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PAT GULLEY
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Oral History Collection

Pat Gulley

Place of Interview: Denton, Texas Date: May 11, 1988

Interviewer: Mary Lohr

Ms. Lohr: This is Mary Lohr interviewing Pat Gulley for the North Texas State University Oral History Collection. The interview is taking place on May 11, 1988, in Denton, Texas. I'm interviewing Ms. Gulley in order to obtain her recollections concerning the Denton Christian Women's Interracial Fellowship.

Would you tell me when and where you were born?

Ms. Gulley: I was born in McAlester, Oklahoma, in 1934.

Ms. Lohr: What about your educational background?

Ms. Gulley: I graduated from the University of Tulsa with a degree in speech and drama. I also attended Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio.

Ms. Lohr: When did you come to Denton?

Ms Gulley: In 1963.

Ms. Lohr: How did you become interested in the Interracial Fellowship?

Ms. Gulley: Some acquaintances of mine mentioned that they were going to these meetings and that perhaps I'd like to go, and so I started going with them.

Lohr: Was it through a church?

Gulley: Not through my church. I think that probably the women that I started going to the Fellowship meetings with were from the First Methodist Church. I'm not a Methodist, so it wasn't from my church.

Lohr: Were you interested in segregation? Integration?

Gulley: Yes, I was interested in meeting black women in an area where you had no way to meet black women at that time.

Lohr: Did anything in your background bring this about?

Gulley: Not that I'm aware of. Although I was born in Oklahoma, I grew up in Fort Smith, Arkansas, which was a very southern town with very rigid southern beliefs. When I went to Western College for Women, one of the first people that I met was the dean's secretary. She was a black woman. She laughed and said she always liked to see the expression on freshmen's faces when they were from southern states because most of them had never seen a black woman who had a professional-type job. And that was very true. But other than that particular experience, I can't really think of any other reason, except I felt like it was a loss in my own personal life that I didn't have black friends.

Lohr: What was Denton like when you moved here?

Gulley: Well, much smaller than it is now. Of course, I knew it in the university relationship. My friends were from the university--the Newcomer's group, which is the same group

that, I suppose, invited me to go with them to the Fellowship meetings. It was the smallest community I had ever lived in, so there was a lot of personal contact with people in the community that you might not have had in a larger community.

Lohr: Did you have any occasion to go into black Denton--southeast Denton?

Gulley: Well, perhaps to pick up someone to clean my house. Other than that, no, until after I had made friends in the Interracial Fellowship and started visiting in other people's houses.

Lohr: What was black Denton like physically?

Gulley: Just exactly what I remember black Fort Smith being like--just sort of country lanes, small houses. Nothing was kept up by the city at all. It was certainly an island--very isolated.

Lohr: It was pretty rundown then?

Gulley: Oh, yes. I can't really remember any building going on in the area at that time. But, really, I would say that probably within two years after moving here, there began to be a change. That would be about 1965, I guess, and I think that there was already quite a change. There had been a lot of integration the year before we moved here. The movie theaters were integrated by the time we moved to Denton. In the first year that we moved here, there was a sit-in demonstration at a restaurant called the Ju-cy Pig,

and that integrated the restaurants in Denton. This was all happening, really, more or less as we moved to town, so that so far as my husband and I, we were really not involved in the move from segregation to integration. It was going on at the time we came, and we probably were just involved with moving here when these things were happening.

Lohr: What were the first meetings of the group like?

Gulley: It was a social meeting. We sat and visited and introduced ourselves and talked about our children and our families and probably what we had cooked for dinner. It was a social get-together--a way to talk to women that had no other place to meet.

Lohr: Did you talk about integration?

Gulley: We talked about problems. But so far as talking specifically about integration, I don't have any real remembrance of it. I can't remember very many serious thoughts that we had at first. I really think that perhaps maybe we were afraid to talk about serious things at that time. I can remember that over the years we really tried to keep the group as a more or less social, relaxed group and didn't necessarily have a program. We didn't necessarily have something that we planned to do. I'm sure that the most vigorous part of the group had to do with getting together. On Sundays, going with our husbands, a black couple and a white couple would go

together to help get easements signed for the paving in southeast Denton. That's the first--I guess you'd say--project we ever had. We talked very openly, I think.

