnam War except through the experience of losing young men there. And the reasons why we were there were not ever clear and the cause is not necessarily even valid or just in our minds, so that there was emotion involving the Vietnam War in terms of its validity and even necessity to differentiate that war and the War Between the States.

Tommy remembered hearing about the Gulf of Tonkin incident, but he said that the level of involvement "that we were to be thrust into" was not clear. The rationale behind the war as presented to the American public was "one of being communism and that this was one of the major dominoes in the domino theory".

Some of his classmates were killed in Vietnam, and so he had thought much about the war. He said that in 1964 he was firmly in favor of supporting the war. "I was in favor of the war as it was stated to me. It was presented as a measure of one's patriotism here as to whether they

supported the war or not. I felt myself to be a patriot and, therefore, I must support this because it is an American effort."

On student protests:

Pamela said that they were the same age as the college students that were marching on Kent State. She remembered looking at them and thinking, "they are not like us". She thought they were hippies, and crazy. At Vanderbilt in Nashville, Tennessee, there had not been much protest. Tommy stated that Vanderbilt was so much more conservative than many institutions and for that reason students were not as vocal in their opposition. But, he added, "I opposed those who opposed the government. I still today disagree with the way in which they protested. I still believe firmly that violence is not the way to protest anything."

RUSSELL: The reason the students in Kent State were killed or injured was because they were in violent protest and they were thrusting themselves against the security, which was the National Guard at the University and being as it was a violent, active protest, the Guard was being attacked. They were attacking the Guard, physically endangering them and, therefore, it was in my estimation not surprising that the Guard reacted, if nothing else, out of self protection, if not at least out of frustration.

What I really find offensive is that the protest was a violent one. And to be surprised and indignant at receiving violence when you're dispensing it, is to me not understandable. I think if you want to protest peacefully and make your point and are in turn dealt with violently, then you have a cause to complain and to protest about your treatment. But if you are inflicting violence, then to receive it is to be expected.

Tommy believed that many mistakes were made in all different areas. It was a growing experience for the United States, but, as with any growing experience there was pain involved. "And this had a lot of pain."

On the impact of the Vietnam War on the country:

RUSSELL: It was not until after the war was over some several years actually that people mellowed out a bit and began to discover that a lot of this may not have been necessary. Sadness has occurred because of the hurt that was inflicted on, not only the country, but the sons and daughters that were sent there. That's a whole separate national tragedy, that the soldiers that were loyal to the country and

risked their lives, were then ostracized by the country to which they returned.

VOOGT: Did the community here receive its veterans differently from the rest of the country?

RUSSELL: Better.

Pamela RUSSELL: I think that the South is more accepting of those people who returned, but at the same time I think that everybody wanted it to go away and they did not treat the Vietnam vets cruelly and all, but it is like, "let's just get on with our lives and we don't want to talk about it". And there is no hero's welcome so much. It is just, "Well, you're back, good. Get a job."

RUSSELL: It never was a popular war.

We wandered over some other subjects and then discussed the draft in Haywood County. Tommy said there were several volunteers from his class.

RUSSELL: We all took tests in high school. We all were required to take entrance exams for entrance into the military, placement exams, and we were all required to take physical exams for positioning to be drafted. I did all that. So, everyone was being prepared for it and several of the young fellows did volunteer. I don't recall them. I don't think they were considered odd at the time. I don't think so. But they never came back.

VOOGT: Did you have people here who left or went to Canada or tried any other means to stay out of Vietnam?

RUSSELL: I don't think so. To my knowledge, if there were, there sure were very few. I can't recall any. Most of the draft dodging that was done here was of a variety done by those who had connections, who were educated, or their families were very political and had power and they did not want their children going to Vietnam. I think just from the standpoint of being put in harm's way irrespective of the justness or rightness of the war. If they could keep their children out of any conflict, then they would and it was entirely possible politically to do that, if you knew the right people. There were cases of that and also, there was a great effort to engineer your education into the directions of exemption, because there were types of areas of education which would render you exempt from being drafted. So there were people who became interested in vocations that were exempt. In my case, I was exempt by going into dental school and being married with a child.

I think the [Draft] Board was rather strict in many instances of drafting and most of the exemptions went through political strings, through congressmen and such or through staying in medical school

or dental school. Some people would also join the National Guard as a means of honoring their country's request but without great risk.

We passed on to talk about a specific case, that of president Clinton. For instance, did Tommy Russell feel that Clinton was influenced by the Europeans? He answered that was possible. But went on to say, "We here did not hold those who were draft dodgers in very favorable light at all. Those that spoke against our government such as Jane Fonda, for example, were considered detestable."

Referring to Tom Silvia's claim that America could have won the war ("We should have nuked them out"), I asked him for his view on the subject. He replied that he thought it was a war that was much more difficult to win than was anticipated. He believed that an added problem was that the United States did not understand the war. He also believed it was just a learning experience. The Russells both felt that the effect of the Vietnam War movies was that they made them appreciate the veterans more. Tommy felt that within the military establishment there was a lack of recognition towards its veterans of the Vietnam War. He said, "The establishment is more inclined to brush under the rug and to ignore the problems of its veterans who were from the Vietnam era than from any other conflict." Pamela Russell said that the veterans received poor treatment in the Veterans Hospitals. And Tommy called the treatment "not honorable".

Summing up, we find that both Tommy and Pamela experience history in the spirit of Allen Tate's "Ode to the Confederate Dead". They basically view the Civil War as a proud war. Pride is also the word that best describes their feelings about Southern culture. Being patriotic they supported the Vietnam War at the time, because it was official government policy. College students themselves during the Vietnam War era, they disagreed with the violent protests of certain groups of students. Also, they were aware of all the details of draft dodging that was going on during the Vietnam War, but had no sympathy for those who evaded the draft. They both thought that the South treated the returning Vietnam veterans better than the rest of the country. In their opinion the movies about the War on Vietnam had a healing effect on the nation which showed in an increased respect for the veterans.

(viii) GORDON PERRY (white)

In his office at Haywood High School I talked to principal Gordon Perry, who was a successful football coach before he was promoted to his present position. He was considered tough, but fair by both the black and the white students. He found out how much he was appreciated in Brownsville and Haywood County during the Gulf War, when he saw action in Saudi Arabia.

Gordon moves rather fast for a Southerner. This applies, first, literally to the way he walks, but he also is a quick thinker, impatient almost, but helpful. The walls of his office reflect his past life; sports trophies and Army posters and plaques cover the walls and spill over on his desk. He told me he had been in Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, and got out of the Army in 1963, after which he obtained a teaching position in Kentucky, where he stayed for three years, staying in the Reserves simultaneously. For some reason his unit did not get activated for Vietnam. He came to Brownsville in 1966 and stayed in the Reserves until 1974. He was "out" from 1974 until 1984 and got back in the Guards, because he needed to get his twenty years in for retirement. Talking about the time when his unit could have been called up for Vietnam, he said he was a 1st lieutenant in the 82nd Airborne Division, a good airborne-type unit. When he was in the Army it still was a volunteer thing.

On the Vietnam War:

The Vietnam War, Perry argued, would not have ended the way it did, if Washington had let the military people do what they wanted. He commented that they should have left it to the military personnel. "You know, it is almost like, almost, I would say, like letting an English teacher help the football coach develop his strategy for the football game on Friday night." He felt that what was wrong was that any major decision came from president Johnson and his advisers. Perry thought that for that reason general Westmoreland could not really do what he wanted to do. Asked how people in Brownsville responded to the war, he replied that it was an accepted thing. "We did not have the anti-rebellious atmosphere as you saw in Los Angeles, the Kent State, you did not have that. You will find the South a little more patriotic."

On the South:

Gordon Perry talked about patriotism and explained why it was rather stronger in the South:

It is just the way you are raised. I was born and raised on everyone

goes in the military for your country. You [do] your two years or four years or three years, but everyone is going to go in and that's what you do for your country. And I think it is just a little stronger in the South. A little more traditional roots. Not as much of an influx here as it is in other parts of the country. I mean all of the immigrants, they come in New York or they come in San Francisco, you know, but basically in the, you might say, rural South, it is just "my dad was in, my grandfather was in and I'm going to go in; and my kids are going to go in." You just did that for your country and I just think your love for your country may be a little stronger here.

He went on to say that in the South an Army career also was a way to raise your standard of living, which was why he welcomed the recruiters in the school. "Because I know it is a way out."

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(ix) JACOB BOND (black)

Back in 1986 I first met Jacob Bond at Haywood High School, where he was a Home Economics teacher. About ten years later I visited him in his classroom where a number of students were working on their assignments, while we talked about the South and the Vietnam War.

Jacob Bond is a native of Haywood County. "Born and raised in Brownsville. This is my home," he said. In 1962 he was in the Marine Corps and had orders to go to Vietnam. It was then that he had a car accident and broke both elbows. He was in hospital for a while and did not get the chance to go to Vietnam. The accident was the beginning of a long period of recuperation. Jacob Bond said he had to have surgery on one elbow. He was released from the Marine Corps in 1966. He then joined the Army Reserves and stayed in it for twenty-six years. He felt very lucky that he stayed out of Vietnam, for his Marine Corps company went to Vietnam and quite a few were killed there.

I asked Bond how his family felt about his having to go to Vietnam, before he had his accident. And he replied, "My family did not know a lot about Vietnam when it first started out. And my family was scared for me. When they found out I did not have to go, they were quite relieved." To this day he feels that the accident saved his life. How real was the Vietnam War in Brownsville?

BOND: We had TV, most of us had TV and radio, and, you know,

I had a friend down the street from me, their son got killed in Vietnam. And when he got killed, I think that's when a lot of people in my family -, they started realizing just how bad the war was over there.

VOOGT: And before that?

BOND: Before that, it was just something that we were going to and there was a war, but they did not really know just how serious. I don't really know how many young men that we lost from Brownsville in Vietnam. I know this one.

For Bond the war became a reality only when someone close was killed. Until then it was a distant war, something that happened on TV or that was discussed and reported on the radio. He went on to say that his first cousin William Cobb was in Vietnam. But, he said, "He does not like to talk about it, because he went through some tremendously bad incidences there."

On the veterans returning home:

In what way were the soldiers who returned from Vietnam welcomed home? Was anything special done?

BOND: No. When he got out of Vietnam, I don't know of nothing that was done . . . I never did hear him say, I have never heard of [anything] that was done for any soldiers that came home from Vietnam. Not while I was here. I have not heard, now there might have been some, but like I say, I have not heard of any. Vietnam was something that I heard about in the Marine Corps and I did not know the extent of how bad it was. Then when I got hurt and I did not go, I did not realize there was nothing as bad as it was until I did not go and I was, you know, just in the hospital from my injuries and that's when I started reading and started finding out it was extremely bad. Then when I lost a lot of guys that were in service with me, then I started realizing how bad and I did not have a lot of friends that were in Vietnam, because once I got out of service, when I got out of the Marine Corps, the only ones I knew were my cousin and a couple of more guys that were in Vietnam, some of those I did not really know then. I never was really a big part of Vietnam, just what I read, because, you know, the guys who were here when I left and went to Indianapolis [to college], you know, I lost contact.

On the impact of the Vietnam War on Brownsville:

It was Jacob Bond's view that Vietnam did not really affect life in Brownsville and Haywood County, because not many local people went to Vietnam.

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(x) JEFF HOOPER (white)

Born in Brownsville on February 11, 1945, Jeff Hooper has lived in Brownsville all his life, with the exception of the years he was at high school in Florida at the Academy, at the University of Kentucky, and some years in Memphis. He graduated in 1969 and returned to Brownsville where he got in the oil and feedstore business. He owns Brownsville Express, one of the city's convenience stores. Many people go there for gas and coffee; I was told by total strangers in the library that Brownsville Express served the best coffee in town. We met by chance while I was in the store; we sat down at one of the tables over a coffee, and talked about the 1960s, with the noise of the traffic accelerating in the street and the chatter of the customers and the cashier in the background.

VOOGT: Can you tell me what your memories are of the Vietnam War period?

Jeff HOOPER: Well, all the way through my college years the Vietnam Conflict as we called it at that time was utmost in all of our minds. It was a time that none of us could really figure out why we were there in Vietnam, what we were doing there, how we got there. We felt like it was, and found out later that it turned out to be mostly political. And that had a lot to do with my circle of friends as to how they felt about Vietnam. They did not feel like it was a war, they did not feel like we were serving any true purpose. And so there was a lot of confusion there as to where our true sentiments really were at that time.

You know, usually, you study the wars and you look back in the history of our country, and we always had a purpose and that purpose was carried out in the lives of each of the soldiers, but in this particular case, it was just a - it was so much of it was ambiguous, it was just - our hearts were not in it, I guess you would say. And so I think that led to a lot of confusion with my age group during the middle sixties and late sixties.

Was the younger generation, the young men eligible for the draft, more confused than the older generations living in Brownsville? He was away from Brownsville most of the time then. "I just knew what we thought in college." He certainly did not want to go to Vietnam, which is why he stayed in college to keep out of the draft. This was the most commonly used manner to keep out of the danger zone. Jeff said, "Even our own president has done the same thing and I can understand why he did it." And he repeated the opinion he had expressed before, saying that it was a very political war.

Jeff Hooper was a political science major at the university of Kentucky, and so, staying on campus away from the familiar world of his native Brownsville, and studying and reading about politics and Vietnam, it was a very intense period in his life. As he put it, "we dealt with it in all of our classes and discussed it to the nth degree and I think as I look back, and all that rhetoric that we seem to come up with, to put it in one word I would say, confusion. I would say we were confused." In fact this state of mind was not exclusive to the students at the University of Kentucky. Jeff remembered that "professors with a degree and men of my day, I would say we were just real confused about the whole idea of being in that part of the world".

On anti-war demonstrations:

Although he was opposed to the War in Vietnam, Jeff Hooper did not identify with what he referred to as the hippies involved in the demonstrations against American involvement in Vietnam. I asked him about his memories of demonstrations on the campus of the University of Kentucky.

Jeff HOOPER: We had the SDS (Students for Democratic Society) Convention. We called it the hippie movement. They were the long-haired hippie movement, and it came to the University of Kentucky my senior year, I'm going to guess '68; 1968 is when they had their national convention at the University of Kentucky. Yes, I do remember that. It was a fiasco. I remember that. And I was - I sort of kept my - at an arm's length to that group. I mean, I did not identify at that point in my life.

VOOGT: You said it was a fiasco?

Jeff HOOPER: Well, it was just - just a lot of very hang-loose, hippie-type students from all over the country, much like Woodstock up in Connecticut during that time. That type of hippie movement was going on at that time and it was that same type of individual which at that time in my life I was trying to remove myself from that persuasion. I could not identify with that group. They were the pot-smoking, love, you know, very cheap morals,

what they were talking about, you know. Some of them would even get it mixed up with Jesus' love. Well, it was a very cheap type of shallow love.

Asked whether he himself demonstrated against the war, he answered that he had not made a demonstration of any kind. I then asked him if he remembered if students burned draft cards on the campus of the University of Kentucky.

Jeff HOOPER: Don't remember that.

VOOGT: Or did you just have discussions?

Jeff HOOPER: We may have burned draft cards. That's sort of coming back to me and it seems like that was one thing that we did do. We did not burn a flag, although that has since been somewhat popular on some campuses. No, I do not remember that happening. But I think a draft card, in fact, when you said that that brought back that memory. That did go on at Kentucky.

VOOGT: Was there flag burning going on at all in the South?

Jeff HOOPER: Don't remember that. Don't remember that. I'm not saying it did, but I don't remember that. It could have.¹⁴¹

Returning to an earlier point in the discussion, he said that the Vietnam War was a war that they did not understand, but that it did not dominate everything that they talked about in the classroom.

On the South:

We passed on to a discussion of the Republican and Democratic parties in the South. During his infrequent visits to his parents' home in Brownsville in the 1960s, he remembered that his mother and father were going through a political change in their lives. They had all been raised Democratic, because that was just the atmosphere of Tennessee at that time. The more he studied in college the more he realized that the parties were changing. The philosophies of the parties were changing, which was why his parents turned Republican. Did Jeff remember the reasons? The most important reason was that "the whole nature of the party was changing, more labor, minority persuasion, started moving more toward the Democratic Party and the Republican Party seemed to be more interested in the individual more so than the Democratic Party who had always been classified as the Party of the People. But that was changing and you could see that change and feel that change." I asked him if this had possibly anything to do with president Johnson's Great Society?

Jeff HOOPER: I think so. I think that during that time the Democrats were becoming more big government philosophy. They felt like the government could - had the answer to all of our needs and, yeah, I could see that increasing more and more. I remember discussing that with some of my contemporaries, students, and also professors.

VOOGT: Did the fact that you were breaking with a Southern tradition make it harder?

Jeff HOOPER: It did. Republicans had always been big Eastern money. That was the conception of what the two parties were, but I think that was beginning to change. I know it was. During those years of the Vietnam Conflict people were beginning to second-guess that - the Bay of Pigs under John Kennedy. All of that was beginning to change the ideology of the Democratic Party. The South was slow in picking it up. They were very much slower in accepting that change and recognizing it. Now that's my opinion. I think history is going to prove that out.

We wandered over several other subjects. Jeff was very concerned about developments in modern America, particularly the lack of a strong, well-rounded home, and the increasing number of welfare recipients. He saw parallels between conditions in present-day America and the final days of Rome.

Jeff Hooper typically exemplifies the attitude of the patriotic Southern student. Although his studies and frequent discussions convinced him that an American presence in Vietnam did not serve any useful purpose, which in effect made him stay on in college to avoid the draft, he did not participate in anti-war demonstrations. He did not identify with and even disliked the SDS, the student organization that was behind anti-war demonstrations on a large number of campuses nationwide, which he referred to as the hippy movement.

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(xi) LYNN SHAW (white)

Lynn Jackson Shaw was born 15 December 1940 in Brownsville, Tennessee. His father was C. Battle Shaw, Sr. (1898-1968). His mother is Mae Jackson Shaw (1909). He attended Anderson Grammar School and graduated from Haywood High School. He attended Lambuth College, majoring in history. In 1961 he became a member of the Haywood County Fire Department, serving 15 years as a volunteer fireman.

On 24 December 1961, he married Mary Ann Bond in Tucson, Arizona. Mary Ann is the daughter of Elias King Bond and Mary Evelyn Farrar. In 1966, Lynn went into the truck and auto service wrecker business. After the death of his father in 1968, he inherited a portion of "Dark Corner" plantation near Arlington, Tennessee. This was the plantation of his great-great-grandfather William Battle III, who was given a land grant for his service in the War of 1812. In 1976, Lynn became interested in the Sons of the Confederate Veterans organization. In June, 1976, he chartered a camp in Brownsville, Tennessee. He was elected the camp's first commander, a position he held at three different times. In 1980, he was elected state commander. In 1982, he was elected national lieutenant commander-in-chief of the organization serving until 1986. Locally, he was elected vice-president of the Haywood Co. Historical Society when it was chartered. He was placed on the three-member Historical Commission of Haywood County.

Lynn and Mary Ann have taken an active part at Tabernacle Kinfolks Meeting since building a cabin there in 1977. In 1984, he was able to charter the first Tennessee state society of the War of 1812. The national society was basically an eastern society existing in the original 13 states. Lynn was elected the first state society president and now holds the national office of district president general. In 1987, he co-edited and authored the *Commanders-in-Chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans* (privately printed, 1987).

On the steps of the former Haywood High School, on a day of blue skies and high winds, Lynn Shaw talked to me on the Civil War, the South, and the Vietnam War. He accounted for the large number of books on the Vietnam War available then by saying that it was the most recent war that the United States had been involved in. He went on in one breath, "Of course, I think the major war, the war that had so many more casualties than all the other wars, was the War Between the States. It had more than World War I and World War II put together as far as America is concerned. So there is a lot of interest in that war still." Did he think that the attitude to the Vietnam War, though, was different here in the South?

SHAW: I think Southerners as a whole are a volunteer kind of - well, Tennessee is the Volunteer State, that's the nickname. I mean, you know, I think that Tennesseans have traditionally participated in their nation's wars and I think that's one of the main reasons that you see a lot of volunteers from here in this part of the region of the country and so I would think that the acceptance of a war would be greater here probably than in other areas.

How many men from Brownsville and Haywood County approximately

had been involved in the Vietnam War? He did not know, but he said, "I was personally touched by it, because a lifelong friend and a teacher at this high school was killed in Vietnam: Norman Lane, lieutenant Norman Lane."¹⁴² I asked him if his friend's death caused him to change his opinion about the war. He answered that he had always believed that the war was the right thing for America to be involved in at that time.

On the Vietnam veterans:

How were the Vietnam veterans welcomed? He said, "I would say like returning veterans have traditionally enjoyed, probably not as much as World War II, but, certainly there was no badmouthing them. Lynn's wife Mary Ann then said, "Some were killed in Vietnam and then Norman Lane, but then as far as the blacks, see, we hadn't integrated at that time, so I don't know how many blacks were killed." And turning to her husband, she asked, "But don't you think Judy Bishop would have the records of the ones killed from Haywood County?"

She raised an interesting point here. The black and the white communities were like two separate entities, in another interview Leon King, black policeman and lay preacher said exactly the same thing when he talked about black casualties. He was not aware of the white local servicemen killed in the Vietnam War.

