

Interview with Jerry Jewell, Little Rock, Arkansas, June 12, 1974,
conducted by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries, transcribed by Linda Killen.

Jack Bass: I'm going to ask you first, could you tell us a little bit
about your own background, including your own involvement in politics.

Jewell: Backgroundwise, I'm from eastern Arkansas. It's referred to
as the black belt

The eastern part of Arkansas, which goes all the way to the Mississippi
River, is the primary black belt for the state. I'm from
county.

J.B.: How do you spell that?

Jewell: Crittenden. I went through grade school there at West Memphis
and Marriette, Arkansas, both of which are in Crittenden county. And
high school in Shelby county, Tennessee. Which is west Tennessee, the
same county as Memphis is in. Except that I was in a training school
outside the city limits. And then from there, of course, I spent four
years at Arkansas AN&M, which is now the University of Arkansas at Pine
Bluff. B.S. degree in what we call, was referred to then as pre-med or
pre-dental. And from there I was admitted to
School for Dentistry. School of Dentistry in 1953. Four years there.
I graduated 1957, June. Then two years in the armed forces since the
draft board had been kind enough to let me finish my dental training.
Two years in the armed forces as a dental officer. And then from there
into Little Rock. Another statement in my background is, of course,
my parents were primarily farmers, laborers. That's basically my
background workwise and

Except for the period I spent in the midwest working in an automobile

factory, General Motors, and in a chemical plant in Cleveland, Ohio.

As far as the political side, social action side--

J.B.: Let me ask you just a little bit more about your background.

How large a family do you have? Brothers and sisters.

Jewell: There were born to my parents five boys and girls. Only two of us, of course survived. As you know, at that time, and even still now in large measure, eastern Arkansas is somewhat lacking medical wise [preparedness that is] in that you had to have, I had to have, I was delivered by a midwife. But I have a sister who still lives. There were two boys. One was a twin and the other of course was a still birth. And the twin boy and twin girl lived about two weeks. My sister is a college graduate from the same university that I finished, Pine Bluff, plus she has also a master's degree in education. She's employed now by the Little Rock school system, which is one of the reasons I came back to Arkansas after finishing my tour of service. And she is one of two persons certified by the Little Rock school system and by the Arkansas education system or education board as teacher trainer for the school system of Little Rock. She serves on the Arkansas Education Commission, to which I had the good fortune of recommending her to. She's married and has three children, one a college graduate, the other a junior in college, the other boy a senior in high school.

J.B.: Your parents were basically tenant farmers?

Jewell: I was born on a plantation owned by a white gentleman. Several thousand acres of land he owned. My father did basically share cropping at that time. Until we left the farm and went to a place called West Memphis, which is somewhat of an infamous name. But that was basically the surroundings I had to grow up at least through seven years of my

early life. Then after we moved to West Memphis he still did the farm work by coming back to the farm . My father spent about 37 years. . . . One of the reasons he left the farm, of course, was to work in an oil mill. I don't know if you. . . well, in North Carolina you wouldn't have too much cotton, really, since you're in the textile industry primarily. But he worked in an oil mill in West Memphis and in Memphis dating back to 1936, I believe. He just retired last year at the age of about 65, 66. After about 37 years of oil mill work.

J.B.: This is cotton oil?

Jewell: Cotton oil mill. So really that's all he know. Course now he's back farming 80 acres of land that is owned on my mother's side of the family. *[And he's still]* going full blast, as if he had about ten more kids to educate.

J.B.: How much education did your parents receive?

Jewell: My mother taught school for a short period. She had something less than a high school education. My father has no education. Maybe first, second grade. He's able to sign his name, but that's about the extent of it. He's a very strong willed person, very determined person. Has a hell of a lot of vision, but vision is usually limited by, one, his education, in this case. His education being limited. . . when I say limited I mean in the sense as to how to accomplish what he might envision. My mother, of course, is the brain of the family. She managed the small sum of money that my father was able to earn and bring home. And as a result put my sister and I through college and med school without working.

J.B.: And you came back to Little Rock in what year?

Jewell: I got out of the service in '59. I came here in '59, July.

J.B.: And then what?

Jewell: Well, since being in Little Rock and, in fact, prior to coming to Little Rock, I've always, even going back to high school days. . . . I remember a gentleman came to me once, I was about 11th or 12th grade. Wanted me to do some basic field work for NAACP as recruiter, getting memberships, secure memberships and distribute literature as related to NAACP's involvement in education, economics and what have you. The high school I attended at that time was Shelbytown Training School, had as its principal a gentleman by the name of Mr R.J. Riley, who was from the hills of east Tennessee. Rockwood. Good man. A man with solid convictions and a view toward improving people, black and white.

black people because it was a black school at that time. And Mr Riley gave the gentleman permission to talk with me. And he did and I did the best that I could.

J.B.: The principal was white or black?

Jewell: Principal was black. So that was really my indoctrination into the area of social awareness, social involvement, social advancement, both educationally or economically. And from there to college where I was involved in several projects to improve or to make blacks more aware of what's available to them. But then after coming here, out of service, and having been two years in the dental corps, even though I was a professional in the dental corps, I had problems being your only man or what we usually refer to as quote my own man unquote. To stay aloof of or avoid becoming a part of any type of cliché to enjoy some of the pleasant things that the other boys would enjoy. I was [on a post with] about 25 dentists. Two black. The white fellows would range anywhere from the southern portion of the country to the north portion, or west or east. There were everything. Jews,

Episcopalians, Presbyterians, you name it. But I ran into constant problems in doing my thing as a professional and being respected on a professional basis. I ran into about 5, of those 45 persons, about 5 or 6 real men, or what I would refer to as real men. A young

was named Henry Tessa. Jewish boy. He's a very individual. A gentleman.

And another fellow from Illinois. Protestant white boy. Who was very very clever he was completing his participation, whatever it might be. So I did run into some good men while I was there. But all in all, it sharpened my awareness of what was going on and the change that was taking place and the change that needed to take place, even then. Of course you know it was during the time that Sputnik was in the air and all that kind of stuff. But after coming to Little Rock I [developed] my practice, which afforded me the opportunity to engage in some of these things that otherwise I would not be able to engage in. I became [overly/openly] involved in the social [action] community, the NAACP being my primary area of involvement. And also being associated and participated at one time or another with the Urban League, the Arkansas Council on Relations, Council on Urban Affairs, Junior Deputies, the [EOA?]. In fact I served on the community action agency board for about four and a half years. for about two years. Had a significant hand in determining the type of quality of persons that were employed to carry out the mandate of the highway program, which was, of course, derived from the '65 civil rights law. But from that then to other things. But that's basically my background up to the time I came to Little Rock, and the first few years since being in Little Rock. And of course since then. . . I don't know.