Lohr: What kinds of things did you talk about?

Gulley: I have no recollections of what we talked about.

Lohr: Was it mostly social events?

Gulley: I really think it was as we began. I think we talked about our children in school and maybe problems in school. One of the things I can remember discussing with a friend was. .she cooked either at TWU or the Denton State School --I can't remember where she cooked at the time--and she had a large family. She got up at 3:30 or 4:00 because to cook breakfast wherever it was that she cooked, she went to work at--I'm going to say--5:30 perhaps. She talked about the food and the fact that when she came home at night she really was too tired to cook for her family; and that she should do a better job of packing lunches for them but that she just didn't have that much energy. Then she discussed what she had cooked for dinner that night, and it would be so completely different from what I had cooked. Having grown up in Arkansas, sure, I ate greens and beans, but her meal would probably be greens for her and this large group of children, most of which were boys. So they were very hungry. She'd sometimes have a meal of beans. I can remember thinking how very different the struggles that we had as families were. I think that this

is the sort of thing that we talked about as we talked to each other. Of course, that is a discussion of integration and segregation, but so far as just openly talking about specific problems in the early meetings, no, I don't think we did.

Lohr: Can you remember anything that surprised you that you learned about the black people's lives?

Gulley: I don't think I can because, having grown up in Arkansas, I had been with black people all of my life, but not on a social level, you know, but on a level where black people worked in your home. As a child I thought of them as my family, and I was in their homes a lot. So I had been in black homes, but, of course, not on the same level that I was in when I went to someone's house for a club meeting. So I'm not sure that I really was surprised, except to realize how I thought integration was moving and how far it still had to move.

Lohr: Where were these meetings held?

Gulley: In people's houses.

Lohr: How did you decide whose house?

Gulley: I have no idea. We met at the American Legion hall on Lakey Street quite a bit. I can sort of visualize some houses that we met in, but I can't ever think of meeting anyplace other than...I can remember meeting at the Saint Andrew's Presbyterian Church at one time. It's just not very clear to me.

Lohr: Did you have tea, punch, cookies--things like that?

Gulley: We had dessert. People brought them and helped the hostess. I think the person who had it at their house fixed the punch or the tea, and other people brought cookies and cake. It was fun. Everybody dressed up to go. It was quite an outing. One of the things that we did occasionally was to go out to eat. It's sort of hard to remember whether we made this. I know we made it a stated aim, but when the aim came about...we went out to eat because we thought that this would be a way to publicly show that whites and blacks did things together socially. We'd go into a public restaurant to eat as a group, and we did it several times.

Lohr: You mentioned the Ju-cy Pig and the sit-ins. Do you know if there was any trouble over that--the sit-ins?

Gulley: I think that the Ju-cy Pig closed for days or a week or so, thinking that they could get by without having to integrate, but then it did reopen. I don't remember that there was any trouble.

Lohr: Did you have any trouble during the times you went out to eat?

Gulley: No, absolutely no trouble at all. People did a lot of looking at us because you didn't see white couples and black couples go out together, or white women and black women go together.

We had picnics always in the summertime for our

husbands and our children, and we'd go to a park or to a church ground somewhere. We thought this was very important at one time. I think it became less important, then, rather quickly because things did change in some ways so quickly.

Lohr: Did you feel any hesitancy on the part of the black women to join the group?

Gulley: Perhaps at the beginning. I'm not sure they were hesitant to join it; I think they were a little uncomfortable in not knowing exactly what was going to go on with the group. It's very interesting. It's like anything else. When you have a common cause, the group becomes really eager. When the group went together and really put on this drive to get the streets in southeast Denton paved. .and house numbers because there were no house numbers at the time. I guess it was because the Postal Department claimed there were no real streets or some such thing, so there was no system of numbering the houses. When we decided to really tackle this and try to help get this done, this was the year or two years that the group was really at its strongest because it did have a purpose. This is where some real friendships, I think, were made because of going several sundays in a row together with another couple. You really had an exchange that you didn't have at other times. Even though you were going for another purpose, I remember the whole idea of how many

people you had to talk to and how hard it was to explain what we were trying to do to people who had nothing in the world that they owned but that little house and that few feet of ground. Somehow you had to convince them that they needed to turn over a piece of their property to the city. It really was a very exciting period--I thought it was--and the black couples that went with us, I think, thought it was, too.