We talked about Neil Sheehan, who as a young reporter went on missions with the troops, and his claim that the young soldiers who did the actual fighting knew what was really going on, whereas the commanding generals, away in Saigon, Honolulu, and Washington did not. Lynn commented, "Well, I think the obvious thing is that America could have won that war had the military been allowed to pursue the war in a strictly military, not a political style. So I think that many people in the military and the people at home felt frustrated because the war was not carried on to a winning conclusion." He argued that conventional arms could have won the war if it had been "prosecuted, you know, like wars ordinarily are, to win, but I just don't think it was". Lynn echoed Von Clausewitz, the Prussian authority on the art of warfare, who, in *On War* pointed out that before embarking on a war people should define their objectives first, after which an all-out effort should be pursued to attain those objectives.¹⁴³

What was missing in the American war effort in Southeast Asia was a clearly specified military objective as well as a total commitment of all available means towards achieving it. In *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War*, colonel Harry G. Summers, Jr., argues that America did not intend to achieve victory and that U.S. doctrine specifically excluded it as an aim in war. He quotes General Maxwell Taylor testifying before the Senate in 1966 as saying that America was not trying to defeat North Vietnam, but only "to cause them to mend their ways". Colonel Summers further argues that the United States, in its pursuit of its policy

of containment, entered the Vietnam War on the strategic defensive and that an American failure to appreciate what this strategic posture entailed contributed to America losing the war.¹⁴⁴ George C. Herring does not believe that the War in Vietnam could have been won at a cost considered acceptable by most Americans.¹⁴⁵ In *A Time for War*, Robert D. Schulzinger maintains that there was nothing the United States could have done to win the Vietnam War.¹⁴⁶ Finally, H.R. McMaster, in *Dereliction of Duty*, writes about the Vietnam War as the war that the United States could not win at a politically acceptable level of commitment.¹⁴⁷

Lynn Shaw's résumé clearly identifies him as a Southerner with a sense of history. The mere mention of the Vietnam War, in his case, immediately brings to mind what he calls "the War Between the States". He remembered the Vietnam War chiefly as the war in which his best friend was killed. In spite of this he sincerely believed that American policy in Southeast Asia was right. Interestingly, his wife Mary Ann referred to the Vietnam War era as a time when the local community was still segregated and that for that reason she did not know exactly how many blacks had been killed in the War.

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(xii) DR. GEORGE MOSS, JR. (white)

Dr. George Moss is a veterinary surgeon and has his clinic in Bells, northeast of Brownsville. George and his family love nature, they also love to hunt. On their farm in the south of Haywood County they devote much time to preserving wildlife.

Sitting in his pick-up truck on highway 76 and heading for his farm in the direction of Summerville, he talked about Vietnam and the South.

MOSS: You may have to ask me many questions, you know. Most of us that are old enough to have been in a war and did not serve in a war don't have the same experiences of love of homeland and country like our older veterans did. The World War II veterans are the ones who actually served the country for a purpose, and it was an understood purpose. And the country made a sacrifice, and then from that time on, which was the Second World War, there has never been really a purpose. And even these skirmishes that we are having now with Iran-Iraq; all of these have no purpose as far as we Americans are concerned. We can't understand them anymore than we can understand Bosnia.

Vietnam served no purpose for us. We as Americans never felt that we were in danger as a country. So, it was never a situation where we had to go fight.

When I remarked that the war was intended to contain communism, he replied, "That's true."

MOSS: And obviously, we thought of ourselves as someone who could stop it at some point; and this was a good place to stop it. It was a whole lot easier to fight Vietnam than it would be to fight the Soviet Union. And if we could show the world that we meant business and that we were going to stop communism wherever we needed to. . .; we attempted to show that with Korea. And we did a very poor job with Korea. We fought a war that we actually did not win. You know, we may have won the war as far as we collected the most bodies at the end, but, other than that, there was no real start and no real stop.

VOOGT: Was it a mistake to get involved in Vietnam right at the start, helping the French financially?

MOSS: There is no doubt that it was a mistake when we are looking back, because looking back we can see everything that we did wrong and all the wrong chess moves that we made. So, of course, now we have come a lot more informative as to what we should have done. But at the time we did make a mistake. We did get in the war that we should not have gotten in. But, there was no way that we as a country could let this happen.

VOOGT: You are saying this with hindsight, but, what is interesting to look at is how you felt at the time. Was that a point at the time, while it was going on, that you felt, "Well, this is the point where we should draw the line and say no?"

MOSS: I don't think that we ever thought that this was going to be any kind of major skirmish. I thought that we were going to run over there and do a little police work and tie their hands together and spank them on the back of their hands and it would be over and we would come home. And, we obviously found an enemy that was - had just as much cause as we had, or perceived cause. Then obviously we did not carry through with what we went over there to do and it really did split our country and it has continued to split our country.

VOOGT: When did you feel that it started splitting the country?

MOSS: I actually did not. I was - being from the South and, of course, a great number of our soldiers - very high percentage of soldiers were from the rural South and some states like North Carolina had a very high percentage of young men in the military. I

don't think that we ever felt during the conflict that we were doing something that we should not have been doing or that we were in a situation that we should not have been, other than the fact that we were not trying hard enough to win. You can't fight a war on your own soil, and we were essentially fighting on our own soil in South Vietnam, and essentially letting the Vietnamese - the North Vietnamese - just line up at the border of their country and do whatever they wanted to do. So I don't think that we as Southerners as a general rule felt that we were in a war that we should not be in. Right to the end, we felt like we should have been there.

VOOGT: But would that be different for the rest of the country? You say, "We as Southerners." Aren't you thinking just of students and intellectuals in certain spots, like Kent State and so on, or do you feel that there was a real difference at the time between the South and the rest of the country?

MOSS: There is no doubt that there was a real difference. Not that we in the South are any slower; it is just that we may think a little bit different toward country. We may even think a little different toward war, and, of course, *we in the South did lose a war one time which was a very important war to us and we in the South still relive the Civil War which the rest of the country doesn't relive it* [my emphasis]. We had a strong feeling about war and about winning wars. And we were out there to win this thing because we were not going to lose.

In the course of 1995-1996, whenever the Civil War and its aftermath came up in the discussions, the emotions ultimately connected with a sense of loss were always there, as here in the interview with Dr. George Moss. Further examples may be found in the discussion with Lynn Shaw, who talked about the many casualties of the War Between the States, as he called it, and also in the interview with Dr. Tommy Russell III, who said that he had never got used to the South losing the war. The emotion is not exclusive to Brownsville and Haywood County, but is something shared by many people all over the South, as appears from the title of C. Vann Woodward's book *The Burden of Southern History*.

The Lost Cause, the popularized title of Edward A. Pollard's history of the Confederacy (1866) formed the basis of different "interpretations of the meaning and significance of the celebration of the war", the most important explaining it in either political or mythical terms.¹⁴⁸ James M. McPherson, however, in *Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War*, points out that much historical writing on the Civil War today pays "scant attention" to what Walt Whitman called "the real war": the experiences of the three million soldiers and the vicarious extensions of those experiences to their families and friends back home,

who constituted almost the whole of the American people. Fought entirely on American soil, the Civil War killed almost as many American soldiers as all the rest of the wars fought by the U.S. combined.¹⁴⁹ The sense of loss pervading, and emanating from most Civil War literature is characteristic.

I asked George Moss, "Is that the basic point, you think, that the rest of the country did not lose a war, or that the idea or possibility of losing a war did not occur to the rest of the country, but was much more important here?"

MOSS: Possibly. I really can't speak for the rest of the country, because obviously I don't know how they felt, but I think that anytime you are in any kind of war that you do lose, obviously you are going to feel differently the next time you go to fight. You are going to bring a bigger stick or hit a little bit harder or hit a little bit quicker and it is something that we in the South - we felt like we were being deceived by the military only in that they were not being allowed to win. It is not that they were over there. It is that they were not being allowed to their best shot.

VOOGT: Who exactly would not let the United States win this war?

MOSS: (laughing)

Who was or were responsible for denying American soldiers in Vietnam a military victory? George felt that it became "a grassroots thing", and that the press did as much as anything to end the war. Had his opinion changed at all during the war?

MOSS: I don't think that I ever really changed until I realized right at the end that we were not going to win the war. And then it became a frustration, where I could not understand why we were the ones being shown dead and we were not showing the other side as taking the losses. You could hear the [body] count - you know, say so many on one side and so many on the other side. But they were not graphically shown. Of course, it is a whole lot easier to look at an enemy as not human even, somebody that you want to and need to eliminate. While in your case you've got to have zero losses. I don't think that we really felt like we were fighting another country, a people we could understand, because we could not talk to them, and they are so different, they live different, and, you know, it was almost like it was a need that we had to just win this war.

VOOGT: You said several times, "we were not allowed to win the

war". Who exactly do you think was stopping you from winning this war? What politicians are you thinking of?

MOSS: I'm not sure that I could even name names. I think it became one of those situations where possibly we were concerned that the war would escalate. And possibly if we did invade North Vietnam, we could end up with a situation with the Soviet Union.

Yet he remained convinced that America could have won the war. They could have completely destroyed the internal fabric of the country; they could have bombed all rice field dikes, bombed their ports, and the country would have ground to a halt.

On the South:

I quoted Dr. Charles Mayo of Lambuth University, Jackson, Tennessee, who had said to me, "Probably the further South you go, the more patriotic people become."

MOSS: I think that is true and I think that part of it is due to what we were just talking about; love of country and the fact that we are more rural. We have an identity with our land, we have an identity with each other. We tend to grow up and live in the same neighborhoods that we have always lived in, and, of course, any rural area in the nation is going to be the same, but we are not moving into the suburbs quite as fast, you know. We are just staying right where we are. The small towns that we are in, are the small towns that we were born in.

Obviously, in the rural areas where we know each other, where Johnny lives next-door to us and he's not only our next-door neighbor, he's also my wife's first cousin or my wife's second cousin. And Jimmy who lives down the street is the same way, you know, and even if they are not close kin, they are still somehow related to us and then, in a loss in a war, we are not only losing a soldier, we are losing somebody out of our community. We are losing somebody that is a piece of us.

On the draft:

Most people in the South were not draft dodgers. In the words of George Moss, "We did not think that we should not be a part of it, because this was just part of being an American." In any discussion about draft dodgers, president Carter's name comes up.

MOSS: He was an excellent man. He was not a good leader and he was not loved by most of us in the rural South, other than the fact that he was a good man. He loved everybody, and because he loved his fellowman, one of the first things he did was pardon the draft dodgers. And, of course, he was pardoning people that we did not want him to pardon.

During the Vietnam War, George Moss had been in college and had just been fortunate to have a high enough number. Yet he had never thought about not going to Vietnam if he had been drafted. He said, "We had a lot of students, who were not from the South, and I never heard one protest against the Vietnam War."

On the Democrat South:

In the South they used to be all Democrats. However, much has changed during the last two or three elections. The Democrats liked their local Democrat system. "We like the Democrats, because we like the good ole boy system." Characteristic of the old Democrat system was that if they had an elected official it was somebody they knew.

On the effects of the Vietnam War:

Moss believed that as a result of Vietnam, the United States had become a fractured nation. He concluded, "We have come to need something to bring us back together and in the past we have had wars that have brought us together." As the pick-up truck was getting nearer the Moss farm in the southernmost part of the county on the bright afternoon of November 11, 1995, I stopped the tape, and looked at the withered corn stalks on the land that had been left for the birds, for the preservation of wildlife. Clearly, there is a close relationship between this type of twentieth-century country life and that of much of England in the nineteenth century. The combination of a passion for hunting and the urge to preserve wildlife simultaneously echoes *The Shooting Party*, Isabel Colegate's novel about the eve of the end of the rural aristocracy in England, written just before the real shooting party of the twentieth century, World War I, began.¹⁵⁰

What transpires from the interview is the Southernness of Dr. George Moss. It shows in his leisure pursuits, but it also is apparent in the way he looks at the War in Vietnam. In his view America had not tried hard enough to win the war. To him winning the war, any war in fact in which America was involved, was important, because, as he put it, "the South did lose a war one time..." Another difference between the South and the

rest of America, he believed, was the South's lingering memory of the Civil War. Moss also subscribed to the belief, which he viewed as Southern, that America was not allowed to win the War in Vietnam. He was convinced that the United States could have won the war.

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(xiii) LAYMON JOHNSON (black)

Born and raised in Haywood County, Laymon Johnson, in his early seventies when we talked, graduated from Haywood County Training School. He went into the Army in 1942.¹⁵¹ In the course of World War II he served in New Guinea and the Philippines as a supply sergeant with the aviation engineers. He left the Army in 1946 to go to Howard University for two years. He joined the Reserves and escorted the Army's soldiers who had died in foreign fields back home. He rejoined the Army and finished his career in 1965. During his long service he traveled far and wide. He was stationed in Korea as well as in Germany, visiting many countries when off duty.

After his retirement he was actively involved in the community in various capacities, including the direction of the Big Hatchie Development Corporation. After a merger in 1972 he became assistant director of the newly formed Chickasaw Area Development Commission. In 1973 he became a highway safety planner with the Southwest Tennessee Development District in Jackson. In 1980 he became director of the Chickasaw Commission, retiring in 1984. Because there was no black Boy Scout troop, he formed Troop 140 in 1966. He was also active in his church, Farmer's Chapel C.M.E. He delivered Meals on Wheels, which does not quite complete the list of his activities for the community.

Johnson's retirement from the Army more or less coincided with the escalating Vietnam Conflict. He was stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C. at that time, leaving the Army on May 1, 1965. Asked how he felt about America's involvement in Vietnam, he replied, "I felt we should have been there, if we could stop communism, because communism, if we did not stop it, it was going to eventually come to the United States, but sometimes I think it was a lost cause because the French had been fighting them for years."

VOOGT: You mentioned communism - was that the common belief at the time - did people all believe in the domino theory - that if Vietnam fell, other countries would fall? Was that what people believed?

JOHNSON: Right.

I asked him if his opinion about U.S. involvement in the war changed at all as the war dragged on. He replied that he did not really think about it much. Yet one of the things that he did think about was that most Americans who went over there were not used to guerrilla war. The unit he was in, was training special forces to fight this type of war.

On anti-war demonstrations:

JOHNSON: Most of the demonstrations were in larger cities. I cannot recall any type of demonstration against the Vietnam War in this area. I'm not sure whether there were any in Memphis or not. A lot of people here may not like war, but if they have to go, then they go ahead without any problems.

He went on to say that many blacks went into the service, because jobs in the area were scarce. It was a means of getting money and it also was a chance to see the world.

On Vietnam veterans:

Johnson said that he was a member of American Legion Post 114, and that they had been trying to get some of the younger people to join the Legion. He said that a few did join, and paid their dues, but that they would not come to the meetings. It would appear, therefore, that neither the white nor the black Vietnam veterans were interested in joining the veterans of World War II.

Summing up we find, first, that Johnson accepted the domino theory. Consequently, it made sense to argue, as he did, that America should fight communism in Vietnam. Secondly, we find that Johnson also reflected the patriotism that we have also seen in other members of the local community.

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(xiv) MARTHA HOOPER (white)

The former Miss Martha Graham Myatt, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Jackson Myatt of 4176 Tuckahoe Road, Memphis, married attorney Carmon Thomas Hooper III, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Carmon

Thomas Hooper II of 236 North Grand Avenue, Brownsville, on August 25, 1962, at St. Luke's Methodist Church in Memphis, Tennessee.

At the time of the interview Martha Hooper had lived in Brownsville for thirty-three years, where she had raised five children. I asked her if she could remember how Vietnam affected people in Brownsville.

Martha HOOPER: No, I don't remember. Now, when I was in college in the early sixties, of course, they still had the draft and boys were still sent. But I think they must have had deferment if you were in college, because I really did not know anybody who was in the service at that time or then, after I moved to Brownsville. I, of course, - it took me a while to get to know the community and I did not know any of the young men very well at that time. But pretty much what I saw on television or read in the newspaper. At that time in 1968 I had three little children, so I was pretty well occupied taking care of them during that time. I remember there was a young man here who was killed in Vietnam and that was the only - well, I remember another one, - there were two. But one that was, - his parents were natives of Brownsville. He was my age exactly. I remember he was killed; he was related to the Thorntons here in Brownsville. And, of course, that is a large family and his mother was a Thornton and they lived away from here, but his name was Norman Lane. I don't know, maybe you have heard that name. He was, I would say, one of the more prominent of the young men from this area that I remembered that was killed. And then there was another young man whose sister still lives here. She was Jack Pettigrew's wife, Susan. Her, Susan's, brother was killed in Vietnam and I know it was about - around 1970 or 1971 that he died. He was about my brother's age who had just finished medical school and was never in the service. But my brother died right after, so I felt sort of kinship with her because of that. But, anyway, this other memory that I have is of a Presley boy who was not killed, but I remember when he came home from being in Vietnam. They had a big banner across one of the yards or on the square, something about welcoming him home from the war and that is really, I guess, about as close as I got to any of it. And then there was the Lovelace boy as well who was there. I do remember that.

On anti-war protests:

She remembered that the war was a problem for president Johnson. She felt strongly about it; she had always been a very patriotic person. She was a member of the DAR (Daughters of the American Revolution), which is a patriotic organization. "We stress patriotism; it just killed me to

see these people protesting against our country because of what it was doing." At the time she did not go into the reasoning behind the war, but by 1996 she had thought more thoroughly about it and she was more informed about it than she was then, when she was busy taking care of her family. "But, anyway," she said, "it hurt me to see the long-haired students that were, you know, smoking marijuana and all that and protesting the Vietnam War, when there were young men over there who were defending these - not defending our country so much, but representing our country and to see the two extremes, you know, - I felt for the men who were over there. I never did - I just did not appreciate the protesters at all, even though they certainly had the right to do that." She remembered seeing it all in the newspaper and on television. "There was nothing here, there may have been some, but I was not aware of them. I don't remember." Nor did she remember protests at Southwestern University.

On deferments:

Martha Hooper remembered students in her surroundings would try to get an educational deferment rather than burn their draft cards. "They would work it so that they were in school or continuing with their education, which you cannot argue with. I think if I knew anybody that was deferred, it would have been for that reason, for education."

On the South:

Martha HOOPER: Now, of course, the South is changing. But at that period I would say it was a great deal of patriotism. That is why I feel like these students at Vanderbilt and Southwestern - their families had a sense of patriotism too and they were brought up that way. I think even to this day the South tends to be the most patriotic part of the country.

VOOGT: Why is that, do you think?

Martha HOOPER: Well, I think, it may go back to our - maybe, the South. Of course they tease and make fun of the Bible Belt, but generally people who are of a religious nature and have that type of values, the patriotism fits right in with that. Usually you don't find a real patriotic person who is not as well a religious person.¹⁵²

The South has always had to defend itself, so that, you know, we get called a lot of names and people think - just from the Civil War - they think, I don't know. The South has been put down a lot and, I think, now it is coming into its own and people are realizing that it is a good part of the country. Let me say, of course, this has nothing to do with Vietnam.

When I was saying that religious people are usually patriotic people

- there are people, of course, religious people in some areas who are associated greatly with race - like Ku Klux Klan - those - but generally, and this is going to sound not like a very good statement, but there are people who are generally not very well educated, who are that. But I would say among the educated Southerners there is - I mean, not everybody - but usually where you find those little pockets of people.

I have been a member [of the CAR] since I was about ten years old. It was the Children of the American Revolution and it was my mother who got me in at that time. What you do? You have to be able to trace your ancestry back to the Revolutionary War. And you have an ancestor, that you can directly go through the years of history to your family. And we stress patriotism. Now, of course, it had to do originally with the Revolutionary War, but anyone - it is open to anyone who can trace their ancestry and you have to have all these complicated papers where you show - we have a very large complex of buildings in Washington, D.C., a library there that we - with all the genealogy. In this part of the country people are very interested in genealogy. I think too that people in the South to some extent had stayed in the South and not moved, you know, where there are big corporations and big companies in manufacturing, people just move all the time. There are people in this area, who have lived here most of their lives. That gives them a strong sense of community and family, because my children have grown up around both of their grandmothers and Tommy has twenty something first cousins, who have lived here for years. It is just a strong sense of family and community. Good for children and their self-esteem and their sense of belonging.

VOOGT: Why is it that people are so attached to the land? A lot of people here, even though they have other jobs, have land.

Martha HOOPER: This, of course, being an agricultural area, land has played an important part in our economy and even though, as you say, someone may have another job -, but I know my family were not farmers. Now, my grandmother on my mother's side was from Mississippi, northern Mississippi, and they had a good bit of farmland and I know I have heard that during the Great Depression here in this country, my grandmother and grandfather had three children in college during that time, in Mississippi colleges. And my mother has always said that it was my grandmother's cotton that got those children through college.

Martha had only faint memories of the War in Vietnam. Yet she vividly remembered the "long-haired students", protesting against the war and how much she had disliked them for it. The campus of Southwestern University, where she had been a student, had been quiet in contrast. An

active member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Martha is a true Southerner, who is convinced that the South still is the most patriotic part of the country.

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(xv) C. THOMAS HOOPER III (white)

Attorney C. Thomas Hooper III is the grandson of the late Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Mann, and of William Francis Hooper and the late Mrs. Hooper, all of Brownsville. He was graduated from Kentucky Military Institute, the University of Alabama, and the Vanderbilt School of Law. He was a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity at Alabama, and of Phi Delta Phi legal fraternity at Vanderbilt. He was a representative to the 82nd General Assembly, state of Tennessee from Haywood County. He served as a jet pilot in the U.S. Air Force. He married Miss Martha Graham Myatt on August 25, 1962.

I talked to Tommy Hooper in his stylishly decorated office on the courthouse square, books lining the wall behind his desk. On the opposite wall a framed, enlarged photograph of his family.

He said, "We have been here in Brownsville, my mother's side since the 1700s. My first inkling is 1796 or something like that. My four great-grandparents - I don't know about the Hooper side - they came from Virginia. I have traced it back a pretty good ways and back to England." About his dad's side he told me that they were buried in the cornfields out and around Brownsville. These words reminded me of the first impressions of Haywood County, experienced in 1986. It was the incredible sight of burial sites here and there along the country lanes connecting the communities of the county. Sometimes there were just six ancient tombstones, sometimes more. Then there was the graveyard behind the houses occupied by a number of black families on Anderson Avenue, across from Jeff Hooper's Citgo gas station. Life and death were closer together here in the South than they were in Holland, where graveyards are hidden behind walls of green foliage.