Somewhere between '59 or '60 and '65, I came to this conclusion. That, what is it, the scientist developed the law, all or nothing law, I believe it is. I'm not recalling my science. That if an individual becomes involved in something with the sole purpose of advancing mankind, all humanity, or else he'll get out of it. Or I could put it in a different way. If I'm involved in something then it has to be for total improvement, and that even though I might irritate some person, the irritation about me would not be toward doing anything harmful toward those persons but what I could do to advance the total cause of John Q Public, the average person on the street. Then I say, well, with my profession and the support that I have patientwise I can afford to do this with the least amount of negative response by those who would be opposed to it. And as a result I involve myself in NAACP locally and statewide. Held the state NAACP presidency for about seven years and the local NAACP for about four years. During that time shortly before and after the '64 civil rights law when things were extremely acute in the sense that no one really knew what tomorrow would bring. But I felt that regardless of what might occur, that the results was worth the involvement or the opportunities for open toward or open for people. Particularly young people. And particularly black young people who would be worth being involved and whatever effect it might cause on me by my participation. And I think probably the record shows that I was right, or those persons that I was associated, I had the fortune of being associated with, were working and fostering the whole idea of change.

Walter De Vries: What have been the biggest changes, politically, since 1959?

Jewell: Politically, you've had blacks who have involved themselves or

who have attempted to involve themselves politically, at the grass root level, the county level. Which is really where the action is. It's the nitty gritty of it. You can involve yourself to the extent of having positions or acquire positions that will demand some respectability. At the same time you need to carry out what really is the mandate of the total political party, whichever party it might be. In this case, the Republican party, I mean Democratic party. But it gives you an opportunity to really participate and to assure all those other persons who might come in that politics can be good.

W.D.V.: Did you see a significant number of blacks getting involved in Democratic politics during that period, say in the last 15 years?

Jewell: I'd say the last 15 years you've had a number of blacks to expose themselves to varying degrees in political . . .

W.D.V.: They been successful?

Jewell: Some have. Most have not. You have to realize, of course, that Arkansas is probably the poorest state, one of the poorest states. In terms of political acumen we're probably one of the least of the states. As far as black involvement in politics, we're probably near the bottom as well.

W.D.V.: Why is that?

Jewell: Well, number one, we just have not availed ourselves of even the opportunity to participate when the opportunity was there or was afforded us. And all too often we said "Well, why do it anyway. They are going to do it the way they want to do it." Without them realizing that numbers can make a change, the vote can make a change if the vote is significant enough numerically, to effectual a change. So they tend to say "Well, don't bother. Leave it alone." Let the dog continue to sleep. This is unfortunate. It is an erroneous position for them

to take. But they have taken it, or we have taken it. And until we change we won't have the type of political involvement we should have in politics. And when I say that I'm talking about running for state wide office. In the sense that one would hope we'd have some chance of winning a state wide office. Not just for the sake of running, for a state wide office.

W.D.V.: How far away do you think that day is, now, when a black would run for a state wide office?

Jewell: Oh, well, I would say within the next few years. Most certainly. If a black would make up his mind now to run for a state wide office in '76 he'd and run a very credible race, I would think. [But he would have to have a firm conviction] to some degree. He would have to be a black who was able to communicate, who had a program, who was concerned about people. He would have to be a black who had, at that time or who had now, a track record in this whole field of human advancement. Rather than someone who is selected by the white majority and put into the race and then, of course, controlled during the election or during the campaign as well as afterwards if he's successful. I would hope for the day in, say, another two to four years when we would have a black running for the US Congress. We have blacks who are qualified academically now. And perhaps some who are qualified politically now but who have not thrust themselves forward to that level or to that degree and become involved in national politics.

W.D.V.: Do you think the state is ready?

Jewell: When you come to that sort of response, area of question, my position is obvious, always been that nobody's ready for anything until you actually seek the office. If we waited for the state to get ready we could wait until maybe year 2000. So I would say that it's the

individual's responsibility, or would be the individual's responsibility seeking political office to convince those of the population that "My name is John Doe. I'm running for office. I want to be your US Congressman or your US Senator from this district or from the state of Arkansas. I think that perhaps my qualifications are adequate to give you the type of representation you should have. I most certainly have the conviction and the desire to serve you." Or something of this sort. And really sell this program to them. Even though, usually, whites vote for whites, and a lot of blacks vote for whites just because he's white, I still think that an individual who might run for office-- what the healing man says does wonders, you know. I see that individual running for office, if I was, and coming to you for support, even though you may be totally opposed to my candidacy. It's a matter of my being able to communicate with you or gain your ear. Now whether I may do it or not is another question. And then to give to you, I get over to you my total program. And ask you for support. But I think today that if we wait for to get ready or the state to get ready it will never happen. The individual has to cause it.

J.B.: Going back ten years ago, in the last ten years, what was your progress in that period? I mean what were you doing?

Jewell: During that time?

J.B.: Yeah. '64, '66, '68. Politically.

Jewell: Well, I'd have to add to that politically and the civil rights movement.

J.B.: Right.

Jewell: I led the March on Washington from Arkansas. I was, at that time, president of the Little Rock branch only. Yeah. President of the Little Rock branch at that time. I had not--

J.B.: That's the NAACP.

Jewell: Right. And I think I may have been in my first year as state conference president. I'm not sure. But I led the march on Washington. So I had a fairly good conception of what the '64 civil rights act was all about. Even before it was signed into law. Since then, of course, my. . . '65, '66 up through maybe about '70, my main thrust was to try to educate those persons that I had contact with. We had branches in about 35 counties. To motivate them to the point of keeping these branches active and to avail themselves of information that's available in all these areas. Education, economics, entrepreneurship by minorities or minority . To cause them to advance themselves in the local community and also give them the idea that whatever happens in a community is going to be determined really by those persons living in that community rather than by a person who comes from another community over there. I can only inform them of what's available. But that, plus my involvement here locally. . . . For instance, blacks were not allowed in the dental association. And I thought it was an insult really to an individual who came to this state, took the state boards, and still couldn't become a part of the American Dental Association or its sub-units. I participated in that change.

J.B.: Did you bring suit or. . . ?

Jewell: really, that's all it was. Many men, and usually men at a certain level, education wise, should be able to force some degree of reason. And this way we were able to solve that.

J.B.: What about voter registration?

Jewell: Voter registration, NAACP, participating in it over the years along with other organizations. We have been able over the state--and I'm talking about NAACP, the Urban League, Arkansas Council ,

local

have been able to increase the registration of blacks. And we're now something like 100,000 votes, registered votes. And these persons can, really, determine an election. The recent race between Fulbright and Bumpers. Although it didn't go the way I wanted it to go. Was an indication of what really could happen voterwise. The election, oh, about two, four years ago, when Rockefeller first ran for office is a good example of what could happen when you have a significant registration going on. So with voter registration, with the advent of added [avid?] participation by blacks in the political arena, has caused some change.