Lohr: Were the black husbands as eager to do this as the whites were?

Gulley: I'm not sure that they were. I'm not sure how eager the white husbands were to do it, either, though. After all, this was something that the women were doing, and you know how men sometimes just follow along. Now that's an unkind thing to say about all of the husbands because some of what was being done was actually spearheaded by the husbands. I think it was one or two of the husbands that got notary's stamps so they could notarize the signatures at the time we were doing it.

Lohr: Why did you come to do the street project?

Gulley: I don't know. I have no idea. As I think back, I think this was really something very important to be involved in; but how I really got involved in it, I don't know. I don't know how this became an issue--whether we sat and talked about what we most needed or what.

Lohr: Do you remember any of the other projects that the group

got involved in?

Gulley: Not really. This was not a group that .we really didn't meet to have projects.

Lohr: What about school integration? How did that go?

Gulley: I'm sorry to say that I don't really know because my children were not school age yet at the time. It certainly happened before my children were school age, and it happened during the early years that I was in the Interracial Fellowship because we talked about it. I'm not naive enough to think it was smooth, but I can't think of any real problems. I suppose it was because I wasn't involved in the schools.

One of the things I personally got involved in from the Interracial Fellowship was working at the Fred Moore Day School. I had taught before I moved to Denton and didn't teach for quite some time after I moved here. I volunteered because a friend in the Interracial Fellowship asked me to go and teach language development to three- and four-year-olds at Fred Moore. I went two days a week, and I took my three-year-old with me. I guess maybe she was two when we started. She was two and three, maybe four, when I was doing this. I really enjoyed doing this and felt like it was something worthwhile. This came because of some friends I had made in the Interracial Fellowship.

Lohr: Did Fred Moore Day School take the place of Fred Moore

School when it closed?

Gulley: Yes. It didn't take the place of it. It was run like a Title III--isn't that what you call it--program. I think maybe the Soroptomist Club or some women's club in Denton started it, and it was day care for mothers who worked. It's still in existence. At the time it preceded any of the federal programs.

Lohr: So it was like Head Start?

Gulley: That's right. Head Start came along pretty soon after that. But it did precede Head Start.

Lohr: What other programs did it offer besides language development?

Gulley: I think they had handicrafts. But it was basically a day care center, and one of the main things was to provide a good, hot lunch for the children. I can't remember exactly how many children were there. It was really the only thing that was going on at Fred Moore School at the time. Fred Moore was completely closed down, but this one little area was opened. Now, of course, Fred Moore School is used for some outreach from the Denton State School and several things like that.

Lohr: So the day school is still going on?

Gulley: It's still in existence. I don't know anything about it. I work out of Denton, and I'm never here on weekdays, so I've really lost total contact with it. But I see things in the paper about it every once in a while.

Lohr: Do you remember whether the group was involved in voter registration?

Gulley: Yes, I believe it was.

Lohr: Did you take part in that?

Gulley: Probably. I can remember sitting at voter registration tables in Denton Center, and I suspect that's how I was involved in it. But I really can't remember.

Lohr: Do you remember any jobs programs that came out of the group?

Gulley: I remember job workshops that we gave, where we helped people fill out applications, but I somehow have the feeling that this was a lot later in the history of the group. I feel like this must have been maybe in the 1970s and maybe in the middle 1970s, when we were maybe looking for some things to do. I remember that we took part in the job fair one year. Whether we held the job fair or whether we just were part of it...I almost think that someone in the group help set up this job fair.

Lohr: When your children started in the Denton schools, was integration already pretty well along the way?

Gulley: Yes.

Lohr: Were you still in the group then?