We moved away from his family history and talked about the 1960s, which he called a mean-spirited time. He blamed especially president Johnson for getting America involved in "that Vietnam War".

Tommy HOOPER: Of course, Kennedy was the first one that got us into it. And those two Democrat presidents got us so involved that we could not get ourselves out. The people were against it very much, especially the young people. So it was a war that was not

generally one that the people wanted. They just did not feel like there was anything in there for us. But we are communist haters, a lot of us are. And so we go off wrong-headed at times because of somebody is a communist. We have been that way in the public eye, you know, when the communists were a lot more thick in Hollywood or the McCarthy era, when they went after the communists in a hard way. So, it was kind of a harsh time and, I guess, it was a wrong way to whip communism. I think Reagan had a better idea about it to build ourselves up and they tried to be equal with us and it has broken them and it has almost broken us financially.

He went on to say that although he believed in the domino theory, Kennedy was probably wrong in sending advisers to Vietnam. He felt that the United States were supporting the wrong kind of people in South Vietnam. Then South Vietnamese leaders did not have the hearts of the people and the communists did. They often thought about Vietnam at the time, because "young men were being killed and we had people from our county that lost their lives". And also, they saw the bodies coming back, which was upsetting and as far as they could see America was not getting anywhere. He added, "And we could not do it with might and power and our bombs and our big airplanes. We were fighting an enemy with feathers so to speak."

Tommy HOOPER: Of course, television brought it to our bedrooms, to our homes, and every day. And then, we just saw the slaughter going on and I did not see any end to it. And I saw us spending umpteen dollars that we did not have to spend. We were already in debt and it looked like we were spending more and more and not getting anywhere. So Johnson, president Johnson, got us into it so thick there was no way to extricate ourselves. And I was thinking, "I don't know how we're going to end this thing. We are going to lose, it looks like and maybe we better save face and save anymore lives, because we were not going to beat these people."

He then talked about local servicemen who were killed in Vietnam. He did not remember how they had lost their lives, but he knew several men had been killed there during the war, which brought the war close to home. He said, "I had several friends that lost their sons." Did he remember any names? "Marian and Elizabeth Thornton lost a grandson and I can't remember his name, but he visited here quite a bit and he was quite a nice young man. I remember the Land boy. That is Sonny Land's son, who died there and then, I remember the people that moved in. Yes, the

Johnston family lost a son. They moved in here with American Air Filter from somewhere up North. And they lost a son there. That is Dr. Pettigrew's brother-in-law. That is three that I can think of off-hand."

The repetition of the "I remember" phrase seemed to function as a ritual almost and stimulated Tommy Hooper's memory. After the first deaths the Vietnam War was "very real" to the people of Brownsville and Haywood County. The local population stayed in touch with the families and the people were generally very supportive of the war at the very beginning. He said, "I think they were frustrated as it went on. But children's lives that were lost -, the families were given the greatest of sympathy, as I remember it, from the community." His feelings about the Johnson administration were a different matter. They felt frustrated, because of the policies of the government in keeping on when they were not making any progress with all their heavy duty troops in Vietnam, and all the thousands of boys that were there. It was as if they were trying to win with one hand tied behind them, because America would not unleash its arsenal. Yet, with hindsight, he did not believe that the U.S. could have gained control of Vietnam "with those people fighting in the underground".

Tommy HOOPER: If we had fought with all our might, we might have been able to do better than we did. And they would not let them do that as I remember; and that was one of the problems we fought with the war effort and our leaders. They were willing to fight, but only partially so. And so that was not the way to fight, as I could see it.

On the Vietnam veterans:

The local servicemen who returned from Vietnam were treated with dignity and praise. There was absolutely no hostility toward any veteran. He said that the South was conservative. "We just don't have that much anti-government."

On the South:

Tommy said that the South had changed dramatically in the last twenty or thirty years. How? I asked him.

Well, they're still conservative. They've always been conservative, but they feel that the government is not conservative and so they have switched allegiances as far as I can see. It is not like it was. The black people from Republican turned Democrat and the white

people were Democrats, but became Republicans. We have just switched. The Southerners were blind Democrats because of the Civil War. The Republicans became the carpetbaggers and rushed out here. And Lincoln, being a Republican, turned the blacks to free men. And the whites hated very much the Republicans and hated, very much, Lincoln. And the women - the men were killed - and they were staying home helping the effort of the Confederacy, and the Union Army would come through and they would do everything they could to make life miserable for the Union Army and the women hated the Republicans, very much so.

In reading I found two Resolutions of prominent lawyers here in the late 1800s and the Resolutions, both of which I found recently, talked about them being staunch Democrats and they were both Confederate captains. And that was the general feeling and so that feeling prevailed whatever the Democrats did until the 1970s when Nixon came and started turning the South around. And now, it is just about all Republican. But the feeling from the Civil War went on for years, because all of my grandparents and all were staunch Democrats. And you could put all the Republicans in a phone booth in the South early on in the sixties. Especially there were not any Republicans here, and now most of the whites are Republicans, more so every year as the old ones die off. My grandparents and aunts and all were Democrats. My daddy changed, but just late in life. So that is how it works.

The effects of the Civil War and the period of Reconstruction were far-reaching. Most families in the South were affected by the war and its aftermath. The Union Army came down to Haywood County and, as Hooper phrased it, "dictated to us years after that". He went on to say that all the positions in the courthouses in the South were taken by black people, which the white people accepted with difficulty. It was the time when they had black senators and black congressmen and black office holders in the courthouse. Hence there was no love lost between white Southerners and the Republican party and the South was solid Democrat for many years. And for that reason, Hooper said, "it did not make any difference to Lyndon Johnson what he did or how he did in the Civil Rights Act [1964], and the South did not like it. But they went along with it."

On anti-war demonstrations:

The South is not prone to protests. What was the origin of the good manners, which characterize the South? It is true that Southerners like to think of themselves as having better manners. One explanation that

Tommy offered was that they tended to be raised in a family, and perhaps the manners brought over to the South by the landed gentry from England had also had an effect. At any rate, Tommy felt that the South was a different place to live, where people are more hospitable and courteous, more outgoing, and more interested in people, to the point sometimes of being irritating, than elsewhere in the U.S. He added, "But we like people and we are curious about people and I guess it is our curiosity too. We feel like we can ask anybody anything."

The significant elements of the history of Southern culture that emerge from the interview are, first, that Tommy Hooper traces one of his ancestors back to Virginia and back to England. Other ancestors lie buried in the fields surrounding Brownsville, which establishes him as a descendant of early settlers. Secondly, he describes in great detail the changing political scene in the South, tracing it from the aftermath of the Civil War to the Vietnam War era. He also emphasizes the legacy of the Civil War and the period of Reconstruction. His attitude to the Vietnam War appears ambivalent: on the one hand, he blames president Kennedy and president Johnson for getting America involved, yet, on the other hand, he shows himself a genuinely patriotic Southerner, blaming the American government for not allowing the men fighting in Vietnam to win the war: (America would not unleash its arsenal). Perhaps the ambivalence results from his strong dislike of the Democrats (And those Democrat presidents got us so involved).

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(xvi) LEON KING (black)

On the sunny afternoon of August 9, 1996, I drove down to Robin Road in the Northwestern part of Brownsville. A police patrol car sitting in front of Leon King's home functioned as a beacon. Sergeant and Rev. Leon King, being an alderman besides, was a busy man. Aged 42, he was a sergeant with the Public Service Commission, serving as an enforcement officer and supervising seven West Tennessee counties. At the same time he was the assistant pastor of Holy Deliverance. He grew up in a family of six boys and four girls. He knew hard work, picking cotton and okra and slopping hogs. At age twelve he went to work at Pierce's Grocery on North Washington Street.¹⁵³ Leon King had lived in Brownsville all his life. He had been married for twenty-eight years and had five children. They loved living in Brownsville and liked the people.

During the war his wife's brother served in Vietnam. It was a time when people were much disturbed. "Young men going off to war, not

knowing if they were going to return, it had a bad taste in the mouth about it. It was such a big shock to the whole city, to the whole community. Neighborhoods, and friends - we were quiet, shared time together and all that. All in all, it worked - we were blessed." Back in the 1960s "it was really just black and white; it was really separated." The big change came when the schools were integrated. Before integration things were really tough, because "really we [the blacks] did not have the knowledge and did not have the ability; and things were not open for us as it is now. There has been a big change from the sixties to now." To illustrate the change that had come over the community, he mentioned that he had joined the Haywood County Ministerial Alliance; an alliance where the white preachers and the black preachers all came together on a monthly basis.

KING: One of the biggest thrills of my life was that I was given the chance to go into a white church. And this was a Methodist church; went into the church and many received us real well, real warm welcome and everything. Had a Thanksgiving service and during that week of Thanksgiving services, we went into the Thanksgiving service. I got a chance to speak in that church, one of the big thrills of my life. So there's been a lot of changes I have seen here in the community, which amazes me. Back in the sixties you did not see whites and blacks walking the street associate together. I mean, you stayed on your side of the street or you stayed behind this point. And now when you drive home you see white and black kids riding bicycles together. And I think, basically if a lot of the older people just kind of get out of the way and just let the young people live, I believe it would be a better world. I think a lot of old people with their prejudices and their dislikes and their hatred of races and all that stuff, I think most of it you hear from the older people, because the younger people don't see it now.

On the Vietnam War:

His wife's brother went to Vietnam in the sixties. He remembered it as a tough time. Everybody whose sons had to go to war in Vietnam was worried. Then he said, "Black people are such a close knit people!" He remembered them getting together as a family, crying and just wondering how it was going to be. "I tell you what really brought us through - we knew God, and prayed constantly for my sister's husband. And everybody would write." They would write every week, and would write letters for him and would have "communication going". They shared the names with the churches and through the neighborhood and would say: "Hey, write my son!" Asked if he remembered who from Brownsville was killed in the

Vietnam War, he said, "Yeah. I remember one guy, I think the first guy I remember was young, I think his name was Butler. He lost his life over there and it just kind of shook, you know, it just shook the whole community. It was really tough."

In the course of the Vietnam War, which was a very long war, black as well as white soldiers from Brownsville and Haywood County were killed. To illustrate the distance existing between the black and white groups in the community, Leon said that he would not be afraid to say that some of the whites lost their lives that the blacks did not know about. "The blacks were a kind of group to themselves, you know." Some of the blacks lost their lives that the whites did not know anything about, because it was not just broadcast a whole lot. He repeated, "So much separation back then. We wasn't together then."

VOOGT: Did everybody read the Brownsville paper at the time?

KING: Oh, I don't know when the Brownsville paper came out, but I'm pretty sure that the paper came out then, they read it.

VOOGT: They would all be reported.

KING: Yeah. Everybody was reported, but it doesn't seem like the blacks back then showed much interest in the white guys.

It was also probably true that if you wanted to get the information from the funeral homes on the radio, you would have to tune in at a certain time in the early morning, and of course, it was easy to miss a broadcast. The *Brownsville States-Graphic*, particularly in the days preceding full integration, was very much a white man's newspaper. Many blacks in the 1960s, according to Ray Dixon, came forth arguing that the paper was biased. In 1964, for example, the newspaper started referring to negroes as blacks instead of the "outdated term" (Dixon's quotation marks) negroes, which was often pronounced as "neg'gra" which was very offensive to blacks. The local paper, as will be seen, changed its direction. Black articles did not appear too often in the paper, because black writers felt that the paper was slanted away from civil rights (Dixon quoting Maude Bond). On the point of illiteracy among blacks Dixon said that blacks showed poor reading and writing skills, but had developed a sense of oral history and oral event recognition, which enabled them to remember and pass on events and instances that literally made them very cognizant of the current events and recent history. Many of the estimates were very high on illiteracy, though.

On the Vietnam veterans:

Leon King argued that many veterans returned and could not get decent

jobs. "And they put their life on the line!" The soldiers that came back did not get recognition and this hurt. "That puts a bad taste in your mouth about it." He was talking about black veterans, but it applied to poor white veterans as well.

On the draft:

His wife's brother had been drafted and that was where the hurt was: "When they draft you to go instead of when you volunteer."

KING: These guys wanted to stay home and make their lives. But they got called off to the war and all you could hear was the names on the radio. Wasn't like wars now. You stay home and watch it on TV. But that war, all you could do was just hear about, you know, based on the news what was going on, people losing their lives.

Compared to the Gulf War though, the Vietnam War reports did not have the same immediacy that we have become used to since CNN invented direct satellite covering of military operations at the time of Desert Storm. Yet the Vietnam War has been called the first television war not without reason. Every evening at prime time news flashes from Vietnam would be watched in American homes nationwide. It has since been said that these reports were at least twenty-four hours old, because the film tapes had to be flown out, and also because these reports were edited by older journalists - of World War II vintage often - before they were shown on TV in the U.S. This is one of the frustrations of Neil Sheehan and other reporters of the same generation.

On the South:

VOOGT: Can I ask you the question, "Tell me about the South today?" What is it like to live in this part of the United States?

KING: It is the most wonderful love-hate I believe in the world to live in the United States and to live here today. People don't realize how blessed we are, how much freedom we have, how many rights we have. We don't realize how good we have got it now, and live in the condition that we live in now, transportation that we have, communication.

I think today as I sit here and talk to you on one of the most blessed beautiful days that a person can never live in hell. I live in the South; just hard to sum it up how good it is.

And indeed it was not hard to see from what Leon King had just been saying about his personal history that life in the nineties just did not compare with the sixties for black people in the South.

It is a universal phenomenon, perhaps, that people in discussing a longer period in history tend to take an important milestone in the past of their personal lives or in the history of their country, that they use to switch backwards and forwards to from the present. In the U.S. today, the focal point of the past will be the Vietnam War for many generations of Americans. Interestingly, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who experienced the Nazi occupation as a child, said that for her it was World War II in Europe. Applied to the South today it seems to me that for the blacks the focal point is the civil rights movement of the 1960s, while for many white Southerners this will still be the Civil War.

For Leon King the War in Vietnam became a reality when his wife's brother went there and, again, when someone he had known was killed. He was not concerned with patriotism or the domino theory as a justification for America's present in Southeast Asia. To him the Vietnam War was reduced to the size of its effect on his family and friends. From the perspective of the 1990s, however, the 1960s to Leon King predominantly were the years when the local population was still segregated along the color line. His example (some of the whites lost their lives that the blacks did not know about) demonstrates this fact.

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(xvii) C.T. SMITH (white)

Christy Keyes Tate met Arthur Fox Smith IV at Vanderbilt University in Nashville. She was a fifth-generation Kentuckian, from Louisville, on her mother's side. Her father was born in Coburn, Virginia, and grew up in Johnson City, Tennessee. Christy received a bachelor's degree in English from Vanderbilt University. She worked for a Nashville publishing house and later in a United States Army hospital in Japan as education advisor and taught Army personnel for the Department of Defense. She became editor of the *Brownsville States-Graphic* in 1985.¹⁵⁴

One Friday afternoon early in September 1995, the courthouse square in Brownsville lay burning in the sun. Here and there the shade provided by the wide canopies of trees had attracted the cars of the attorneys, store personnel and courthouse officials. The office of the local newspaper was at the Southwestern corner of the square. Christy's office, just round the corner from the reception desk, was pleasantly cool. We talked in her office while the hustle and bustle belonging to the world of

newspapers and print was audible in the background.

Asked about the effects of the Vietnam War and the Civil War, she said she was not really the right person to ask. ("I don't think of myself as much of a Southerner as others do.") She said that Kentucky was not as torn apart by the Civil War as Tennessee and Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia were. Therefore she thought that while Kentucky felt the tragedy of the separation, it did not feel as tragically taken advantage of. Older people in Tennessee still had strongly held feelings. She added, "I think we are divided, if we are divided in any ways in the country, they are cultural ones more than they are remnants of animosities that would be left over from that time."

On Vietnam veterans and the draft:

I asked her how the returning veterans were treated.

C.T. SMITH: It depends on what part of the country again you are speaking of, because, you know, in the South, we always have treated our war participants with respect. You will not find a campus in the South where people who were drafted or people who participated in the war, were treated in an undignified way or were scoffed at. You will find that at many universities in the North and some in the West, but not in the South. Neither were they welcomed home with tickertape parades.

Did students in the South burn their draft cards? They did not, because she believed that they had always had a more patriotic sense. So, was there a difference between North and South? There was a difference. But where would she draw the dividing line?

C.T. SMITH: You know the middle part of the country that was not very developed during the Civil War, now plays a part in there too. Where do you place them? And where do you place states like Texas, which was not really the true South? Where do you place Florida, that, you know, is in the southern part of the country, but it was never a Southern state like Alabama or Mississippi or Georgia. Neither was Texas, though they had some political connection with the war. Texas certainly did. Their sentiments are different too. I think-, I doubt Midwesterners scoffed at their draft dodgers.

VOOGT: What was the reaction down South to the events at Kent State?

C.T. SMITH: Everybody was horrified at that, just horrified. I would say generally we would not have had a lot of support for

students who were protesting. Nobody understood that or felt - we were not in support of that. But no one would have thought - that was just a tragic error of judgement on the part of some men, who must have panicked. My assumption was that they panicked because they could not possibly have regarded these students as a threat in any way, - physical threat. So that really was a terrible tragedy.

We passed on to her own college days. At Vanderbilt there was very little interest on the part of the students other than the fear among the young men that they would be going to Vietnam. "But if they were called up, would they go?" I asked her. "Oh, yeah," she replied. Was my assumption that the majority of draftees consisted of uneducated men from the farms and from the country correct?

C.T. SMITH: Well, I think it was urban boys as well. We at college were a little insulated, because you could get a deferment if you were a college student. Which placed unfairly the burden of fighting that war on young people, who either were not economically able to be in college, or intellectually able to be in college. So the best and the brightest were exempted until they graduated and then they began to fear what would happen - whether they would have to go. Once they graduated, they either had to teach and get a teaching degree or get a medical deferment or figure some other way to....

VOOGT: What students in fact were called up?

C.T. SMITH: What students? No students. Students were not called. You see, these would have been boys graduated from high school and went to work or did not go to school.

VOOGT: But what about the universities in the North where students protested and burned their draft cards?

C.T. SMITH: They had draft cards, but only because everybody had to register for the draft. Unless they flunked out of school or they lost their eligibility, because they were not taking enough hours. They were all exempt. They were just making the kind of intellectual protests that students generally do. And they knew that when they graduated they were in trouble.

VOOGT: So you would have to find a place in graduate school.

C.T. SMITH: Or begin to teach. And there were many who took the option that Fox (her husband) took, which was to go into the military and to become an officer and to hopefully, not have to be on the front line to fight the battle. I mean, frankly, that is what they were seeking not to have to be on, on the front lines of the killing fields in Vietnam.

The thing about the draft that even then, after so many years, she still felt quite emotional about was to find out at close quarters, who exactly had been drafted to fight in the Vietnam War.

C.T. SMITH: The tragic part for me, and I was confronted with it first-hand, was seeing who it was that was fighting that war, and what was happening to them, because while maybe the country was thinking the government's thinking was, we'll protect our best minds.¹⁵⁵ The people (the soldiers in Vietnam) had less going for them in the first place, then also became the people who were dramatically injured or psychologically impaired by having fought that war and came back more of a drain on society than they already had been, and they were the ones who were the drain on society anyway, because they were not highly employable. They did not have their educations, may not have had skills, and, you see, now when you go into the military you learn a skill pretty quickly, but in those days guys who were going to Vietnam were only learning how to fight. They did not have a negotiable, marketable skill when they got out of the war. If they were not injured, they did not have anything to come into the workplace with. You know, unless they had been trained as something a little unusual, maybe a communications person with some information, but mostly they were fighting.

The feelings here expressed reflected her experiences in Japan, where her Navy husband, Fox Smith, was stationed for three years. She said that the only connection the Navy, where they were assigned, had with Vietnam was in a supporting role. The people in the Navy who were in Vietnam were not really in high risk areas, unless they were in a patrol boat on one of the rivers. "But we were not there," she said, "we were in a safe area." She went on to say that she worked for the Army in one of their hospitals.

C.T. SMITH: Now, the hospitals in Japan were staging areas from which the wounded were immediately medivaced. They learned in Vietnam, actually, I guess they would have learned it in Korea and in World War II, to get the injured out of the battle area. That wounds that would not be particularly harmful became septic in a battle condition, and especially, in the tropical kinds of conditions of Vietnam quickly. So if they were stable, they would bring the injured directly from Vietnam to us in Japan. So they came by helicopter on gurneys, strapped to the helicopters and were triaged right at our hospital, right on our helicopter landing.

VOOGT: What do you mean by "triaged"?

C.T. SMITH: I mean, they are assessed to their - you know, who goes to which area first. Who's seen the quickest and needs the most. And this went on all day. They were flying them in all day. Now the most seriously injured, who could not be moved, stayed in the field hospitals until they could be moved.

I asked her how as an American citizen she felt about the Vietnam War.

C.T. SMITH: I have strong feelings about the war because of working in the hospital. You know that here came every day these boys who had been injured only hours before, and they put them in body casts to transport them. And I was not medical support. I was an education adviser, but I got to speak to so many of them. And I remember I was only twenty-six at the time and I remember being impressed - or twenty-five, or twenty-four, or twenty-three, anyway, I remember looking at them and thinking they're all so young. They're so young. These boys were all eighteen and nineteen. There was not anybody twenty. And I thought, they're going home with no education, and they're missing limbs and [they have a] very, very damaged future. Plus I worried a lot about what kind of emotional impact it would be for them, injured, to return home and not to be welcomed as conquering heroes, but rather as "Oh, well, you poor unfortunate. You had to go where you did not know how to get out of it." It was a very unpopular war and so they would be coming home without the same kind of heroes welcome that previously returning warriors had. But the morale on the wards in Japan was very high, because they were with their buddies and they had all shared the same experience, but once they left, they did not leave as a group. They left singularly and they would be on a ward in the hospital with people they had not been with.