J.B.: You're not still president of the NAACP?

Jewell: No I'm not. I've been out of that now going on two years. Because of the state office that I hold.

J.B.: And when was the first time you ran for office?

Jewell: I ran for the Arkansas constitutional convention about years ago. Of course I failed in that. And a gentleman by the name of Mr Catherow [?] who was an old Little Rock family, of course all the old views that remained. [Governor named Kilby?] And we were running, of course, county wide. Citywide, county wide I believe it was. And I lost that election to him. So that constitutional convention was in either '68 or '70. I'm not sure. And then the next office I ran for, public office, was for the state senate.

J.B.: What year was that?

Jewell: '72.

J.B.: Is that a single member district?

Jewell: Yeah. You know, we reapportioned Arkansas in '71, I believe it was. Every senatorial district is a single member district. But not every

house of representatives district is a single member district. We have several areas where we have multi-member districts in the house of representatives. And my particular senatorial district is one example in that simply the representatives [or the representative district?] is not broken down. From this district, we have three representatives. In Arkansas the population for an area would have to be something like 51 to 55, something like that. Population in my district, I think, is about 54,000 people and qualifies for one senator and three representatives. This is referred to as district three.

W.D.V.: Are you the only black senator in the senate?

Jewell: Unfortunately.

W.D.V.: And how many blacks are representatives?

Jewell: Three.

W.D.V.: Three. And all from this same district?

Jewell: No. Two from this district and one from Pine Bluff.

W.D.V.: Are you the first black to serve in the state senate?

Jewell: First black to serve in the senate since 18-- something.

W.D.V.: Did it turn out the way you thought it would? The reception, when you got there, did it turn out to be-- your perception. . .

Jewell: Race or my being in the senate?

W.D.V.: Just the way you reacted to the senate?

J.B.: Let me ask you a question about the race itself. What percentage of black population. . .?

Jewell: This district is about 60-40, black-white. Voter registration wise, about 50-50 I think.

J.B.: And you ran against an opponent, right?

Jewell: Ran against an opponent in the general election.

J.B.: Was he an incumbent?

Jewell: No, no. Under the redistricting plan. . . and of course you always have this redistricting after every ten years. The census. My opponent was not an incumbent and in fact the gentleman who was the senator from this area moved to Jacksonville about a year before that and of course he's in _____ county now. So this position was without an incumbent.

J.B.: But you ran against a white opponent?

Jewell: No, I ran against a black opponent, from the Republican party in the November election.

J.B.: How did it come out?

Jewell: Oh, I beat him by about two to one, I believe it was.

J.B.: Were you active in the Rockefeller movement?

Jewell: No, I was not.

J.B.: In '64, were you supporting Rockefeller or Faubus?

Jewell: I wasn't supporting either candidate although I voted for Rockefeller when he ran against the governor.

J.B.: How about in '66, '68, '70?

Jewell: All right. Now '66 was when Rockefeller won the first time, I believe it was.

J.B.: Right.

Jewell: He lost to Faubus in '64. He won against Jim Johnson in '66.

All right. I voted for Rockefeller in '64. I voted for him in '66.

I voted for him in '68, I believe it was. He won two terms as governor.

I did not vote for him in '70 when he ran against the Democrat, whoever the Democrat, Bumpers. Right. But I was not a Rockefeller supporter in the sense of participating in the Republican party, no.

J.B.: Were many blacks. . .

many

blacks into the Republican party at that time, during that period.

Jewell: There were a very significant, really a significant number of blacks who went to the Republican party as participants [over the state, primarily?] I'm not sure, based on the conditions now that exist, I'm not sure whether it was a case of their supporting Rockefeller or following the Rockefeller image or the name or whether it was really sincerely their interests are involved in the Republican party. Based on the last election, it would seem to be the former. They're interested really in just giving support to Mr Rockefeller, not being involved in the Republican party. Because most of those persons now are in the Democratic column.

W.D.V.: Let me go back to your experiences in the senate. You were the first black to be there. Did it turn out the way you thought it was going to turn out, both as a senator and as a black?

Jewell: Well. . . let me see how I can answer that. Having been a farm boy and worked in the fields, , it really doesn't bother me how an individual responds to my presence or lack of presence. I had no problems in the senate as to whether or not I'd been accepted, non-acceptance. In fact I really didn't give a damn whether they accepted me or not. It was just that I had a responsibility to represent those persons who had elected me to the senate, from this district. More specifically, more pointedly answering your question, there were men who were not as congenial as perhaps they could have been or that I thought they could have been. But otherwise, through outright objection to me or whathaveyou, I had no problems at all. I don't know if it was a case of my having been involved in NAACP work over the state that they laid off me or what. But I really had no problems in that sense. I was able to participate in the deliberations. I had trouble

with some of my bills, of course, as most of them did. One bill in particular, that was sponsored jointly by the house and the senate, by the blacks in the house and the senate, was a human resource bill. Just a nice way of saying civil rights bill. That I had difficulty in getting the support of a majority of the senate in order to get it through. In fact they put me off 'til the last week, which I thought was a damn insult, but I couldn't fight that. They had the . So it may have been a case where we did not do our homework as we should have and been ready to begin the race when the president pro tem. . . rather the speaker of the house as well as the lieutenant governor of the senate . We should have been ready then. And perhaps we were not completely ready and maybe the fact that this being our first term was not reason enough for not being ready. I would hope that when the session starts in January next year that we'll have all our guns cocked and ready. And it will be a matter of giving and take. We may support their legislation if it's good legislation and they'll support ours.

J.B.: That bill failed to pass, is that right?

Jewell: Failed to pass, that's right.

J.B.: There is no human rights or civil rights commission in this state, is there?

Jewell: No, there is not.

W.D.V.: Did you get the committee ^{assignments} ~~to sign this or~~ did you want it?

Jewell: I asked education. I also asked banking and commerce, or insurance and commerce, I believe it is, yeah. I got the education committee ~~set up~~ but I did not get the other committee ~~to sign it~~. I was assigned to the legislative affairs. That's the catch all committee.