Gulley: Yes. I can remember some difficulties that we talked about--some specific problems. My children went to Strickland Junior High, and I remember that the discussions were about Strickland at the time and some

things that some of the black women were not at all happy about. I cannot remember specifically anything. It seemed to me like it was perhaps more personality issues. Most of the black children were being bused to Strickland, so that would have been the junior high probably with the highest black enrollment. By the time my children were in school, there certainly were black teachers in the schools, so the integration was completely in effect at the time my children were in school.

Lohr: Were any of those teachers in the group?

Gulley: No, not any of the black teachers that my own children had. There were black teachers in the group.

Lohr: How was the group different in the 1960s than in the 1970s?

Gulley: I think the excitement of it had worn off a little bit. I think that after the group got together and got the paving done in southeast Denton, there was a lack of interest. And I think it's a normal sort of thing. You have one great big thing that you're going for, and you get it, and then there's a real ebb. I know for myself, after I started working out of Denton during the day, that I found it almost impossible to go to meetings during the week. This would have been in 1971, I guess, probably, when I became rather inactive.

And I think that perhaps the group had lost direction at that time, simply because none of this was

new anymore. We had friendships, and we kept the friendships up. I felt I didn't need the structure of the group, and perhaps other people thought the same.

Lohr: So the group just sort of dissolved as the 1970s went on?

Gulley: Yes, I guess so. I can remember occasionally going to a meeting, and I think it was during this period of time, for example, that we did do the jobs business. It's very interesting to sit here and think about this--to think how it evolved. Since the group really didn't form for a project, and formed instead as a social meeting place, I suspect that as there was no longer a need for a social meeting place, that could be why the group sort of died. I think the very nature of the women involved in this would be that these would be women who would keep friendships up outside of the group and probably no longer saw the group as necessary.

Lohr: Have you kept up friendships with people in the group?

Gulley: Yes. Not as many as I wish I had. Again, I excuse myself. I don't excuse myself. I just state that it's because I am really so involved during the week. I'm so happy when I run into some of the friends I'd made--shopping and that sort of thing. I really feel a loss that I don't see them more often.

Lohr: Were there any reunions?

Gulley: If there were, I've never been involved.

Lohr: Do you think the group was more for white women or for

black women?

Gulley: I have no idea. I suspect that white women started it. I have no idea. I do feel that from the group--and it's not a direct outgrowth, but certainly the way the Denton Christian Preschool has moved and been staffed and etc.--I feel like part of the friendships made in the Interracial Fellowship has been continued and has helped with the Denton Christian Preschool.

Lohr: In what way?

Gulley: Well, I think of Lovie Price, for example, who has worked at the preschool and met most of the women who originally helped with the Denton Christian Preschool. I think a great many of those women were the ones who were involved in the early days of the Interracial Fellowship.

Lohr: Was Ms. Price originally at the school, or was she one of the first ones there?

Gulley: I don't know. I sort of think she has been. A lot of my friends have been very active in that group. I have never done anything except maybe go to a chili supper over there, simply because I'm teaching and leave town at 6:30 in the morning every morning and never here when the school is operating. She started working there very, very early in the school.

Lohr: Is she still there?

Gulley: I think so. If she isn't, this would be one of the first years that she's not been there. But I think she's still

there.

Lohr: Did your children make some friends through this group that they still have?

Gulley: No, not through the group--not at all. Oh, yes, but not that they still have. But that's true. My daughter went camping with a couple of the families. My husband I aren't campers. She went on family camping groups with two other families in the group. She was younger than one of the girls, so I suspect that's why that they don't see each other today. But she enjoyed the friendship and experience a lot. But other than that, the once or twice a year that we've had a picnic, that's really not enough time for children to develop friendships.

Lohr: What about housing? Did the group have anything to do with integrating the housing in Denton?

Gulley: I don't really think so. I think probably the university had more to do with that simply because black university families moved into neighborhoods in Denton which opened the way, I think, for other families to move in different neighborhoods.

Lohr: What purpose did the group serve?

Gulley: Well, I'd like to think that it helped ease the way into integration for some of the black women. I feel that the group was a very relaxed group. I would be interested in knowing if some of the black women felt the same thing--if they felt relaxed in the group. I would think that would

have helped them and to have a place to talk about your problems.

