Kent State: Death and Dissent in the Long Sixties

Thomas M. Grace

Erie Community College, harrison@umpress.umass.edu

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Expanded notes for *Kent State: Death and Dissent in the Long Sixties*

*Material not included in the book appears in bold type.*

**Abbreviations**

**Archives and Collections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KHS</td>
<td>Kent Historical Society, Kent, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>KM4C</td>
<td>Kent May 4 Center, Kent, Ohio</td>
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**Kent State University Libraries**

<table>
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<tr>
<td>KSUA</td>
<td>Special Collections and Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>M4C</td>
<td>May 4 Collection, KSUA</td>
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**Yale University Library**

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<tr>
<td>ACLU Coll.</td>
<td>ACLU of Ohio Kent State Project Records (MS 1800), Manuscripts and Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSCY</td>
<td>Kent State Collection (MS 804), Manuscripts and Archives. Unless otherwise noted, all boxes and folders cited are in accession no. 1989-M-048, the records of David E. Engdahl.</td>
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**Newspapers**

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<tr>
<td>BJ</td>
<td>Akron Beacon Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Cleveland Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DKS</td>
<td>Daily Kent Stater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>The Guardian (formerly The National Guardian), New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYT</td>
<td>New York Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Cleveland Plain Dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Record-Courier (Ravenna, Ohio, and greater Portage County)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>Washington Post</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Interviews

The following interviews conducted by the author are cited in the notes by last name.

Alewitz, Mike: Nov. 18, 2005
Barber, Cindy: April 7, 2002
Boram, Jane: (telephone) May 19, 2007
Brock, Barbara: Feb. 19, 2000
Brock, Mike: April 16, 1999
Buhl, Lance: (telephone) April 18, 2000
Cheeks, Paul: (telephone) May 28, 2001
Dyer, Dave: Nov. 18, 1999
Emmer, Howie: March 26, 2006
Emmer, Jack and Ruth: June 10, 2000
Fein, Ollie: (telephone) April 9, 2003
Franklin, Bobby: (telephone) Aug. 11, 2001
Fraser, Alex: (telephone) Feb. 22, 2012
Gregorich, Barbara: (telephone) Sept. 27, 2001
Hammond, Ken: May 21, 1989
Hawthorne, Greg: Jan. 15, 2005
Hoffman, George: Jan. 22, 2006
Inglee, Roy: (telephone) April 2, 2000
Jackson, Joe: Nov. 11, 2005 (telephone) and Dec. 3, 2005
Johnson, Ken: May 4, 1989
Lencl, Mark: May 4 and 6, 2000
Modugno, Vince: May 5, 2002
Nardella, John: (telephone) July 13, 1998
Oglesby, Carl: (telephone) March 10, 2001
Pekar, Harvey: (telephone) April 13, 2009
Persky, Jerry: Aug. 27, 2000
Powrie, James: May 5, 1989
Raines, Larry: April 16, 1999
Richardson, Allen: Nov. 19, 2000
Riggs, Jim: (telephone) April 26, 2014
Rogers, Clarence, Jr.: (telephone) April 11, 2001
Simpson, Larry: (telephone) April 4, 2006
Smith, Don: Jan. 21 (telephone) and Jan. 26, 2002
Spencer, Jack: Nov. 1, 2005
Tabasko, Charlie: (telephone) Sept. 8, 2002
Thompson, Danny: (telephone) June 23, 2001
Tompkins, Henry (pseudonym): Jan. 26, 2006
Tussey, Jean Y.: (telephone) June 26, 2001
Vaughan, Doug: Aug. 1, 2015
Walsh, Tony: Feb. 19, 2000
Whitaker, William: Nov. 21, 1999, and Jan. 25, 2006
Wittmaack, Ron: Feb. 19, 2000

Prologue

May 4, 1970


3. Ohio capped out-of-state enrollment at 20 percent. Joe Eszterhas and Michael D. Roberts,


5. On the unseen central part of the country: Nicholas Howe, “Midwest by Midwest,” Dissent 47.4 (Fall 2000): 95.


Chapter 1
The Working Class Goes to College


2. Oglesby interview.

3. Ibid.; Gabriel Kolko to the author, Feb. 28, 2001; Fraser interview. Kent’s early nineteenth-century founding up through the 1940s: Thomas M. Grace, “A Legacy of Dissent: The Culture and Politics of Protest at Kent State University, 1958–1964” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2003). The Macedonian social/political circle was interracial and almost entirely urban and working class. In addition to those already named, it included Lou Patsouris, Sheldon Wolfe, Kenneth Cooley, and Frank G. Cihlar, all of
Cleveland; Ray Metzinger of Youngstown; and Addison Reid of Steubenville, Ohio. The exception to the urban, blue-collar cohort was Joan Flint, the daughter of a Unitarian Universalist minister in Kent. Metts suggested the group’s name. With their circle containing Alex (Fraser) and with Metts recalling that the Macedonians of old were led by Alexander the Great and that they, too, opposed the Greek fraternities, he thus christened the group. The Macedonians encountered racial discrimination in Kent. When attempting to dine with Ed Gray they were refused service in a nklin Street tavern. On another occasion, a white member of the group was harassed in a bar for being a “n— lover.” The Macedonian, a former Merchant Marine, decked the verbal abuser with one punch. Fraser interview. Carl Oglesby mentions the Macedonians briefly in Ravens in the Storm: A Personal History of the 1960s Antiwar Movement (New York: Scribner, 2008), 8–9.

4. In his interview, Fraser recalled that several Macedonians who also lived on campus had copies of the Daily Worker slipped under the doors of their dormitory rooms. In the 1955–56 academic year there were 5,717 enrolled students at KSU, and of the first 1,055 (listed alphabetically) in the student directory for that year, 570 were from cities, chiefly Cleveland, Akron, and Canton. For further details, see Grace, “Legacy of Dissent.”


7. Audio tape supplied by Larry Lamovsky; Lamovsky to the author, April 10, 2009; Modugno, Dyer, and Albert Canfora interviews. Other KSU activists shared memories of the involvement of their parents or extended family members in the campaign against the right-to-
work amendment. In addition to Modugno’s parents, his uncle Rocco took part in the campaign. In their interviews, Allen Richardson recalled the participation of his father and grandfather; KSU’s only Freedom Rider, Danny Thompson, remembered his father’s participation; Mark Lencl told of his mother Ruth’s activity in her Cleveland industrial shop; and Jack and Ruth Emmer (parents of KSU student Howie Emmer) recalled their participation in the campaign against the bill. Activist Joe Cullum also described the opposition of his parents, Leo and Lucy Cullum, to the bill; Cullum to the author, Dec. 14, 2000. In other cases, KSU students were either unable to recall the campaign against RTW or they lived in neighboring states in 1958. They did remember, however, their parents’ strong union loyalties. Carl Oglesby described how his father railed against rubber company bosses and of his father’s “straight-ticket” voting along Democratic party lines (see note 2); Luigi Lattuca (a pseudonym), a Pennsylvania coalminer and unionist, was the father of a Kent SDS activist who asked that neither her original or married name be used. Her husband, who was also active in SDS, provided the information about his father-in-law’s labor loyalties in a communication of Nov. 25, 2000. Dave Edwards and the two children of the late Sidney Jackson were raised in households where the Communist Party’s position was decidedly pro-labor. Activist Ken Johnson said of his parents (father, a railroad unionist; mother, daughter of Finnish socialists): “I don’t know how they actually voted, but anti-RTW is almost certain.” Communication from Johnson on April 2, 2001. Barbara Gregorich and Jane Boram were likewise familiar with the unionist sympathies held by their steelworker fathers. Gregorich interview, and Boram to the author, May 12, 2007. Other examples of such class loyalties may be found in later notes.


13. Ibid. The author remembers the legal representation Gordon provided to activists at KSU.


19. The *Kent Quarterly* was launched in 1956 and, together with the Macedonians, formed the center of the still largely invisible dissent at Kent in the 1950s. One of the most important figures associated with the publication was Clevelander Roman Tymchyshyn, a roommate of Danny Thompson. Tymchyshyn was also acquainted with the leaders of the Council on Human Affairs. See Kenneth Cooley and Don Thomson, “Blindness We May Forgive,” *Kent Quarterly*, Winter 1957.

20. Oglesby and Cheeks interviews; and the following in *DKS*: “SC Supports Southern Lunch-Counter Strikes,” April 14, 1960; “Civil Rights War Renewed” (editorial), April 19; “KSU Students Will Continue Sympathy Strikes of Stores,” April 26; “Pickets Defy Owner’s Warning,” April 28; “Human Affairs Council Studies Kent Problems,” April 29. The CHA officers were Pres. Robert Greenberger (Sharon, Pa.); V. P. Clarence Mixon (Cleveland); Treas. John Sinnott (Brentwood, NY); and Sec. Arlene Wolinsky (Akron). East Liverpool native Josephine Lavonne Lomba was one of three Kent students who represented the CHA at the “Human Rights in the North” conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in April 1960. The hometowns of the students may be found in the KSU *Student Directory* for the years 1956–57, 1957–58, and 1958–59, KSU SC. Kent’s Woolworth store was located on the outskirts of town in University Plaza.

21. Rogers interview.

22. Rogers and Cheeks interviews; Rogers provided the estimate of the number of African Americans at Kent. In 1959–60, according to KSU’s student directory for that year, there were 7,554 students enrolled.


24. King’s experience: Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 351–70. Account of the sit-in: Buhl, Rogers, and Cheeks interviews. The trio also provided details on the late John McCann’s involvement; Barbara Gregorich also provided background on him in her interview.


29. The practice of segregating Kent’s black students for a six-year period in the 1930s: Shriver, Years of Youth, 126. Deed restrictions in Kent in the 1940s: article by Diane Smith, RC, circa Aug. 2000. Details of the survey: BJ, May 10, 1961. In 1960 there were approximately two hundred foreign and African American students attending KSU.


31. Description of student life: Kent Quarterly, Fall 1958, Spring 1959, and Spring 1961; “Lowery Lite” (newsletter of Lowery Hall), March 6, 1958, box 33, folder 13, Bowman Papers (issues of the Stopher Hall newsletter, “The Echo,” are in the same folder); “Fun at KSU Has Changed over the Years,” DKS, May 2, 2002.

32. Cheeks interview; John McCann, “Charges Discrimination in Off-Campus Housing,” DKS, April 14, 1961; “Pres. Bowman Clarifies Housing Policy,” DKS, April 19. In actuality, there was but one housing list. African American students were directed to apartments that staff in the KSU housing office knew would accept nonwhite tenants. Almost all such landlords were themselves African Americans.


34. “Professors Write on Discrimination” (letter), DKS, April 28, 1961. Ritchie’s KSU personnel file contains a 1947 letter from Ritchie to Bowman accepting his offer of employment. Felver’s support for civil rights in 1960: “KSU Discrimination Discussed,” DKS, May 18,
Bowman’s May 2 memorandum could not be found among his voluminous papers; I am grateful to the research librarians at KSU for locating copies among the personal papers of some of the professors he reprimanded. See also “Anti-Bias Bid Backed by 8 Profs,” BJ, April 28, 1961. The resignation letters are also in the files of the respective faculty members. Although Smith was the first to resign, his planned departure was the last to be announced to the campus community; see “Prof. Smith Resigns Position,” DKS, May 18, 1961.

36. “Prof. Felver Resigns,” DKS, May 9, 1961. The fifteen petition sheets and cover letter are in box 18, Bowman Papers.


38. “Bowman Non-Committal”; “Discrimination Statement Promised,” DKS, May 11, 1961; “KSU Head Meets with 2 Students on Race Issue,” RC, May 10, 1961. Hearn told the RC that Bowman and the CHA “were at loggerheads throughout the meeting.”


42. Fisher to Bowman, May 11, 1961, box 18, folder 2, Bowman Papers. Fisher was the full-time adviser of the DKS from 1954 to 1966; see Fred F. Endres, ‘Getting the Paper Out’: 75 Years of the Kent Stater, 1926–2001 (Kent: School of Journalism and Communication, 2000), 52.

The editorial and Greer’s statement: “KSU Has Set Excellent Integration Example” and “Demonstration Is Harmful,” RC, May 10, 1961.

43. “KSU Shuns Picketing Penalties,” BJ, May 12, 1961; “No Action Planned against Pickets,” RC, May 12; “Pro and Con,” DKS, May 12; Cleveland Call and Post, May 20; Cheeks interview.

44. “Segregation Still Big Issue” and “No Action Taken against Pickets,” DKS, May 16, 1961;
letters to the RC, May 24 and June 8, 1961. Other letters went to the governor; box 77, DiSalle Papers.


47. “Burnell, Stopher: Two Profs Injured,” DKS, May 17, 1961; “Prof. Smith Resigns Position,” May 18; Burnell et al. to Bowman, May 11, 1961, personnel file; and White to Bowman, May 21, 1961, box 18, folder 2, Bowman Papers. *Harris’s and Olsen’s accounts might provide a different version. Whatever was said, both remained committed to civil rights. Tragically, Burnell died on May 29, 1961. Bowman would not forget the faculty members’ actions. In a July 14 communication to them Bowman continued to question their loyalties. “It appears” Bowman noted, “that we are miles apart in our views on loyalty, scholarly performance and the responsibilities that go with membership in an organization.” Bowman to Felver et al., July 14, 1961, personnel files, KSU.*


52. The second meeting between Nixon and Sihanouk occurred in Cambodia during the vice president’s 1953 world trip. In a January 1998 letter to the author, Sihanouk recalled meeting


56. Cheeks interview; KSU Young Democrats material, box 344, DiSalle Papers; “Nixon’s Experience Gets Faculty Nod,” *DKS*, Nov. 4–5, 1960.


Chapter 2
Democracy and Free Speech


warranted such attention from HUAC, the city had been the last home of new Communist chairman Gus Hall. For more on the party, including brief mention of the low level of activity in the 1960s, see David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, 1996), 291–92.


12. Sketch drawn from “Biographical and Historical Note” in the finding aid for the White


17. Information about McCann came from a variety of sources, including Lt. Cooney to Donald Schwartzmiller, March 20, 1964, box 79, folder 3, M4C; Gregorich, Smith, and Wittmaack interviews, and Gregorich to the author, Jan. 7, 2002; and Inglee to the author, April 5, 2000. Several years after the breakup of his marriage, McCann and Barbara Gregorich became companions and for a longer time were political associates.


20. Inglee to the author, Nov. 17, 2000; Walsh interview. See also Heineman, *Campus Wars*, 116–17.


22. Ibid. In my sample of 2,555 names appearing in the 1965–66 student directory, there were four students listed from Coshocton County.


26. Ibid., 139.


29. SWP involvement in CORE: Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 390. McCann’s connection with Cleveland’s school integration: Donald Schwartzmiller to Police Lt. Cooney, March 18, 1964, box 79, folder 3, M4C. Schwartzmiller had good connections with both the Cleveland police and the Ohio Highway Patrol, having served with the latter force from 1948 until 1960. For more on his background see “He Gets a Kick Out of Job,” *DKS*, Oct. 15, 1963. Don Smith’s
participation in the protests on the day of Bruce Klunder’s death is further indication of the support the SWP gave to the civil rights struggles.