That's for the hams or those who just started. So maybe that's just a part of my indoctrination. Of course the education committee, the reason for being in that is obvious. But in the other area, of insurance and commerce, it is really one of the committees where the action really takes place in that it has a lot to do with laws, what have you, that are passed, that are put up or do pass, what have you, that will relate to that industry. Mostly it will come out of commerce. Here we're talking about jobs, business, firms, industry, what have you. And I didn't get that assignment. I wish I had. My having served in the senate was a complete revelation of something that I had thought. Didn't anticipate. Let me put it that way. I thought my having participated in NAACP for ten years, fifteen years was sufficient and that I would know everything I'd come in contact with. But it wasn't quite that case. As far as parliamentary procedure concerned, no problems there. But in terms of what really, really happens when you start talking about budgeting a dollar. . . you can examine it in the budget of agencies, departments, what have you. When you start talking about planning ahead as to what you'll use for the next biannum or what have you for the education or for commerce or what have you, then it's a different ball game. It's one that's very intriguing. It's one that I would wish or hope for any young man, in politics or out of politics, to have the experience of going through. I enjoyed it. And I think as a result of having been associated I've grown some. Perhaps my vision has been broadened. But the education assignment I did enjoy. I was able to participate in, say--as well as co-sponsor--a kindergarten bill. The income tax relief bill for families of, say, 4 with \$5,000 or less. Three with \$4,500 or less. Two with \$4,000 or less. On down. Had the opportunity to deliberate and discuss with the education committee as well as help co-sponsor a textbook bill for kids. kids can

go to school regardless of what his home life might be like. Go to school and have an equal chance as an affluent child of getting an education. He has his textbooks and materials made available to him free of charge.

J.B.: Was Arkansas the last state to provide free text books?

Jewell: Probably one of the last I imagine.

J.B.: I think it is. Is there a state wide black political leadership or organization? Political. I'm thinking strictly political now.

Jewell: Not really, except that what we are trying to do and what we did try to do and are going to try to improve on this year. What we would hope to do is to utilize our offices, our office, and [we would be the pawns in] this case. . .

W.D.V.: You mean your legislative office.

Jewell: Right. And we would we would be the one really acting as servants of the people and that the four state elected officials would assume the responsibility of developing the nucleus or bringing together all elected officials from the various counties, wherever it might be, down to the justice of peace, into one political unit. And as a result of this we'd be able to wield some type of positive force and gain those things that we want.

W.D.V.: But as of yet you don't have an association of black public elected officers.

Jewell: We don't have an association although I am chairman of what we call the black legislative membership in the [senate and?] in the house.

J.B.: You're trying to expand that interest state wide association of black elected officials.

Jewell: All elected officials, right.

J.B.: Georgia has one. Are you thinking of one in similar terms to the

one in Georgia?

Jewell: Well, I'm not too familiar as to the detail of the content of what makes up the Georgia thing. It might quite possibly be that we would be similar to them. I don't know. But what we envision is a loose knit thing where an individual would not have to lose his identity. This is one of the bugs that most of them are concerned about. The loss of identity. But they would not have to lose their identity. Just that they would come together with us or we would come together with them in order to develop programs that would effect all of us on this thing. And use our resources and our strength, our combined strength, in order to gain these things.

W.D.V.: How many black elected officials are there?

Jewell: In the state of Arkansas? I don't know, I imagine maybe about a couple hundred, including justice of the peace.

W.D.V.: That includes the city offices as well.

Jewell: City offices, right. You know we have about four or five black mayors in black cities, so to speak. [Lists three cities, one of which is Cotton Flat.] One other place. About five I believe it is. But when you start naming justices of the peace the list is endless. We have persons here in Little Rock. We have the vice mayor of the city's black. And there's another black as well on the board of directors. There are other persons who are elected to office in Pine Bluff, Texarkana, Ft Smith, I believe. So these persons could come in and participate and at the same time maintain their own individual thing and their own community.

J.B.: Are any of the black elected officials in Arkansas Republicans?

[Interruption.]

W.D.V.: Are there any prominent black leaders still left in the Republican

organization since Rockefeller, since '70? Or have they all pretty much moved back into the Democratic party?

Jewell: Those persons who were supporters, strong supporters of Mr Rockefeller are still here.

W.D.V.: Are they still identified with the Republican party?

Jewell: I really couldn't say, because this year you really had no significant participation or involvement by blacks in the Republican party. That is by blacks with any degree of credibility about them at all. We didn't have any involvement. In fact you had no blacks from the Republican party participating in any of the primaries. Even though all three house seats in this district were coming up. No blacks from the Republican party challenged anybody. Or anywhere else in the state that I know of. The black Democratic legislator from Pine Bluff was not challenged by a black Republican. if that's saying anything, if anything can be read from that or not.

W.D.V.: You mean the black incumbent legislators, Democratic. . . they're all Democrats, right?

Jewell: Right.

W.D.V.: Had no Republican opposition in the general election?

Jewell: No.

J.B.: Any additional blacks nominated in the Democratic primary, the legislature this year?

Jewell: No.

J.B.: So it's going to be the same four back next year.

Jewell: Right.

W.D.V.: Weren't there any blacks challenging anybody else?

Jewell: Yeah, in the Democratic primary, yes.

W.D.V.: They all lose?

Jewell: All the challengers lost.

W.D.V.: Were they challenging all whites?

Jewell: Uhhhhh. There's one white man, of course from the district. We have a saying now though we are predominantly black, that is, registrationwise, we're not all black in our representation. This should say to the rest of the state or the rest of the nation

you may be better than white.

The one white gentleman from my district is a very intelligent young man. In fact he's a college professor. He had some opposition. In fact another gentleman who teaches at the same university he does. Both were at Yale or Harvard. And his black opposition, one of them, was a gentleman has a Ph.D. degree in mathematics who gave him a heck of a good race. He survived both his opposition and that of a third party.

W.D.V.: Is this district pretty well gerrymandered?

Jewell: I whether it's gerrymandered or not, because it's not a case where you come down and make a U and a V and all
[Interrupted by phone call.]

In my profession you always follow, what do you call them, mottoes I guess. I'm the type of guy that takes a [sucker's point?], you know. A person come to me and give me a sob story [something about cosigning something.] And I can't cosign, you know, because I'm involved with the

government or part of this project over here. If I sign it I'm in violation with my agreement with the federal government,
[NDA?] [Unclear.]

W.D.V.: Is this a housing development?

Jewell: No, no. My corporation is known as Inc. This is the headquarters. That's a picture of the building we're doing. We will be probably the first black

oriented group anywhere in the country. . . . When I say black oriented, whites are part of us. We're inviting more whites in But we're probably the first black oriented group anywhere in the country to put up a first class motel with a national franchise. With the use of both federal and private sector money. This was made possible through the complete response and help, especially by Mr Wilbur Mills which is our Congressman from this district, as well as the two Senators, Mr Fulbright and Mr McClellan. But more especially Mr Mills. We'll have a national chain here and we'll run a first class business.

J.B.: What chain will it be?

Jewell: The .