Lohr: What kinds of problems did they talk about? Do you remember?

Gulley: Well, the problems of making a living. Several of the younger black women got fairly good jobs during the time that this group was going: bank tellers, teacher aides. They were the younger black women. I remember that we did talk some. Two particular women that I remember said they were older and their husbands were older. At the time their husbands were middle aged, and they were saying that they couldn't see that they would be able to make the moves in integration that these younger families were going to be able to make. They felt like the moves would come through their children, not through them. Knowing a couple of the families, that's been very true. Their lives just didn't change that much. Their husbands really were almost at the end of their money-making days, so any gains that were made, they really never saw them. We talked about that. We talked a lot about children and the children's problems.

Lohr: What kinds of problems did the children have?

Gulley: Oh, being discriminated against by teachers as well as peers; problems in not having money to have the extras in the lunchroom. As the children got older, in high school you could buy extra things to go with your lunch. I guess

you could in elementary school, too, but maybe the children just weren't big enough to be hungrier. But they talked about the fact that the food that they served at school wasn't enough for the larger boys and that they simply couldn't provide their children with the extras that many of the white children had so that they weren't hungry all afternoon at school. There were problems with not being able to provide cheerleader clothes that were expensive, or Filly things.

Lohr: Do you remember any tutoring that the group did to help keep the black children in school?

Gulley: Sort of, but I can't really remember it. I did not help with that, no, again perhaps because I was out of town during the day.

Lohr: Do you see a need for a group like this now? Do you think it will help?

Gulley: Yes, because there's still a lot of problems. There's still a need for many of the things the group got involved in. It certainly would perhaps ease relations in the school system. I think it might be an organization that has a little bit different purpose to it. Yes, I think that there would be a need. Some of the problems are very different today probably. I work with this, and I certainly know the problems that the teenagers and young adults have on the job market. I know that discrimination still exists.

Lohr: Could you describe that for me?

Gulley: Well, I work for Job Corps, and the young people that we train start at almost the minimum wage. That's what we're really there for--entry level jobs. These are young people who come from lower income families or young people who come from no family, that have been runaways or street kids, so that they have no job skills. What we train them for and what they're really qualified for is an entry level job, so they're making in the \$4.00 and \$5.00 an hour range, which is very hard to live on today. If they live in Dallas and have an apartment, the discriminations that are there are lack of transportation to work. Yes, maybe they find a job, but the job's not on a bus line, so they can't take the job.

There certainly is still discrimination in housing. It's very hard for eighteen-year-olds, black or white, to get into decent apartment complexes sometimes. Complexes hesitate to rent to eighteen-year-olds, and the black eighteen-year-olds probably have more trouble than the white eighteen-year-olds. I don't particularly deal with this at Job Corps. I don't know about the housing problems, but I know they exist.

What else? I'm not quite sure what else to say about this. I don't see as much discrimination today in the school system as when I first started working for Job Corps. At the time, we had a great many young people from

Mississippi and Louisiana who had in one way or another been mistreated in the school system. Then integration came, and they weren't really wanted, so they were made to feel unwanted and ended up dropping out of school, which is what some of these rural school systems wanted. I don't really see that specific kind of problem today.

Lohr: Did you have that kind of problem in Denton back then?

Gulley: If we did I didn't hear it spoken as that kind of problem --that teachers were specifically unkind. Like I said, I think earlier there were some specific people mentioned that they thought weren't helping their children, but it wasn't quite as cruel as some of the stories that I've heard from other school systems.

Lohr: When you were going around to get signatures for the street paving, did you meet as much white opposition outside the group?

Gulley: No, not that I remember. I remember opposition in Commissioners Court for a child's clinic. I don't remember opposition to the street paving, but there was some because it took a long time to get it done. Certainly the city dragged its heels.

Lohr: Do you remember the urban renewal elections that divided the city?

Gulley: No, I don't.

Lohr: The leader of the opposition was Jerry Stout.

Gulley: Oh, I do remember this. Yes, I do remember this, yes.