31. “All Possible Steam,” *DKS*, Jan. 23, 1964. The Stater’s editor for the three-month winter quarter was Judy Starbuck. For a sampling of articles as well as letters expressing conservative and progressive sentiments, see the following in *DKS*: “Better Safe Than Sorry?,” Nov. 8, 1963; “CORE ‘Leader’ Is Dismaying” (letter), Jan. 29, 1964; “Writer Labels Freedom, Stater Variety, Appalling” (letter), Feb. 5; “Critic Views Implications of ‘Patriots’ Assertions,” and “Reader Questions Meyer on Meaning of Freedom” (letters), Feb. 12, 1964. McCann was the CORE leader criticized in the Jan. 29 letter. Most letters censuring the Stater and progressives were by members of the Council on Freedom.

32. See the following in *DKS*: “SPU Has Speaker Problems,” Jan. 23, 1964; “SPU Attacks Ruling,” Jan. 30; “Playing the Game” (editorial) and “One Side Is Not Heard in Travel Ban Dispute” (letter from John McCann), Jan. 31; “Don’t Tolerate Red Threat” Feb. 18.


36. Historically one of Ohio’s most conservative areas, Wayne County is home to the Daily Record, whose former publisher, Ray Dix, was the twin brother of Kent’s Robert C. Dix. Wayne County men were prominent among National Guard members who fired on Kent’s students in 1970 (see chapter 12).

37. “Here’s Roll Call Vote on Recognition of CORE” and “SC Members Explain Votes,” *DKS*,
Feb. 21, 1964; Inglee interview.

38. Inglee and Cheeks interviews.


40. The critical letters concerning CORE appeared in the Feb. 25, 1964, DKS; a negative letter about the SPU appeared the following day’s edition. Mike Morrell, head of the conservative Council on Freedom, authored the letter that disapproved of the DKS’s coverage of the SPU.


Perry quoted in Fred F. Endres, Pathways: An Historical Perspective on 60 Years of Professional Education (Kent: School of Journalism and Communication 1997), 113.

Objections to Slivka being named to the post: “Editors Protest” and “Stater Staffers: Slivka, Krell Fill Top Posts,” DKS, March 13, 1964. Nine members of the Stater met with White and later with Dr. Murvin Perry, the Director of Journalism. Rebuffed, the Stater staff who worked under editor Judy Starbuck issued an open letter to the campus community. A copy of the letter is in the Free Press file, KSUA. Clark named managing


50. Tabasko interview. Cleveland Heights was also home to a number of future antiwar activists at Kent State.

51. Ibid.

52. Biographical information about Robbins and his family is from the Kenyon College Library Archives; I am indebted to Nate Appy for his assistance in searching this archive for me. Nathaniel Hawthorne made the observation about Melville in a journal entry dated Nov. 20, 1856. Robbins also shared Fast’s political temperament. In a 1972 interview Fast
explained, “I believe that a person’s philosophical point of view has little meaning if it is not matched by being and action.” See Mervyn Rothstein, “Howard Fast, Best-Selling Novelist, Dies at 88,” *NYT*, March 13, 2003.


perspective of the 1964 election, see “Conservatives Take Heart” (by Klaus Bauer, head of the KSU Young Republicans), DKS, Nov. 18, 1964.

Chapter 3
The Beginning of Wartime Dissent


2. Inglee interview. Roy Inglee had at least one letter appear in the DKS in which he identified himself as a member of the YSA; DKS, Nov. 6, 1964. Erroneous stories that YSA had already achieved approval of its campus standing ran in the BJ, Jan. 8, 1965, and PD, Jan. 10.


4. “Equal Treatment” (editorial, signed with Judie Craig’s initials), DKS, Jan. 12, 1965.


6. Transcript (cover dated Jan. 21, 1965), box 14, folder 41, White Papers. The cover page, dated Jan. 21, 1965, lists Richard Curry as the chair of the committee and Inglee, Edwards, and Brock as the YSA representatives. (The actual text of the interview has the date of Jan. 25, the day it must have been typed.)
7. Fox to Rackham, Jan. 25, 1965, Rackham to Fox, Jan. 27, 1965, and Rackham to White, same
8. White to Rackham, Jan. 31, 1965, and Rackham to Donald H. Desch, Jan. 29, 1965, box 14,
folder 41, White Papers.
Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999),
323–32, 344, 363.
10. Spock’s position at Case Western Reserve: Thomas Maier, *Dr. Spock: An American Life*
(New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1998), 211–12, 221, 254–55. Spock’s reaction to the air attacks:
Thomas Powers, *Vietnam: The War at Home* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984), 54; Maier, *Dr.
11. See the following in DKS: “Socialists Protest over US Vietnam Retaliation,” Feb. 9, 1965;
“YSA Picketing Draws Jeering Student Crowd,” Feb. 10; “Pass the Popcorn” (editorial), Feb.
11; “Writers Consider Counter-Demonstrators’ Actions,” Feb. 12. See also “Student
Protestors Attacked in Ohio,” *The Militant*, Feb. 15, 1965; and “Protest Protestors at KSU—
Six Young Socialists Demonstrate,” *RC*, Feb. 10, 1965. The Stopher Hall dorm became a
focal point for counterprotestors for two reasons: it was near the gym and thus housed many
athletes, who tended to support the war; and it overlooked both Bowman Hall, site of many of
the early antiwar pickets, and the Commons, the open area in the middle of campus that
became a protest site.
12. Inglee, Barbara Brock, and Wittmaack interviews. Inglee remembers Brock being kicked, as
do several students who referred to the incident in separate letters to the DKS, Feb. 12, 1965.
Accounts differ, however, and two of the prowar students insisted that the kick “left no ill-
effects. . . . [and] was an accidental thing that could happen at any type of a gathering,
peaceful or otherwise.” “Writers Speak Out on YSA” (letter), DKS, Feb. 16, 1965.
13. In his interview, Inglee recounted that Cleveland SWP members criticized the YSAers for
their rashness. Paul Le Blanc makes much the same point about the influence of the older
cadre on YSA members in his entry on the Socialist Workers Party in *Encyclopedia of the
American Left*, ed. Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas (Urbana: University of
picket see chapter 2.


16. Inglee interview.


18. Brown to White, March 15, 1965 (containing Hoover’s letter of March 10), and White to Brown, March 18, box 14, folder 41, White Papers.

19. Brown to Betts, March 27, 1965, and Betts to Brown, March 31, 1965, box 14, folder 41, White Papers. White’s administration might have taken the unsolicited direction more seriously had it come from Governor James Rhodes.


24. For the preparation of the picket and the protest itself, see the following in *DKS*: “Students Plan Capital March to Protest Viet NAM Fighting,” April 8, 1965; “March on Washington’
Group Plans Viet Nam Demonstration,” April 14; “Faculty, Students Demonstrate, Prepare for Washington Walk” and “Demonstrate Maturity” (editorial), April 15. Roy Inglee mentioned the teach-in and the SDS representative in his interview. Harassment during the picket: “Students React to Demonstration; Most Think ‘Nothing Accomplished,’” DKS, April 16, 1965. Antiwar sentiment may have grown after veteran CBS reporter Harry Reasoner spoke on campus at a mock UN assembly program on April 10. Only the six hundred students at the assembly heard Reasoner’s ambiguous remarks, but many more read the story’s headline. He called for American withdrawal while also stating that “we are there to stay. We will come out all right if we stand firm.” “Viet Nam: ‘U.S. Get Out,’ Says Reasoner,” DKS, April 13, 1965.


26. Description of the march and comments about Phil Ochs: Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam, 1987), 183. On Ochs, and for the quote from Potter’s speech, see Sale, SDS, 186–87. Iva Pearce, who had been recruited into the Cleveland ERAP by Paul Potter, was scheduled to speak, but was injured in a car accident prior to the march. Her speech was read by a stand-in. Miller, “Democracy Is in the Streets,” 232–33; Powers, Vietnam, 76–77; Tom Hayden, Reunion: A Memoir (New York: Random House, 1988), 177.


had organized the counterprotest in February. On the prowar protest see also “Rally to Back Viet Nam War Policy of President Johnson,” *DKS*, May 11, 1965.

29. For the action taken by the KSU student senate and Ehrlich’s response, see the following in *DKS*: letter from Gary Baker, May 18, 1965; “Ehrlich Criticizes Senate on Defeat of Selma Bill,” May 19; “Rally Supports Pres Johnson’s Viet Nam Stand,” May 12. Three student senators voted against the resolution favoring the war.


32. “People resent the university . . .”: Harris Dante, oral history, Nov. 19, 1991, KHS. Dante taught education and history at KSU. *Lawrence, Kansas, was home to two newspapers, one an ultra-right weekly publication. Kent, on the other hand, had the liberalizing effect of a nearby paper like the *Beacon-Journal*, the political influence of New Deal Democrats, and the presence of strong labor unions in the surrounding industrial area. Unlike Ohio, for most of the last century Kansas was essentially a one-party state. Finally, while the climate in Kent and Portage County was sufficiently hospitable for supporters of the John Birch Society, such a presence was more commonplace in Lawrence.* On Lawrence, Kansas: Monhollon, *This Is America?*, chaps. 1 and 2. For a reference to the Birchers in Portage County, see “Birch Society Is Defended” (letter from V. Fuller, Streetsboro), *RC*, Feb. 2, 1965. For more on anticommunism in Kent and Portage County, see the off-campus response to the YSA recognition issue and the letters cited in note 3.


35. “Old style college president”: interview of Dr. Charles Chandler, April 30, 1996, KHS. The context indicates that Chandler was being descriptive rather than critical. “President White worked harder . . .”: interview of Sue Briers-Gambaccini, May 7, 1997, KHS. Briers-Gambaccini worked closely with White from the time he was dean of the education department through his tenure as president.

36. Michener, Kent State, 121–22. The information about the men’s travel interests is from the Briers-Gambaccini and Helen Dix interviews, KHS; that both liked gray suits is drawn from the author’s own memory and period photographs.


40. Myra MacPherson, Long Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation (New York:
Industrial employment figures for Barberton: *County and City Data Book, 1962: A Statistical Abstract Supplement* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1963). See also Thomas M. Grace, “A Legacy of Dissent: The Culture and Politics of Protest at Kent State University, 1958–1964 (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2003), xix. Canfora’s recollections are from his unpublished memoir. For Mowrer, see his 1975 deposition, box 17, ACLU Coll. *By the fall of 1969, the industrial city of 30,000 had lost fifteen soldiers. Two more would die in 1970. Box 17 in the ACLU Coll. at Yale contains the deposition of Larry Mowrer, a member of the Ohio National Guard sued as a result of his participation in the Kent State University shootings. His 1975 interview, from where the information was obtained, was conducted to gather eyewitness testimony for a civil trial held later that same year.*


42. On the small size of the radical movement even in the months after the April 1965 march in Washington: Charles DeBenedetti with Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 120. Oglesby’s election to the SDS presidency, the formation of the Committees to End the War in Vietnam, and new SDS chapters: Sale, *SDS*, 208–9, 219, 122n, 193n, 663; Oglesby interview.

**Chapter 4**

**The Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam**

1. A sampling of about 17 percent of listings in the 1965–66 KSU student directory shows that 13 percent of students were from out of state, the majority of them from Pennsylvania, chiefly Pittsburgh. New York took second place, with more than half the total coming from the western part of the state, although a good number came from either Long Island or New York
City. Most students were from cities, towns, and suburbs located in the Western Reserve, and approximately a third came from the region’s industrial urban areas, down from about 50 percent five years earlier. In raw numbers, however, urban students continued to be well represented among Kent’s overall student body.

2. Gregorich interview.


5. Material on the KCEWV is in box 79, folder 13, M4C (hereafter cited as KCEWV file); Jackson interview (quotation). Additional information on Ehrlich: Walsh and Howie Emmer interviews; conversation with Ruth Gibson.


11. Jackson interview.


Security Officer) to Dr. James Fox, Nov. 24, 1965, KCEWV file. The KCEWV flyer, dated Nov. 22, 1965, referred to the fact that “Hundreds of GI’s have died in a series of vicious battles. Perhaps an even greater number of South Vietnamese . . . have died in a war which was supposed to liberate them.” Involvement and conduct of city police in the picket of Nov. 22: Eric N. Rackham to Dr. Harold R. Collins, department of English, Dec. 8, 1965, KCEWV file. For additional information about the picket and subsequent meeting, see “Students Heckle Anti–Viet Nam Demonstrators,” DKS, Nov. 23, 1965; and Crawford to Schwartzmiller, Nov. 23, 1965, KCEWV file.


17. Jackson interview.


19. See the following in DKS: “Students Heckle Anti–Viet Nam Demonstrators,” Nov. 23, 1965 (the petition campaign); Walsh’s letter, Nov. 11; nine letters criticizing Walsh, Nov. 17 and 18; letters from Seaman Louis Krbec III, Nov. 3 and 23; “Sign Here” (photo story featuring White), Dec. 1.


Brock’s attempt to elicit a statement from White: White to Brock, March 29, 1966, box 2, folder 14, White Papers.


23. Lencl was a full-time student, but inadvertently signed up for an evening class that conflicted with his night-shift job in a Cleveland machine shop. He dropped the class, thinking he would get by taking only nine semester hours. He did not. Lencl interview. John Conklin is a pseudonym; my conversations with him took place in 2009. Johnson interview. Chris Butler, interview by Daniel Miller, in *Fire in the Heartland: Kent State, May 4th, and Student Protest in America* (documentary; Fire River Productions, 2010).


in the spring of 1968 on a flyer titled “Why We Are Striking,” which lists the endorsers and speakers; copy in KCEWV file.

28. Modugno and Hoffman interviews. It was at the Unicorn where Modugno met Clevelander Howie Emmer and other “campus activists, hippies, and musicians.” For Howie Emmer, see chapter 2.

29. Hoffman interview; “Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam” (with photo of Dave Edwards carrying the sign), DKS, April 14, 1966; LeRoy Peach to Donald L. Schwartzmiller, “‘Demonstration’ of Kent Committee [sic] to End war in Viet Nam,” April 14, 1966, KCEWV file.

30. Conversation with Dave Dyer; Modugno interview.


Walsh, who returned to Cleveland for law school. Walsh, like John McCann, would remain a fixture in the antiwar movement in Cleveland, with the law student befriending Cleveland SDS members, some of whom later became active at Kent. Joe Jackson, and unaffiliated activists like George Hoffman and Vince Modugno, both of whom were becoming increasingly radicalized, grasped the baton passed by Walsh. Though a growing number of independent-minded activists continued to work with the YSA within the committee, it was these socialists who continued to play key roles in the KCEWV. And it was the KCEWV that would guide the antiwar movement at Kent State for the next two years. Walsh interview. Information about McCann, Gregorich interview.

Chapter 5
Fire in the City, Vigils on the Campus


of the KSU Black United Students, Rudy Perry, also lived in Cleveland near where the 1966 disturbances occurred.