J.B.: What's the name of the company?

Jewell: All Inc. A-1-1-. Doesn't mean anything. Just a simple name.

All Inc. 154 rooms, eating facilities and bar and all these other things. Complete [unclear.]

W.D.V.: I forgot my question.

Jewell: I forgot it too.

[End of side of tape.]

Ten. I'd say there are at least five. Five or ten blacks in the state of Arkansas whom you would refer to as black leaders with statewide following.

W.D.V.: Who are they? I saw a poll done in 1972 that was an effort to try to identify about ten of them.

Jewell: Yeah, well, I would prefer not to get into the area of saying who they are less I leave somebody out who might consider themselves in that category. I would say there are five or ten blacks who you may category or refer to as state wide black leaders. Politically or just leaders period.

J.B.: Do they get together on any sort of at least informal basis?

Jewell: Not really. One of the short comings. Lack of adequate communication. One of the things we would hope to solve.

J.B.: How was your working relationship--and when I mean your, I mean yours and the house members--with Gov Bumpers?

Jewell: Well, no problem. The governor was very positive in his programs or the things that he had at least listed on his agenda [to the senate for legislation?] The text book bill, the kindergarten bill, the free drug bill, were all bills primarily originated or sponsored by the governor and then he asked us to join one or two or three other.

[Something about asking one or more blacks to support or cosponsor these bills.] I'm not sure what he was trying to say to us. The thing that disturbed me was that it hadn't occurred prior to that and he had one term in office prior to that, of course. But they were some of the things that we were considering. Then, of course, as to this--

W.D.V.: What was the free drug bill?

Jewell: Well, for those persons who were on welfare, they would only have to pay about 50¢ per prescription. What you really do is, the doctor would just increase the number of--whatever type drug it might be, tablet or capsule--increase the number of double the number two or three times over what he would normally prescribe for the patient in order to keep the drug bill down. But with the state paying then he is able to give the patient adequate--

J.B.: This is basically medicaid extension?

Jewell: Yeah. Essentially. But, as to our relationship with the governor or my relationships with the governor, none of us had any real problems with the governor at all except that he lent no support to our bill particularly the ~~governor's~~ [veterans's] bill that I sponsored which would have

the veteran, who would be the man who have given of themselves during the Vietnam war or during the previous wars. the human resource bill.

J.B.: What did that bill attempt?

Jewell: Basically the only thing about the human resource bill that had any teeth in it was the fact that it had subpoena powers. The governor was opposed to it. Said he was afraid of it, you know.

J.B.: Did it create any human relations commission?

Jewell: It would create a human relations commission. But it would have created that--

W.D.V.: With the power to do what?

Jewell: With the power to really to do anything it saw fit as related to human rights.

WDV: You mean discrimination.

Jewell: Right. For instance--

J.B.: In effect provide a state civil rights program.

Jewell: In effect provide a state civil rights program or a state supervisory system whereby you could check imbalances on just about anything, whether it's private or government. For instance, suppose you were the purchasing agent for the department of education. And you were doing business with the company who is selling, say, legal pads. And the company employs no blacks at all. Then, in effect, you could say "Well, I'm sorry Mr , " based on your affirmative action plan, or you could request of him--that is the commission could--an affirmative action plan. And of course, having none, this would be a negative thing and the fact that he would totally exclude blacks from his employment also would be another problem. So you could more or less really eliminate him from doing business with the

state. Or if you had two private agencies involved, it would have some effect, or some input. To really offer some hope, or some semblance of hope, for employment or advancement of blacks in the area of employment.

W.D.V.: Does the state have an affirmative action program?

Jewell: Not that I know of. Just by the governor, that's all.

J.B.: Did the governor meet with the black legislators on any regular or even irregular basis, formally or informally?

Jewell: He met with us maybe once or twice.

J.B.: He initiated it or you initiated it?

Jewell: It was the sort of thing that was caused by or developed as the result of his wanting to get our support for, say, the kindergarten bill or something of that sort. We may have met with him maybe once during the general assembly while we were in session last year just for a chat. And that was about the extent of it, a chat. The governor really offered nothing affirmative in the sense that would change the trend or the regular standard procedures.

W.D.V.: Has he appointed more blacks than Rockefeller or less?

Jewell: I would not think so. I would not think so. Considering the fact that you will always have some progress over a period of four years. Otherwise, no, in my opinion.

J.B.: There's been no acceleration .

Jewell: Promised to employ more females and blacks in the administration, but it never materialized. Really one of the things that really surprised me, you know--

W.D.V.: Why not?

Jewell: Why not? I don't know. I'm not sure what the governor's make

up is.

As to your question, I don't know. But let me add this to it. I was in his presence once and we were talking about programs designed primarily to help or those persons we refer to as deprived or neglected or what have you. Toward black. He said "Doc, when you talk about something with blacks I just fall flat on my face." You know, by that time in his office. What he's basically saying is that if we want anything in terms of programs for people. Well, that's beautiful, it's beautiful language. Except it doesn't work that way. Just that blacks happen to have been the victims for so long that psychologically they need additional help and actually, technically or economic wise, or whatever the situation might be, they need additional help. In order to be. Now it is the responsibility of black legislators or black leaders, these persons we're talking about on the state level, to get to the blacks over the state and tell them, say "Now you can raise hell for the next five years, or the next two years."

he said "During that time you better get all you can. You better avail yourself of all what's available to you in order to bring you up to par with the white boy." Then you have a black and white competing for the job and based on that man's personal integrity, who ever he is, the employer, he will employ the man he wants. Now, he can do that now and stand a good chance. But after a while he won't be able to holler that. You know, "I'm black and I've been deprived, and I haven't had the opportunity to do so and so because of the fact that I'm black." The man says "Well, you've had programs, programs, programs."

change the attitude of the employer.

At least the black has had the opportunity of getting that additional training. And it's obvious somebody's going to say to him "you better

get on the way now." You know, prepare yourself for it. [Talking to the ^{governor} government, we say] we need these programs. We need the human resource program. Black suggests this or that and he just said "Well, I fall on my face when you mention something, something totally for blacks." So. . . I don't know. . . this was probably one of the reasons he was successful in the campaign, in spite of the Senator's tremendous record. Then when I went back and about the 1957, '56 southern manifesto as being the reason for this qualifying, you know. During that time everybody signed the southern manifesto except for Lyndon Johnson, Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore. All three of them, of course, being men of very very high integrity.

W.D.V.: Are you saying that the governor has a lot of rhetoric about this but doesn't have a very definitive program?

Jewell: I see from the governor more rhetoric than anything else.

J.B.: Is it a lack of commitment, or lack of sensitivity?