She went on to say that she worked as an educational adviser for the Army for several years. She had started working at the hospital as a Red Cross volunteer, visiting the soldiers, helping them with their shopping and just talking. They did not have anyone to talk to and they wanted to talk. Some of them had not seen any American women in months or years. Christy said that the soldiers were glad to see them. "Many of the wives volunteered and did that." Then she was offered the job of teaching and working to replace someone else who had gone back home. The result was that she was there every day. The injured soldiers were all very young. Their interests did not include politics, and the things they talked about were girl and cars and so on. She said that these boys did not know why they were there. "They were drafted and they went. They were

taught to shoot a gun and they went and they followed orders. And they did not understand the global meaning of it all. They did not think about whether Johnson or McNamara or any of them had put forth a well formed philosophy. They just knew their fathers had gone to World War II and this was the thing to do."

It was reminiscent of a passage in Larry Brown's Vietnam War novel *Dirty Work*, where a soldier, in his memory, wakes up in his mother's home to the smell of biscuits in the morning of the day he will "jump off the world", which is military jargon for "leave the U.S." for Vietnam. His uniform is hanging in his bedroom. The interior monologue following here, reflects the attitude found in the interview I had with citizens and Vietnam veterans of Brownsville and Haywood County: "Soldier of the most powerful nation in the world. And all I could think was Why, you know, why? I did not even understand the whole thing. Just went cause it was my duty. I'm sure there was plenty who went did not understand the whole thing. Just went cause it was their duty. This my country, I'm gonna fight for my country. Sentiment was strong for God and Country, young boys, listen up. Everybody's daddy had been in World War II. Some daddies, anyway."¹⁵⁶

We discussed Vietnam War books and films. Christy said that she did not really like the Hollywood movie *Born on the Fourth of July*. On the other hand *Fortunate Son* was a book that she thought really brought the Vietnam experience. "The author went into the war with very high ideals and very patriotic sentiment and came out with a different...." Then, "When we were in Japan the movie *M.A.S.H.* came out, which of course would have hosted the Korean War. It would have been about sixty-nine or seventy. We were there and we went to watch it in a theater. I don't know if you remember the movie? We did not like the movie at all. We got up and left."

VOOGT: You would not like it, because it was the sort of thing you were daily experiencing.

C.T. SMITH: That, and the fact that the doctors' attitude in the movie was very sacrilegious and very unconcerned about their patients. They were much more concerned about their own fun about drinking and revelry and partying.

Distinguishing between the movie and the TV series, she added that the movie was facetious and that the humor was very dark. The doctors were not just cynical; the doctors in the TV series were cynical, but they were proud of being doctors. They were proud of saving patients and they cared about them, whereas in the movie they did not care.

She mentioned that Danny Presley of Brownsville had been injured in Vietnam, when she was in Japan. He came to a hospital in Tokyo.

"But," she said, "he left before I found him. It was not our hospital. We got a letter immediately from Fox's mother telling us to go look for him. But by the time we got the letter, he was already gone."

On local servicemen killed in Vietnam:

The first name she remembered was that of Norman Lane, who was killed soon after arriving in Southeast Asia. "He wasn't there a month, I don't think. And it is just so amazing to us that somebody we knew, who we had just seen and partied with at Vanderbilt and gone on, had died." She also mentioned Susan Pettigrew's brother. She added that Susan had been in that day to get the address of congressman John Tanner and others to write to in an effort to get her brother's Purple Heart medal, which had not been issued, and which her father had been trying to get for years to no avail. Susan had told Christy that the Army's response to her query had been that they had "another 10,000 of these". Christy: "The scars linger. They keep lingering; we still see the effects [of the Vietnam War]."

The differences between the South and the rest of America, according to Christy Smith, were cultural rather than otherwise. It showed, for example, in the way the returning Vietnam veterans were treated: with respect, as the result of the patriotism often found in the South. It was patriotism also that explains the South's lack of sympathy for student protests and demonstrations. All this explains why the attitude on Southern campuses generally was one of when your country called, you served.

The tragic thing that was foremost on Christy's mind was that the War in Vietnam was fought by the young men who, for one reason or another, could not get into college. It seemed to her that the American government, through the draft, was safeguarding the nation's "best minds".

(xviii) JAMES SPRINGFIELD (black)

James Springfield was born in Brownsville, Tennessee, on 22 September 1931. During the Korean War he was drafted and served two years in the U.S. Army. Korea was not a bad experience, as he was behind the lines. After his discharge, he stayed out approximately eighty days, re-enlisted, and went back to do another three years at Fort Bliss, Texas, where he was a cook and assistant mess-hall sergeant. I met James Springfield one day in August 1996, at the counter of Jeff Hooper's Brownsville Express. He had followed the Vietnam War from the beginning. The large loss of life made him think that the war should have been avoided. Nor had he comprehended the reason for the war. Therefore he repeated that it

should have been avoided. He said, "We lost so many men on both sides and, you know, their lives were cut very short. And war is always a terrible thing. But, you know, the Bible speaks of wars, and rumors of war. So maybe there is no way to get around it." Some of James Springfield's friends had lost their lives in Vietnam.

SPRINGFIELD: One young man was a friend of mine I went to school with. His name was Tyrone Austin, and he lost his life. And he had a wife and a small daughter. And I missed him very much and I'm sure his family did. I think about him quite frequently. There were others, you know, that I think about as well. We lost several people from Brownsville and Haywood County. One of the names was Young. There were several lost their lives here, white and black.

On the draft:

Some of his friends who had gone to Vietnam had volunteered, while some had been drafted.

SPRINGFIELD: Some of the boys will go in to try to further their education. Some of them can finish college while they are in service, and really that is one of the reasons when I went. When I was drafted in, I did not want to go, 'cause I did not want to leave my family, and so I did two years and I came back. I stayed around about eighty days and I could not find work to do, so I said, "Well, maybe I'll go back in the Army."

For many poor people the advantages of an Army career were obvious. It meant a regular income as well as an education in many cases, and an opportunity to save money, which was invested in property by men like Springfield, who was in the race-horse business at the time of the interview.

(xix) DR. BENNY HOPPER (white)

Benny Hopper was born in Rutherford, Tennessee, on March 7, 1938, to Ben and Lois Hopper. He was graduated from Rutherford High School, from Lambuth College in 1960, and from the Seminary of Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 1963. He was in his high school Drama Club, lettered in basketball and was a State Farmer in 1955. He was selected as the Ministerial Student of the year in 1959-60, while at Lambuth. He was awarded the Doctor of Ministry degree from Lambuth University in 1993. Since Seminary, he has served the following appointments:

1960-63	Pickwick Charge
1963-69	Center-Rehoboth Charge
1969-74	Finley Parish
1974-80	St. Andrew in Jackson
1980-86	Humboldt First United Methodist
1986-91	Brownsville First United Methodist
1991-95	Asbury United Methodist in Memphis
1995-	Memphis Conference Council Director

Benny Hopper is married to the former Gail Wright, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Marion Wright of Brownsville. Before moving to the Council staff, Benny Hopper served on the Conference Board of Ordained Ministry, Work Areas on Mission and Higher Education, Group Insurance, the CCOM Board, the Conference Nominating Committee and the Council on Finance and Administration. He has also served on the District Council on Ministries, as a supervising pastor and led his post-seminary peer group for two years. He was a Scout Master, past president of the Rotary Club and member of the Methodist Haywood Park Hospital Board and hospital trustee for four years. He is presently a member of the Lambuth University Board of Trustees and the Board of Methodist Outreach.

On 7 August 1996, we talked about the Vietnam War and the South in Dr. Benny Hopper's home in Jackson, Tennessee. We had first met in 1986 in Brownsville. He first talked about his memories of the 1960s, which was a time of great political change. Kennedy's Catholic background caused much polarization, but Benny Hopper voted for John Kennedy. In 1963 he had been offered a commission, but he had not accepted it, primarily because the younger brother of his wife's mother had been killed at Okinawa "and she just had a horror of something like that and it affected my being involved [in Vietnam] even as a chaplain".

On anti-war protests:

Dr. Hopper stated that the people who were protesting the war were considered to be hippies. They were the long-haired folks, the Volkswagen gang, who dressed in tattered clothes and people were repelled. He went on to say that a number of people in the West Tennessee area had a hard time with that. Protests were mainly something that was on TV. "In this area you did not have as much of that in terms of student protest." There were some campus ministry groups that led some demonstrations in terms of Vietnam. "But," he said, "this area here is more traditional, I think, in how they respond and you did not have near as many students who were involved in that kind of thing."

VOOGT: Do you think that the South was different in its response to this?

HOPPER: I think so. I think that the South was more conservative, more traditional. You know, they have a tendency to be more patriotic, in that sense of the word and I think the South had a harder time accepting the fact that the government was wrong.

On the Vietnam War:

At what point did people notice that things were going the wrong way?

HOPPER: Well, I think it was really even after the war was over. Because, as I look at it, even during the war especially there was a lot of bitterness toward Jane Fonda. Even now there are still people who have never forgiven her, because she was called in this area Hanoi Jane.¹⁵⁷

And there are some other individuals who were involved in that, but the people just had a hard time accepting, they were very angry and as a result of it, now we know in some cases that what they did really created more of a problem in terms of the prolonging of the war as a whole. And then I think there is still some feeling in this area here, that had it not been for the media and the people like Jane Fonda or whatever who gave North Vietnam a false impression. And then [there are] some individuals in the South who still have not been able to forgive people for us losing it (the Vietnam War).

VOOGT: I have talked to some people, who were in the military, who say that the politicians should not have interfered.

HOPPER: The feeling was that you were fighting with your hands tied behind you, or at least one hand tied behind your back. It was really frustrating. Bill Blakewell was in my church at Humboldt. He

served two terms in Vietnam and he really had a hard time. He felt like - and there were a number of soldiers - and I think that is one reason why people have responded so as they have to the Vietnam Memorial - , they felt like there were people who really gave themselves for what they understood was a cause and yet when they came home, they were treated like nothing. And they were really almost spat upon, some of them were. Because of what had happened in the media and all across the country in terms of the way the war was presented back home. And there is so much anger and *bitterness* and hurt and we probably have a larger number of Vietnam soldiers who have wound up in terms of being an alcoholic or drug [addict] or homeless than any other time in the history of war.

The problems experienced by the returning soldiers from Vietnam, he said, resulted from the fact that there was no closure. The soldiers came home not to celebration, but, instead, they were treated as though they were the enemy. Although this generally was the picture of the greater part of the United States, as appeared from radio, TV, and the newspapers, he made an exception for the area where he lived at that time. "Where I lived there was a different story than what you saw in the media and I remember I was living outside Dyersburg, and some prisoners of war were finally secured and one of them was a local boy, and there was a great outpouring of people for those soldiers. But, you know, in the small communities like that, it was different." In the rest of the nation it was not that way, and he remembered that the soldiers were very bitter. Explaining the difference in treatment in the Southern city of Dyersburg, he said, "Part of that is in terms of the conservatism - the South is more conservative, basically. It does more - it is more patriotic in many ways. In some ways - now, it depends on how you define patriotism, I guess. But again, in the sense of family and community, that was a big part of that, because regardless of what people may have felt about the war, these were children who grew up in the community and they were sons and daughters of their neighbours and people they knew and they rallied around and responded to them." Therefore the veterans who returned to places like the city of Memphis and other places, who did not have that sense of community that surrounded them when they came home, had a tough time.

On the South:

We passed on to talk about the South. He asked me, "Do you know places like Savannah?"

HOPPER: You immediately see how important their history and their heritage is to them.

VOOGT: Why is history so important in the South?

HOPPER: I wish I knew for sure. I don't know. That is an interesting question, because I wonder - because a number of the people who were in the South, even the plantation owners as well, came from Europe. And see, again, that may have been a part of that. But again the South, I think, part of the story is that we have a strong feeling and sense of family and we want to know our connectiveness. You are talking about mother, father, and grandparents and great-grandparents and people are very conscious of their family tree.

VOOGT: The genealogy department in the local library is large.

HOPPER: It is a phenomenon again, that is almost unique to the South. And you will find it not just in Brownsville, but you will find it in other places too in the South. Tabernacle Camp started with the family, the Taylor family.¹⁵⁸ And you see, again it is a coming together of people that are scattered all over the world, and they come. They come home for this unique event. But it is again connecting this family. That is a big part of that as well as the religious heritage. And we were talking about Vietnam a few moments ago and the area here and why people from the South, especially rural South, responded, more so than the metropolitan areas. But there is a tendency, I think, in the rural South to take their religious faith and their love of country, and they are almost synonymous - connected, tied together, not completely, but what I mean, it is love of country and patriotism. It is almost like a religious commitment in terms, for a number of people. They, you know, in terms of some small little churches, they've had a hard time separating those two. It has created some problems at times.

VOOGT: What else defines the South? What other things do people in the South value, besides family, religion, and patriotism?

HOPPER: I think independence. You know, if you look in the South, you have a large number of farmers, small farmers. That is a kind of independent lifestyle. The frontier is no longer here and you don't have that rugged individualism. It is called a carry-over from that and you will find a lot of independent-thinking people in the South.

"There is a great love of land in the South. The whole sense of being is tied up with the land," Hopper said. His explanation of these typical Southern characteristics is echoed and elaborated on by J. Wayne Flynt (*Dixie's Forgotten People: The South's Poor Whites*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1979), who argues that the South was a frontier much longer than most of America. Not only in the sense that people in

the South did not have much in the way of resources; they had to hunt, they had to fish, they had to live close to the land. Nor were there institutions to soften society, such as churches, and school. Contrary to the image that Southerners have of themselves as being super-religious people, they tended to solve their problems very individualistically, as they did almost everything else and as a result "there is just an amazing amount of violence".

The frontier mentality accounts for the distinctive features of many Southerners. It helps to explain the attachment to the land, the innate violence and the rugged individualism.

HOPPER: Much of it stemmed from the fact that America was seen as a promised land, especially for Southerners, and I guess for people all over the North, but especially here in the Bible Belt, it was almost like the people of Israel going to the promised land and finding their land. And for a lot of people as they talk about Thanksgiving here, and wherever they tell their story, it is almost like -, these people migrated here from different parts of Europe, from different parts of the world, - that this was the land of promise God had given them. And to be fruitful, whatever, and it was almost to the point, I think, where people felt like that we were God's special unique place of people and that after World War I and World War II, and whatever else and the Korean War was very difficult, and very painful, but the Vietnam War was very painful, because it was almost like the resurrection of the soul and the spirit, because we had to examine our whole sense of being and understanding if we were people of destiny, you know. And people, who, - God had called us into being, as people had an image of themselves, like the people of Israel. Then how could we lose this war? Was it that like in ancient times - God once again saying, "I'm displeased with you." What is happening? There was a lot of that kind of thing in the rural South, in rural America, as you wrestled with that kind of understanding.

And then on the other hand there was a lot of anger, because the feeling was that we were not given a chance to win. And that in the South - it is conservative basically, though the leadership was liberal, and they felt like they were being undercut by this liberal establishment that saw things so differently, and were destroying you and your America. So there was a lot of wrestling. And on the other hand there was also a lot of soul searching, to say what could it be? That we were wrong. And if we were wrong, why? What have we done? You know, have, like the ancient people of Israel, have we abandoned God's creed? Have we ceased to be His people? Or have we become materialistic? And so, again, you will find even now that even after the war is over there is still a lot of

soul searching going on about our sense of materialism.

America is one of those unique places where we have a hard time celebrating our success. We want to chastise ourselves with a lot of brow beating and we do a lot of soul searching, and criticism, even, I don't know if you see across the board in terms of television, radio, the church as a whole, we have a hard time celebrating success. It is much easier to deal with our failures.

He went on to say that the religious feelings of the present-day South went back to the old days of Jonathan Edwards and others. In the South a kind of a revivalism came into being that in a way took people to resemble "naughty children", and the Bible was used to "beat them over the head with".

On the MIAs:

We went over several other topics, comparing also World War I and World War II on the one hand - when they were over they were over - and the Vietnam War on the other, where American servicemen basically did a tour of duty and then came home, while the war continued. Benny Hopper said that according to some there still were some men there. It has continued to be a controversial subject in American politics to the present day. The idea, whether a myth or not, is kept alive by such Hollywood movies as *Rambo First Blood, Part II*, where one Vietnam veteran, with superhuman qualities, an epic hero of sorts, shows up the U.S. government represented by a hedonistic, self-serving colonel with a taste for politics, by proving beyond any doubt that the U.S. government has betrayed its own soldiers, the MIAs.

HOPPER: That has been a very difficult thing to deal with. I think in terms of the whole South as you look at that, because of our emotional ties, you know, as we talked about earlier in terms of all this, I think that the people in the South also felt like the Vietnam soldiers. They felt betrayed by their country and by their government. And they did not feel that they were truly represented by the people in Washington. That is why you are espying in the South a resurgence, - you know, the Republican party was almost dead in the South until ten to fifteen years ago. And now there is a resurgence of that and because of conservatism it is a part of our story that everybody cannot identify with, but, you know, there is still a strong two-party system here, but there is a resurgence of conservatism.

Truman was seen as a true hero in the South, a true conservative. Harry Truman is still across both party lines, see. Even Republicans will talk about Harry Truman. But once you get past Harry Truman,

you see, it is a different story. They see that the Democratic party is the party they betrayed. Now, some of us had to deal with the integration issue and will have to claim that up front. That was involved in that.

In the South there have been things that we have had to deal with and one was [integration], again because of our strong heritage and family lifestyle and it is part of our tradition and our story. I think of one lady, I remember being a young preacher and talking about the issue and my stand in terms of integration and how I felt that God claimed all persons and loved them equally and Christ died for all persons. And as we were talking about that kind of thing, she said to me, "Well, in essence, what you are asking us to do is completely deny our history. You know, you're asking us to undo our story." And she looked at her father and her grandfather and all were a story and a certain lifestyle and a culture. She saw me as someone wanting to hurt or completely change that or disown part of that. I had a hard time dealing with her.

So, you know, you tie them up together and bring it all through. Vietnam has been another one of those things.

From the Southern perspective of Dr. Hopper, the Vietnam War was a war that America was not allowed to win (you were fighting with one hand tied behind your back). Those protesting the war, again from a Southern perspective, were stereotyped as long-haired hippies. Being more patriotic and more conservative than the rest of America, the South had a hard time accepting America's mistakes in Southeast Asia. To the present day there are some individuals in the South who feel that the American government deserted them; they are still angry with the government for losing the war.

An important characteristic that Southerners share, in the view of Dr. Hopper, is what he calls the *connectiveness* of people. It is seen in the strong sense of family, the popularity of genealogy departments in the libraries everywhere in the South, as well as in the phenomenon of family camps scheduled throughout the South in the summer. Another characteristic found among Southerners, according to Dr. Hopper, is individualism or independence, which he illustrated by pointing at the large number of relatively small farmers in the South.

(xx) BOB MOSES (white)

Robert Y. Moses was born in Brownsville, Tennessee, on July 14, 1930. At the time of the interview in 1995, he was engaged in part-time banking, and working for a travel agent in Jackson. He is also a substitute teacher. I have known him since 1986.

In the Elma Ross library in Brownsville we discussed the Vietnam War. He first talked about the initial stages of American involvement in Southeast Asia: "My understanding ... is that president Eisenhower, general Eisenhower, as president, signed the SEATO Agreement, the Southeast Asia Treaty. And that committed us - this country - to defend the countries of Southeast Asia against the communist tyranny and halt down there. So, we were bound by that. Whether we should have signed it or not, that is another question." He remembered president Kennedy sending in the first advisers and thinking, "this is a repeat of Korea". Here, too, advisers were sent in first, followed by military troops. The next thing was that they were involved in a full-scale war. Almost as an afterthought he said, "And, of course, the first American who lost his life in Vietnam was a Tennessean." He remembered his response to this when the news got through: "I said, 'Here someone from our state is gotten killed over there already.' We did not learn the lesson in Korea. They never called that a war. They called that a police action." In Vietnam, just like in Korea before, the United States committed themselves half-heartedly. He felt that America was repeating the mistakes of the Korean War in Vietnam.

MOSES: Back to Vietnam. We have the same thing. We were going in there again. We did not learn this lesson. We committed ourselves politically with this treaty signing and we are getting them assistance, military assistance, and why can't they see, Dean Rusk and Lyndon Johnson and all, McNamara, or the government -, see, that we are doing the same thing we did. I can sit here at home and see that! Why can't they see that? And Lyndon Johnson would not stop that war. They kept flying B52s in there, but they would not go in with enough force in there to stop, to put the lethal blow to the enemy. I guess they were fearing the Chinese hoards from the North would come down and get in the fight. But they would never do it. And in that little piece of land we lost over 50,000 American lives and we look at it now and people are very bitter. And we really still now don't give those veterans respect. They are really not respected now. And those men went over there and gave the ultimate. And they lost legs. They lost limbs. They lost everything. A lot of them lost their families, their wives.

And they fought for this soil and this flag and yet they did not get

the respect. Now, they put this monument up there and that has helped. In Washington they have done that. But I look at this simply as a tragedy that we repeated again - 1952. It happened again a generation later.

On Vietnam veterans:

The people of Brownsville and Haywood County were not hostile at all toward the returning soldiers, who were respected as veterans of the war. "But, generally, nationally, that era of servicemen who fought in that war in that far off land, did not receive the respect." To indicate the difference between the veterans of the Korean War and the Vietnam War, he said, "Well, my group, my generation that served in the Korean conflict, we always felt very proud that we were called upon and we went to serve. And I can hold my chest out and say, 'I was a veteran.' And I'm proud to tell anybody that I went and I did not object to it. My country called and I responded and I served and I feel that we all were a very proud lot."¹⁵⁹

On the attitude to the Vietnam War in the South:

Was there a difference in attitude to the Vietnam War between the South and the rest of the United States?