10. Modugno, Carson, and Hoffmann interviews. There may have been an additional component to the rock-throwing incident, as Modugno recognized his assailant as somebody from high school with whom he had once had a dispute. See also “A Veteran’s View,” DKS, Feb. 16, 1967; and “Vietnam Protesters Try New Approach,” DKS, Feb. 28.

11. See the following in DKS: “Students to Vote on Vietnam Issue” and “22 Profs Back Viet Statement—‘Citizens for a Free Vietnam,’” Feb. 28, 1967; “Pro or Con” (editorial), March 1; “Students Favor War Escalation,” March 3. Several prominent members of the history department, including its chairman, Henry N. Whitney, signed the statement. The sophomore’s recollection: Robin Marks-Fife, remarks made at an SDS reunion at Kent State, May 6, 1989. Marks-Fife told of coming from an affluent family. He father, a writer, once interviewed Martin Luther King Jr. She was drawn into the antiwar movement through her friendship with Howie Emmer.


13. Jackson interview. Howie Emmer, in his interview, gave a similar assessment about the value of the vigils.

14. Whitaker interview.

15. Ibid.
16. Conversation with Ric Erickson. He started college at Ohio State in 1962, transferred to Akron University, and moved on to Kent State. On his father, Edward O. Erickson, see “United Dem Pull Puts Erickson in Mayor Seat” and “The Erickson Victory” (editorial), BJ, Nov. 8, 1961. **Erickson’s margin of victory was razor thin: 440 votes out of 85,000 cast. Akron had a history of exceedingly close elections, with the previous mayoral race in 1959 having been decided by 78 votes. For another example of a student who became more active in the antiwar movement after witnessing the abusive treatment of the KCEWV activists, see the story of Fran Weiss in “I think They’ve Got A Right,”” DKS, Nov. 8, 1966.**

17. “26 English Professors Sign ‘Peace’ Statement,” DKS, March 2, 1967; the full-page ad ran in the DKS on June 2. Among the prominent faculty signers were Harris L. Dante and William H. Kenney from the history department; Sidney Jackson, library science; Richard Myers, art; Jerry Lewis, sociology; and Byron Lander, Murray Fishel, and Peter Crossland, political science.


20. Criticism of the UN march and the quote “unspeakable malignance”: “Student against Subversives, for American Way of Life,” DKS, April 19, 1967; “‘Protestors: Ask Yourselves Why,’” DKS, April 21. On Wayne Morse see “Morse: ‘US Influence in UN Eroding,’” DKS, May 2, 1967; for the give-and-take over Morse’s appearance, see DKS, May 5, May 10, and May 16. **Kent’s most committed conservative was former army Green Beret Ronald T. Hornberger. Following service in Vietnam in 1965, he enrolled at Kent State. He left school a year later for Guatemala. There, said a friend and a family member, the vehement anticommmunist intended “to conduct a one-man campaign against**
Guatemala’s Red guerrillas,” and he died under mysterious circumstances in Sept. 1966. Looking to distance Hornberger from any link with the government, a State Department official was quoted as saying: “He was just a young fellow who decided he wanted to go to Guatemala. We have no knowledge he was a CIA agent.” See “Body of Kent Student Found in Guatemala,” DKS, Nov. 15, 1966; and “Former Student Listed Dead,” DKS, Jan. 10, 1967.

21. The position taken in the May 25 DKS letter was moderate in tone and freely quoted Democratic senator Wayne Morse, yet it also indicated that due to the “American troop build-up” it would be “necessary that we show the Johnson Administration the more they escalate the more sustained will be our response.” The full text of the concise advertisement that appeared in the Stater reads: “We, the undersigned students and faculty of Kent State University, oppose the United States involvement in the Vietnam War on legal and moral grounds. We particularly deplore the extensive suffering the war has brought upon Vietnamese civilians.” The statement is a veritable who’s who of campus antiwar activists. Among the forty graduate students who signed the missive were those with histories of supporting progressive causes, like Roman Tymchyshyn and Jim Lincoln, as well as those who would play important roles in SDS, like Arif Kazmi and Ronald Weisberger. Among the list of 200 undergraduates were YSAers Ron Wittmaack, Barbara Brock, Dave Edwards, Ruth Gibson, Carolyn Carson, and Bob Bresnahan. Those leaning more to the unorganized DuBois Club tendency were Joe Jackson and Joe Likover. KCEWV members included Bob Ehrlich, Beverly Pello, Sue Lincoln, Eric Hummel, Linda Bresnahan, Joel Slater, Harold Rogers, and Fran Weiss. Many others went on to participate in SDS: Jim Veeder, Vince Modugno, Abby Schindler, Candy Erickson, Bill Whitaker, Howie Emmer, George Hoffman, and more mutedly, Larry Lamovsky. Artists included musicians Terry Hynde and Jerry Casale, and poet Jack Ramey. There were several athletes, including cerebral distance runner Tom Dowling. Others not listed had either moved away or moved on. Will Patton is believed to have left the country by 1967 in order to avoid the Selective Service System, while Barbara Gregorich had taken a position at Cuyahoga Community College. Roy Inglee had yet to return to Kent. Ric Erickson had yet to move into the orbit of student movement politics.

Regarding his visit to Kent, he describes a restaurant that once operated near the intersection of Lincoln and Main Street, a short distance from campus. In checking with activists from this era, as well as others whose addresses became communes (of a sort), none remember ever meeting Rossman. Telephone conversation with George Hoffman, and author communications with Carolyn Knox, Larry Lamovsky, and Bill Whitaker (all March 5, 2006), and Howie Emmer, March 6, 2006.


26. See the following in *DKS*: “11 Poli Sci Profs Urge LBJ to De-escalate War,” Nov. 29, 1967; “Faculty Committee to Work for De-escalation of Viet War,” Oct. 17; Peter Crossland, “Faculty Urged to Take Stand on Viet War” (opinion), Oct. 20; “KCEWV School to Probe War,” Nov. 3; “U.S. Withdrawal Wouldn’t Hurt Economy—Cochran,” Nov. 9; “‘Modern Man Is Trigger Happy’—Dr. Hildebrant,” Nov. 8, and his letter of clarification, “Prof Criticizes Report of Viet School Speech,” Nov. 15; and “Negro’s Commitment in Vietnam Questioned” (about a presentation by J. Ashley Higginbotham that was critical of the role African Americans were forced to play in Vietnam), Nov. 16.


28. Franklin interview.


32. Quotations are from the Hoffman and Wittmaack interviews. Carson interview; she discussed her own involvement as well as Gibson’s. Gibson is also covered in Heineman, Campus Wars, 178. Modugno provided additional background on the internal life of the committee. The KSU administration took interest in the divisions inside the committee, as Dean Eric Rackham phoned White on Oct. 27, 1967, to report that “a power struggle exists within the Kent Comte [sic]”; box 22, folder 48, White Papers.

33. Jackson and Franklin interviews.


**Chapter 6**

**Moving toward Resistance**


7. Emmer, “Pentagon Rally”; Powrie interview; Sale, *SDS*, 385; Powrie’s speech at SDS reunion, May 5, 1989; Howie Emmer interview. **George Hoffman was similarly affected by what he later remembered as an “awe-inspiring” experience that night at the Pentagon. Hoffman interview.**

8. Emmer, “Pentagon Rally.”


10. For details of the protest, see the following in *DKS*: “Kent Police Photograph Protestors,” Oct. 27, 1967; “Protest Photos Debated Today,” Oct. 31; “KCEWV Protests Dow-Napalm Producers” and He Seeks Enlightenment for Dow Chemical Co.” (letter by Irwin Loibman), Nov. 1; “Dow, KCEWV Trade Statements” and “Campus Group Urges Disposal of Vigil Pix,” Nov. 2. See also see Betty R. Hovencamp, Director of Student Activities, to Robert E. Matson, Dean of Students (memo), Nov. 3, 1967, and KCEWV flyer about the Dow protest, KCEWV file. For a photo of Professor Lough and the hecklers showing signs from Stopher Hall, see *Chestnut Burr ’68* (KSU yearbook), 44–45.

11. For a description of the tensions, see Hovencamp to Matson, Nov. 3, 1967. **George Hoffman, a principal founder of the Kent SDS, was selected co-chair of the KCEWV to balance the YSA leanings of Ruth Gibson. While the Kent Committee had used the co-chair system in previous years, in this case the two-chair system kept the committee from fracturing, as there was an increasing level of distrust of the YSA by independent radicals. As George Hoffman later recalled, “having co-chairs kept the committee together.” Hoffman interview.** Background on YSA’s participation in campus antiwar activity: Tim Wohlforth, *The Prophet’s Children: Travels on the American Left* Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1994), 154–56.

12. Atkinson’s father worked at TRW a factory in Cleveland whose workforce was
represented by the Aircraft Workers Alliance. Taylor was a friend of Hoffman and Modugno from Cuyahoga Falls. Jackson and Hoffman interviews; conversation with Steve Lieber. Hammond’s father worked as a drivers’ ed instructor. It was a two-income household; his mother worked as a secretary. For more on Hammond, see Heineman, *Campus Wars, 222*. On the Stokes campaign see the following in *DKS*: “Stokes Rep. to Recruit for Election Day Help,” Nov. 2, 1967; Ken Hammond, “Students Urged to Help Stokes Campaign,” Nov. 3. **Jerry Persky was another activist involved in the Stokes campaign; Persky interview.** See also “Stokes Is Elected Mayor—Victory Margin Less Than 2,500 Votes,” *PD*, Nov. 7, 1967.


14. See the following in *DKS*: Robert I. White, “More ‘Ups’ in View,” Sept. 26, 1967; editorial (critical of Matson’s decision to cancel use of a university bus for travel to the Cleveland protest), Dec. 8; Frank Frisina, “Retreat from Vietnam Wouldn’t End War,”” Nov. 9. **Frisina, a sophomore political science major from Kent and future supporter of White and Matson, contributed an opinion piece to the *Stater* that advocated patience with the Vietnam policy.**


18. The registration form, completed on Feb. 26, 1968, is in the Hoffman file in box 77, M4C. Hoffman is listed as SDS president, Modugno as vice president, Abby Schindler as secretary, and Dan Stratton as treasurer. **The group operated, at least at the outset, by democratic consensus. Hoffman tried to explain to the SAC staff that the organization had no officers in the traditional sense, but registration was impossible without completion of the form. Thereupon Hoffman, the consummate functionary, became SDS president. Headquarters for SDS became Hoffman’s rented house on 130 West Elm Street, the address to which New Left Notes had been sent since 1966.** Weisberger’s apprehension and Hoffman’s readiness for SDS: Hoffman interview. Description of SDS: “The Draft: Hell No We Won’t Go!” (interview of Hoffman and Modugno), DKS, Jan. 17, 1968. For a mention of SDS activities and anti-draft positions in NLN, see Sale, SDS, 374–77.

19. Quote from militant Henry Austin and the description of the initial BUS meetings: Milton E. Wilson, “Involvement/2 Years Later: A Report on Programming in the Area of Black Student Concerns at Kent State University, 1968–1970,” box 1, Milton E. Wilson, Jr., Papers, KSUA, 277–78. **Like Powrie, Fargo, raised in Louisville, Kentucky, also played on Kent State’s football team. And like Powrie, he also quit football. For his age and hometown, see Dwayne White file, box 78, M4C. Thigpen and Pickett hailed from New Jersey, while Tolliver came from Rome, New York. More typically, Ghe came from Cleveland, as did most African American students at Kent State. For the hometowns of Thigpen, Pickett, and Tolliver, see Wilson, “‘Involvement,’” 27, 84, 373. Concerning BUS leadership positions, the titles changed over time.** Initially, BUS had two co-chairs, but when they went to a more conventional structure to satisfy SAC requirements they began using the more typical titles of president, vice-president, etc. Baldwin quoted in Jonathan Yardley, “James Baldwin Strikes a Spark,” WP, Feb. 16, 2004.

20. Austin’s first appearance in Kent and its sponsorship by YSA: Wilson, “Involvement,” 253,

21. KSU Police Sgt. J. R. Crawford to D[onald] L. Schwartzmiller, Feb. 16, 1968; the memo concerned a report by Lawrence W. O’Brien, identified as a KSU freshman, who provided details of Austin’s participation in radical meetings to the campus police. Cleveland police chief Michael J. Blackwell called attention to O’Brien’s willingness to provide information in a letter to Kent City Police, who passed along the tip to Schwartzmiller. The Crawford memo and Blackwell’s letter are in the Dwayne White file, box 78, M4C. Austin’s activities in Cleveland: Hill, “The Deacons for Defense and Justice,” 360–62, quotation on 362.


23. “Poll Rates Nixon Best at Handling War,” *NYT*, Aug. 25, 1968. In April 1968 a Gallup poll asked: “Do you think the U.S. made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?” Forty-eight percent said yes, 40 percent said no, and 12 percent had no opinion. The March polling was virtually identical, with 49 percent saying yes; 41 percent saying no, and 10 percent with no opinion.


25. Dyer interview.


27. “Johnson Will Not Run Again—Students Jubilant,” *DKS*, April 2, 1968; “Students to Aid McCarthy Dive,” *DKS*, April 3; Judy Gollust King to the author, Feb. 20, 2006; and
conversations with David King and Joe Sima. Interview of Harriet Begala, April 30, 1991, KHS. See also “McCarthy for President Campaign Opens in Kent,” RC, March 27, 1968. One possible exception to the electoral activists may have been Norman Roman, who headed Kent State’s “Students for Kennedy.” Roman was one of seventeen individuals and organizations that complained about the administration’s behavior during an antiwar rally on April 26. Ohio’s awarding of party convention delegates in 1968: Michael Barone, Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan (New York: Free Press, 1990), 439; number of delegates won by the respective candidates: Richard G. Zimmerman, Call Me Mike: A Political Biography of Michael V. DiSalle (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2003), 261–62.


29. See the following in NYT: “Port Work Suspended as Tribute,” April 6, 1968; “Hanoi Sends Condolences to Group Led by Dr. King,” April 9; “Rioting Disquiets G.I.’s in Vietnam,” April 8; “Maddox Is Upset, but Atlanta Flags Fly at Half-Staff,” April 9; “Gallup Poll Finds Nixon Leads 3 Chief Democratic Contenders,” April 20; “Wallace Insists He’s Not a Bigot—Stresses on Texas Tour His ‘Compassion’ for Negro” and “Petition Drive in South,” April 28.

30. See the following in DKS, April 9, 1968: “No Violence Forecast Here” (Fargo quote); “America’s Dream” (editorial); and “Local Tribute to a Slain Leader” (Pickett’s remarks). Carmichael quoted in Jules Witcover, The Year the Dream Died: Revisiting 1968 in America (New York: Warner Books, 1997), 156. See also “YSA Supports Carmichael View on King’s Murder” (letter by Roy Inglee and David Edwards), RC, April 10, 1968; and White to William VanderWyden, KSU Student Body President, and Robert Pickett, Vice President, April 17, 1968, box 4, folder 23, White Papers. For still more, see “King Death Stuns Portage Area;” April 5, 1968, and “500 March in Kent in Memory of King,” RC, April
9, 1968.