Jewell: I think he's sensitive, perhaps, to it to some degree but has no commitment, in my opinion, on his part for the Negro. As an illustration of that, a check of his office would find the establishment there as totally white.

W.D.V.: Doesn't he have one black?

Jewell: The black's in the basement. He's in the area of human resource and he has to report to a white female. She's his supervisor. I think on occasion I mentioned to the governor his promise to [hire] blacks. Not a black, but blacks. On your staff with equal status to everybody else on the staff. We need a person who is good enough to take it just like it is come hell or high water. And I think his response to [the word?] was "I couldn't agree with you more." But the black is still in the basement. The black in the basement is a young man who has a bachelor's

degree in mathematics, a master's in either education or math, who has a damn good mind. [Gov doesn't get] the type of involvement or resources from him that he could get on the staff. [Something about status with everybody else.] the problem there. I'm sure he's aware of it. As a governor and man of his intelligence at least should be.

W.D.V.: So you don't think it's the quality of the individual on the staff that's the problem?'

Jewell: It's not the quality, no. And if the individual is lacking in , there are a number of blacks out there that he could employ. There aren't many blacks who might have the bank roll to tell him, you know, where to get on and get off. But I'm sure there some blacks out there who can tell him which is the and which is not.

J.B.: Which is what?

Jewell: It's a colloquial term, excuse me.

J.B.: No go ahead and say the term, cause I just didn't hear it.

Jewell: All right. It's a matter of getting a black on your staff who is able to tell the governor where the pot is, you know, and when they should use it or when they shouldn't use it. Or when to get off the pot. And just that he has not extended himself to the point of trying to find that person. Just that the man he has is not the man we want. But it's my conviction that the man who's on his staff now could do the job.

W.D.V.: If you looked at the political development of blacks in Arkansas as compared to the other ten southern states, from what you know about it, where would you say that the state would rank?

Jewell: We would rank near the bottom. We're the last state to elect

blacks to state office.

W.D.V.: Why do you suppose that's true? Because historically it's supposed to have been less of a tradition of .

Jewell: Yeah, that's a good point. Territorialwise Arkansas has occupied rather a unique position in that really we are not a southern state. We're not a midwestern state and we're really not a southwestern state. I think that Arkansas, Oklahoma, perhaps Texas, would occupy a similar position. The educational leaders in the state of Arkansas have been able, over the years, to influence the academic atmosphere, or to maintain sufficiently their influence in the academic atmosphere to more or less, by direction or indirect action, afford the state an area or period of really tranquility in the sense that blacks have not really pushed for some of the things they should be pushing for. I cited a while ago the fact that blacks were not in the dental association. And coming out of the service, coming into Arkansas in '59 and '60, and not being able to go to a dental meeting if you want to go. At least the right should be there, you know. And blacks accepting it. Or say, for instance, who attempt to carry kids to school in '57. And to think that there would be any blacks at all who would oppose her having done so, is almost unthinkable. But I understand there were some blacks who really had second thoughts about [something about Little Rock]. And Arkansas has enjoyed--maybe that's not the word to use--there has been a period where blacks just did not push forward. And they said the reason why was that whites in Arkansas were not quite as adamant in their actions toward, in carrying out oppressive actions or actions against blacks. And as a result blacks a little different, enjoy a little better community or little better relationship with whites. . . .

W.D.V.: But that flies in the face of the fact that Orval Faubus, in 1957, became sort of a symbol. . . in the beginning. . . for. . . .

Jewell: Yeah, but that was one act, you know. That was one act on the part of Faubus. Otherwise, Faubus never really did get out there and boot blacks in the tail. He wasn't oppressive as say Wallace was. And simply the fact that Wallace has done more recently than what Faubus did. Faubus, primarily, was a politician. Just out and out king politician. Not so much as a racist. As I see it. And this probably means a defense of him. It's just that in comparing him with, say other areas. . . .

W.D.V.: You mean he viewed it as a technique or tactic. . . .

Jewell: It was a tactic. I'm not sure how he viewed it. I'm saying how I viewed it, his response. I think that some of those acts. . . and there was a certain attitude on the part of whites that maybe we'll boot this black or these blacks . . . we'll attempt to. . . or just said we're going to and not really carry it out. [Something about the blacks being prepared for force and when it doesn't come thinking] it ain't so bad after all. For instance, in the state of Arkansas, as opposed to the other southern states, we don't have a bank, or a banking institution or a financial institution where black wield any force at all. We have one bank that has one black on its board which is the chance result of a governor, former governor Rockefeller, appointing his boy to a board, or having his boy appointed to a board. But that's the only

. I'm talking about where they have blacks who are elected to boards based on that individual's merit. You don't have it. Much less a black controlled bank. No saving and loan. No mortgage bank. We don't have a black architect in this state. We don't really have a first class black real estate company. We don't have a first class black con-

struction firm. Now you're probably saying now
who's responsible for all that. I say we are, to a certain extent. Also
that the white community is to a certain extent. This facility over here.
About four years ago I brought in the field workers--NAACP man out of
Birmingham, Alabama, in the area of labor and what have you--to help
organize or put together a nucleus for a black construction firm. Or
a construction firm that would be primarily controlled by blacks, but
involving also whites . [Something about under one
umbrella] same thing, do their own individual thing as individual selves.
So for a job like this they'd qualify for it. But you don't even have
a black--or we didn't have a black who would qualify for a job [on those
signs?] Now it hurts me to the extent that here I am a black senator,
part of an enterprise that's putting up a \$3 million motel on an express-
way in a city like Little Rock, the capital of the state, and then have
to utilize the services of a white contractor. And mostly, except for
one instance, white subcontractors. The only black subcontractor over
there is a man in less than \$40,000. And compared to
all the rest of them [he's/we're?] spending \$3 million. Very very un-
fortunate. Very unfortunate. So the state is way, way behind in that
regards. Way behind. I can't think of any area, really. I can't think
of a first class grocery store anywhere in this state, supermarket. . .
W.D.V.: You're saying that both politically and economically the
blacks in this state are behind the other southern states.

Jewell: Right. And shouldn't be. But that's the truth. It's very very
unfortunate and I really don't know what the answer is, really.

J.B.: Know what the cause is?

Jewell: I think I know what some of the causes, some of the reasons
might be. But really the cause. . . I don't know if it's motivation, or

lack of motivation or the lack of availability of funds in order to do the things they should do. Maybe it's just a case of being historically deprived and don't want to change, want to stay like it is. Or if it's the misdirection of energies of those resources that we do have. You have some blacks who are financially fairly secure. But you have a problem of getting them to pool their resources. I'm afraid of you and you're afraid of the other black and the other black's afraid of another black. So we've got a vicious cycle. Everybody feel that way about it.