MOSES: I think the point when the Southern part of the U.S., which followed the national feeling is when that war was about halfway through, four or five years, and we were shown that we were not winning the war. We were still putting troops over there. They were being killed, but there was not progress. And we felt eventually, we felt like we were being deceived by the government. We felt that we were not getting the true facts out of Washington.

Moses does not really answer the question. It may well be that the question only partly registered, for I distinctly remember that throughout the interview he kept comparing the War in Vietnam to the Korean War. What still angered him was that the American government did not learn from the Korean War and made the same mistakes in Vietnam. Perhaps he misinterpreted my question, for he does answer in a certain fashion. In his answer he indicates that the difference between the South and the rest of the country was that the South was a little slower in expressing its opinion about the war. Dealing with the same subject, Dr. George Moss, Jr., argued that the feeling about the Vietnam War in the South had always been that America was doing the right thing. Moss denied that the

South was slower than the rest of the United States, but that the South was more patriotic and that feelings about war in the South were different.

When asked to explain the lack of confidence in the government, Moses said that they could not see progress. He failed to understand why a powerful nation like America could not conquer some of the enemy's territory, and went on to say that president Lyndon Johnson and president Nixon for some reason did not want to win the war. He was quite positive about the fact that they could have won the war. He also believed that "enough threat with the atomic war could have made some changes there", and that America might even have used the bomb. The reason why it was not used was that they were afraid of the Chinese. "But we did have the arsenal to destroy and annihilate that part of the world, and I think maybe enough threats that they would have backed off. But the Vietcong never backed off. I mean, they were tough soldiers." His feelings at the time were that America should either pull out or win the war.

On student protests:

Although there were student protests in Memphis, they did not receive the national prominence that Kent State did. As Bob Moses put it, "Down here in the so-called Bible Belt things were a little more reserved." There was not much law breaking in Memphis, but there were "pockets of protests" in the city.

VOOGT: In what way did they protest?

MOSES: They would march and use the peace sign. . . They'd have music and then these musical groups would come in and arouse them. Peter, Paul, and Mary, *If I Had a Hammer*, you know.¹⁶⁰

There was a great deal of exodus to Canada in Memphis. A number of people disappeared to Canada. They were just not going [to Vietnam]. And at first I thought that was a great lack of patriotism. And as the war went on I said, "You know, these kids are right. We are not going to end this war." It is insane to follow the government of this country; and we saw that they were wrong. They were wrong and McNamara now has admitted it. It has been on his conscience so long, before he died he wanted to admit it.

Bob Moses had very strong feelings about the Vietnam War. It was incomprehensible to him why the government failed to see that it was repeating the mistakes America had made in the Korean War, of which Moses was a veteran. It was obvious to him that Dean Rusk, Johnson and McNamara did not want to win the Vietnam War, because, he suspected,

they were afraid of the Chinese. The South was slow to realize, slower at least than the rest of America, that the United States were not winning the war and the South felt betrayed by its own government, according to Moses. He remembered there were student protests in Memphis and draft dodgers who went to Canada.

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(xxi) MALTIMORE BOND (black)

The owner and president of Golden Circle Insurance, Maltimore Bond was born in Brownsville, Tennessee, on October 17, 1933. He spent about thirteen years away from Brownsville to return in 1964 to work in the business founded by his father-in-law, Charles Allen Rawls in 1934.

On 8 August 1996 a receptionist took me to Maltimore Bond's office. First I asked how long his family had been in Haywood County. He replied that his grandfather on his father's side was a sheriff during the Reconstruction. His great-grandfather was a brickmason, also called Maltimore Bond, who worked on the courthouse. He went on to say, "I don't know exactly if he was a slave, but I don't know if he bought his freedom or how it came, but anyway, he got his freedom."

On the Vietnam War:

The years of the Vietnam War were troublesome times. He had two brothers that were in the service during that period, one of whom actually went to Vietnam. He had mixed emotions about the war. "It was felt by most people that it was something that should not have happened." His brother was drafted into the Vietnam War.

Maltimore BOND: It was not a very good experience; he talks about it periodically now. [It was] very stressful. I don't think there was any area, from what I can understand, that was completely safe there, because even the kids would come up with some kind of device that could destroy you, and you were always fearful and I remember on one occasion, he shot something, but it was not -, he did not kill anything. But he mentioned something about, you know, just being so jittery, so uptight. But it was very stressful, he said.

Because Maltimore Bond was in the funeral business, the Vietnam War came to affect his life in another way. He buried two of the local people

that died in Vietnam: Tyrone Austin was one, the other's last name was Young, he remembered. "They're buried right out there by our house. They got the military funeral, shipped in military caskets, a 21-gun salute. They got the whole works."

On Vietnam veterans:

What sort of a welcome did Maltimore Bond's brother get when he returned from Vietnam? "Just family," he replied. The people of Brownsville were always warm to returning soldiers, but there was no special turnout for the soldiers returning from Vietnam. But just the family, glad that they returned without being injured in any way. We passed on to talk about politics. Did they discuss politics at home?

BOND: We just kind of put that on the back burner, because it was one of those things that we could not do too much about at that time. You could become a conscientious objector or either serve your country. We were always taught to serve. Out of the six boys, five served in the Army, two in the Korean War, two in the Vietnamese War, and I between them. I went between. So I was in the peacetime. I was in two years; I went to Japan. We believe in serving the country, so politics, I guess, was kind of left up to the politicians, more or less. We did not get into that much.

The reference to Bond's grandfather and great-grandfather have the effect of bringing the ante-bellum South and the days of Reconstruction within grasp. At present patriotism is one of the characteristics of the South; it is also found among Bond's family. He and his brothers "were always taught to serve"; one of them actually served in Vietnam.

(xxii) REESE MOSES (white)

In the genealogy department of the Elma Ross library I spoke with Reese Moses about the South and the 1960s on 6 August 1996. Genealogy and Reese Moses are synonymous. She has had her own page in the local *Brownsville States-Graphic* for many years. People from every cranny and corner of the U.S. correspond with her or visit her at the library in an attempt to find a missing link in their family trees. As her profession demands, she is very patient and well organized, and not without a sense of humor. She first told me a little about her own family tree. She is

descended from the Jacocks family, who originally came from England, and arrived in the New World in 1823. Her mother was a Reese; the Reese family came from Wales. She had lived in Haywood County all her life, and compared herself to Peter Rabbit in the Briar Patch. She liked it where she was and vacations did not really appeal to her. Having lived in Haywood County all her life, she knows the area like no-one else.

Most families in the area were interested in family. That does not imply that they all get down to the genealogy. She said many people were satisfied with what was handed down to them. Reese Moses, however, did not go in for that and still does not, as the *Brownsville States-Graphic* demonstrates to the present day. She said, "I want to dig and get those records and see why we did what we did." Returning to the description of her family tree, she said of her ancestor that he was on the first county court, and that his aunt was married to Richard Nixon, who was the founder of Haywood County. Mr. Nixon had arrived from North Carolina and married Ann Jacocks. They had six children. Ann died in North Carolina. He remarried, came here and wrote back to my family. The story that was handed down was that he owed the Jacocks some money and he said that if they would come to work where the Indians were friendly, he would get them land for the money he owed them. "So great-granddaddy loaded up the ox-cart and off he came," she said, "and I live today within two miles, - it is about a mile I guess, hardly a mile from the supposed old Indian trail that they came down. And the Jacocks cemetery is about a mile in the other direction from where I'm living today. Although I'm not living on the spot that my grandfather settled on, it is mighty close. And I feel real good about it."

VOOGT: People in the South are really attached to the land, aren't they?

R. MOSES: They really are. I felt like I just had to have a little land. I felt that way myself. So I have seven acres. You know, originally we did not have anything but land. That is where the value was. Had to take the land, that was the foundation of everything.

We passed on to talk about the 1960s and the Vietnam War. I asked her what she could remember. When she thought about that time it was the hard time she was having as a family that she remembered. Reese Moses did not have a really secure family. Her parents lived across the street and helped her considerably. She said her husband was a good man, but she finally had to get a divorce after twenty-three years for non-support. He was a good man, but he just could not handle money. She said, "And I could see we were going to lose our home, we were going to lose everything." Therefore when she thought of the sixties that is what came to mind. She had to get out and get a job. First she worked in "the cotton

office" and later she went to the Board of Education. She said, "I had a black woman to come in and then later I had another one. They were just like one of the family." Then, in 1957, she started to work for the Jackson newspaper, while she already was the local correspondent for *The [Memphis] Commercial Appeal*. Subsequently she also worked for Associated Press and United Press International, as well as for *The Tennessean*.

Her work for the newspapers and the networks coincided with the upheaval concerning civil rights. This cast Reese Moses in an important role, for it was basically her reports that formed the basis for articles and editorials in the regional and national newspapers. She said that *Lifting the Veil*, a fairly recent publication on the civil rights in Brownsville and Haywood County, written by a black man, gave the full picture from a black standpoint.¹⁶¹ She believed it was in 1940 that the Ku Klux Klan became active, which was connected with the beginning of the NAACP. She graduated from high school in 1942.

R. MOSES: I just vaguely remember them finding a body in the Hatchie River. But they took this man out and lynched him, the story goes in that book, and, of course, that is the story that I have heard all these years. And then they threw his body in the river. They took another man, they abducted another man from his house at the same time, but he was returned to his home. I don't think he ever returned to his home. He left the town and left the county, and ended up North and sent for his family. So there was a lot of upheaval in the county... I remember across the Hatchie River on the south part of the county, right over across the river, there was a white lady, who, people said, was contributing to the stirring of the blacks. She was a good friend of mine later and I could not imagine her doing that. I think she was a very fair person. She just did not grow up here. And there's a lot of difference in the people that grew up here like I did with a [black] cook living in a little house in the back yard.

When I was born there was a big black mammy in my kitchen and my mother tells me that I cried a lot more when Nanny died than I did when my grandmother died (chuckling), because she just about raised me until she died, when I was about nine years old. She was family. She was cooking in the house when mother and daddy married. When you have had a relationship with them like that all of your life, and have lived as long as I have, you can't disown them. I could not have to save my life.

I had a car with three drive up to my house Saturday night, and it was one that worked for me nearly twenty years. I kissed her on the cheek. I was so glad to see her. She was just like a mother and everybody who worked for me was that way. So, we feel

differently.

Then, there's a lot of other people who don't feel like I do. They've lived here always, but they - I don't know why they don't, but they don't feel like I do about it. They've been here all their lives too. But, of course, I get close to people. Maybe too close. Most people deep down feel like I do. They don't want to show it, though. And there have been a lot of hard feelings in the county over that.

What Reese Moses was saying made sense. It tied in with my observance of encounters between black and white people in the South. I still have pictures in my mind of one scene in particular. It was in the spring of 1987 that one of our friends explored Haywood County with my family, driving along country lanes. As we were talking about the cotton fields and the old days, he said he would take us to see an old black man who used to work for his daddy. As we slowly approached the simple wooden structure where the old black man lived, we saw him sitting on the porch with a family member. Our friend stopped the car, rolled down the window, and exchanged greetings and said he wanted to introduce us. Then, with some difficulty the old man got up and walked over to the car, and was genuinely pleased to greet our friend, and the feeling was mutual, we could see. What was characteristic, though, was that the black and white social structure of the past was still unaltered. Our friend never got out of the car.

Reese Moses passed on to the post-1957 period, which was when she started work, as she put it, "full-time on a part-time basis for the newspapers".

R. MOSES: There was a man here in Brownsville, who was head of the local Ku Klux Klan. They got that back going again actively. They burned a cross on the courthouse yard one night. They would burn crosses in yards of people who were involved in the NAACP. As I said a while ago, I think the NAACP was the beginning of it, then the KKK stepped in. They were involved with the taking of that child, of that young man. They wanted to find out from these men who all were involved in the NAACP. Then, from there the KKK gained momentum. Then the voting rights took over. And they (the blacks) started registering and people - we - stood around and watched them going in like it was a sideshow. I had to report every day. I would go to the courthouse every day between four and five to find out how many blacks had registered that day. And I turned it in to the paper. I never did know why they wanted to know. I thought that was rather far-fetched, but I did it. And they sent a man from the Justice Department; I can't think of his name,

down here. He had an office in the Postmaster's office. He stayed in there. He checked on it.

At Mount Eagle, Tennessee, there was a school to train the blacks how to do all this. There were some people, a woman named Virgie Haverstein, who brought some people down from up North. I can't recall where, I have got information on that at home. It may be in my papers that you've already seen. She lived out south of the river, the Hatchie River, in Haywood County, with some black people. You can imagine how that went over! She had a school and she taught the people how to vote, how to register. The blacks that I had worked with at the Board of Education were more educated blacks and looked down on this. They said the blacks had come so far, because I remember one older teacher told me. She said, "When I started teaching, I could not teach those children how to read and write. I had to teach them how to keep clean, how to use a bar of soap. They hadn't had any of that." So, they were making progress within their own group, but they got too anxious. Maybe I'm wrong about that, that is the way I see it. The people out in this area resented this woman and her crowd being out there. And they were not very nice-looking people. They were people, very "hippie-type" that you really thought they did not have anything better to do or they would be doing it. I think I met one or two nice young men that came to work with them from a college, I think they were from MIT, in the summer. They were so nice and they were genuinely concerned, genuinely interested in wanting to really help them. But from there they went to the freedom farms. They had the "freedom farms" where they had Tent City over in Fayette County, right across the line for the people that had supposedly lost -, been put off the places where they had lived.

The "freedom farms" merged into Tent City. They put up tents and they created this area in Fayette County for the people who needed a place to live.

A lot of farmers, landowners -, they found out that blacks were doing this (getting registered for the vote), and activists in this voting field, they made them move.

VOOGT: Just told them that they could no longer live -

R. MOSES: No longer live there; they did not need their services anymore. The farmers were becoming more mechanized and they were able to get along without so many blacks anyway.

VOOGT: Was this about the time the cotton no longer needed to be picked by hand?

R. MOSES: Well, that was coming into being too. All this kind of came together. They did not need them so much and they were causing problems, so they said, "Go." That is the way I see it. My father had sold his farm and I was away from the farming side of it. I was, well by '57, not only was I working for the newspaper part-

time, I was running an insurance and real estate agency. So I traveled the county, because I sold farm insurance, that was my line of insurance.

VOOGT: So you knew the farmers really well?

R. MOSES: I knew the farmers all over the county.

We wandered over several other topics, including the free food program, which developed into the Food Stamp program, which was more satisfactory, since all parties benefitted from it. Then we moved on to talk about the South.

R. MOSES: I'm a die-hard Southerner. I have read *Gone With the Wind* so many times and never missed the movie. When it is on I always see it. I may not see it in its entirety, but I don't have to. I bought the little book they've made from Margaret Mitchell's letters that were found by this son of a former beau. I read it last week. I had not read the first fifteen pages of those letters before I called Walden Books in Jackson and had them send a copy of that book to my 16-year-old granddaughter who is in Arkansas. She reminded me so much of Margaret Mitchell when she was sixteen. That is how old she was when she wrote this little story. I love the book. The story was very mediocre, but well written for a 16-year-old. And I had them mail that to my granddaughter.

VOOGT: I was asking you about the South and you sort of described *Gone With the Wind*.

R. MOSES: I would have been very happy, living in those days. As a child I tended to fight the Civil War on the South's side until I grew up and did research on my mother's family and found that I had a great-grandfather who was on the Union side and several other ancestors who were in the Union Army. I had several also on the Confederate side. As a matter of fact my Union great-grandfather, my great-great-grandfather fought against his son. He was in the Confederate Army. That was not unusual. They were from East Tennessee and East Tennessee was very divided, more Union I think, than Southern. But when I was a little girl I read all about it and I heard a lot about it because it hadn't been that long. Like today, it has been about then like today is to World War II and World War I. So you heard more about it then. It was more alive. And I was a child living out in the country and I was the only child for seven years, and I had a vivid imagination. I read books far beyond my years.

I have a love for the South. I laughed when I started working here (in the genealogy department at the library), when I first came to work, I said, "It is like black and white up there." Ms. Stevenson

(the librarian) is a Yankee, and she's lived here, but there is a difference in us. I am the only native here. And it is just like daylight and dark. And, of course, she at first got her feelings hurt, because people would come in and ask for the volunteer, me. It was because they knew me and they had known me all my life. Brownsville is very clannish, I'm sure.

Brownsville is very friendly, but, then, you reach a certain point and they clam up.

What other characteristics defined the South? I wanted to know. "It is culture," she said. "The hoop skirts and the gentlemen riding up on their horses." She raised horses and loved them. I could see why she loved *Gone With the Wind*. She said there was a very decided class distinction. It had diminished, and it was not as it had been, but in the small towns like Brownsville, Bolivar, and Summerville, it was still noticeable. "These towns have Southern history," she said. "You're still going to find it." Further characteristics of Southern culture that she valued were: manners, good food - and plenty. "You want to have a lavish sideboard. And if they want to take some home, that is fine. Just like camp meetings that is going on right now. That is typical of the South."

Talking about Tabernacle Camp, where food was plentiful, she used it to further define the South, saying, "They 're generous, they take you in. You have that Southern hospitality and you realize there are [a great many] people out there right now and they say, 'Come eat supper with us tonight.' I think that is typical of the South. It (Tabernacle Camp) is known all over the United States for its Southern hospitality. Probably more than for its religion."

On Tabernacle Camp:

R. MOSES: It is family and religion. On Sunday afternoon after you eat lunch, you go back to the church and they have a love feast. The love feast is in memory of those who have died since the last service, revival, or get-together, and the ones who have gone on before that even. It is a love feast for all of those gone. It is really a wonderful time. I used to stay when I was a girl.

VOOGT: What would they do on a typical day like today?

R. MOSES: They get up and go to sunrise service. I think it is at 7:30 if it has not changed, and I don't remember them changing anything out there. And they get a bath. Then they have something for the children at 9:30, then they have church at 10:00, I think. There's a lot of singing in the service. Then they have the preaching and then they go eat lunch. And after lunch the older people take a nap, they try to get the children to take a nap, and then they tend to their business and the ladies get the supper started. They have a

meeting with the ones in the kitchen. Interestingly enough, the kitchens, most of them, they all had wood stoves when I was out there in the building built behind the house we slept in. Many black families stayed in the camp to do the cooking.

They (black families) go to church, they go to work with the whites. They do the cooking and there are black women that are known for their grand muffins, their whole wheat muffins. We always call them grand muffins. My cousin used to have a grist mill that he cranked up in August and got the flour ground for those muffins. What you buy in the store doesn't taste like that! Oh, they are so good! And after I was grown and married, he would call me and tell me he was fixing to grind some flour if I wanted some, and I would get some from him. Then after that they get supper started. And then they sit around and talk and they visit. Play horseshoes, they did things like that. Carving walking sticks was a big thing when I was growing up and I know it was when my children were growing up. They would get out and cut a stick in the woods and see who could make it the prettiest. Then they have supper at 6:00 and then they go back to church. Then after church there were watermelons cut, icecream served... And the young people would go courting on the tombstones in the cemetery. I have sat on them many-a-times.

Reese Moses went on to say that other characteristics of the South were its slow pace and its rural quality. Perhaps it is the rural quality of the major towns in the South that distinguishes them from the real big cities in the rest of the country. Memphis, Nashville, but also Birmingham, and even Atlanta possess a rural quality that sets them apart from New York and Chicago and L.A. Reese Moses did not think that the temperature had anything to do with it. "We have just always been that way. We come from people who did not have to work. We had somebody to work for us - the slaves." She went on to say, "I think most Southerners lean toward the niceties of life, the ultra. I noticed when I went, for instance, when I took my mother to the bicentennial train - well, mother wanted to go. She doesn't usually want to do something, but she has an electric wheelchair. I put her in the van and off we went. There was one of Brownsville's aristocratic ladies, hot as Egypt! That lady looked as cool as the proverbial cucumber... She had on a two-piece white linen suit. Nobody but a die-in-the-wool Southerner would have on a white linen two-piece suit that day. Every hair was in place. That is society. There is still glory in it."

VOOGT: In what way is Brownsville different from the rest of the South?

R. MOSES: I think a lot of cities are typical of Brownsville because, in a lot of the small towns some of the original descendants are still here, the descendants of the original settlers are still right here in Brownsville. They have been steeped in tradition and that is what it all boils down to in my opinion. It is the Southern traditions that we grew up with, like gracious living, arrogance - a slight degree of arrogance, I think so. Aloofness.

VOOGT: Really?

R. MOSES: I think so. We're from the South! Have you not seen that? Sure, you have. It is here. They may be hiding it from you, but it is here. We're proud of our heritage and those who -, there are different categories, I'm not going to say class, that is not what I mean, categories of people. There are those who are descended from the ones who were in the Ku Klux Klan, then there are those who are descended from the ones who fought for the South in the Civil War, like Lynn Shaw. There are very few Klansmen descendants who I know about today. I know the one that was the - whatever they call them, head of the local one here in Brownsville in the sixties, but he doesn't live here now.

But, there's these degrees of Southernness in the people here - but it is still here, without knowing a lot of it.

And the cotton farmers, the farmers. They still like, those farmers, they like to take cruises after Christmas and do nice things after the crop is finished. I think that it all stems from the fact that their ancestors did not have to do anything. And when they get a chance not to do anything, they don't do anything.

Reese Moses' discussion of the South constitutes one of the most comprehensive descriptions of the region by an interviewee. Being a descendant of one of the early settlers, with Welsh-English roots, she focuses on her immediate surroundings, the Southern region, its history and culture, from the perspective of a white woman with an enquiring mind and a sense of history. Reese Moses has read most of what has ever been written about the South. Summing up the essence of Southernness, she said: "We feel it so strong. We are proud. I think proudness, pride is the basis of it all. Look at the homes we built in the mid 1800s. We flaunted it!"