32. Genesis of the nationally sponsored, locally arranged protests: Sale, SDS, 399–403, 406, 428–30. For details of the week-long series of meetings and protests, see the following in DKS: “Class Strike Planned,” April 11, 1968; “SDS Holds Vigil to Back Spock,” April 16; “Socialist to Discuss Black Nationalism” (mentions Austin’s appearance) and “Speak at Newman” (details of Watson’s talk at the Needle’s Eye and Cornell’s talk at the Newman Center), April 18; “Students Boycott Friday for Peace,” April 25. See also “Peace Calendar—Kent State University” (flyer outlining the events), KCEWV file. The rally in Cleveland, chaired by Rev. Robert Bonthius of the city’s Peace Action Council, drew a large, racially mixed crowd. Speakers included Rev. Philip Berrigan, Willie Ricks of SNCC, Jim Harvey of the National Black Student Anti-Draft Union, and Mike Spiegel of SDS. See “2,000 Protest War, Racism in Mall Rally,” PD, April 27, 1968.

33. “Heckler’s Barbs Turn to Bullets” and “Voices of Dissent, Officials Collide,” DKS, April 30, 1968. Difficulties between the administration and the organizations and individuals backing the strike: “Attention!” (flyer), KCEWV file; see also Betty R. Hovencamp to Ruth Gibson, April 25, 1968, box 28, folder 48, White Papers. The sharp tone of the letter represented a significant change from the kind words Hovencamp had about Gibson months earlier during the first protest rally against Dow.

34. Modugno’s complaint to campus police, Gibson’s arrest, and the charges by the Kent Committee against the administration: “Voices of Dissent, Officials Collide” and “Hecklers’ Barbs Turn to Bullets,” DKS, April 30, 1968. Although campus police found no evidence that a rifle was used to fire the BBs or pellets, this was widely thought to be the case. For details of the incident see the memo from White to the Faculty Senate, May 2, 1968, box 28, folder 48, White Papers. One alarming detail in the same memo concerned a police radio log from 1:09 p.m. about a call reporting that a “male subject 6’ 2” parked car on south side of Prentice Hall and proceeded on foot toward the Commons with a shotgun”; according to the log,
officers were dispatched to the scene. This was the only reference I could locate pertaining to the alleged sighting of an armed man. For more on the episode, see the “BB Incident Mars KSU Speak-Out,” RC, April 27, 1968.

35. “HHH Here on May 3,” DKS, April 24, 1968. Humphrey’s announcement as a candidate (on April 27): Witcover, The Year the Dream Died, 182. Humphrey had the misfortune of making his announcement on a day when tens of thousands of people throughout the country were demonstrating against the war; it also came only ten days before Ohio’s primary.


37. The resignations were from Eric Rackham, dean of student services, and John Kamerick, vice-president and provost; see “Two Resignations,” DKS, May 9, 1968. “Welcome and present”: White to Humphrey, April 25, 1968, box 4, folder 24, White Papers.


39. “Wins Bible Belt Seal of Approval”; Simpson interview. The RC coverage mentioned the walkout but focused on the mainly positive reception Humphrey received in Kent. See, among others, “Reception ‘Magnificent’—HHH Says of KSU, Kent” and “It Was Day of Sidelights, Highlights with No. 2 Man,” RC, May 4, 1968. Pickett quoted in “Ohio Students Acclaim HHH,” WP, May 4, 1968. See also R. C. Dix’s column, “Along the Way,” May 6, 1968; Dix, who met with Humphrey, discussed the exchange between Pickett and Humphrey and how the encounter with the vice president had impressed Pickett.

40. Campus poll: “KSU Students Dovish—According to DKS Poll,” DKS, May 1, 1968. The
poll, which had run in the DKS the previous week, gave only two options, hawk or dove (a somewhat elastic term); 177 students responded, with 71 percent choosing “dove.” In response to a question on US military presence in Vietnam, 58 percent favored a gradual reduction of American forces, while just 12 percent backed the antiwar demand of immediate withdrawal. People grouped around the Kent Committee insisted that the war was wrong and that US troops needed to be immediately withdrawn. It is possible that the gulf between radical antiwar activists and liberal, “negotiate now” critics of the war was wider than is often recognized. Austin’s letter: “Peace a Little Extreme,” DKS, May 14, 1968.

41. Powrie, Simpson, and Jackson interviews. The most sensational headline of the out-of-town papers examined was “Humphrey Challenged by Negro,” in the Chicago Sun Times; more typical was “HHH Emotionally States Hopes after Negroes Stage Walk Out,” in the Boston Globe (both on May 4, 1968). Locally, the story was reported under the favorable banner “HHH at Kent State Shows His Style,” in the CP of the same date. None of these stories appeared on the front page, although all were carried in the first section. Television coverage: Chestnut Burr ’69, 43. The author also recalls watching the report on the CBS News.


44. Protest by African American students: “BUS Stages Sit-in,” DKS, May 29, 1968; BUS sought a full-time teaching position for Pitts as well as his appointment as “the black coordinator and head of minority affairs.” For the nature of the dispute, see White to Dr. Lawrence Litwack, EEOC, May 15, 1968, and White to Robert Pitts, May 17, box 4, folder 26; White to Robert Pitts, May 23, 1968, and White to Dr. Morin, May 28, box 4, folder 27, White Papers. Pitts had been active in the formation of the KSU CORE chapter in 1964; see box 79, folder 3, M4C. “Wash-Out ’68” (editorial), DKS, May 14, 1968.
Chapter 7
Election 1968


8. For sociological explanations of such violence, see Joe R. Feagin and Harlan Hahn, Ghetto Revolts: The Politics of Violence in American Cities (New York: Macmillan, 1973),
especially chap. 1. Cleveland’s African American residents had experienced years of unpunished brutality from vigilantes who operated with tacit police support. See Louis H. Masotti and Jerome R. Corsi, *Shoot-Out in Cleveland: Black Militants and the Police, July 23, 1968* (Washington, DC: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 36–41, which includes background information on the dismal social conditions in the city and on Evans’s experience in the service, including his injury during the Korean War and subsequent psychomotor epilepsy, which caused “aggressive behavior . . . under stress” (40–41).


10. The slain marine was AWOL from his unit. See Masotti and Corsi, *Shoot-Out in Cleveland*, 61–63; and “Man, Sons Held in Murder of Negro at Bus Stop,” *PD*, July 26, 1968.


the North have been exposed in recent years to repeated discussions of the supposed threats to their schools and communities posed by integration.” Seymour M. Lipset and Earl Raab, “The Wallace Whitelash,” in Walter Dean Burnham, ed., Politics/America: The Cutting Edge of Change (New York: D. van Nostrand, 1973), 107–10. The fact that young people such as Real and Powell developed strong views to the contrary also provides evidence that some working-class parents were exposing their children to different kinds of messages.

14. Boram interview. Others were indifferent to books and topical literature. KCEWV member Joe Jackson found himself increasingly alienated from the newly formed SDS chapter and the premium its members seemed to place on confrontation over education. KCEWV member Ruth Gibson felt that activists like George Hoffman had betrayed the committee by organizing SDS. For his part, Hoffman never saw the value of debating Trotskyism with Gibson or Roy Inglee. For Hoffman and many others, marijuana, long hair, and psychedelic rock were taking the place of coffee houses, Ivy League hairstyles, and Marxist study.


Real, Jeff Powell, and Bobbi Smith, the latter of whom held an academic post in Kent’s English department, were among other activists from the campus that traveled to Chicago from Akron-Kent.


18. A teenager was shot to death just before the convention opened. See Jules Witcover, The Year the Dream Died: Revisiting 1968 in America (New York: Warner Books, 1997), 320. Hoffman’s and Powell’s participation: Hoffman interview; and Powell, “The Storm,” which includes a graphic account of the threats made to his personal safety by as many as four officers who picked him up for a curfew violation. Being under eighteen, he was taken to a police station for being out after 9 p.m. without adult supervision; Real won Powell’s release that night by posing as a priest and convincing the officers to discharge the youth into his custody. Police conduct on Sunday evening: Farber, Chicago ’68, 180–83.

19. Hayden’s arrest: Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 454; Farber, Chicago ’68, 183–84; Powell, “The Storm.”


21. Witcover, The Year the Dream Died, 322; Powell, “The Storm”; Powrie and Hoffman interviews. The Peace Plank was defeated by a vote of 1,500 to 1,000. See also “Ohio’s Vote Is 67–48 against Peace Plank,” PD, Aug. 29, 1968; and Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson, and Bruce Page, An American Melodrama: The Presidential Campaign of 1968 (New York: Viking, 1969), 524–37. According to one estimate, for every six demonstrators there was one agent, but even if this number is highly inflated, there were plenty in the crowd; see Farber, Chicago ’68, 169–70.


26. See the following in *RC*: “Dix Newsman Is Clubbed in Riot, Deplores Police Action,” Aug. 29, 1968; “Battle of Chicago” (editorial) and “DiPaolo Defends Daley’s Handling of Chi Riots,” Aug. 30; “Chicago: What Alternatives?” (letter), Sept. 3; “Urges Support for the Police” and “Must Look at Themselves” (letters), Sept. 6. **There was one letter in the same issue from several Kent residents who condemned Daley’s “Gestapo tactics.”** See “**By Fruits You Will Know Them**”—*Chicago Epitaph*.”


28. On the formation of SDS and its broader educational arm, see “University of SDS,” *DKS*, Oct. 8, 1968. The notice for the Sept. 28 meeting featured a Dylan quote, “20 Years of Schooling and They Put You on the Day Shift.” Of the issues mentioned on the flyer, the first five dealt with student concerns; the others were “racism, the Vietnamese war, the draft, [and] the coming election,” in that order. Copy in the author’s possession. Terry Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 239–410. Canfora’s background: Albert Canfora interview and conversations with the younger Canfora in 1968. Flanagan’s background: box 77, M4C, and from the author’s own knowledge of him. Bukosky’s background: Leonard “Buk” Bukosky (Paul’s brother) to the author, June 25, 2002, and Barber interview; Barber (who was Bukosky’s high school girlfriend) described his time in a seminary as being his political “spark.”
29. Lencl and Johnson interviews. Hudson’s background: box 107, folder 10, M4C, and from a friend, David King. Gorup’s background: Boram interview (Boram is Gorup’s former wife).


Other activists are harder to categorize, such as Curt Resnick, a high school classmate of Howie Emmer. The register of suspected members of SDS compiled by the Kent State police, although it is not entirely accurate and some of the addresses are faulty, lists eight with out-of-state addresses, a percentage in line with the figure of approximately 20 percent for the student body as a whole.

31. Of fifty-nine SDS leaders/members either listed in the KSU police files or cited in the HCIS report, twenty-three were women; see box 107, folder 10, M4C, and the index to HCIS, *Investigation, Part 2*, i–iv. Carolyn Knox tells her story of having transferred to Kent State from Vassar in the documentary *Fire in the Heartland: Kent State, May 4th, and Student Protest in America*, dir. Daniel Miller (Fire River Productions, 2010). Other prominent activists not mentioned in the narrative were Joyce Cecora and Lisa Meisel, who were from suburban Mayfield Heights and Shaker Heights, respectively. Cecora’s information is in box 107, folder 10, SDS Records. Meisel’s in box 78, KSU Police Files, M4C. Schindler grew up in New York City and is listed as being from Scarsdale. See HCIS, *Investigation, Part 2*, 547; and box 107, folder 10, M4C. Boram interview. Other activists from either blue-collar or middle-income families were Mary Ann Jackson, Sharon Post, and Marie Russo, from Salem, Cuyahoga Falls, and Youngstown, respectively. See box 107, folder 10, SDS Records, and boxes 77 and 78, KSU Police Files.


34. See the following in *DKS*: “Ohio Campaign—HHH Boosts Youth,” Sept. 24, 1968; “HHH Rally Tonight,” Oct. 2; “Student Asks Support for Humphrey” (letter from Christopher Kobrak), Oct. 3, 1968. In addition to the Oct. 2 article on McWilliams, see also “Hold Rally,” *BJ*, Oct. 2, 1968, which mentions the appearance by the Nation’s editor. The *Sorensen* lecture was hosted by the KSU artist lecture series.

35. The appearance by McWilliams was publicized but not reported; the author relied on his own memory of the talk. The lecture is covered in “Sorensen,” *DKS*, Oct. 22, 1968; Erickson quoted in “Sorensen: Don’t Sit Out Election—Heckled at KSU,” *RC*, Oct. 19. In a conversation with the author, Robert Smedley, a supporter of SDS, remembered Erickson as being well versed and persuasive during his exchange with Sorensen that October evening. *While Sorensen and others sought votes for their candidates, the campaign took place three years before passage of the XXVI Amendment*. Registration laws were such that students were forced to either return home to vote or do so by absentee ballot. Moreover, the registration deadline was the same week that school started leaving almost no time for organizers to enroll new voters. “Register to Vote” (editorial), *DKS*, Sept. 25, 1968.


42. The *Plain Dealer* characterized the speech as “inaudible,” while the Akron paper reported that the clamor of protestors made LeMay’s talk almost impossible to hear. “Scuffles Mar Wallace Rally, Six Injured,” *PD*, Oct. 6, 1968; and “Cleveland Violence Is First in Wallace Campaign,” *BJ*, Oct. 6. The African American militant is identified in the SDS paper, *The Big Us*. Dostal and his co-defendant Dave Gass, a member of YAWF, both were tried in early November. “Committee Needs Help,” *DKS*, Oct. 31, 1968. Sponsors of the Dostal-Gass Defense Committee included Tony Walsh, former ERAP member Ollie Fein, MOBE leader Sid Peck, and African American militants Wilbur Gratten and Dave Tuck.

43. “Confront Nixon” (SDS flyer), box 77, folder 2, M4C; “Nixon’s 2 1/2 Problems,” *Time*, Oct. 18, 1968, 22; “Nixon Gets Akron’s Mixed Blessing” and “Orders from Washington’
Mustered Heckler Brigade?,” BJ, Oct. 11, 1968; Dyer interview; Timothy DeFrange, interview by Helene Cooley, April 30, 1990, Kent State Shootings Oral Histories Collection, M4C. Alan Canfora’s account, which corroborates DeFrange, is in Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 512. SDS members Whitaker, Hoffmann, and Emmer can be seen in photos of the event that appeared along with the following DKS stories: “8,000 Listen as Nixon Raps Administration” and “The New Nixon,” Oct. 15, 1968. Not all from KSU opposed Nixon; the Akron audience included 150 student supporters. See “KSU Delegation Is Orderly” and “Nixon Tells Large Akron Crowd He’ll Carry Ohio.” RC, Oct. 11, 1968.


46. Nardella interview. See also “Peter Bommarito; Ex-Head of Rubber Workers’ Union,” LA Times, Sept. 29, 1989. Nardella worked closely with Albert Canfora on the Summit County AFL-CIO Council. Nardella, who was known for his gentlemanly manner, recalled that Greene’s coarse language startled him. Greene’s support of Humphrey in 1972: Perlstein, Nixonland, 635 and passim.

47. Chester, Hodgson, and Page, American Melodrama, 708, 717; Humphrey, Education of a Public Man, 284. For more on the campaign, see Cowie, Stayin’ Alive.