[A couple of sentences about monetary distrust, I think--unclear.]

So. . . there are a number of reasons behind it, I'm sure. No one reason would be the main cause. The most important thing is how possibly the changes or maybe the reasons are necessary [in order to be changed.]

J.B.: What's your response to Charles Evers' recent statement that he could support George Wallace for Vice President.

Jewell: I don't know. I just read it this morning. I was up at 5:30 and running. I did my regular mile. Came back home and my boy hands me the paper. I have a 17 year old boy who's a senior in high school at . He had finished the sport area. Football and baseball enthusiast. And he was reading the front and so he said "after I finished it." I said that's okay. And then he gave me the part about Charles Evers and then stood back and looked at me to see how I would respond to it after I read the headline. And I read the first paragraph or so . I don't know if I have a response to it. I don't know what Mr Evers response, or reason for the endorsement. There is the old philosophy of course, is that none of us have any permanent friends or enemies. So maybe that's his reason. Maybe he's saying that because of Mr Wallace's close, should I say, contact with death almost, his close shave with death and his present

affliction might have caused him to change some. Maybe he feels that if the Democratic ticket, or the presidential ticket must include a southerner that he'd rather have him from Alabama or that the governor from Alabama [would/wouldn't] stand a chance. And then, of course, Charles Evers is the type of person who is a realist, you know. Tell you exactly where he is and what he's been doing all along. You know, he admitted his involvement in Chicago. Did you ever read that? What he did in Chicago that time? A man who admits to acts of that sort has to be a realist in the sense that he is just divulging his whole past. Maybe he realized that. . .

the voting public, or the American public period is still extremely conservative and that the liberal voice really is carried out by men like you who are in the publishing business or writers or other news media. And of course a minority of persons who are in an organization such as the one I've been a part of for years or other organizations. And that even when that person is elected to office [there's a tendency to?] go too far to the left or ~~promises~~ becomes too much of a liberal individual with a tendency to tie his hands

. Maybe he's being a political realist in the sense that if the Democrats are going to win in '76 they're going to have to have a southerner on the ticket.

J.B.: But why Wallace?

Jewell: I don't know.

J.B.: How do you feel about Wallace as a potential vice presidential nominee?

Jewell: I would not want it, personally. But let's [take this in view?] The governor carried Arkansas in the last election. I never would have thought it, that he carried Arkansas. This is a unique state, of course, you know.

J.B.: You talking about Gov Wallace or Faubus?

Jewell: Wallace.

[A discussion as to which election is referred to. They decide on '68.]

W.D.V.: He had a plurality, followed by Nixon.

Jewell: The governor, that is, Mr Wallace, has a national following. So maybe Evers is trying to say "Well, that's the boy that's splitting the party." and as a result of it a lot of Republicans come back in again. The Republicans can come up with some very ideal candidates. And, inspite of the Watergate thing, win again. Take fellows like Percy of Illinois or. . . being a part of, on the ticket, Republican ticket. [They'd win office again.] So the Democrats would have to counter somewhere. And where they might counter, I don't know. But a Wallace on the ticket. . . again

. . . would carry just about all 11 southern states. It would go to him if he had second spot on the ticket. It might go with some other southerner. I don't know. As a part of the ticket. Maybe from Texas. Some people think that our governor. . . . I don't know.

J.B.: How would you feel about your governor being on the ticket?

Jewell: I have no response to that.

J.B.: What do you find. . . not only your own reaction, but going out in your district. . . how are blacks responding to Wallace?

Jewell: They're opposed to him. The image, that is. And they look primarily at the fact that he stood in the door [something about ~~xxx~~ a university].

J.B.: How about somebody like. . . Gov Asquew in Florida, for example, in '72, you know, openly endorsed and actively campaigned on behalf of that referendum supporting a defense of busing as a means of desegregating schools. He didn't like it, you know, he didn't really support

busing, but he thought it was necessary at this time as the only alternative. Even though he knew it was going to fail. Could you see Bumpers doing something like that?

Jewell: No. I can't. See Asquew took the issue. . . just a matter of personal [conviction?] if I recall correctly when he did it. . . . But it may have been a political movement to gain support of the black

. I don't know. It was a political risk, whatever it was, that he took in order to take that position, or to try to get it through. I couldn't. . . . The governor may do it. I don't know. It's just that I couldn't see it. As I view him now. I'm being as objective as I possibly can. I think Bumpers' response would be to let the courts take care of it. See really, through his administration, we really had no crisis to occur. He came in after the '67 [fires?], you know. The problems of '67 and '68. He really had no real crises to occur during his four years as governor. So he really hasn't had a test . . . as far as his position is concerned and how he would handle, or how delicate he would be able to handle an acute situation. So you don't have really any track record to base on. That's why I say I have no opinion.

J.B.: You were commenting on Mills' assistance, which you said was considerable, in getting this project to work. Has Mills changed in his attitude toward blacks or has he always been that cooperative?

Jewell: I don't know about the first part, whether he has changed or not. My relationship with the Senator has been, never been one. . . . I've never had any problems with him. The Congressman is a man of tremendous resources in the sense that he is extremely helpful and has been. Not just with our project, but most projects where he has been requested or assistance has been requested or he has saw the needs for his environment or assistance. It's a case of using whatever Congressional pull or persuasion he might have.

J.B.: He's such things as model cities programs, this sort

thing.

Jewell: Yeah. I haven't kept up. I must plead my lack of knowledge, or my ignorance in this area. I have not kept up with model cities, I really haven't. I've been involved in some other things and it really hasn't been one of my pet areas.

J.B.: Does Mills have any blacks on his staff?

Jewell: Yes, yes. Model cities first came through I viewed it as competitive for OEO and that's just about the way it turned out to be, roughly. There are some things involved in model cities that were not involved in OEO. Maybe the two could work together. Because of that block I had, I just never really involved myself with it. Never kept up with it. But the Congressman has been of tremendous assistance. I'm not saying that the twisting anybody's arms. But it's a case of his showing concern for a constituent. And I think this would be true for a group like ours anywhere in the country. There's a man, although he's 67 years of age, that can make a very, very good part, or member of, a good part of a national ticket. In my opinion. I don't know if he'd accept it or not. But as an individual I could get out and campaign for a ticket that included him. I'd go out and campaign for free. You know, over the years blacks have had a tendency to accept [coins?] you know, for political support or what have you. I have not fallen victim to that sort of thing. And it's a matter of my personal feeling that an individual would lend of his support to a candidate based on that candidate's worth. If there is no , you don't support it.

W.D.V.: In the Fulbright campaign expenditures there's about \$60- \$100,000 listed. And \$800 to \$1,000 payment to a large list of supposedly black leaders. I don't know if you saw that thing or not. Is that still an

effective kind of campaign technique down here? Where you, in a sense, pay off black leaders who then, in turn, deliver--in quotes--black votes.