When I remarked on the Civil War, which had destroyed many antebellum homes and much of the culture, and said that it was not all gone, she replied, "We have some, but we want it all, but we can't have it all anymore."

(xxiii) DR. JOHN L. REDDING (white)

A native of Lexington, Kentucky, John Redding served with the U.S. Army during World War II, and was involved in combat in the southern part of the Netherlands, where his unit shot down V2s, which the Germans aimed at the port of Antwerp. He obtained undergraduate and graduate degrees at the University of Kentucky, and graduate degrees at the University of Miami, Florida and Nova University. He was a history professor (1950-84), the last twenty years at Broward Community College, Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He has written special interest articles for the local newspaper since 1990.

On 20 March 1996 I visited John and Hazel Redding in their spacious home in Cromwell Square, Brownsville. John remembered that he had had some American veterans of the Vietnam War as well as some Vietnamese in his history classes in Florida. Some of the veterans shared their experiences with their professor and fellow students. "One, I remember, had been a helicopter pilot and some of his stories were hair-raising. Like they were trying to lift a little baby into the helicopter to rescue it and the Vietcong attacked and sliced the baby in half, before they could get the helicopter off the ground."

VOOGT: When did you first realize that Vietnam was becoming a problem?

REDDING: Harry Truman was the first to send advisers there. People always said that it was Kennedy, however, who did that. I was a little suspicious of it at that time. What really hit me between the eyes was in August of 1964 when we tried to say, well, Congress was told and they believed it - most of the senators and congressmen, that two of our destroyers had been hit in the Gulf of Tonkin; that was the excuse that Lyndon Baines Johnson gave for the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. But we have since learned that that was a lot of malarkey.

Kennedy was responsible for the disaster of the Bay of Pigs in April and was determined to make up for it by getting involved in Vietnam and be the savior of that area since he had lost out in Cuba.

He thought that Kennedy could be blamed "for a lot of this" (i.e. getting the U.S. involved in Vietnam), but that Johnson magnified the problem. And he went on to say that "Robert McNamara was one of the main villains in this thing along with McGeorge Bundy and some of Johnson's advisers." McNamara had tried to explain why he did not speak against the Vietnam War sooner than he did in his book *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (1995). He also believed that Nixon

could have ended the war sooner: "I think Johnson and Nixon both did not want to say that they were the first president to lose a war."

On the draft:

Dr. Redding remembered that some of his students in Florida were drafted. Usually they simply did not sign up for a class when they knew what was coming, so that they did not have to leave in the middle of the semester. I asked him about the people who did most of the fighting in Vietnam. What did he feel was the overall picture?

REDDING: College students could get deferments; your boys just out of high school or who had not graduated from high school were the ones who were being selected to go. And so I think probably, you have more, many more boys from the lower economic strata of society than people like senator Graham from Texas, who was deferred. Newt Gingrich is another example. He was not over there. Of course, president Clinton was not over there because he was in college. I guess that was when he was a Rhodes scholar, so he was deferred. Of course, well, they were supposed to have drafted him, but he got out with a letter to the Draft Board. I think there were many more boys from the lower economic scale.

VOOGT: Simply because they could not get a deferment?

REDDING: Because they could not get deferments. They were not in college and that was not fair. That is almost as bad as in the Civil War [when] you could be exempted in the North by paying \$300. A Union soldier paid \$300. And you could get out.

On anti-war demonstrations:

"We had the Black Panther movement and there were Black Panther books and they had the streaker craze for a little while with kids running across the campus naked." The streakers were a minor cultural campus phenomenon, though, and had nothing to do with anti-Vietnam protests. The Black Panthers were very vocal and vehement, and at times got a little violent. But in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, they did not come inside the classrooms. They would simply pass out literature in the student lounge and in the cafeteria. Passing on to Kent State, John Redding said that the National Guard got too rambunctious.

REDDING: That was a terrible thing. Of course, that was the prime episode that called attention to the stupidity of all of it. And then we heard of Jane Fonda going over to North Vietnam. Even though I

was against the Vietnam War, I thought that was too much. To go over and give aid and comfort to the enemy and fraternize with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese government. I thought that was going much too far and a lot of America still don't have a lot of use for Jane Fonda.

On the South:

"I have always lived in the South," John Redding said. He qualified that statement by saying that he was from Kentucky, which he considered a border state. "But we do consider ourselves South, not North, and I would not want to live in the North, because, well, number one, I have always lived in the South and I think the people in the South are much friendlier than in the North. All you have to do is to take a little vacation up North somewhere and compare it with the service that you get in the South and the friendliness and the smiles and so forth." He felt that there just was a different atmosphere in the South. John's wife, Hazel, added that since the Civil War, Southerners have had "to hang in there together". John Redding argued that Southerners could trace their ancestry much further back as having lived in this country than in the North, where so many immigrant groups came in. In the South, including in Brownsville, there are people to this day who occupy the house that their great-grandparents lived in. In other words there often is a visible and at the same time emotional link in the South between the past and the present.

A lifelong professor of American history, Dr. Redding had a unique perspective on the development of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. Thus he knew that it was not Kennedy, but Harry Truman who sent the first American advisors into the region. Dr. Redding did not mince his words when he talked about McNamara, calling him one of the main villains. (In a later interview retired USAF colonel Russell Taliaferro used similar words). As a history professor during the Vietnam War, Dr. Redding was a witness to the effects of noisy student protests on campus, at the same time he noticed the effect of the draft on his classes in a reduced number of students. Dr. Redding arrived at the conclusion that the War in Vietnam was fought mainly by boys from the lower economic strata of society. In the Vietnam War as in the Civil War those that had might and means did not get to fight. Dr. Redding compared the men who were granted deferments during the Vietnam War with the Union soldiers in the Civil War who could be exempted by paying a sum of \$ 300.

(xxiv) NED ROOKS (white)

Ned Rooks was born on 20 August 1924. He married Eleanor Henson Knee in Ripley, Tennessee, in 1949. Rooks served on the County Court and worked at Smith Lumber Company in Brownsville. During World War II he flew with the Eighth Air Force, which was based at Kimbolton in England.

I talked to Ned and Eleanor Rooks on 10 August 1996. Their home on Rooks Drive was the first house built on that road when Brownsville expanded in a westerly direction along West Main Street.

N. ROOKS: My people came to Haywood County in 1834, and I have the log cabin in the backyard that they built when they came to Haywood County. I was educated in Haywood County, went to World War II, flew with the 8th Air Force out of England, flew into your country [the Netherlands] some; I came home from World War II, started to work for Smith Lumber Company, Fox Smith's father. Worked for them for forty-four years, and was a builder. I built houses, developed subdivision land and things like that. Married Eleanor Knee in 1949. We have four children. One of our children lives in Brownsville, one in the Chicago area, one in Wichita, Kansas, and one in Memphis. As I said, I have always lived in Haywood County, other than the time that I spent in World War II. Presently retired, active in the Historical Society of Haywood County and president of it and have been for six years.

Eleanor Rooks taught school, starting in 1957, and worked in the public school system for eight years. Then, she believed this was in 1969, a private school was organized in Brownsville, the Tennessee Academy, where she taught elementary school until her politics got in the way and she retired. The school closed in 1986.

On the draft:

We discussed deferments during the Vietnam War. Ned Rooks mentioned student deferments: "Our son had a student deferment at first and then he surrendered himself to the draft and was not called. His number was high enough that he was not called on." For this reason the war in Southeast Asia had no special meaning for them.

On the Civil War:

We passed on to talk about the historical event in the past that made the

South what it is today. Eleanor Rooks said: "After the War of Northern Aggression - we did not have a Civil War because we had seceded and we were not part of the United States, and so we call it the War of Northern Aggression, they invaded us." She also accepted the designation the War Between the States for what is generally known as the Civil War. As we were talking she pointed out a portrait of general Lee on the wall. Many Southerners in fact had Lee's portrait on the walls of their homes and their offices.

E. ROOKS: I don't know whether you noticed . . . the general who was in it, the sacrifice that was made by the South. The way the South rose again out of the ashes supposedly. What was fought in the South as you know, primarily, and farms were destroyed, people lost everything they had. Husbands were killed, fathers were killed or came home without their horse and that was the most necessary thing for a person to have. So, all of that. Now, after Ken Bryan published his documentary, whenever it was, what was the name of it? That generated a lot of interest in the War Between the States and the Sumpter Confederate -

N. ROOKS: Well, they had a reunion in Richmond with the 100th Reunion of the War Between the States - the Southern Confederate government, and they had two thousand people there.

On the shift from Democrat to Republican in the South:

Ned Rooks said that the shift happened in the Goldwater-Johnson days, in 1964. Eleanor said that the Democratic party had become "this party of Washington must do it all for you from the cradle to the grave; we must have the taxes to do all of this and we will educate you, clothe you, feed you, take good care of your health, do all these things. And at the same time destroy the integrity of the individual."

On the South:

We passed on to talk about the values of the present-day South. Eleanor Rooks said, "Of course, we live in the Bible Belt and I think that is evidenced by the attendance and church membership and faith that is exhibited in the city, as in Memphis. Not to say that the crime is not there. It is. And it is a very difficult thing law enforcement and government are working on. But they do have what I'm talking about and the center of the black community is the church. That is the center of the social life, and it is where they are told how to vote. If you are running for office, you go to the black church or you get the ministers and they tell the folks how to vote. And so it is the center. Now, we have got so many churches in

Haywood County. Most of them are Baptist. There is a Church of Christ, that is a black church. And we are not integrated on the whole."

On Haywood County:

Haywood County, according to Ned, was the third largest cotton producing county east of the Mississippi River and had 125,000 acres of cotton.

On Camp Meetings:

Next to Tabernacle Camp there is Joyners Camp, and there are another two or three in West Tennessee. Eleanor Rooks mentioned that her grandparents went to several of their meetings. "Everybody was not kin to everybody else, but the people used to have 'Brush Arbor' committees, that was before I was born, even though I am old as dirt, but a Brush Arbor, you know what that would be." And Ned went on, "It is a tree - branches grow on top and they use the shade." Eleanor: "And they would have a protracted meeting. If you read the minutes, the church's, particularly rural churches, they talk about protracted meetings. Now, I just read the definition of that. I thought 'protracted' meant they just went on forever, but I don't think that is what it meant. But, many people would be saved and so on; that is what it meant. And that is what protracted is."

On Genealogy:

After wandering over several other topics, Eleanor talked about her ancestors. "My ancestors, my mother's people were from Mississippi, my daddy's from Indiana, but my mother's people on one side they were French Huguenots, they came from Charleston, South Carolina." This was reminiscent of Peter Taylor's novel *A Summons To Memphis*, which lucidly explains the existing hierarchy in both the cities and the families of Tennessee.¹⁶² It describes, amongst other things, the effect, especially on the mother in a lawyer's family, of moving from Nashville to Memphis. The mother is "the product of a rather formal, old society . . . and indirectly the product of the Richmond world *her* mother had come out of."¹⁶³ The mother compared the move from Nashville to Memphis with the "Cherokees' Trail of Tears". Memphis, in other words, was not an improvement. It was "a place of steamboats and cotton gins, of card playing and hotel society."¹⁶⁴ They were now in West Tennessee, which is more like the Deep South.¹⁶⁵ "Nashville was, by the Huntingdon-Huxley road, approximately two hundred twenty miles east of Memphis, two hundred twenty miles nearer to Richmond, to Charleston, to Savannah. But when Father spoke, one felt that it was more like two hundred twenty thousand miles."¹⁶⁶

Ned Rooks showed me a picture on the wall with the Confederate flags over the top of it, of his grandfather, also called Ned Rooks. Eleanor said, "You see, that War Between the States was fought over states' rights and that is what we are still fighting for." The conversation drifted back to the ante-bellum South. "That genteel society", as Eleanor called it. She went on to say, "Of course, people had slaves. Now that is another thing. Of course, it was wrong for one person to own another. However, there was monetary loss, you see, when people possibly owned a whole lot of slaves."

(xxv) J.C. TURNER (black)

J.C. Turner was born on his grandfather's farm in Haywood County in 1921. He was one of Wash and Lena Franklin Turner's fifteen children and went to school in a primitive structure in the Koko community. "Students arrived early in the morning to start a fire with wood parents sent. If there was no wood, students went into nearby fields to cut corn stalks to burn in the stove. Boys took turns walking the half-mile to get water for the school. There were no windows, only shutters, but there was the occasional snake living in the log rafters, one of which caused a sensation one day by falling onto a student."¹⁶⁷ They went to school only five months a year. These were the months they were not needed in the cotton economy. In order to get to high school in Brownsville, he first rode a bus into town, but after services were discontinued he rented a room for \$ 0.25 a week.

In the summer of 1942 he was inducted into the Army. J.C. Turner landed in Africa with general Patton as a staff sergeant with 250 Quartermaster Battalion, Company C of the Third Army. Later he sailed to Liverpool in the USS General Mann with 5,000 Italian POWs. In the wake of D-day he landed in Normandy, France on June 10, 1944. His outfit spent ten months in Paris, France, then moved to Stein, Germany, from where he returned to the United States in 1945. He married Berda Mae Taylor in 1946. They had ten children. In 1947 he began teaching farm training to veterans. In 1950 he went to college, driving 85 miles a day to Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee. He started teaching at Hopewell Elementary School in 1954, before transferring to Carver High School where he taught until 1967. In that year he was asked to transfer to Haywood High School so he could help the county comply with federal integration requirements. In effect J.C. Turner became the first black teacher in a formerly all-white school. He joined Good Hope Baptist Church when he was twelve. At the time of the interview he had been a deacon 42 years, a Sunday School teacher 45 years, and church clerk 33

years. He served the community as president of the South Hatchie Fire Department, and in many other capacities.

On civil rights:

Until 1959 blacks were not permitted to vote in Haywood County.

TURNER: That was when the drive went on for registration to vote. People came in from various parts of the country to try and help the blacks to get registered. What happened at the courthouse was that blacks were made to wait out in the sun for half a day or so, and this official slow-down policy would result in perhaps two blacks getting registered in half a day. And in the afternoon they would register another two people. It went on this type of way for several months until we got quite a few of them registered. So after we got registered, then, of course, if you were a registered person, it would take ten or fifteen minutes, but they would hesitate to register, mess around, keep one person up there for a long period of time. In '61, '62, [there was] a whole lot of trouble. It was not only difficult to vote, but they would interfere with you. We had people from Northern states. They would come down and bring money down. They brought food down and brought clothes, because at that time if you had registered, you know, there was a charter. If your name was on that charter, you were a charter member, all of you could not find a place hardly in Haywood County that you could live. Everybody, if you were black and had participated in that charter, they made you move off that farm.

VOOGT: Where did you move to?

TURNER: Well, a few black people had farms, so they made room for them; built what they called Tent City. And some of them that they made move, they moved into the tents. Quite a few. This was the group that had participated in the registration. It was hard.

VOOGT: How long did that go on?

TURNER: Well, it - the rough time, I guess, was about three or four years. They would not sell you anything on credit, and, of course, the black people had been accustomed to borrowing money from banks and other places to make their crops with. They refused - all the banks refused to let anyone whose name was on that charter, not just the banks, but all the lending agencies refused to let them have money to farm with. At that time all the black people more or less did farm work or janitor work.

On the Vietnam War:

What did J.C. Turner remember about the early stages of the Vietnam War? Because he had come out of World War II, after which the Korean War had quickly followed, they were aware, J.C. Turner said, all the time "that our boys started going". Family members were drafted, "just like I was drafted in World War II. They were drafted for Vietnam." Nephews and cousins were drafted, but none of his children were drafted into the service. He felt sure that America should not have been in Vietnam.

On the draft:

Did people talk a lot about deferments and how they could get them? J.C. Turner said, "No." There was of course a big rift between the white and the black communities where the draft and deferments were concerned. Deferments, after all, were tied in with education. Basically, the longer people could stay in school or college, the less chance there was that they could be drafted. And in those days, before integration, blacks in general were not in a position where they had ways and means to participate in advanced education. Therefore most young black men tended to be drafted.

During World War II the Army for Turner was a temporary window on the world beyond the poverty and hardship that went with being black and living in the segregated South. The first black teacher in what used to be an all-white high school, Turner played an important part in paving the way to a fully integrated school in Brownsville. Turner's memories of the Vietnam War era were of the hard times involved in establishing equal rights for the blacks of Brownsville and Haywood County rather than of the war. Yet he showed an awareness of the unequal number of especially young black men that was drafted into the Vietnam War.

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(xxvi) DIXON HOOD (white)

William Dixon Hood was born on 16 August 1922 in the Tibbs Community of Civil District 11 of Haywood County, Tennessee, to George Calvin Hood, son of William Anthony Hood and Sarah Ann Stevenson Hood, and Dora Lena Dixon Hood, daughter of Robert Moore Dixon and Mary "Kittle" Bradford Graves Dixon. In October 1951 Dixon Hood established an accounting office in Brownsville and operated until June 1973 when he was appointed county judge of Haywood County,

retiring August 31, 1986.¹⁶⁸ After his retirement he was involved in volunteer work: chairman of the local Hospital Board; work for the Chamber of Commerce, the hunting and fishing club, and the Rotary, as well as a lot of work for his church, First United Methodist.

In his home just off the courthouse square, he remembered his experiences in World War II in the South Pacific. He had spent as much time on a ship as a lot of Navy people had, going from island to island. He sailed all the way to Japan, which was where he was "when they dropped the atomic bomb". Dixon Hood was the first person I came across in West Tennessee to admit that he did not like history. He had not traced his family tree, but was aware that the Hoods moved into Haywood County many years ago. His passion was quail hunting. In fact, other people in Brownsville informed me that Dixon Hood was descended from John Bell Hood, the Confederate general.

On Brownsville, Tennessee:

VOOGT: What makes Brownsville so special?

HOOD: You know, I was asked that question some several times. Being chairman of the Board out at the hospital, we not always, but a lot of times, we're in the market for recruiting doctors, and families come into the community. And on several occasions I have been asked the question by a prospective resident, "What do you think makes Brownsville special?" And I say, "The people, the friendliness and sincerity of the people, I think. That makes Brownsville special." And this one lady in particular after they once moved here and had been here about a year, I asked her that question. And she said, "I think you're exactly right. It is the friendliness and sincerity of the people that want you to be a part of, not part from, but a part of the community."

On the South:

Hood thought that the South had become more industrialized. He also thought that people had less time now to do the things which they did in earlier days, when people could sit on the front porch or "on the porch and swing and visit". Due to increasing technology and industrialization the South was losing "some of that old Southern charm". He mentioned that in the past the Rotary had always had evening meetings, which implied time for fellowship. The Rotary now has lunch meetings, which means that members will always have to rush. A change from the old days is that Rotary members used to be all employers, whereas many members today are employees, who have one hour for lunch. The changing South in Dixon Hood's words: "Now we visit a lot of times by telephones, but

not in person." Asked why so many people in the South pursued a military career, he offered the following explanation:

HOOD: I think perhaps the South was known as an agricultural community, and there just was not a whole lot of money to be made, and being in the military was something steady. The pay was not all that much at the time, but at least it was monthly. It was something and you had your food and housing provided, medical expense provided along with some spending money, and I know several people that accumulated a good bit of money by saving their pay with all the other items provided for them, and continued in the military until they retired. And then when they did retire, they were still young enough to have a regular job in the community.

On the Vietnam War:

Vietnam was a useless endeavor in Dixon Hood's opinion. He just thought that many people got killed over nothing. "We lost a lot of people and they lost a lot of people. I just don't think it ought to have been."

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(xxvii) DEITRA WADE (black)

Deitra Wade has been a guidance counselor at Haywood High School for many years. I first met her in that capacity in 1986.

On the Vietnam War:

She was in the ROTC in high school then and she remembered that the mood of the country was anti-military. "It did not make you want to wear your ROTC uniform." This was in Fort Worth, Texas.

WADE: Because this was a war it seemed as though we were not allowed to win, it was just a piece of cake to go in and do what we need to do, where it was a lot of politics going on. And I think even when you mention it today, it makes people kind of sad and a little angry because of the politics going on. Today you have leaders who were leaders then, who have stated that they made mistakes.

She was referring to Robert McNamara's, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*, which had just come out. The war had affected her own personal life. Her husband was nineteen at the time, and she was not married until two years later. He was drafted. She said: "It was hot going on right then." Deitra Wade said that in those days the military were not so strict as to who would go into the service. But "right now everything is so high tech, they will not even talk to you unless you have a high school diploma." However, in the 1960s they had the draft, which, when her husband was drafted, went "with some type of lottery number. And my husband's number came up, and so he had to report. He had to report to the courthouse, where everybody went, and take the physical and all that. He was nineteen." She remembered how scared he was. The mood of the country was just not what you would like then. It was a terrible time. People protested in the streets; you had guys called "flower children". She saw all this on TV, as well as "what went on when I was in high school". In the end her husband failed his physical and consequently did not serve in Vietnam. Deitra Wade emphasized the very young age of the soldiers sent to Vietnam: the average age in Vietnam was nineteen, whereas in World War II this was "something like twenty-six, because they drafted all the way up to forty back then. And now this was a teenage war kind of thing."

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(xxviii) PATRICK H. MANN, JR. (white)

Patrick Henry Mann, Jr., was born on 25 February 1936 to Pat and Dorothy Mohon Mann. He grew up in the country six miles west of Brownsville but attended the city schools. While they were attending Vanderbilt University, he and Ann Elizabeth Rule married in December 1958. They both graduated from Vanderbilt in 1960. Patrick H. Mann started practicing law with Albert Carlton. He subsequently became co-owner of a real estate firm, and invested in farm land. The Manns have been actively involved in their church, First United Methodist Church, Brownsville, and in the educational system of Haywood County: Patrick served on the School Board from 1972 till 1988. Patrick and Ann live in a spacious home at the end of Creekwood, a cul-de-sac with a creek, shaded in summer by green foliage, on one side, and lined by beautiful homes on the other. A number of stately oak trees protect the house partly from view. From the windows in the drawing-room and the bedrooms there is a pretty view of the rolling cotton fields of Haywood County.