Lohr: Quite divisive?

Gulley: That's right--very divisive. Every once in a while that still will crop up.

Lohr: In what respect?

Gulley: I'm trying to remember. I can remember in the last year or two, that coming up for something, maybe in talking about tax rollbacks. I think that there was a letter to the editor that used his name. Somewhere in this letter the name Jerry Stout was mentioned. Oh, I do remember that election.

Lohr: Urban renewal lost by a 4-1 vote. Do you remember?

Gulley: Yes, I do. I had completely forgotten about that. That was the beginning of his little newspaper. That's what that was used for.

Lohr: Do you remember how that election affected the group? Did you take sides? Did it divide the group?

Gulley: I can't remember what the meeting was about, but during that election I can remember going to the American Legion on Lakey Street and asking some of these people to speak to us. We asked questions, and we tried to get a lot of people out so that we could be counted, I guess you could say, so that the numbers would mean something. I had completely forgotten about that.

Lohr: Did a large number of people show up from the group?

Gulley: Yes. And I suspect that this may be when I remember voter registration, too. I'm sure that there were not as many

people as we had thought would show up.

The white women involved in the Interracial Fellowship were the type that would be very involved in this sort of thing, so it's easy to think that there wouldn't be opposition because this group would have been so much in favor of it. It's like lots of other things. You get involved in something, and you discover to your amazement that not every one in the world feels like you do. But this group would be unanimously...I would think there would be very little split in the group over something like this.

Lohr: Do you feel like that the street paving campaign by the group grew out of the failure of that election?

Gulley: Probably. My guess is that probably that the group realized that nobody else would take the time and the energy to do this, probably because of the disappointment of it.

Lohr: I understand that a lot of the black people were against urban renewal, and that's one of the reasons that it lost. So when you all went down to get the signatures for the street paving, did you have much opposition?

Gulley: Oh, yes, there was a tremendous amount of opposition. Again, like I said earlier, how do you explain to some elderly...as I remember, the opposition came mostly from elderly people. But then, also, remember that it would be the elderly people who owned the property, too. Very few

of the younger blacks at the time would have owned property. In explaining to some elderly lady who owns nothing else in this world but that little piece of ground and that small house that sits on it, how do you convince her that it's going to be to her advantage to cede over-- what is it--ten feet at the front of her property line. I'm not really sure, but my guess would be that probably the group spent a year-and-a-half on this. It'd be kind of interesting to know what the real dates were involved in this because it was a long, long haul. It sort of surprises me to realize that the Jerry Stout thing was before the street paving.

Lohr: Why is that?

Gulley: I don't know. Somehow, now that I've remembered Jerry Stout's drive for this, I think of it as being later than the street paving.

Lohr: How did you overcome the opposition of people to cede their land for the street paving?

Gulley: The times when Paul [husband] and I went, I don't think we were able to overcome it. I think it was the fact that the black couples that were with us were able to explain it. I'm quite sure that if the black couples had not gone with the white couples, there would have been very few signatures. Somehow the black couples were able to make it seem that they weren't being threatened.

Lohr: Once this was all over and the streets were paved, was

there any kind of celebration?

Gulley: I don't remember. I really don't remember at all.

Lohr: That was quite a feat, and I would think that you would get together and have a party.

Gulley: Yes, but I don't remember one.

Lohr: Do you remember any of the people who were most active in the street paving?

Gulley: I think the Riddlespergers were one couple that was very active, and the Brocks, the Fosters. Those were the three couples that I remember being the most involved.

Lohr: Do you remember any on the black side?

Gulley: Well, Linnie McAdams and Lovie Price and Catherine Bell. I guess I don't have much of a memory (laughter)

Lohr: When you see people from the group now, do you ever talk about it?

Gulley: We talk about people in the group. I wouldn't say that it's a bit different than running into other friends, though, in the supermarket. It's, "What are you doing these days?" or "What are your children doing?" I think they're the same sort of friendships.

Lohr: And you feel like it was a good experience?

Gulley: Oh, I feel like it was an excellent experience. I think it certainly made me a more aware human being. It's possible that my involvement in Job corps--the seventeen years I've worked for them--is strictly an offshoot of this, that this was something I became interested in.