Jewell: Yes, but let me explain that. In defense of the Senator or his campaign committee. By saying that could you possibly visualize the governor not securing the same type of, if it's a bad thing--

W.D.V.: Oh, I don't mean to suggest that Fulbright. . . . I guess both sides did it. I'm just curious [if such things are done or work].

Jewell: In Fulbright's case it was stated as such. In the governor's, his opposition's case, it was not. The governor has an advantage over . . . in that he's state located. The other man is national located, or Washington located. And the man who's in the state, the [first one to go to work?] and what have you, they have another ways by which they get the job done without even putting out any money. An individual may not spend all of his time doing whatever his job or agencies require, or what his job description might be. And then I to this point challenge the fact that the Senator's going to spend almost a million dollars and the governor's going to spend less than a half million, or less than \$20,000 for a campaign. That's asinine. [Says approximately that he refuses to believe that the man spent that kind of money and still lost the race.] No individual's that popular. But . . . they said

. I think each person used this money though primarily for carpools or to pay kids to make door to door deliveries of campaign literature. Prior to the election pass out material. Now it could have been that the conduit or the manner to which it was passed out may not be the most ideal. [Unclear.]

J.B.: You think most of the money was spent legitimately.

Jewell: I think the money was spent for legitimate purposes. [In this case to get out the actual vote.] And most persons who are listed on

there are persons of character who have a very high degree of integrity in the sense that they are concerned about their candidate support. Now that came up as the result of my stating the fact that I had not accept or participate in this area.

J.B.: Have you analyzed any of the returns from the dominantly black precincts?

Jewell: No, I haven't. And I only said that, about not accepting the money was because I had enough. I have my own profession. And that's a living for me and I don't have to accept funds. In fact, during the whole seven years I was head of the NAACP and I traveled from one corner of the state to the other except for the northwest--and that's

--not in the areas I've done. . . white, which would include Fayetteville, extreme northwest--but nowhere in this state, at any time, did I charge a cent for my services or travel. All at my expense. Even to national meetings, national board meetings in New York or where ever they may have been held. So this I don't think should apply to those persons who might need funds for support to carry out whatever activities. I think they can secure, or receive, the funds and still keep everything in its proper perspective as to vote registration and getting the vote out on election day.

W.D.V.: This young man that was in the executive office, black. Think we should talk with him?

Jewell: Carl [^{AGARS}~~Egans/Higgins~~] who's in the governor's office?

W.D.V.: Right.

Jewell: Yes. I would do it, sure.

J.B.: His name is ^{AGARS}~~Eggers~~?

Jewell: Carl ^{AGARS}~~Eggers~~ is his name.

J.B.: How do you spell that?

Jewell: A-g-a-r-s.

J.B.: Let me ask you one other question. That has to do with Pryor.

Did Pryor get overwhelming black support in this last race?

Jewell: As I said, I haven't had an opportunity to analyze or even attempt to. . . you know, what have you, precinct, district. I understand there were a significant number of blacks to support Mr Pryor. I did not, I must admit.

J.B.: Who were--

Jewell: I lost my shirt in the election.

J.B.: Who were you supporting?

Jewell: I supported governor Riley, lieutenant governor Riley.

J.B.: Oh, that's right. He's president of the senate.

Jewell: He's presently lieutenant governor and was running for governor, so I supported him.

W.D.V.: Did you win any?

Jewell: [Laughter.] Let's see, what did I win. Hardly nothing, really. [Did/didn't] participate in the district race, that is, among the house of representative members.

J.B.: Who's the white legislator from this district?

Jewell: Johnson. Dr Robert Johnson. J-o-h-n-s-o-n-. I didn't participate in any district races because I didn't want to have the problem of salving any feelings that may have been roughed during the election. So I stayed out of that thing. So on a state wide basis and national basis I lost both ways. I wanted. . . I won the lieutenant. . . I did support the lieutenant governor who's coming in this year. Joe ^{Purcell} ~~Percayal~~ from Benton, Saline county.

J.B.: Was he a senator?

Jewell: No. He's an attorney. He was attorney general two, four years ago I believe it was. Two or four years ago.

J.B.: How much of a role, after you got to the senate, did you find yourself playing as an educator for. . . .

Jewell: As a what, now?

J.B.: In educating the other members of the senate.

W.D.V.: About blacks.

Jewell: About blacks? I don't know. As a member of the house or a member of the senate. . . . With one person in the senate, three blacks in the house. That's one out of 35 or 3 out of 100 in the house. There's not very much you can do in terms of determining the course passing the bill or not passing the bill. So what you do, mainly, is serve as a conscience. So you have to pull out all the stops. Just let hell fly, where it might be. . . . This was the case last year when they passed the capital punishment bill that the governor supported. I was opposed to it. I didn't care whether the governor and all the king's men wanted it, I was opposed to it. So, as to educating the other members of the senate, I don't know. . . if I had any influence. And I really didn't look at it that way, of educating them about blacks. I would hope that they. . . having been associated. . . my having had the opportunity, let's put it that way, of being associated with them has . . . them that every citizen has the right to run for office, to serve his constituents and in a base sense serve the people of the state of Arkansas. And that they should accept that person as a part of that chamber, whichever it might be, and respond to that person based on his or her individual merit . . . he or she might present to them in form of legislation that would effect all the people.

I imagine what you're really asking is, what do you think the response is of whites to blacks my concern. If they just go by my response and my association with them, they would tend, I would hope, to have some increased respect for blacks and to perhaps in the future extend themselves just a little bit more than they have in the past to give whatever assistance they can. And perhaps realize some that they are people who might be of a little different hue who are concerned about the policies of the state. I happen to be the sort of fellow that. . . whatever body I participate in, whatever the deliberation might be, I want to make damn sure they respect me.

W.D.V.: Thinking about the future, and black political development, say ten years from now, are you optimistic about it? Do you see it accelerating or just staying at the same level, or what?

Jewell: I would hope that. . . [my having had a part of] blacks being in the legislature now

I would hope that the influence would be significant enough to motivate other blacks, especially the young element--and these fellows or young ladies are a little more educated than we are--again, using 'we' literally speaking here--in that they have been exposed to education from an early age. Perhaps maybe their foundation may not be the better for it. At least the conscience of participation would be more involved at a younger age than say it is at the age it is now.

W.D.V.: Let me reverse that, thinking back to 1964, would you have believed that the changes could occur that did occur in the last ten years? Socially and politically for blacks in Arkansas.

Jewell: I think my thoughts at that time would have been that we're going to work for the change that can happen. But I would have had some