51. SDS protests: photo story and “SDS and Rights” (editorial), *DKS* Nov. 5, 1968; and “Students Jeer Voting Protest,” *RC*, Nov. 6. The author, who was a student in the political science class, was one of those befuddled. SDS flyer promoting the rally: box 107, folder 2, M4C.


**Chapter 8**

**Black and White (Alone) Together**


5. The list of contacts at Cleveland area high schools appears in *The Big Us* 1.2 (Oct. 11, 1968). Havens’s high school: conversation with Havens. Powell’s experience at Stow High School in

6. Powell, “The Storm.” The incident calls to mind Stephan Spielberg’s 1971 film, The Duel, wherein the character, David Mann, portrayed by Dennis Weaver, was pursued over the highway by a never-seen driver piloting an 18-wheel truck.


14. See White’s remarks of July 19 (prepared for an unstated presentation) and his letters of thanks to several of his German counterparts, also dated July 19, box 4, folder 31; White to Dr. Logan Wilson, July 22, 1968, box 4, folder 32, White Papers.


17. For a biographical sketch of McMillen see the finding aid to his papers, M4C; and “Prof Steps beyond Classroom,” *DKS*, Jan. 22, 1969. **Representing the nation’s railroad interests, in the fall of 1969 McMillen opposed the famed labor lawyer Joe Rauh.** See also White to McMillen, July 5, 1967, box 3, folder 35, and White to McMillen, Aug. 9, 1968, box 4, folder 33, White Papers; and McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970.”


21. For the role played by Roberts as well as the names of the two Oakland Police recruiters, see an undated document titled “Analysis” (probably written by Barclay McMillen and Akron attorney and KSU trustee Robert Blakemore), box 33, folder 42, White Papers. **While no**
authors are listed, it is likely that the chronology was written on Nov. 19 by Barclay McMillen and Robert Blakemore. The latter was an Akron attorney and a prominent figure in Democratic Party politics in Summit County who later served as a member of the KSU board of trustees. On the situation in Oakland, see Gene Marine, The Black Panthers (New York: Signet, 1969), 156–73, 183–84; David Hilliard and Lewis Cole, This Side of Glory: The Autobiography of David Hilliard and the Story of the Black Panther Party (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 187–208; and Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s (New York: Bantam, 1990), 514–19, which includes the testimony of the police officers involved in the shoot-out in which Hutton was slain.

22. The section heading (as well as the chapter title) is borrowed from the 1970 album Alone Together by Dave Mason. For the details of the start of the sit-in, see the “Analysis” document cited in the previous note. See also HCIS, Investigation, Part 2, 505–8, 569 (photo); Marti Bledsoe and Kathryn Spearman, “The First BUS Trip,” Kent Alumni Magazine 7.54 (1999): 6–8; and “Black Students Tell of Tensions behind Walkout,” CP, Nov. 20, 1968. Although White had already named Donald Thigpen to a minor post in the administration, he participated in the sit-in. It is unclear whether he did so with the tacit approval of the administration. Whatever understanding may have existed, Thigpen served as a go-between throughout the week-long crisis.

23. Pickett’s participation: Milton E. Wilson, “Involvement/2 Years Later: A Report on Programming in the Area of Black Student Concerns at Kent State University, 1968–1970,” box 1, Milton E. Wilson, Jr., Papers, KSUA, 280 (includes photo). Pickett’s resignation: “Pickett Blasts Powerless Senate; Quits, 4 Other Officers Resign,” DKS, Nov. 15, 1968. Simpson interview. Nelson Stevens, a graduate student, was the first BUS member to be identified as facing charges; see “Kent Charges 9 in Oakland Fray,” Painesville (Ohio) Telegraph, Nov. 15, 1968. For Ghe’s participation, see “250 Negroes Leave KSU, Protest Administration,” PD, Nov. 19. It is very likely that Fargo was involved in the sit-in, but given the understandable reluctance of people to identify themselves unnecessarily, his name did not appear in any of the press coverage of the event. Additional information drawn from Whitaker, Boram, and Hoffman interviews; Powell, “The Storm,” also offers considerable detail.
24. The author, then a resident of Johnson Hall, witnessed Haskasis strike the mock pose outside the main entrance to the dormitory. The description of Haskasis is based on the author’s recollection and on Michener, *Kent State*, 205. Disturbances during the march: notice to students by Dean David Ambler (director of residence halls), dated Nov. 14, 1968, and Special Bulletin (issued under White’s signature), Nov. 18, box 33, folder 42, White Papers. On the march that followed the sit-in see also “Matson’s Manner Questioned” (letter) and “Twin Towers Reacts to BUS, SDS Protest,” *DKS*, Nov. 19, 1968. Nov. 12 planning meeting between BUS and SDS: see *HCIS, Investigation, Part 2*, 506–7. Real’s prediction: Whitaker interview.


26. On Matson, see “Black Students Tell of Tensions,” *CP*, Nov. 20, 1968. One anonymous student (likely Jules Suber, a resident of Larry Simpson’s Cleveland neighborhood who resigned his post as Student Senate treasurer in protest over the recruiting by the Oakland Police) said of Matson: “Now there is a man who doesn’t come close to understanding the problem of the black student.” Matson was not without his defenders. For this, see the editorial “The No. 1 Student Right,” *BJ*, Nov. 18, 1968. According to McMillen, Matson and Roskens were unyielding and White followed their lead; see McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970.” White’s absence from campus (he had been at a meeting with the trustees at a nearby country club): “Analysis,” box 33, folder 42, White Papers. “An impossible alternative”: quoted in Wilson, “Involvement,” 283.

27. Growth of conservative opposition on the campus and the possibility of Panther leaders coming to Kent State: “BUS Sifting Strategy in KSU Amnesty Fight,” *RC*, Nov. 17, 1968; for a sampling of newspaper coverage supporting a crackdown, see “Negroes Fail to Sway Kent’s
Get Tough Plan,” *Dayton Journal Herald*, Nov. 18, 1968. Predictably, White heard from a number of citizens supportive of his initially firm stand, like alumnus Dorothy Kline Sankey, class of ’51. Ministers who had led the area participation in the Poor Peoples Campaign, like the Rev. Billy Robinson, and the Rev. Wade Blank, along with a disaffected Maryknoll nun, Sister Jean Keniray (all friends of David Powell’s who were part of what was known as the Underground Fellowship), encouraged the KSU president to be flexible, as did the state NAACP, the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, and “Cleveland Now,” the privately funded business organization founded to aid the city’s impoverished minority residents. See box 33, folder 42, White Papers. Powell’s meetings with Catholic clergy who were estranged from the church: Powell, “The Storm.” Support for BUS by KSU faculty, including Jerry Lewis: “KSU Professor Won’t Teach until Black Students Return—3 Others Support Militants,” *BJ*, Nov. 19, 1968. “On the fringe of large-scale disorder”: HCIS, *Investigation, Part 2*, 478. In his interview, Simpson provided details of how BUS won support for the walkout. In addition, Simpson discussed some of the physical tensions on the campus between African American and conservative white students, including one that involved his brother Greg, also a KSU student. For more on the threatening environment for the small number of African Americans who remained behind on campus, see “Offer 8 Escorts,” *DKS*, Nov. 19. The most reliable approximation of the number of African American students who left the campus was provided by Donald Thigpen, who figured that “at least 400” did so. See “Walkout by Negroes Threatened at Kent,” *CP*, Nov. 18, 1968. BUS first found refuge at the Centenary Methodist Church, near the location in Akron where the city’s racial disorders had flared months before. “Never seen a quieter . . .”: “BUS Stages Mass Walkout to Akron,” *DKS*, Nov. 19, 1968. “Most dramatic event . . .”: Persky interview.

28. White’s firm stance and the shock generated by the walkout: “Kent Stunned by Walkout but Predicts Early Return,” *CP*, Nov. 19, 1968. Letters and telegrams supporting White: box 33, folder 42, White Papers. Support for BUS on other Ohio campuses: “Leaders Vow to Continue Kent Walkout, Sympathy Protests Also Scheduled at Central, Wooster,” *Canton (Ohio) Repository*, Nov. 20, 1968. The SDS teach-in was held on the day of the walkout and featured a number of professors, including sociologists Jerry Lewis and Thomas Lough, as well as political scientist Peter Crossland; see “Profs, Students Air Views on BUS Boycott,”
DKS, Nov. 19, 1968. “None of the administrators . . .”: quoted in “KSU Professor Won’t Teach,” BJ, Nov. 19. Only two days earlier Sites had been reluctant to criticize White’s administration in such terms; see “Walkout Still Looms for KSU Blacks,” RC, Nov. 18, 1968. Faculty members are characterized as brave because many, including Lewis, Calkins, and others, did not yet have tenure. Their actions, as well as the university’s lack of a punitive response, suggest both faculty daring and a degree of administrative tolerance. It could be, too, that White remembered the half dozen faculty members who resigned in 1961 over KSU’s controversial racial off-campus housing policies. The departures occurred when White served as a vice president under Bowman and the resignations brought KSU unwelcome attention from the media.


31. See “Black United Students Return from Self-Exile” and “Homecoming” (editorial), DKS, Nov. 22, 1968. The first public reaction from an unnamed BUS spokesman was: “We are coming home with pride and dignity. We’re black and we’re proud.” Quoted in “KSU Administration’s Evidence Insufficient to Charge BUS, SDS,” DKS, Nov. 21. For the complete text of the BUS proclamation, see “Statement Made by Black United Students at the Administration Building upon Their Return to the Kent State University Campus on Thursday, Nov. 21, 1968, at 5:15 P.M.,” box 33, folder 42, White Papers.

32. Real quoted in “KSU Administration’s Evidence Insufficient to Charge BUS, SDS,” DKS, Nov. 21, 1968.


34. Real, “Kent Liberation, Round One.” The mention of “police infiltration” refers either to a campus policeman who had attended several SDS’s initial meetings in the fall and whose identity was revealed, or, perhaps, to the activities of Margaret Ann Murvay.

35. Hiring of Paul Cheeks: Wilson, “Involvement,” 58. Cheeks also discussed his return to KSU

36. SDS flyer in the author’s possession.


Chapter 9

SDS Spring Offensive

1. Whitaker interview. Whitaker was insistent that no shoving had occurred during his argument with the conservatives. For the particulars of the dispute see Whitaker file in box 78, M4C.


4. KSU Police Department records identify Post, Cecora, and Boram as being among those going to Washington. Powell’s role in arranging the transportation for the group: Powell, “The Storm.” Boram provided further details in her interview. *Sensitized to racial issues in her blue-collar East Liverpool home and further influenced by civil rights activism while at Anderson College in Indiana, Boram readied herself for the confrontation.* Hunter Havens’s participation in the Washington protest: conversation with the author. Influence Kent’s SDS coffee house had on local high school youth, including Finn: Hoffman interview. For a photo of some of the participants in the protest, including Finn, Mary Ann Jackson, Powrie, Whitaker, Emmer, Erickson, Hess, and Marilyn Davis Hammond, see DKS, Jan. 24, 1969.


7. Powell, “The Storm.” “Numbers to Know,” a MOBE/SDS flyer (copy in the author’s
possession), lists the location of eleven important protest sites for the counter-inaugural, including inaugural receptions.

8. Powell, “The Storm”; he devotes four pages to the encounter. While he does not specify the location, it appears to have been the Washington Hilton. See “Youth Unites at Capitol,” DKS, Jan. 21, 1969.


15. David Barber, *A Hard Rain Fell: SDS and Why It Failed* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 146–58; Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao, and Che* (New York: Verso, 2002), 69–70. It should be noted that the Kent SDSers named in this paragraph represented a softer ideological version of the Revolutionary Youth Movement II activists mentioned in the two studies. For Vaughan: KCEWV/SDS activist survey conducted by the author in 2000; Vaughan to the author, July 24, 2015.


17. Details of the Flanagan incident: Flanagan file in box 77, M4C. Like many Kent activists, Flanagan’s roots were Catholic and working-class. For his religion, I relied on a conversation of Oct. 4, 2008, with Mary Mosher, a former member of his parish. After a job-related accident, Flanagan’s father went to work for a Cleveland newspaper, while his older brother was a steelworker at Cleveland’s sprawling Republic Steel plant.

Conversations with Matthew Flanagan, May 2, 2015, and the *1965 and 1970–71 Cleveland City Directory* (Cleveland, 1965, 1970). Criticism of Flanagan’s arrest by the Lutheran campus minister (Cordelia Mullikin) and others: box 43, folder 2, White Papers; see also US

18. See the following in *DKS*: “200 Art Students Plan Walkout,” March 6, 1969; “1,200 Call for Art Changes,” March 7; “Repair West Hall by Spring,” March 10.


20. Ibid., 602–12.


22. White to Chester A. Williams (KSU public safety director), Jan. 24, 1969, box 5, folder 11, and Williams to White, Jan. 29, box 35, folder 22, White Papers. “The university had no advance information . . .”: Richard Edwards, university spokesman and assistant to White, quoted in “Revolutionaries Probed at KSU,” *RC*, April 2, 1969; in his denial, Edwards seemed to be protesting a bit too much. McMillen, in McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970,” cryptically mentions “other areas . . . [in which] we were gearing up for S.D.S.” White was unhappy with the coverage of the pending HCIS probe and the inexperience he believed was shown by Donald Schwartzmiller. White advised Chester Williams to have Schwartzmiller “avoid all public comment [in the future]” and to clear contacts with reporters through Vice President Ron Roskens. White to Williams, April 9, 1969, box 5, folder 18, White Papers.

24. “Rally at Union, April 8, 1969,” box 80, folder 2, M4C. This file contains a transcript of the rally, made from a tape recording by Margaret Ann Murvay. SDS publicized the rally in a flyer, “Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!,” box 21, series 2 (Hammond Papers), folder 12, M4C. “Arrest 5, Suspend 7, End SDS Charter” and “SDS Bumps Heads with Campus Police,” DKS, April 9, 1969.

25. “Rally at Union”; McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970”; HCIS, Investigation, Part 2, 510–13; “KSU’s SDS Opens Spring Offensive,” RC, April 8, 1969. Powell, in “The Storm,” disputes the police version of the seriousness of the pushing and shoving at the Administration Building. Allen Richardson, a DKS reporter present at the rally, recalled the scene years later: “I remember there was some pushing and shoving . . . though by any standard, it was incredibly minor. . . . Hardly the sort of thing that should result in arrests, . . . and certainly not in arrests with charges as serious as assault and battery.” Richardson to the author, Feb. 8, 2007.


28. Conversation with Powell; and Powell, “The Storm,” which also recounts the scene when he and the others were arrested and taken to the Portage County lockup, as well as their surprise when the injunctions were unexpectedly handed to them in jail. See also “Arrest Sixth Student,” DKS, April 11, 1969; and “Charges and Suspensions Filed against SDS at KSU,” RC, April 9.

29. Ken Hammond recalls that Fairbanks’s article was titled “Old Wine in New Bottles”; Hammond to the author, Jan. 23, 2013. That was also the title of Fairbanks’s talk; see “Asian Conference Brings Noted Speakers,” DKS, April 15, 1969. SDS flyer with the Dylan “weather man” quote: box 21, series 2 (Hammond Papers), folder 12, M4C.