Lohr: Besides the street paving, do you feel like the group did any good in Denton?

Gulley: I'd like to think it did, but I honestly wouldn't know. I think for the people that were involved in it, it did some good. I would certainly hope that was the case. The people involved made friendships, and I would think we opened some eyes. It was a broadening sort of thing. How do you ever decide whether something like this did good things? Maybe that's just your ivory tower dream, but I would like to think that it did some good outside of the group.

Lohr: Did you have friends at the time that thought it was strange that you were in this group?

Gulley: Yes. They thought it took an awful lot of my time--some of these friends did.

Lohr: Did you feel any resentment for any reason on their part?

Gulley: No, not really resentment. Just sort of a lack of understanding of why I would involve myself in this.

Lohr: Did you ever explain to them?

Gulley: Oh, of course, I did!

Lohr: What was their reaction?

Gulley: Still one of not understanding. Actually, it's not wanting to understand or not even being interested in it. Again, don't you think for a person who's involved in this, who's interested in being involved in something like this, that most of your friends are the same type of

person? So I didn't have many friends who would have thought this was at all strange.

Lohr: Do you feel that many of the black women did have friends who thought it was strange?

Gulley: Yes, I do. I think that's a very good question. I think that a great many of the black women who weren't involved would have thought their friends were sort of crazy for being involved.

Lohr: Do you think any of them were ostracized in any way?

Gulley: Yes, I do.

Lohr: Do you know any specific instances?

Gulley: Yes.

Lohr: Would you mind sharing them?

Gulley: No, I really don't think I care to. I think it's a little touchy and personal.

Lohr: Do you think it hurt their standing in the community since the black community is so close-knit?

Gulley: Yes, yes, I do. It put them in a bad position. And it's something that never has cleared up. These are people I still know and keep up with, and I think their lives have never been quite the same.

Lohr: So it did affect the black women considerably more--at least certain ones?

Gulley: I think so. I think so.

Lohr: They put a lot more on the line?

Gulley: Yes, they definitely did.

Lohr: What about their husbands? Do you know if their husbands had any problems with jobs or anything like that?

Gulley: No, I don't think they did. I don't think they did. I think that at the time some of the women moved more easily into integration than their husbands did. Again, this could be an age thing because many of the women were married to husbands a little older than they were. But even among the younger women, I think, their moving to jobs were much easier than their husband's. So this would have a whole slant on how they were perceived.

Lohr: Do you think they moved into the social side easier, too?

Gulley: Yes. Perhaps it was because of the group, do you think? Maybe the group had let them have the first steps into the social side of it. Again, I really don't want to mention names, but I can think of about three couples where the wives were in the group and that the men have become well-known in business or in city politics and that sort of thing. I think that. I don't know...I lost my train of thought. I think that in some of these instances some of the couples were able to bridge the differences in the black community. I'm thinking of about three black couples who are still very much on the inside of the black community that were involved in the group. So, again, maybe it was an individual thing rather than a community reaction to the group. I can think of about as many that have become influential in the community--staying at the

center of the black group--as well as the ones who never did quite move back in or weren't quite as well accepted.

Lohr: But you do feel that for people who were not accepted, it was a true ostracism?

Gulley: Yes, I think perhaps it was. And I have no idea why the other women weren't treated the same way. It would be something that I don't understand about the black community.

Lohr: This is very interesting. Did you ever hear any of the black women complain?

Gulley: No, not to me.

Lohr: They didn't bring it up in the group.

Gulley: No.

Lohr: ..that "I'm suffering for what I'm doing in the group?"

Gulley: I never remember hearing that.

Lohr: I asked you before if the group was more for white women or for black women. Do you think that although the white women started it, the black women got more out of it or gave up more to be in it?

Gulley: If there was giving up to do, they would have given up more. But I would be very hard-pressed to tell you which group I thought got the most out of it. It sounds too "do-gooderish" to think that the group had a terrific impact. I don't know how terrific it was. I don't know how much impact that the group had on lives.

Lohr: Thank you very much.