The interview with Patrick Mann was taped in the master bedroom. This to me seemed quite unique. The room possessed a sort of nineteenth-

century English atmosphere. It was beautifully decorated, and at the bottom end of the bed there was a comfortable settee and an armchair with a little sidetable. There was a TV set as well, while a door in the outside wall gave access to the swimming-pool outside.

Discussing the attitude in Haywood County to America's Foreign Wars, Patrick Mann said, "The people in this area sort of accepted it in World War II, and you have the Korean War, and you have the Vietnam War. And we just don't grow long hair and protest any of that. So it is a little different here in this area than in some other parts of the country." Did he mean just Brownsville? What he meant was the whole Southern region.

On anti-war demonstrations:

VOOGT: Did students at Vanderbilt burn draft cards in protest against the war?

MANN: Oh, yes. I remember very well, yes, when we went up there and while we were there. Vanderbilt is really a rather conservative school. To have the affluent type students they have to be, but it still has a conservative philosophy there, but during that era they did have - they had some of the burnings, and - it was not as widespread as it might have been at - you mentioned Kent State.

VOOGT: Or some other universities up North?

MANN: That is exactly right.

On the Vietnam War:

We dwelt on several other subjects, then moved to war literature, when I casually referred to America losing the Vietnam War.

MANN: Maybe something about the Vietnam War is what we lost about it.

VOOGT: Well, you lost the war.

MANN: We lost the war. How is that? I don't think we did. We went over there trying to help the South Vietnamese. They left, before the war was over. They pulled out in '73 or '74.

It seemed to me that Patrick Mann was giving me his best lawyer's answer. He was answering the questions about the Vietnam War in the best possible legal manner. I referred to Richard Nixon, who declared a victory and pulled out. Patrick Mann's view of it was that the Americans pulled out when the war was not over yet. And that the war was between

North and South Vietnam. America, he said, went over to help the South Vietnamese, first by supplying material and then by sending troops. Then the Americans "got so fed up" with the Vietnam War that they decided to get out of it. "And we came out." He added, "How long did the war go on after that? For another year or two, did not it? And finally the South Vietnamese folded. How did they lose the war? We would not help the South Vietnamese to win it. We were, I guess you would say, in war. We were trying to help the South Vietnamese."

VOOGT: I have heard that argument before, but the general feeling is, of course -

MANN: The general feeling of the war was exactly what you say. It is the only war they ever lost, but I can't quite figure out when you - "did not win and losing" are different. You see, the way you lose a war is you throw your hands up and say, "I give up, ya'll have won. Tell me what I have got to do now."

Patrick Mann's memories of the anti-war demonstrations on the campus of Vanderbilt were at variance with those of other interviewees who had been students there. Mann remembered students burning draft cards, but also said that it was not a widespread phenomenon at Vanderbilt.

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(xxix) DR. RAY DIXON (white)

In 1854, twenty members of various families left the vicinity of Hillsborough, North Carolina, for the western section of Tennessee to escape the increases in land taxes in North Carolina. Several of these families found settlements in the area between Nutbush community and Tibbs community in District Eleven of Haywood County. Among these travelers were William A. Dixon, Nancy Ingram Dixon and their four sons and four daughters, who farmed the two hundred acres in their land grant. They were the ancestors of Arthur Ray Dixon.¹⁶⁹

I first met Ray Dixon in August 1986 when he met me and my family at the airport in Memphis, Tennessee. We were colleagues for a year and over the years we have met often. Early in September 1995 we discussed the South, the Civil War, and the Vietnam War, in his study in his home on Lee Avenue. He lives in an interesting part of Brownsville, where the avenues have names like Stonewall and Lee: indication enough that this is the South.

On the draft:

Ray Dixon had a good inside view of what was going on at the Draft Board at the time of the Vietnam War. He was on the Board with two other members; the three of them replacing Dr. T.B. King, who used to run it. I asked him about the Draft Board. "The president of the Board was selected by the president of the Draft Board across the state. And that selection was Mr. Lloyd Patton. They asked to have a minority member and a member of each bracket of the draft age brackets. So, you see, since I had served in the military for six years of active duty and six years of reserve duty..." When asked if he would serve he had said "yes", not realizing at the time "that we were going to have so much controversy about the draft" This occurred in 1964. He then talked about the most commonly used deferment, the college deferment, which, he said, was a mistake, because it led to the Vietnam War being basically fought by poor people, agriculturally oriented workers, and construction workers.

DIXON: It was a mistake to excuse anybody with financial means or otherwise. Now, I have got a little note here to relate to you some cases where I ran into some problems in the draft, with coach Dwight Waller, who was the coach here about seven years ago. He just got out of college, Tennessee State. And he was an All American at Tennessee playing basketball. His name came up for the induction to be taken to the evaluation for the draft. He asked for a deferment so that he could continue on the degree he was working on and they granted him a one year, we call it. And during the course of that year, he made a try-out with the Denver Rockets, which was a professional basketball team in the NFL Association. They offered him a \$ 490,000 bonus to sign. The problem was that they would not sign him until he had met his draft obligation or straightened that draft obligation out, because they did not want to put him on the team and have those dollars when they brought him back in a body bag. So, he came to the Draft Board again at the end of the year's time and I don't remember what the deferment was, but he was voted 2 to 1. I voted against sending him and the reason I did is because about two weeks before, we had had the son of a very wealthy political-oriented family of this community, previously everyone knew had donated \$ 50,000 to the political campaign of the president. Well, this information did not have to be public, but at least, in the newspaper. So he supported their campaigns very heavily financially. His son came up for induction. Of course, he had no deferments. He was in college and he was failing three of the five courses he was taking. Obviously, he was in school for some reason other than studying. Well, anyway, we put him on the top of the induction list, because his number was very, very low. We do it by

birthday numbers. We draw a P.O. which has a date of the year on there and that is number one priority to go. He chose not to go and appeal his case, so on appeal you have got to have at least one member of the Board members to agree with you on the thing, before they would forward your chart up to the state for the state review. And this is the local Draft Board, and his file never came back to us until after the war was over.

VOOGT: Did it get lost?

DIXON: It got lost and the appeal floated, because the directive came from the president. He did not serve. He went ahead and stayed in college, I think, seven or eight years for the duration [of the war]. It showed up one day in the return mail. And his claim was rejected at that point, which meant that he had to go in, but -

VOOGT: The war was over.

DIXON: It was over and he was in the ROTC and was in as an officer so to speak. So, it was quite an upset for all of us, but we knew exactly when it went in two weeks before and it takes wealth to do things like that.

He went on to talk about the work of the Draft Board in general. Then said, "It became the poor man's war is what it became." Was that race related? He replied, "No, really. The whites that were poor, went too." He saw going to college as an avenue out. Students in college who were drafted could get a deferment. He said it was important to comprehend that the attitude of the people of Haywood County was the product of Bible Belt education, which was that if it was God's will that you would go, you would go.

DIXON: You were called according to a purpose. And that purpose was to carry out the function for our Army if you were sent a notice and your number came up - you would go. Now generally speaking, the more intellectual that you were the less [inclination] you had of leaning upon elevation and spirits and so forth. So at first when the war started, it was everybody's - You were expected. And as people began to oppose the war and people began to realize that it was becoming a poor man's war, a war of farmers, the construction worker, and the poor black in the rural South -. The turning point along this line, I think, was Mohammed Ali.

Most of the people in this area supported the war, I think, until we had a series of things that occurred. One of the things that affected us more than anything was that we had a young, very popular high school boy here, being a kind of an adventurer. And this first was an adventure to him. His name was Norman Lane. And Norman just up and quit teaching, volunteered, was sent to Vietnam

and promptly came back in a body bag. He was killed. And that was really a shock, because that was the first death in this area. Within a month, Stephen Land - I believe the boy's name was Land, was killed.¹⁷⁰ His mother runs a restaurant here.

After we had wandered over several other subjects, Ray Dixon talked about the beginning of American involvement in Vietnam. He had been among the first to be sent to Saigon. In the 1950s, during the final days of the Truman administration he had been stationed on the island of Guam, where he was a hospital coreman, an emergency field technician. He was taken to Osaka first, where he was given language training. He was then flown to Saigon. As he remembered it, "We went out in the fields, running rampart in Vietnam. The die was cast already, because we were out in the field and there was some hostility to us being there, trying to save those people's lives. And we got an opportunity to do some talking to some of the Vietnamese people while we were there. And the most common statement they made was, 'We have had one ruler after another for 2,000 years. It doesn't bother us who's here. The only thing important to us is the family.' And that was what it amounted to." The Americans stayed for fourteen weeks. There were nights that people would ride by and shoot. They were debriefed and "then the next thing we know, Kennedy is sending in military advisers".

DIXON: So, that was the beginning; I ran into Vietnam. I had never heard of it before and that was the only time I have ever been there. And so, when I get back over here and we hear these stories, I was not the least bit surprised if you remember the picture of the photographs of the South Vietnamese general putting the man down on his knees and shooting his brains out on television. Killing him. He had one down on his knees with his hands behind him and shot him in the back of the head and killed him. And that picture turned even people in Haywood County against the war. That is what started it. And then in 1968 we have the My Lai incident, which turned a few more.

I had the real vivid pictures every night we sat down at the table to eat and turned on the television and lo and behold they would show us this War in Vietnam today and Americans were just startled. I think one thing that just puts them back was this famous picture of the girl running out after the napalm bomb with her clothes burned off of her and everything. And the one that struck me more than anything else, that really made me stop, saying, "What kind of people have we become?", was this personnel carrier driving down the road with a dead Vietcong strung up behind him with a noose around his neck. They were dragging him after he was

dead - to show the Vietnamese that they were killing Vietcong for them and that really turned me off, so to speak.

I never really did oppose the war, because I think like most people in the South, we felt like we could not say to the rest of the world, "Hey, we're afraid of China."

It was indeed the pictures, the photographs of the Vietnam War that made a lasting impression on everyone who saw them. The effect they had was not limited to America, but was in fact universal. Indeed who does not know the pictures described by Ray Dixon? They had an enormous impact: not many people of the Vietnam generation looking at a Zippo lighter today, will be able to ignore the image of the soldier's outstretched arm holding one such lighter in his hand to set fire to the roof of a peasant hut in Vietnam.

The frustration felt in the South about the Johnson administration's handling of the war was tied in with the Southern code of honor. Many people felt that in effect America was showing its fear of China and possible Chinese intervention. Like other interviewees, Ray Dixon said, "We could have handled them."

Returning to the draft, he remarked, "I was going to tell you about some of the people I ran into that dealt with the war. The big problem was the college kids being deferred by the draft and those having to go. Well, when these folks started coming back - We had a young man named Danny Presley. I talked to him last night. [He mentioned his address and telephone number] And Danny was going through the rice paddies and stepped on a landmine. It exploded under him."

Due to his service on the Draft Board, Ray Dixon had been aware that there had been a preponderance of black men fighting in the Vietnam War at the time. Was it a racial war? He said that it had to be in the South, and explained, "because of the sheer numbers in the South. In our county we have been eighty percent black at times. It was not unknown there for eight blacks and two whites to go."

VOOGT: But if you look at the statistics. . . .

DIXON: It still looked like it was a black draft. It also might be interesting to note that from 1960 to 1970 we lost over 8,000 people, who moved out of this county. We had 28,000 people in 1960. In the 1970 census this dropped to 20,000 or thereabouts and it has continued to drop. I think one of the reasons was that so many of these young black males and their families lived in Illinois. There is one place up there that sent a newspaper reporter down here to see what we were doing to the black people to drive them up out of Haywood County. The solution was they were getting drafted. They fled the county to keep from getting drafted. And by

the time we got their draft records up to that Board, they would be in Canada.

On Vietnam veterans:

We passed on to talk about the kind of welcome the Vietnam veterans received, and related this to the negative publicity about the war in the United States. He remarked, "Well, we did not win the war too. You celebrate a victory; you don't celebrate a defeat." And he quoted president Nixon, who said, "Hey, we got 'em out of Vietnam and we did not let it fall." And he added, "They let it fall." He was very bitter about the hard fate of veterans when they went back to work in the United States, saying, "And you come home and who are you going to work for is one of these protesters." They stayed home and got the college degree. No wonder these men are upset.

On the Vietnam War:

DIXON: We were still winning as long as our soldiers were there. We controlled more land than the communists did. But when we pulled out, it took exactly forty-eight hours for that land to be gone and the communists to take over.

It was his genuine feeling that the U.S. were withdrawing from a winning position in Vietnam.

On Haywood County servicemen KIA:

Ray Dixon remembered that they had lost three men that he knew of in the county - "and these are just white men". Two blacks, whom he was not acquainted with, had also been killed. Their names were Taylor and Foster. "I did know these men. I did not know Marshall Canada [a white man]. And I knew Larry Land and I knew Norman Lane. These people really affected everybody that was here. We had a large number of outspoken World War II veterans here that kept support in this community a lot longer for the war than [the rest]."

On America's Foreign Wars and the Civil War:

The difference between the Foreign Wars that the United States were involved in and the Civil War, basically is one of numbers. During the Vietnam War eighteen Haywood Countians were killed, and during World

War II a total of fifty-one. About the Civil War Ray Dixon said, "We were just a small place here, but. . . my goodness, there is hardly anybody in this area that was not affected one way or another."

VOOGT: So, in other words, the Civil War is a much greater thing?

DIXON: Right. There is a great similarity [between the Civil War and the Vietnam War], because half of this county during the Civil War, especially the northern edges of this county and the northwest area, these people opposed the South's program of racial segregation and so forth. Yet at the same time there would be family against family right here in this county. And that would be the difference. In fact there is an analogy there, because a lot of the things that we think about that occurred during the Vietnam War certainly were problems during the Civil War from what I know about it.

On the South:

Dixon claimed that there was no animosity between the races prior to the beginning of the war. He argued that "in this area" it was a fact that most people valued slaves as pieces of property. This did not preclude beatings, but "nobody was going to cut a slave's foot off or kill someone in this area because they tried to flee or do something of that nature. Their ambition was to get them back and get them in the field for the work."

Dixon's perspective on the War in Vietnam is colored by his membership of the local Draft Board. In this position he came to realize that Vietnam became the poor man's war; those in a position to pull strings did so and stayed out of it. In Brownsville and Haywood County, more specifically, with its heavy black population, there was an overrepresentation of black draftees.

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(xxx) DR. RAY and KATHRYN DIXON (white)

Almost one year later, on 4 August 1996, I talked to Ray Dixon again, and to his wife Kathryn. This time we mainly discussed the South. Asked what made the South culturally different from the rest of the U.S., they both answered that it was the religious belief, the fact that the South was in the Bible Belt. Ray said that the second thing was "the English tradition

of the wealth of aristocracy that moved in here and got the land". He claimed that when people moved to the area they tried to create "another English monarchy, English aristocracy". Characteristics of the culture were the large farms, and the large number of servants. Another Southern characteristic is the love of hunting and fishing, which Ray Dixon accounted for as follows:

DIXON: Well, I think that is kind of a throw-back from the old nineteenth century where basic food values were always - see, the South has suffered for several centuries, without any way of transportation. We had a railroad system that was demolished by the Civil War. But that was the only way to get around the South, was the railroad. Therefore it was impossible to get food in from other parts of the country. . . so, they went hunting. They learned to live off the land, they learned to support themselves.

VOOGT: What makes Brownsville the typical Southern town now, when you come to it from other areas of the United States?

DIXON: I don't think it is typically Southern. I think it is a typical Mississippi town. I think it is part of the Mississippi Delta and it is kind of - I would say it has a large black population and large Mississippi-type traditions. . . the attitude people have. . . it is just old farm agriculture, aristocracy. . .

K. DIXON: Yeah, because you know just about everybody. You can't go downtown without seeing somebody that you know before you get home. You go downtown in Memphis where you've lived all your life and you may spend all day long and not see anybody that you know.

DIXON: People make it their business in this town to know other people.

The elements that distinguish the South, according to the Dixons, are the Bible Belt with its [Protestant Christian] Religion, its English heritage, and the love of hunting and fishing, which points to an attachment which Southerners have with their natural surroundings.

(xxx) MARGARET EDDLEMAN (white)

In the summer of 1996 I talked about the Vietnam War to Margaret Eddleman, whose son Charles did a tour of duty in Vietnam. She remembered that his going there filled her with anxiety. She had a feeling that "they were going to shoot him when he got off the plane, because it sounded so terrible". She said that her son and another boy were the only two from Haywood County that had to go. Her son had just finished

college and she did not think that was fair. She said she "pulled every string" that she could pull. In effect this meant that she asked his former high school coach for help as well as Curtis Lowery, the postmaster, and several senators. But all to no avail. And she thought, "Lord, why can't I find somebody to help me?" His number had come up in the draft and that was it. She said that those were the worst two years of her life.

Ultimately her son stayed in Vietnam for fourteen months, because they had told him that if he stayed a little longer than his basic tour of duty, they would let him out when he got home. - Margaret Eddleman showed me some pictures she received from her son in Southeast Asia; they were dated 24 December 1967. There was a picture of Charles' jeep. She said that he traveled backwards and forwards from Phnom Penh to Saigon in it every day, a practice that was stopped after Tet. She said she also had a picture of general Westmoreland visiting her son's unit.

VOOGT: Did a lot of young men from Brownsville go [to Vietnam]?

EDDLEMAN: No, they did not. And that was why I was so bitter about it. That my son had to be caught up in it. But I guess mine was not any better than anybody else's to go, but I just felt like if there was some way I could get [him out of it]. . . Anyway, it took two years out of his life, just about, right out of college. And that is just time lost. And I think it really affected him. He doesn't talk about it. He never mentions it and he is not like the little boy that left.

VOOGT: It was a bad experience.

EDDLEMAN: It was. I said, "Charles, was there dope over there?" And he said, "Everywhere." And I said, "Well, I'm glad I taught you right from wrong before you went," because so many of them got on it. . . But he said, "No, I would not fool with it."

Margaret Eddleman said that her son was not a great letter writer. So they communicated by sending tapes back and forth. Every week she would do a tape and tell him what was going on in his hometown. And in turn he would talk on tape to her. I asked her whether she had saved the tapes. She replied that they got lost when she moved. Charles had been asked to share his experiences with the MYF. His mother said that he had concluded his talk by saying that the war could have been ended any day they wanted to. "They kept it going and he said there was never any way to ever end it because the French had been over there all those years and they could not do it."

She went on to say that people in West Tennessee did not know that the war was not necessary at that time. "And afterward there was a lot of people that were protecting it and all that, but we found out later that it was a political thing, you know . . . Here we just decided that it was a

political thing and they could have stopped it. . . and nobody won anything. . . ." I asked her whether Vietnam was very much on people's minds. She replied, "Unless they had some people over there. I can remember Larry Banks and our own senator's son, and that is about the only things, there was more that maybe I did not know."

In several other interviews president Johnson's name had come up in conversation and I had been struck by the negative feelings about him. I therefore asked this nice lady what she thought of him. She said, "We just thought Johnson was a - he did all this, he did it. And we were kinda upset with him." But our talk ended in a humorous way. She was explaining the family relations of some people known to my family, and then she suddenly said, "Somebody said that everybody in Brownsville is kin to somebody else, you better be careful what you say! There are a lot of kin people."

Margaret, like other interviewees from the area, looked at the Vietnam War chiefly from the point of view of the draft, which is how the war came to affect her life. The interview with her reveals that those who did not have might and means could not avoid the draft and, consequently, had to go to Vietnam. The interview also confirms the immense unpopularity of president Johnson.

(xxxii) BEN L. WILEY (black)

On a beautiful, sunny day I talked to father and son, Ben L. Wiley and Jere Blue Wiley, in Harvey Livingstone and Minnie Walden's smart-looking store, the erstwhile post office, on the courthouse square in Brownsville. The date was 6 August 1996 and we sat down around a beautiful shiny cherrywood table, polished to a high gloss by one of the Wileys. The store has always been frequented by future brides and their friends and family to select wedding gifts.

During World War II Ben Wiley served in North Africa where he was a quartermaster. He worked at HQ and chauffeured the company commander. His unit then moved to Italy and after that to France, where he was stationed at Marseilles. In 1945 he went straight to Mannheim, Germany.

Ben Wiley said his oldest son served in Vietnam for a year. He remembered his son was wounded in the knee and was lying wounded for twelve hours before anybody came to his aid.

(xxxiii) JERE BLUE WILEY (black)

Jere Blue Wiley is Ben L. Wiley's son. Seated next to his father at Harvey Livingston's he told me:

I went into the service on 21 February 1974, and I was discharged on 6 May 1977. I was given credit for on paper being a Vietnam veteran, because the war had not officially ended upon my entry. My feeling at the time was to go and volunteer, because I had avoided the draft, not purposely, but I went in school and I found out school was not for me, so I went working in a factory - that was not for me. So the next thing, the last alternative I had was to apply for duty in the military.

I went to all four branches; I went under the illusion that the Army was the best, because they gave me \$2,500 at the time of my entry after four months of duty.

I volunteered for combat action so that qualified me for the \$2,500; I actually received \$2,000 after four months in the service. And I was supposed to stay four years, which I only did three years, two months, eleven days. . .

Unfortunately, I received other than honorable discharge, which three years later I went to the Pentagon and before a Board of Officers' Review, I had it upraised to an honorable discharge. And I have all my benefits for - the only thing I'm not allowed to do is be buried in Arlington National Cemetery. . .

Jere Wiley went on to say that he was self-employed and that he had also "accepted a call into the ministry". He passed on to talk about his feelings about the Vietnam War and said his brother as well as several of his friends had been in Vietnam. Jere said he was "in full support of the war".