30. Fittingly, the building used for the conference had been toured by Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk during his visit to the campus in 1960. Turmoil at the conference: “SDS Arrests Total 5; KSU Is Tense” and “KSU Firm but Fair” (editorial), RC, April 10,

31. McMillen, in McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970,” states that he was critical of the decision to hold the hearings on campus. Identities of the two SDSers: “Arrest 60 at Hearing Break-up—Charge 7 with ‘Riot,’” *DKS*, April 16, 1969. KSU police insisted that SDS leaders meet them near the edge to be transported to the hearing site. They refused to enter the police cars until they learned where they were going, and they passed the information to a friend, who ran to inform those at the rally of where the hearing was being conducted. Powell, “The Storm.”


33. Transcript made from a tape of the rally, box 80, folder 3, M4C.

34. For a profile of Mellen (then in Ohio to attend an SDS conference) and what he called “the best speech of his life,” see Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, chap. 13, quotation on 516. Lencl interview; conversation with Dyer. Among several descriptions of the day’s events, see “Charge 7 with ‘Riot,’” *DKS*, and “Press Writer Tells about Kent Melee,” *CP*, both April 17, 1969.

35. “Charge 7 with ‘Riot.’” Lencl’s activities: HCIS, *Investigation, Part 2*, 533; McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970”; Lencl interview. In a conversation with the author, Alan Canfora, who witnessed the struggle at the third-floor doorway, recalled that Lencl and a few others disassembled a freestanding coat rack situated next to the door in order to obtain the metal rail.

36. Role of Moore and Calkins: Ohio State Highway Patrol, “Report of Investigation,” subject: “Subversive Activities,” box 80, folder 3, M4C, 15. The estimate of those escaping the building is based on the number originally involved in the protest compared to those actually arrested, as well as a custodian’s statement that four elevator-loads containing
“25–30 [people] per load” left the building. A fifth elevator-load was intercepted. Moore, whose office in Music and Speech enabled him to have an elevator key, was not arrested.


37. Kelley’s quote (made in a taped private interview) and details of the events and arrests: KSU Detective Tom Kelley to Corporal D. D. Sumrok, Ohio Highway Patrol, April 28, 1969, box 80, folder 3, M4C. Number of African American students inside the building: tape transcript of the Fred Fuller Park rally on April 17, 1969, box 80, folder 5, M4C. Powell’s memoir adds much to the story, including the inciting to riot charges (levelled at Curt Resnick, Rebel Flanagan, and George Gibeaut), and the additional ten days spent in jail for the supposed violation of the court injunction. Powell recounts that during the search for him and Resnick, county sheriffs, with guns drawn, burst into the home of another Kent SDS member looking for the pair. Mike Gorup was charged with malicious destruction of property with a bail bond of $2,500. Evidence against him proved thin.

38. McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970.” While sections of McMillen’s highly useful account smack of self-importance, he is, at times, rueful. Unless Robert Matson elects to tell his version of events, McMillen’s description likely will remain the best available.

39. Transcript of the 3-C rally on April 22, 1969, box 79, folder 1, M4C. When anger over the arrests erupted, students went to the president’s home. For this front-page photo of White meeting with 3-C leader Steve Sharoff, RC, April 18, 1969. KSU administration’s stance: “‘Issue Is Survival’—White,” DKS, April 18, 1969. For additional coverage, “Matson—KSU Still Stands Firm,” RC, April 18, 1969; and the photo story of White examining another petition said to bear the signatures of 80 percent of KSU’s faculty members, RC, April 21. Rally at Fred Fuller Park: “SDS Pep Rally Gathers 250,” DKS, April 18, and tape transcript of the rally, box 80, folder 5, M4C.

40. 3-C leadership and the resulting activity: “31 to Steer 3-C,” “Since Thursday,” and “Ohio Region of SDS Moves Forces to Kent,” DKS, April 21, 1969. At the last minute, the conference was moved to Akron when an SDSer, possibly Mark Real, received permission from the Rev. Wade Blank to use his church. Hoffman can be seen in photos of SDS rallies on April 17 and 20, in the DKS, April 18, 1969, and HCIS report, 586,


43. Conversations with Carole Teminsky Barbato.

44. Howie Emmer, Lencl, Alewitz, Albert Canfora, Modugno, Persky, Powrie, and Hoffman interviews.

45. Conversations with Carole Teminsky Barbato.


47. All of the articles mentioned ran in the *DKS* special issue of Monday, April 21, 1969; at this time the paper’s regular editions appeared only from Tuesday to Friday. A sidebar to the story headlined “VanderWyden Renounces” includes a criticism of Sharoff by Frisina. The spoof SDS poster (copy in the author’s possession) used headlines from area papers such as the *RC* and *BJ*, but especially from the *DKS* extra, which were superimposed on stock-market page quotes. The reverse side featured a lengthy article titled “Lies!!” Smarting from the criticism, the *DKS* ran an editorial defending itself on May 8.
48. Pickett’s statement: photo and caption, DKS, April 22, 1969. See the following in RC:
   “White Rejects ‘3-C Demands,’” April 21, 1969; “Student Vote to Be Taken,” April 22; and
   “KSU Election Nixes Proposed Boycott,” April 24. Transcript of a tape of the meeting, box
   79, folder 1, M4C. Referendum results and White’s opinion on the DKS: “Correct Vote
   Released—8,615 Votes Cast” and “White’s Testimony Lauds DKS Extra,” DKS, April 29,
   1969. **White also mentioned the vote in his testimony before HCIS, 477–502.** Suspicion of

   29, reprinted in HCIS, *Investigation, Part 2*, 636. **Powell’s memoir also discusses the bail.**
   SDS members had able representation, and attorneys from Cleveland charged only for their
   legal expenses. *Jerry Gordon, who traveled in SWP circles, had, a decade earlier,*
   stressed the need for student involvement when he spoke at the November 1958 National
   Conference of American Socialists in Cleveland. Attorney Ben Sheer also later aided
   students who were indicted after the May 4 shootings.

50. Appearances by Mallory and Mayfield at the May 9–11 rally at Case Western Reserve: *The
    Big Us* 2.4 (May 9, 1969). **The conference also attracted Chicago 7 defendants Dave
    Dellinger and Jerry Rubin, Cleveland radicals Wilbur Grattan, Sid Peck, Ted Dostal
    (still facing trial for the 1968 anti-Wallace rally), and Akron clergyman Rev. Billy
    Robinson.** See also HCIS, 558–61, 630. Memorandum from Tom Kelley to Don
    Schwartzmiller, May 1, 1969, box 80, folder 5, M4C. **Kelley reported the difficulty officers
    had getting into the meeting because “SDS was checking out all persons who entered the
    hall.”** Neil Wetterman of HCIS did gain entry, while a member of the campus police
    obtained “48 license numbers of cars that were parked outside Williams Hall.” In the
    weeks after Dohrn’s prediction, an African American student was shot to death at a
    campus in North Carolina, while a white activist was fatally shot in Berkeley. *Sale, SDS,
    640–41.* Benedict’s and Dohrn’s remarks and the flyer advertising the meeting program:
    the Way,” RC, April 24, 1969.

51. Activists like Joe Jackson stayed away from antiwar protest rather than associate with those
    they saw as promoting ultra-radicalism. Jackson interview. In his interview, Alewitz said of
    SDS: “We initiated a defense, which SDS immediately attacked. This was very typical [of

52. Ohio State Highway Patrol, “Report of Investigation,” May 28, 1969, box 80, folder 5, M4C. A transcript of a tape of the affair is in the same folder. One SDS leader, who had experienced multiple arrests, told the handful at the protest: “If it takes 10 persons to take this campus apart, then that’s what it’s going to take.” Another, who was arrested at the counter-inaugural in Washington, DC, scolded the crowd for “not having the guts to get up and speak.” In the wake of the Music and Speech protest, many SDS members who spoke at rallies, like Candy Erickson and Mark Lencl, were charged with inciting to riot. “Liquid Crystals Chained Shut!” leaflet: copy in the author’s possession. Opposition to the arrests: “Here We Go Again” (editorial), DKS, May 27, 1969.


54. Resignation of the religious coordinator: “Second Calm Day on KSU Campus,” RC, April 11, 1969. “SDS doesn’t radicalize people. . . .”: transcript of a tape of the 3-C meeting, May 7, 1969, box 79, folder 1, M4C. He is identified as Mr. Mullikin, although the woman mentioned in a newspaper story about the office dispute is identified as Mrs. Koplow.


Chapter 10
Months of Protest, Days of Rage


4. Sale, SDS, 456. The author recalls some Kent SDSers adopting a “greaser” look that had not been uncommon a few years earlier in his own neighborhood in Syracuse, NY.

5. Jeffrey Powell, “The Storm” (unpublished memoir); Jim Powrie, remarks at Kent SDS reunion, May 5, 1989, tape in the author’s possession; Boram interview. Flanagan can be seen


12. As Canfora’s roommate in 1969–70, I came to know many of his Barberton friends.

13. Conversation with Alan Canfora. Others from Kent who attended Woodstock and discussed the event with the author include Jerry Persky, Richie Hess, and Jeff Hartzler. Hartzler, a Wayne County, Ohio native, described his trip to Woodstock in the company of his twin brother, John, and a high school friend, Tom Miller. Mary Ann Jackson’s trip to the festival was described by Jane Boram. Jeff Miller’s attendance is discussed in Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 267. Those departing the Atlantic City Pop Festival were given a copy of a booklet promoting the Woodstock gathering. A copy of booklet is in the author’s possession. For a summary of the festival, see Mark Hamilton Lytle, America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 334–38.


war/casualty-statistics.html; Stanley Karnow (*Vietnam*, 616) gives a slightly lower figure of 10,000.


23. For the number of student military veterans and their comments, list of fraternities supporting the moratorium, a photo of a modish Rob Ross (leader of the anti-SDS protests in April 1969), and the antiwar editorial, see the following in *DKS*: “Bitter, Proud—KSU Vets View Vietnam,” Oct. 15, 1969; “Peace Hike Stays Just That—Peaceful,” Oct. 16; “Highlights of
Greek Week 1969” and “No Fancy Prose” (editorial), Oct. 7. Barclay McMillen recalls his surprise when seeing the football players with long hair during autumn 1969; McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970.” Mike Brock interview. DeFrange’s death: “Mark’s Name Will Live at Viet Orphanage,” RC, Oct. 14, 1969. DeFrange’s family contributed financially to the Catholic orphanage. DeFrange’s participation in the Moratorium march: interview of Harriet Begala, April 30, 1991, KHS. Canfora’s recollections are from his unpublished memoir. By the fall of 1969, his hometown of Barberton, a city of 30,000, had lost fifteen soldiers; two more would die in 1970. Belmont County casualties: Hawthorne interview. In general, the county suffered disproportionately high losses. With a population of 70,000, the county, which borders West Virginia, suffered disproportionately high losses. The Ohio River town of Bellaire (near where, in 1935, Eleanor Roosevelt was famously photographed leaving a mine in coal car) lost five of its sons, Bridgeport three, and Martins Ferry four. Further from the river and deeper into coal country, Barnesville had buried four of its soldiers by 1969, while Beallsville, with under 500 people, lost six, including three from the class of 1965. No other community in the country suffered as high a percentage loss. For Beallsville, see Edward K. Spann, Democracy’s Children: The Young Rebels of the 1960s and the Power of Ideals (Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 80. Mike Pacifico shared photos of his uncle in the coal car with Eleanor Roosevelt. Pacifico to the author, April 9, 2009.


Nov. 5, 1969.


38. Allen Richardson to the author, Feb. 16, 2007; Hawthorne interview. The author, a roommate


42. Neither Simpson nor Pickett entirely departed from the spirit of the times. The BUS rally in support of Fred “Ahmed” Evans (who was sentenced to death after the shootings described in chapter 7) provided evidence of that. See “100 Rally in Evans’ Support,” *DKS*, May 29, 1969.
With SDS banned and with BUS having made little effort to attract an audience beyond their own membership, African Americans made up most of the crowd at the rally for Evans.

43. On commonalities with antiwar whites, see the following articles from *Black Watch* reproduced in Wilson, “Involvement”: Fargo, “‘Hell No We Won’t Go’” (issue of Nov. 25, 1969); Darlene Clark, “First the Vietnamese, Then the Blacks” (Dec. 10, 1969); “Believe It or Leave It Alone” (unsigned, but likely by Blount; March 30, 1970). The latter article, which concerned US intervention in the Third World, the conviction of the Chicago 7, and repressive tactics aimed at dissidents, was unsigned, but suggests Blount’s authorship.


45. “The hard core . . .”: Sale, *SDS*, 625. Powell, “The Storm.” The strike prodded jailers to take the infirm man to the hospital for an appendectomy. The commotion, in which the rest of the prisoners participated, brought a riot squad into the jail. Concerning Robbins’s instigation of the disturbance, the guards were unaware of his role as another prisoner acted as spokesman. Like a dozen other defendants, he was sentenced to a year in jail (10½ months suspended) and a fine of $250 in exchange for agreeing to five conditions, including the aforementioned. For his affidavit, see Terry Robbins file in box 78, M4C. See also Peter Collier and David Horowitz, “Doing It: The Inside Story of the Rise and Fall of the Weather Underground,” *Rolling Stone*, Sept. 30, 1982.


Chapter 11

Cambodia—A Match to the Last Straw

1. Overthrow of Prince Sihanouk: Milton Osborne, *Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of


6. Ibid., 341–42; Mark Rudd, Underground: My Life with SDS and the Weathermen (New York: William Morrow, 2009), 192–98; Bill Ayers, Fugitive Days: A Memoir (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 183–85; Thomas Powers, Diana: The Making of a Terrorist (New York: Bantam, 1971), 135–42. Robbins’s use of the name “Adam”: Jeffrey Powell, “The Storm” (unpublished memoir). Robbins’s activism had been guided by signposts: the controversy over the execution of Caryl Chessman; King’s 1963 March on Washington; and the assassination of John Kennedy, which the high school senior interpreted as evidence of extremism run amok. Within seven years, Robbins—inspired by Melville’s Moby Dick and Howard Fast’s Spartacus—had been driven by experience with poverty, racial bigotry, and the Vietnam War to the extremes he once deplored. This capsule portrait was prepared from Robbins’s admission application to Kenyon College, and Rik Kleinfeldt, “Weathermen Leader Was a Product of Kenyon,” Kenyon Collegian, Feb. 21, 1985, Kenyon College Library Archives, Gambier, Ohio.


9. Conversation with Bill Ayers. “It had always been a question . . .”: quoted in Peter Collier and David Horowitz, “Doing It: The Inside Story of the Rise and Fall of the Weather


12. “If it’s to be a blood-bath . . .”: quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1970; a better-known version appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the same date: “If it takes a blood-bath, let’s get it over with.” See Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 414–15, 481n414. *Nixon’s antagonisms led him to fantasize about how to deal with those in the administration thought to be leaking information to the press. Referring to it as the “five men against a wall technique” the president invoked a scene where the suspicious underlings would be lined next to a wall to be shot unless the suspect revealed himself. Senior aides knew to dismiss such talk, but the mood reflected the temper of the times. *The Haldeman Diaries*, 136–37.