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(xxxiv) DAVID HOOPER, SR. (white)

David Hooper's family on his mother's side came from North Carolina. He was not sure where his father's family were from originally. David Hooper has been in the oil business, the delivery of petroleum products to farmers and to convenience stores for forty years. He has lived in Haywood County all his life. He has been actively involved in his church, First United Methodist Church, Brownsville, for a great many years.

When we talked in his office on 7 August 1996, he said he would be 62 the following week.

I asked him what he could remember of the 1960s. Did he remember what it was like to live in Brownsville during the Vietnam War period? He replied, "Well, we saw so much on television that, you know, the people revolted and all the commotion that was going on in other cities. But as far as Brownsville is concerned, we did not have any uprising of that sort here in the sixties. Now, I think in the seventies we did have some racial tension, but not any tension caused by the Vietnam War."

On civil rights:

David Hooper remembered that Dr. Martin Luther King came to Memphis. He happened to be in Memphis the night that Dr. King was shot. Hooper attended a meeting in that part of town, not far from it. He said, "And as I was sitting there, we were about to have our meal and they came in and told me that I had to leave. I said, 'What do you mean?' And they said, well, they had killed Martin Luther King about three or four blocks from the place where we were and they said, 'You're going to have to get up and leave and go home.' They said the police had encircled all this area and 'they probably will let you out, but they will not let you stay.'"

D. HOOPER: There was a lot of uprising and unrest in the city of Memphis at the time and we had a place close to the river downtown, close to the Mississippi River.

VOOGT: This unrest was more in Memphis than in Brownsville?

D. HOOPER: Oh, yes. We had some racial strife, but we always have had a good relationship with the black people in our town.

On the Vietnam War:

David Hooper was in the National Guard for fourteen years. Most of the time that he was in the National Guard, the Korean conflict was going on, but his unit was not called out, although several units were called out in Tennessee for the Korean conflict. He said he was out of the Guard when the first part of the Vietnam conflict was taking place. He remembered they had several people in their church that were part of the Vietnam War. He remembered that Larry Banks went there. He said, "They went to Vietnam and we were concerned along that line; the people that we knew that were involved in the Vietnam War, but as far as our life, unrest and uprising in our town, forget it. We did not have that."

On U.S. presidents and the Vietnam War:

D. HOOPER: Lyndon Johnson took over after Kennedy, and he escalated the war. I never was in favor of him. I did not think he was a good president. I think he caused a lot of problems in the South, especially during his presidency. And he was a Texan and a Southerner. He was still - you know the part about the Great Society, when people are not responsible for working and we still suffer from that. Sort of mentality that people can make their living from the government and not having to work and being responsible.

VOOGT: Did he surprise you as a Southerner, could you believe it was coming from him?

D. HOOPER: It did surprise me, but seeing him as a Southerner and the power that he had over the legislative process in this country. I was not surprised that he could get things passed through Congress, because he had such... power.

VOOGT: Do you think Kennedy would not have got the U.S. involved in Vietnam?

D. HOOPER: Kennedy would not have escalated the war. He would have tried to find some solution - they did not seem to know who we were fighting or what purpose we were fighting for. I mean, did not seem there was going to be any solution... so I think he would have done like Nixon did, just bring it to an end.

VOOGT: Was the feeling at the time here that Lyndon Johnson personally was responsible or did you feel that other politicians were?

D. HOOPER: Yes, Lyndon Johnson and the politicians were responsible.

Asked to clarify the shift from Democrat to Republican in the South, David Hooper argued that this went back to taxes and the liberal view that was seen in the country. "The Republicans have changed that view from the liberal standpoint to conservative, thus gaining momentum." In the South people who used to vote Democrat, moved away from the party during Johnson's presidency.

(xxxv - xxxix) ON LT. NORMAN LANE, JR., KIA

Interviews taped at Tabernacle Camp, Haywood County, August 1996

The interviews in this section were taped at Tabernacle Camp with a number of people who used to be with Lt. Lane at the camp in the month of August of every year when he was still alive. Members of the Taylor

family, whose roots go back to Haywood County, still flock to the camp from all over the United States every summer.

Tabernacle Camp was built in a wooded area next to Tabernacle United Methodist Church. One of the first actions taken by Richard Taylor when he pioneered in the Tabernacle community in early 1826 was to build a church which he called New Hope. Made of logs, it stood in the grove of his home. Almost upon completion, an addition was made so that slaves might worship with the Taylor family at Sunday and midweek services. The cemetery was begun at its current site with the death of Nancy, the first wife of Richard, on 3 August 1829. Today the graveyard encompasses about two acres, where neighbors and kinfolks are buried.¹⁷¹

The present church building was constructed in 1847. It was extensively remodeled and bricked in 1922 and enlarged again in 1988.¹⁷² Taylor kinfolks from all over the United States and Canada and foreign countries attend the annual camp meeting held in August. The Kinfolks Camp Meeting is a survivor of the protracted camp revivals that swept rural America during the early 1800s. For over 160 years, it has been held every summer in war and peace. Today there are over forty camphouses, most with kitchens.

(xxxv) DR. AL CLAIBORNE (white)

Today Al Claiborne, who was born in 1952, lives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He grew up in Brownsville, Tennessee. Al and Norman, Jr., were first cousins. Seated on a wooden bench outside the camphouse of Mrs. Betsy Battle, Norman Lane, Jr.'s mother, Al Claiborne told me about his cousin who had been killed in Vietnam. He remembered a photograph where he was three or four years old.

AL CLAIBORNE: There is a photograph in my family album of me in a little Radio Flyer wagon. Norman, Jr., of course, being ten or twelve years older than me, pulling me through the campground. Of course, you would come out here every summer and, you know, he was older than I was, so you had kind of a notion of him, but I do remember, because he did have a big influence on me somehow. Because he had gone to Vanderbilt University and my mother had gone there. And that is where eventually I went, and so, somehow, I felt that the fact that he had been several years before I went was a factor. But the other thing that I definitely remember, because I was so close to uncle Marion and aunt Lib, one thing I do definitely remember that gets more into the timeframe of Norman's death, was the Thanksgiving of 1967. [Here Al Claiborne was overcome with emotion] We would always have Thanksgiving dinner, my family, uncle Marion and aunt Lib. And I remember, I was fifteen

years old, and Norman, Jr., had just gone over to Vietnam, and I remember uncle Marion looking at the television and saying that he - ; and then I remember later, he was much older than I, we did not correspond or anything like that, but I remember when he died, I remember exactly, we were juniors in high school, and it was in the spring, and we were having these silly elections for class officers and all that, and so we were at someone's house getting posters and stuff like that ready. We were sixteen years old and somebody made a sort of an indirect reference to his death and that was the first news I had even heard of - and I remember I turned to someone and I asked them, I said, "Is Norman, Jr., dead?" And they told me that he was. I remember coming back; a friend of mine and I drove back to my cousin's house and there were uncle Marion and aunt Lib and my mother and father were just about to go get them.

And later that year, most of my experiences with Norman were really through my uncle Marion, later that year, if you look in the second edition of *The Taylors of Tabernacle*, later that year, that fall, I guess it was, we were in an English class in high school. And they asked us each to write a story about, or an essay about someone that we liked or admired or whatever. And I picked my uncle Marion as a subject for whatever reason.

That was done when I was sixteen years old. Then, actually a copy of that got included in the second edition of *The Taylors of Tabernacle*, because, I think, well maybe I did a halfway decent job of reflecting on him. But also it very definitely brought home my feelings about him as a 16-year-old, and personal losses he had suffered, not only with Norman, but with his own son. But, you know, you think about it just being younger, and everybody in my age bracket, I mean, we were in an age where, probably you know, you would have to really work very hard to even be in the military at the time of the Vietnam thing before it was actually over. Or anything even more seriously involved than that. And this was a pretty small town and I don't think the average high school student and perhaps even the average citizen, *it was not the most burning issue of the sixties here locally* [my emphasis]. But Norman, Jr., was like, for whatever loss of contact or experience that I had from my age or who I was with, he was my one direct personal contact with that experience.

I have thought about it a lot and I have read avidly books about the Vietnam experience and things of that nature, because of him. And I have even, six or seven years ago I used to tell Terry [Mrs. Claiborne] occasionally that some day I would sit down and write a book about Norman, Jr. or something like that.

Norman Lane was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old when he was killed. Involuntarily connecting the Vietnam War and the Second World

War, Claiborne added: "He was born right before Pearl Harbor." Several other people were sitting around us and at that point a woman [unidentified, but possibly Mrs. Lorraine Thornton, one of the authors of *The Taylors of Tabernacle*] said, "May I interject something?" And this was what she said: "We were watching the 6 o'clock news and they showed a scene in Vietnam, and we saw it, aunt Lib and uncle Marion saw it, and a few other people saw it. And I ran to the phone and I said, 'That was Norman, Jr. Do you remember that? Did you see it? And I'm sure it was.'"

Al Claiborne resumed, "That was in '68 and I remember where I was when I heard." This was an indication of the magnitude of this death. It is a basic, universal fact of human psychology that in the case of a tragic, personal loss, all our senses are intensely focused to register even the minutest detail which is then stored in our memory for as long as we live. Thus many people have very precise memories of where they were and what they were doing when they heard that John F. Kennedy was dead.

"I remember the next morning," Al Claiborne said. "It was a Sunday. I remember myself and one of my best friends out here, who is my age; his name is Richard Carlson. He might not remember that much about Norman anymore than I would. But we would sit on the front row at church and I remember the emotions; but I would think about it and I would think about Norman, and think about him dying."

We then talked about Hollywood movies about the Vietnam War. Al Claiborne was impressed by *The Deerhunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979). Aloud, he wondered why it had taken "the film industry or Hollywood or whoever" so long to produce Vietnam War movies. It is true that only one Vietnam War movie came from the Hollywood studios during the conflict. It is also true that it was not a good movie; it was no more than a transformed cowboy movie, starring John Wayne (*The Green Berets*, 1968). Al Claiborne thought that *Apocalypse Now* was a strange film in many ways. The films that lingered in his mind came out in 1987, especially *Full Metal Jacket*, because it was "just absolutely the most brilliant portrayal of what it must have been like". Moreover, it actually was about a Marine unit during the Tet offensive. "Norman, Jr., was killed, depending on how you classify the Tet offensive, in the latter stage of that." This was in late March; the Tet offensive started around late January. "And he was in the Marines," said Al Claiborne. "*Platoon* came out the same year." Neil Sheehan's *A Bright Shining Lie* was the definitive book about the whole thing. Al Claiborne's closing remarks were about Robert McNamara's book, *In Retrospect*. He thought that what was so "disgusting" about it was that McNamara got out of the Pentagon in 1968, and so the attitude was "we got in there and we got it started, but let's just walk away now, just let it take care of itself". But it was not only that, but also for twenty-five years after he had left the Pentagon, "he had specifically refused ever any interviews, any quotes for any newspaper, anything".

(xxxvi) LORRAINE REGEN THORNTON (white)

L.R. THORNTON: One year at camp meeting time, the weather was very bad and it seemed that on just about every tree there was some kind of shelf mushroom and the ground was just covered with different kinds of mushrooms. Well, Norman, he had all the children on the campground; they were so excited about the mushrooms that they were gathering them for him and he would spread them on benches out in front of the house. So by the end of the week we had the most fabulous collection of mushrooms that has ever been seen, and all because of Norman's interest in the mushroom. Then at night he would take all the children and young people up on the ballfield and they would spread out blankets and he would teach them about the constellations. He had one of the most inquisitive minds that I have ever seen. He did not want to miss anything of God's creations, or any of the people of God's creation. He was just that interested and fascinated by life itself, and I just wanted to put that bit in.

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(xxxvii) SALLY THORNTON CAVIN (white)

Sally Thornton Cavin shared her last memory of Norman Lane with me.

S.T. CAVIN: Norman was a very sweet young man. He was interested in his kinfolks, always. The last thing I remember about him: one day Norman knocked on the door. And we were so happy to see him, and he ate dinner with us and we just visited a long time, and he said, "You know, I'm getting ready to go to Vietnam, and I want to visit all the people I know." And that meant so much to us. I was nine years older than him, so I did not know him personally, but I knew him as a wonderful person that we all were very proud of. We were just horrified - so sad, and we just find it hard to describe. But I want him to be remembered as someone who really loved his family.

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(xxxviii) LYNN THORNTON MANN (white)

Lynn Thornton Mann was raised in Brownsville, and lives in Jackson, Tennessee. She lived in Nashville when Norman lived in Brownsville. They were camp meeting kids and Norman wrote her letters when she lived in Vancouver and when he lived in the Bronx. And when he came to Vanderbilt they became even closer friends. They took some courses together; a big history course, a lecture course with two hundred people, and they sat beside each other. "I don't think we learned a lot of history, but we had a grand time." After he went to Vietnam he wrote her "very personal, lovely letters." She said, "He sent me the tongue of a butterfly so I could see how beautiful and big it was."

She remembered sending him for Christmas "a bell that you pull and it plays a little song and a book of Christmas carols, because he wanted to lead the men in Christmas carols and he was not positive that he remembered all of the words". He wrote her a letter to tell her how much he had enjoyed that. And also that he was happy with a jar of peanut butter, which he put insect spray on and lit to make a candle.

(xxxix) BETSY LANE BATTLE (white)

Betsy Lane Battle was born 1 July 1919 in Haywood County, Tennessee. She spent most of her life in Colorado, California, British Columbia, Canada, New York, and Florida. She has recently returned to Brownsville, as she put it in a letter, mailed 27 August 1998 "to spend the remaining years of my life [here]". She is the mother of Norman E. Lane, Jr. I talked to her when I visited Tabernacle Camp on 7 August 1996. Betsy Battle, who was living in Appalachicola, Florida at that time, said, "I was born right up the hill here from the campground." She talked about the history of Tabernacle Camp, and said that the descendants of Kyle Taylor had their own plots in the cemetery. Because she married into the Lane family, her plot is on the back side, where the Lanes are buried. She said, "Then my second marriage was Battle and they are in another section. I married my cousin. And he's buried with his first wife and his mother and daddy. And I will be buried by my husband and my son that was killed in Vietnam."

BETSY BATTLE: Now when Norman was killed in Vietnam, we were told we could open the casket. And he was -, he had been shot; shrapnel had killed him instantly they thought. And it was obvious that his face had been disfigured, but they had put it back and it was -, you could tell it had been him. His mouth would have been crooked, but it was not.

And he had just finished Vanderbilt Law School when he volunteered for the Marines, because he had been indoctrinated from the day he was born by my daddy telling him that his uncle had given his life for this country and it was his obligation to do the same thing, to go to service.

My brother was killed in World War II. He was on a B-24 or whatever they had in that day. And my son was lieutenant in the Marines, and I guess he was killed in Da Nang, but he, of course, had gone to Quantico because he went in with - he was an officer. And shortly after he got to Vietnam, was killed. And months later they brought the body home.

And if you really want to know, he arrived, his body arrived in Memphis the day Martin Luther King was killed. And so everything in Memphis was put on curfew and we did not know for days when we could have the service.

Marines were curfewed in Memphis. But it is just uncanny that my only brother - my mother had two children - and her only son was killed in the Second World War and then she transferred all her love to my own child, her grandchild - and he was killed in service. They were the only two -

VOOGT: I heard your son was a teacher at the high school.

BETSY BATTLE: He did one year. What happened was, he had finished law school and the Marines said they did not have space for him at Quantico for one year, so he came to Brownsville to stay with my mother and daddy. And while he was here visiting them, they begged him to come to the high school and teach French and freshman English.

She then talked about the camp. It was the only camp in the world that was strictly family; others were linked to church denominations. In parting I mentioned to her that Martha Hooper had told me that during the war, school children wrote letters to her son in Vietnam. When I asked her if I could have copies, she said, "Well, I'll tell you what happened - turn it off!"

The interviews taped at Tabernacle Camp in the late summer of 1996 indicate the impact of the death in Vietnam of Lt. Norman Lane, Jr. on his mother and other relations. At the same time my visit to the camp was a unique opportunity to see an aspect of Southern culture that reached back to the days of the first settlers.

(xl) MILDRED RUSSELL (white)

Mildred Sturdivant Reid was born in Brownsville on March 8, 1919. Her parents were George Chapman Reid and Mildred Coleman Sturdivant Reid. She married Thomas Duckworth Russell, Jr., on October 23, 1938. She is the mother of Dr. Thomas D. Russell III.

We wandered over several subjects, talking about Tabernacle camp mainly. I asked her what she could remember about the Vietnam War and how it had affected Brownsville. She replied, "Well, of course, we were all in shock. We were so concerned about our people and who had to go. All families were afraid that their young boys would have to go to the service. It made a terrible impact on Brownsville. And we all had to sacrifice. Of course, we lost young people. And then some men, as always, found that they could claim - well, they had to be there to take care of the farm and there was quite a bit of envy there or they just did not appreciate these men that got out of serving." I then asked her whether the farming deferment was only a temporary measure.

M. RUSSELL: That is correct. But they were not -, they did not serve their time and there's families, some of them -, but they looked down on them, but sort of felt that if their people had to go to the service, then it should be -, but there has never been a fair way to treat all people. I mean, if you have a ruling, it doesn't always protect -.

"What makes Brownsville or Tennessee, South today?" I asked her.

M. RUSSELL: We have people move even from Memphis to Brownsville, and they say that they have never felt anything to equal the love that people have in Brownsville. Times have changed considerably, because at one time we were privileged to have big, black women in the homes to care for our needs; cooking, and taking care of our families and some people possibly took advantage of them, but the big families loved them and treated them, just like they were family members. We had a cook for thirty-two years and she stayed with us and she developed cancer, but Tommy, my son, said she reared him. She died recently and he gave a testimony at the church, tried to, but he cried and see, I took over. I did not do much better. Because she was just like a member of the family. Big deal. And we do not have that now. And the change is good, but it has changed our living.

What the War in Vietnam suggested to Mildred Russell was the problem of the draft, or its basic unfairness rather, when some could claim deferments, while others could not.

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ON RICHARD KEITH JOHNSTON, KIA

(xli) SUSAN PETTIGREW (white)

In September 1995 I had sent a letter to the editor of the *Brownsville States-Graphic*, asking the people of Brownsville and Haywood County to write to me if they had any written information about the Vietnam War. Susan sent me a letter, telling me about her brother who had been killed in Vietnam.

PETTIGREW: It was 17 August 1970 and I was out of town on vacation with Jack and his family and called home to check in and my parents told me they had somebody from the Army had showed up where they worked to inform them of my brother being killed. And so I came home and it was like a week before his body came home and my parents were real protective about the information; I had a younger sister. She's six years younger than I am.

Rick was the oldest and according to my parents, the Army was very vague about how the accident happened. Rick was a gunner on a helicopter and they were flying over the Cambodian border early in the morning in the fog and the helicopter hit something and crashed, and all those on board were killed.

And the Army said that if my parents wanted to know anything else, they could contact some of the families of the other people. It was real strange. Of course, they did not really pursue it at the time because we hadn't buried him yet. And it all seemed like a dream. Of course, I'm sure that is no different from any other death in a family, but it was kind of an extended waiting for him to come home, and his body finally came. And we had a memorial service at the Presbyterian church. My parents wanted to bury him in Illinois, because we had moved to Brownsville in 1966, and we had always lived in Illinois up until that point. So we had a memorial service at the Presbyterian church and then, we went to Morse, Illinois, and buried him there. And I remember the Army sent a person to be with us the entire time. This guy came. I don't remember what his

name was.

She went on to say that what grieved her parents very much to the present day was that they had never received her brother's Purple Heart decoration. She had recently taken some action on this, and based on her experience, she said that the red tape was unbelievable. "I called some place in St. Louis and the lady there said she just did not know. They had this real backlog and there were file cabinets down at the base and there were thousands and thousands of requests and they could not find my father's request. I needed to write to so and so. It was just another matter for her." She then quoted from a letter she had received from the Army in 1993, saying, "Currently, we have a backlog of ten thousand separate award requests. Please understand that your request will be handled in turn and could take as long as one year to be completed."

Susan passed on to a conversation about the time when her brother had volunteered. After graduating from high school, he did one semester at U.T. Martin. She said, "he enlisted". Her brother had been a big hunter, fisherman, and he was an outdoor type of person. And she said, "He was not drafted, but he enlisted, and he was kind of excited about it." She remembered the last time she ever saw him, he was excited about it.

On the Vietnam War:

They saw the news about the Vietnam War at home, but it was not a big debated issue in their house. They knew that when her brother was going, the news was not very good, but she did not think anybody in Brownsville understood how bad it was. Commenting on the Vietnam War movies she had seen, she said, "I do not know how much to believe of the movies I have seen and that kind of thing." One of the Hollywood movies she had seen was *Platoon*. She said, "Most of the movies portray the guys who went over there and fought in Vietnam coming back and being chastised and ostracized for having fought. And this has been an issue I have taken up with this guy in Arkansas, because he was a Marine over there." I asked her about the Marine. His name was Bill Rogers. "He was wounded severely in Vietnam and sent back, but that was his life. That is all he talks about. But he also claims that the people of America did not welcome back the soldiers and I don't know how true that really was." Bill Rogers was a friend of the man she was dating, who was from Arkansas. She said, "They are both rice farmers over there. And when I met Bill, he started talking about Vietnam and I told him that my brother had been in Vietnam." She also said that she and Bill were like blood-brothers now.

On Vietnam veterans:

How were the veterans welcomed home? Susan explained that people did not make "a big to-do" about it, but there was not any "booing and

hissing" either. "It was just kinda like they were glad they made it home."

Very nearly a quarter of a century after the end of America's involvement in Southeast Asia, the Vietnam War still affected Susan and her parents. Their efforts to get a Purple Heart decoration have been frustrated by red tape so far (summer 2000). The reason why Rick Johnston's helicopter crashed has remained a mystery also. Perhaps the crash came as a result of the helicopter's proximity to the Cambodian border, which would have violated official U.S. policy.