13. Meany quoted in Philip S. Foner, *U.S. Labor and the Vietnam War* (New York: International Publishers, 1989), 20–21. Penny Lewis, a sociologist specializing in labor studies, has shown that by late 1967 opposition to the war was more prevalent among the working class than among more affluent sectors. Penny Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 50–52. A number of possible explanations for the apparent disconnect between union leaders and the rank-and-file over the war have been advanced: unwavering anti-Communism in the wake of McCarthy-era purges; support for Cold War defense spending as the source of many union jobs; a rigid union hierarchy that stifled dissent from below; and mistrust of largely middle-class and often college-educated antiwar activists by blue-collar workers. See Lewis, *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks*, 54–55; and Jacqueline R. Smetak, “Nobody Gets Off the Bus” (review of *U.S. Labor and the Vietnam War*, by Philip S. Foner), *Viet Nam Generation* 5.1–4 (March 1994).


Area Teamsters Walk Out in Massive Truck Strike,” April 2; “Report Violence Threats in Ohio Teamsters Walkout,” April 7; and “Truck Violence to Move Guard,” BJ, April 27, 1970.


18. Whitaker interview; the proclamation is quoted in Bill Whitaker, “The Big Chill: The Stifling Effect of the Official Response to the Kent State Killings,” in Kent and Jackson State, 1970–1990, ed. Susie Erenrich, special issue, Vietnam Generation 2.2 (1990): 142. Paul Probius, the composite character in James Michener’s Kent State, is based largely on a sketch of Whitaker. His difficulty with his fellow workers because of the length of his hair, while but one example, reinforces the point made by Peter Levy that “the counterculture probably antagonized workers more than the New Left’s politics.” Levy, The New Left and Labor, 86.

19. Whitaker interview.

20. Ibid.

21. Face-off between guardsmen and truckers: front-page photo story, BJ, April 27, 1970; “Trucks Roll under Guard Protection,” BJ, April 29; “Tense, but Quiet as Guardsmen Move the Trucks,” BJ, May 2. Gen. Sylvester T. Del Corso, state commander of the Guard, told the BJ (April 29) that the troops were under orders to fire at the strikers if fired upon. Background on Grant: Grant and Hill, I Was There, back cover. On Love: box 36, folder 470, KSCY. On Lutey: box 16, ACLU Coll.


Bill Arthrell. The names of the organizers were handwritten on the flyer (photocopy in the author’s possession) as contact people. A photo in the DKS identifies the speaker as Bill Arthrell, although Stamps identifies him as Lars Christensen.

29. Stamps, “Save the Pooch.” Conversation with Dean Kahler (a KSU freshman present in the crowd).


42. Mike Brock, Hoffman, and Modugno interviews; Sharoff interview in Weiss et al., A War Remembered. For Erickson’s own account of his chance meeting with Hoffman and Modugno (who are not named in the story), see “The Meaning of People Pulled Apart,” Detroit Free Press, May 24, 1970. In “The Storm,” Powell tells of Neiburger being taken to a farm house well outside of town and his own stay at his parents’ house in nearby Stow. Emmer spent that weekend in Cleveland.


44. Conversations with John Hartzler and Marcella Hartzler; Mike Brock interview. For Alan Canfora’s account of the evening, see Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 528–30.

45. Michener, Kent State, 48–65; Mike Brock and Raines interviews. See also “7 Injured, Police Arrest 14,” RC, May 2, 1970. In one major irony, the Kent police chief had just commended Kent’s students for being “well-behaved”: “Thompson Praises Students at KSU,” RC, May 1, 1970.

46. Dyer interview. Satrom and Law Day: Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 27; Michener, Kent State, 122–23; and Satrom’s own account in his testimony during the 1975 civil damages trial: Krause v. Rhodes (trial transcripts), vol. 42, pp. 10,686ff., M4C. Rick Felber to the author, July 16 and Nov. 16, 2000, and conversation with Felber. Felber’s German American father and Slovak American mother were Catholic and Democratic in their partisan politics. Felber was the youngest of seven children. An older brother, Tom, served in Vietnam. The other end of North Water Street, where it converges with Lake and Crain streets, had been the site of anti-slavery rallies organized by John
Brown in the late 1830s. For details, see the Kent historical marker next to the old train station on Franklin Avenue.

47. “Charged in Kent,” RC, May 2, 1970. Most listed out-of-town addresses; the Water Street bars attracted young people from throughout northeast Ohio. Weekley, a Kent State student and friend of Kent 25 defendant Thomas Miller, knew radical activists, but is not known to have participated previously in antiwar protests. **His arrest, possibly the first of the evening/early morning of May 1–2, led him to be identified on the first of five hundred “John Doe” injunctions prepared by the county prosecutor.** Similar to the approach of the previous year, county authorities employed such bans in an attempt to inhibit potentially violent activity. For a telltale photo of the Order of Injunction, see the *Chestnut Burr, 1971, 35.* Matson quoted in “City of Kent, KSU Officials in Conference,” and Thompson quoted in “7 Injured,” both in RC, May 2, 1970. KSU policeman quoted in Michener, *Kent State, 57–58.*


54. KSU’s director of safety and public services (Chester Williams) quoted in Michener, Kent State, 211. McMillen recounts his chance encounter with KSU security officer Don Schwartzmiller and detective Tom Kelley, and how he advised the pair that the crowd could not be contained, in McMillen and Armstrong, “Kent State, May 4, 1970.”

55. FBI, “Kent State Shooting.” In his FBI statement, one KSU student, nineteen-year-old Phil Haas, told of being present at every demonstration over the four-day period, although he appears to have been an exception. A few, such as Dale Smiley, were high school students, while an unknown number, including Tom Foglesong, were former KSU students.

56. Identification of Rupe and the brawl over the camera: FBI, “Kent State Shooting.” The confrontation with Haskakis is also covered in Michener, Kent State, 193–94, 205–6; and Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 79. According to former faculty marshal Jerry M. Lewis, there were approximately forty such professors who volunteered to serve as marshals. Sometime during the day of May 2, Vice President Robert Matson had contacted one of the lead marshals asking for assistance in distributing handbills on the
campus (bearing his signature and that of student body president Frank Frisina) advising students of the 8 pm curfew. Glenn Frank and Jerry Lewis were among the professors who agreed to pass out the flyers. When signs of trouble appeared in the evening, the marshals remained on the scene. Telephone interview with Jerry Lewis, July 28, 2015.


58. Interviews with a student and professors in FBI, “Kent State Shooting.” Tension and resentment between city and university police may well have played a role in the failure to defend the building, as campus officers had not come to the aid of city police on May 1. On the following evening campus police were left to their own devices until Portage County sheriff’s deputies arrived. They were later reinforced by units of the State Highway Patrol and Ohio National Guard. See James and Paula Banks, “Kent State: How the War in Vietnam Became a War at Home,” in *Vietnam and the Antiwar Movement: An International Perspective*, ed. John Dumbrell (Aldershot, UK: Avebury, 1989), 68–81; Roy Thompson, in his KHS interview, also hints at these strains.

59. FBI, “Kent State Shooting”; Ron Weissenberger to the author, Feb. 6, 2003. Miller, Cormack, Felber, and Weissenberger are identified in the FBI report. They were part of a group of twenty-five defendants indicted in the aftermath of the disorders, known as the Kent 25. For interviews with two of the firemen, see Grant and Hill, *I Was There*, 42–47.

According to the FBI file, the Kent Fire Department’s radio log showed that the first call came in at 8:49 pm; a truck was dispatched and arrived four minutes later, remaining on the scene until 9:28. At 10:02 a second truck was dispatched, followed by the original truck a minute later.

the evening of May 2, Eszterhas and Roberts slightly confuse the timing of the shed fire
(*Thirteen Seconds*, 34).

61. The destruction on Main Street was described by a faculty marshal in his interview in FBI,
“Kent State Shooting”; see also “ROTC Building Gets Torched,” and Saul Daniels, “4
long career at the LA Times. Rock-throwing incident: Grant and Hill, *I Was There*, 50. “A
horizontal hail storm”: after-action report by SP4 James E. Pierce, May 4, 1970, KSCY. For
Pierce, see box 37, folder 482, KSCY. The after-action reports cited here from the Kent State
Collection at Yale were examined in the Kent May 4 Center archive.

62. Weapons and ammunition destroyed, and the Guard movements around the building: FBI,
“Kent State Shooting.” Debate on the cause of the fire: Renner, “The Kent State
Conspiracies.” Rick Felber, who doubts that the fire was planned, recalls that when he
returned to the Commons, “The building was smoldering, not in open flame and the fire
appeared to be going out. We [Jerry Rupe and I] could only see two sides [of the building] so
it is possible someone was on the other side. . . . I do not recall any sound of explosion[,] just
the fire suddenly coming back to life and the building breaking out in open flame.” Felber to
the author, April 28, 2007. On May 1, 2015, video footage of the fire was posted to YouTube
by Robert Elan, a Kent State student in May 1970, who recorded the footage on Super 8 film.
What is significant about the video is that it shows that the fire reignited in the very portion of
the southeast corner of the building where radicals set the fire some forty-five minutes
beforehand. www.youtube.com/watch?v=90pCEynlrpe. Those wanting additional detail
will find it in *Kent State: May 2, 1970, ROTC Building Fire*, Section 3-C: 1–2, May 12,
1970 ______, ROTC Unit, KSU:

“. . . the destroyed ROTC building was a white wood frame building, dimensions of
which were 50 feet by 150 feet...the building was owned by KSU and not the
Department of the Army . . . provided an itemized list of US Government equipment lost
in the fire and stated that the Commanding General of the US Armor Center, Fort
Knox, Kentucky, is establishing a board to determine if the supplies and equipment lost
in the ROTC building will be written off of the books as some of the custody records
were lost in the fire . . . the Army has 60 days to establish the board and make their
determination. Itemized list . . . totaling $32,543.55 is attached . . . his supply officer is
continuing in his attempt to determine if there is any more government property which was lost in the fire... original estimate of the loss was $35,000... KSU made an official estimate of the value of the burned building of $50,000.

“... the ROTC building was the ROTC Administrative Headquarters and also houses the KSU rifle range... the rifle club was sponsored by the ROTC and the range was constructed primarily for ROTC use and the building is a National Defense facility.” Rick Felber’s earlier referenced letter of April 28, details that when he returned to the Commons “The building was smoldering, not in open flame and the fire appeared to be going out. We [Jerry Rupe and I] could only see two sides [of the ROTC building] so it is possible someone was on the other side. Generally the firemen were trying to put the fire out when the building erupted in flames... I do not recall any sound of explosion [...], just the fire suddenly coming back to life and the building breaking out in open flame.” While allowing that a plot may have existed, Felber doubts that this was the case. I concur.

Chapter 12
“Right here, get set, point, fire!”

1. Vince Modugno, George Hoffman, and Carolyn Carson, experienced activists all, recalled in their interviews that they left Kent on May 3, believing that retribution might be in store. For more on the effort to hold Hoffman and others accountable for the disorders, see “Here’s What Happened at Kent State, Part 1,” CP, May 15, 1970. Year-by-year US losses in the war, as well as losses by town and state, can be viewed at www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/. Mike Brock interview.


9. Modugno, Carson, and Hoffman interviews. **Alan Canfora recalls that Tom Miller cracked a joke upon hearing Rhodes’s press conference.**

10. Alewitz and Whitaker interviews; conversation with Jim Powrie; Heineman, *Campus Wars*, 246.


The six demands are listed in Michener, *Kent State*, 272, and the photos of Cullum and Arthrell appear on 270 and 275, respectively.


BUS rally on May 1, told of being fired on by police late in the evening of May 3; there is no other record of the claim. For an angry verbal exchange with guardsmen and an account of guns being pointed at Blount and Rudy Perry, see Michener, Kent State, 279–80.


22. Richard Foot, interview, Dec. 13, 1991, KHS; and his obituary, BJ, Aug. 19, 2009. Grant and Hill, I Was There, 57. Grant added that he did not believe the bellicose statements implied that his fellow guardsmen were prepared to kill. “Were like animals”: quoted in Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 124.

23. Number of guardsmen at Kent State: Kelner and Munves, Kent State Coverup, 143.

Information on the guardsmen and their backgrounds was drawn from that source and from Furlong, “The Guardsmen’s View”; Krause v. Rhodes depositions and testimony; Grant and Hill, I Was There; Michener, Kent State; Scott L. Bills, ed., Kent State/May 4: Echoes through a Decade (1982; Kent: Kent State University Press, 1988); FBI statements; and OSHP interviews.

24. FBI statements and OSHP interviews. For civil trial depositions, 1975, see box 16, ACLU Coll.; Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 44 and depositions.

25. For a listing of Company A troops, see Davies, The Truth about Kent State, 227–28. The German-born soldier was Paul R. Naujoks: FBI statement, May 10, 1970, KM4C; unless otherwise noted, all FBI statements cited hereafter are also from the Kent May 4 Center. For the racial composition of the area and its political loyalties, see Michael F. Curtin, The Ohio Politics Almanac (1996; Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006), 8–11, 151. Wayne County religious life: statistics for the county at www.sharefaith.com/guide/church-directory/ohio/index.html, and church advertisements in the Wooster Daily Record, 2014.


27. On Del Corso, see Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 89–103. On Canterbury, who at fifty-five was a twenty-three-year veteran of the Ohio National Guard as well as a construction superintendent, see box 35, folder 446, KSCY, which contains information from
his 1975 deposition and testimony at the civil damages trial. On Fassinger, who was thirty-nine, see *Krause v. Rhodes*, vol. 28, pp. 7107ff. On Jones, see Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 129; and box 36, folder 465, KSCY. On Pryor, see *Krause v. Rhodes*, vol. 14, pp. 3126ff., and box 28, folder 33, KSCY.


29. On Martin: *Krause v. Rhodes*, vol. 27, pp. 6673ff.; he also appears to be the unnamed officer described in Furlong, “The Guardsmen’s View,” as “the one officer in the outfit who had combat experience in Vietnam.” On James: box 36, folder 462, KSCY. On Farriss: box 35, folder 457, KSCY. On Myers (also listed as Robby Brooks Myers): box 16, ACLU Coll. On Shade and Raber: box 64B, folder 17, M4C. Myers, also listed as Robby Brooks Myers, was the guardsman in the brief conversational exchange with Allison Krause.

30. On Long: his FBI statement, May 12, 1970, KM4C. On Thomas, Sholl, Maas, and Repp: box 16, ACLU Coll. On Hinton: *Krause v. Rhodes*, vol. 44, pp. 11,003ff. On Love and Mowrer: box 36, folders 470 and 479, respectively, KSCY. In his deposition, Mowrer said that “half the company wore glasses,” and added that “a lot of people couldn’t see [well].” In general, although they have often been characterized as “scared kids” or “not much older than the students,” determining the exact age of individual guardsmen is difficult. The KSU Commission on Violence attempted to obtain more detailed information about the ages of the troops from officials, but reported that they got little cooperation from the Ohio National Guard. Gen. Del Corso told the commission in August 1970 that the average age of guardsmen was twenty-three (“Commission on KSU Violence Report,” 4:135–36). The median age of enlisted men and officers I drew from a subset of approximately forty guardsmen who were on the hill at the time of the firing. The median age of eight guardsmen indicted by a Federal grand jury in 1974 was then about twenty-eight, the oldest of whom were James Pierce and Barry Morris. One source listed indicted guardsman Ralph Zoller as
having eleven years of Guard service, but this is almost certainly incorrect. If the ages given for the eight indictees in the CP article “‘Doing Their Job’” are correct, Zoller could have been no older than twenty-five at the time of the shootings.


33. Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America* (New York: Scribner, 2008), 484. It should be noted that while the cultural conflict did not cause the guardsmen to pull the triggers of their weapons, the antipathies made it easier to do so.

34. Carol Mirman, interview by Sandra Perlman Halem, April 1, 2000, Kent State Shootings Oral Histories Collection, M4C. For classroom discussions on May 4, see Michener, *Kent State*, 327, 346–47; and *Report of the President’s Commission*, 260. As I noted in the prologue, the political science class I attended that morning, which met from 11:00 to 11:50, was devoted to a discussion of the war. At the conclusion of the class, a young woman, whom I recognized as a supporter of the SMC, stood and announced the noon rally.


36. Rhodes’s remark, overheard at the Kent fire station, was reported by Michael Delaney, the Guard’s public information officer, who was one of a small number of guardsmen appalled by what happened at Kent State. See “Rhodes Okayed Force, Kent Grand Jury Told,” *CP*, Jan. 7, 1974; Hensley, *Kent State Incident*, 55–57; Eszterhas and Roberts, *Thirteen Seconds*, 147–48. See also Carole A. Barbato, Laura L. Davis, and Mark Seeman, “This We Know: Chronology of the Shootings at Kent State,” in *Democratic Narrative, History, and Memory*, ed. Carole A. Barbato and Laura L. Davis (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2012), 206.

37. For the timing of events, see *Report of the President’s Commission*, 261–63; for the crowd size, Bills, introduction to *Kent State/May 4*, 16.

38. Milton Viorst, *Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960’s* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 507; conversation with Alan Canfora. In his interview with Viorst, Canfora readily conceded that his remark was “arrogant.”

39. The author relied on his own recollection of those assembled. All can be seen in photographs taken that day.

40. Pryor’s instructions: box 28, folder 333, KSCY. Covering of the name tags: see the
depositions and interview with the OSHP of James McGee, box 36, folder 472, KSCY, and Barry Morris, box 14, ACLU Coll. McGee stated, “It seems like all the Guardsmen I saw—let’s say 50 percent of them—had their name tags removed from sight whether they were from the 145th or the 107th.” Magnifying photographs taken on May 4 often reveals guardsmen’s nametags either absent or covered; see, for example, fig. 7 in Davies, The Truth about Kent State, 67.

41. The confusion over the distribution of ammunition is in the deposition of Harry Jones; for this and information on Jones, Smith, McManus, and Snyder, see the following boxes and folders in KSCY: Jones, box 36, folder 465; Smith, box 37, folder 488; McManus, box 28, folder 325, and box 36, folder 473; Snyder, box 37, folder 489. On Stevenson: Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 26, pp. 6346ff. On whether students were aware of loaded weapons, see Hensley, Kent State Incident, 59. On White’s claims, see “Kent Prexy Says He Didn’t Know Guns Were Loaded,” CP, May 6, 1970. It is not easy to determine the veracity of his claims; when he returned to Kent on the afternoon of May 3, vice president Robert Matson, who had been at the earlier meeting when Del Corso and Rhodes discussed the option of firing on students, presumably have briefed him about what was said there.

42. For a photo of Hammond atop the casement, see Michener, Kent State, 326. For photos of Jeff Miller (no relation to Tom), Krause, and Levine, see Davies, The Truth about Kent State, figs. 5 and 16.

43. Canterbury’s testimony: box 35, folder 446, KSCY. The account of Rice’s pleading, the chanting, and the rock thrown at the jeep is from personal observation and from listening to audio recordings of the day. For the crowd: Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 150. Rick Lieber’s presence: conversation with Steve Lieber (Rick’s cousin). Brother Fargo and Maj. Jones can be seen in photos 7 and 9 in Report of the President’s Commission, 306–7 and 310–11. Mike Brock interview; Michener, Kent State, 329.

44. Hensley (Kent State Incident, 55–57) characterizes White’s noontime gathering as a working lunch. For the entreaties of the professor, see the testimony of Maj. Harry Jones, Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 20, pp. 4927ff. “These students are going to have to find out . . .”: quoted in Michener, Kent State, 331. See also “Gen. Canterbury to Testify before KSU Jury,” PD, Feb. 28, 1974.

45. Firing of tear gas and the number of guardsmen in the advance: Michener, Kent State, 331–
32. Morris’s age is given in “‘Doing Their Job,’” CP, March 30, 1974. In his deposition, Col. Fassinger admitted that there were four hundred additional troops available in the area and that the one hundred who made up the attacking force was an inadequate number; box 9, ACLU Coll.

46. Michener, Kent State, 331; Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 153–54. On Erwin, who was later indicted by the Portage County grand jury, see the account he gave to the FBI, box 34, folder 438, KSCY. See also Michael Erwin, interview by Sandra Perlman Halem, April 4, 2000, Kent State Shootings Oral Histories Collection, M4C. For photos of Snyder striking the student, see Davies, The Truth about Kent State, 78–79.

47. Hensley, Kent State Incident, 60. For the best map of the National Guard advance, see Davies, The Truth about Kent State, 35. Srp would turn thirty-five in June 1970; see his deposition, box 9, ACLU Coll. Capt. Snyder, the head of Company C, believed, however, that his men had the most crowd control experience of all the Guard units sent to Kent State; see his deposition and interview with the OSHP, June 22, 1970, box 37, folder 489, KSCY.

48. Grant and Hill, I Was There, 77–78.

49. The original plan called for a halt at the crest of Taylor Hill; Canterbury made an unexpected decision to pursue the students beyond that point. See Report of the President’s Commission, 266; and Michener, Kent State, 337. Canterbury later testified: “We needed to move down to the practice field to reform. . . . [M]y judgment was [that it] was the best place to turn around and assess the situation.” Canterbury’s 1975 trial deposition, box 35, folder 446, KSCY. Maj. Jones, who seemed to know the field best and showed the most initiative, if not always the most judgment, later said under questioning, “I do not have any understanding as to why they continued beyond the crest and went down into the practice field.” Jones’s testimony, box 36, folder 465, KSCY. Pierce’s trial testimony: Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 18, pp. 4315ff.

50. Simons’s comment: “Summary of Depositions, Engdahl Memo,” box 1, folder 35, James Munves Papers, KSCY. For more on Simons’s opinions: Kelner and Munves, Kent State Coverup, 153. Contrary to widely disseminated reports, the guardsmen had not exhausted their tear gas supply; guardsman Russell Repp had eight unused canisters. See Michener, Kent State, 339.

51. Activities of Miller (photo) and Minard: Report of the President’s Commission, 340–41; Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 158. For Flesher and Repp: Krause v. Rhodes, vol.
23, pp. 5769ff.; Eszterhas and Roberts, *Thirteen Seconds*, 158. **William Perkins and Lawrence Shafer may also have engaged in the rock throwing.** For Perkins’s activities, see Shafer’s deposition, box 14, ACLU Coll. For Shafer’s, see the pre-trial deposition of guardsman Ralph Zoller in box 37, folder 495, KSCY. “Christians in a Roman arena”: Pierce’s 1970 testimony to the county grand jury, box 37, folder 482, KSCY.

52. “Guy with an Apache headband . . .”: quoted in Eszterhas and Roberts, *Thirteen Seconds*, 156. Smith’s account: box 37, folder 488, KSCY. McGee’s account: his 1975 deposition, box 36, folder 472, KSCY.

53. Morris initially recounted that he saw Sgt. Pryor—also a member of the 107th Armored Cavalry—fire one shot in the air while the two units were on the practice field; box 14, ACLU Coll. In civil court in 1975, however, Morris kept quiet about what he had seen, as he had been instructed by his attorney not to answer questions about Pryor. Pryor always claimed his weapon was not even loaded. See “Conflicts Come to the Surface in Kent Civil Trial Testimony,” *CP*, June 13, 1975. There may also have been a .22 fired on the practice field; see *Report of the President’s Commission*, 268. For mention of a shell casing being picked up on the practice field, see Michener, *Kent State*, 359. One guardsman, James W. Farriss, told FBI agents that while on the practice field, “he noted that one shot was fired by an officer from the 107th Armored Cavalry,” explaining that “this shot was from a .45 caliber automatic pistol which is normally carried by officers.” If Farriss counted NCOs among the officers, he was correct. Farriss FBI statement, May 8, 1970, KM4C. Richard Schreiber, a professor of journalism watching through field glasses from the veranda of Taylor Hall, said he witnessed a guardsman fire a .45 pistol. See *Report of the President’s Commission*, 268; and “The Crucial Hours at Kent State,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 24, 1970. For the effect of terrain and atmospheric conditions on sound, sometimes called “acoustic shadow,” see John B. De Motte, “The Cause of a Silent Battle,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, ed. Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, vol. 2 (1887; repr., New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), 365. Pierce’s statement to the OSHP: box 37, folder 482, KSCY.

54. Jones’s statements: his 1975 deposition, box 36, folder 465, KSCY; his full deposition is in box 9, ACLU Coll.

Ruffner photo of him (fig. 50) in Davies, The Truth about Kent State. Canterbury is to the right of a light pole, back row, fourth from left.

56. See Davies, The Truth about Kent State, for photos (by John P. Filo) of Roseann Canfora next to her brother (fig. 40) and Alan Canfora and Riggs (on Alan’s left; fig. 39). Canfora’s conversation with his sister: Alan Canfora to the author, Feb. 19, 2007.

57. Minard’s encounter with Jones: Eszterhas and Roberts, Thirteen Seconds, 160; “Kent State: Martyrdom That Shook the Country,” Time, May 18, 1970; and Capt. Srp’s description of the encounter, box 29, folder 342, KSCY. See also Kelner and Munves, Kent State Coverup, 129. For Pierce’s account, see box 36, folder 482, KSCY. Guardsmen giving orders may have pulled their gas masks away from their mouths so their commands could be heard by those nearby. On the level of sound, Jones said: “The intensity of the noise was very high. You couldn’t get anybody’s attention . . . I could holler at the top of my voice.” Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 20, pp. 492ff.

58. Montgomery’s testimony: Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 5, pp. 926ff. Deegan’s testimony: “Sergeant Fired First Shots at Students, Witness Says,” PD, June 24, 1975. Minard quoted in “Kent State,” Time, May 18; his account of the events is in “Commission on KSU Violence Report,” 4:243–44. “‘My God! They’re Killing Us,’” Newsweek, May 18, 1970; and the “Commission on KSU Violence.” In the KSU commission report, Minard recounts that Jones “was wearing a soft cap, not a helmet, and was armed with a .45-caliber pistol in a hip holster,” an accurate description except that Jones carried a .22 pistol. Love’s account: box 36, folder 470, KSCY. Thomas’s account: box 37, folder 493, KSCY. See also “Commission on KSU Violence Report,” 4:244, for the account of student James G. Woodring, who, the commission wrote, believed he saw Jones “turn toward the men, say something, turn back, and then fire into the ground.”

59. The KSU employee, Jack Albright, was loyal to the Guard. He conveyed his story to four neighbors, including Kent professor Robert Fernie, within hours of the shootings. Months later, Michener found it much more difficult to get Albright to talk, but did get him to answer the following question: “Did you hear an officer say, ‘Turn around and fire three rounds?’ ‘Well, I heard . . . well, yes. I heard it.’” Michener, Kent State, 363–64. Pickett’s testimony: Krause v. Rhodes, vol. 13, pp. 2951; Pickett was the fourth witness to indicate that he either heard or saw Jones give a command or signal to fire. Montgomery’s Krause v. Rhodes
testimony. On Levinger: Eszterhas and Roberts, *Thirteen Seconds*, 62. The summary of Levinger’s account in the KSU Commission report (244) seems to indicate that he identified Jones as the officer “who had a .45 pistol, [and the one to] shoot first; afterward the other guardsmen opened up. He [Levinger] identifies this officer as one who earlier was taunting students, saying, ‘Come on.’” (Thus Levinger, like Minard, misidentified the type of pistol Jones carried.) Levinger does not indicate if Jones was pointing his sidearm. If the major did aim, there is no known photograph of him doing so. While eyewitness testimony and photographic evidence supports Pryor’s role in the shootings, the sound analysis does not.


60. Robert D. James, statement to the OSHP, June 9, 1970, box 36, folder 464, KSCY; Roger Maas, FBI statement, May 7, 1970; Sgt. Matthew McManus, OSHP statement, box 36, folder 473, KSCY, and testimony, *Krause v. Rhodes*, vol. 22, pp. 5307ff.; Lloyd Thomas’s account, box 37, folder 493, KSCY, and Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 244. For Perkins and Case: their respective statements to the FBI, May 9; and after-action report of May 4, box 64B, folder 17, M4C.


62. Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 86–93. For the definitive photograph of Lewis, see
Davies, *The Truth about Kent State*, fig. 53. On Lewis, see also Allen F. Richardson, “Kent Recalled,” *NYT*, Aug. 7, 1975. In speaking of a student later determined to be Joe Lewis, Shafer told the FBI on May 7, 1970: “I did not observe anything in his hands, but I felt I was about to be attacked by this individual and I fired at this person. I can approximate that this individual was twenty-five feet from me when I fired.” (Lewis was between 60 and 70 feet away.) Box 34, folder 439, and box 37, folder 487, KSCY. McGee told the OSHP investigator that he fired three times; box 36, folder 472, KSCY.


64. On Pierce: his FBI statement, May 7, 1970, box 34, folder 439, and 1975 trial testimony, box 37, folder 482, KSCY. Pierce told the agents, “I looked to my left, towards Taylor hall and observed a male about ten feet away [the closest student wounded was between 60 and 70 feet from the Guard] on the steps with a rock in his hand and his arm drawn back. . . . I had my rifle at hip level. I turned toward this person and fired. The male fell and as he fell he appeared to get hit several more times. I then turned back to the right and fired into the crowd.” The physicians who treated John Cleary believed he was hit only once, but that the bullet made several apparent entry/exit wounds.

65. For Shultz’s reaction, see William Safire, “One Blow for Truth,” *NYT*, Oct. 9, 1986. Safire writes: “From the sound, he [Shultz] knew an order had been given to fire at the students, and—a good administration soldier, but not one to march over cliffs—he would not accept explanations that the shooting had been sporadic.” Gen. Canterbury insisted just the opposite. At his press conference the day after the shootings, the general said, in response to the first question he was asked: “I was there. There was no order to fire.” When asked about warning shots, he replied, “They were not ordered to fire at all.” And still later: “Under normal conditions a [sic] order to fire is given. However, under these conditions there was no normalcy.” Transcript of press conference of Brig. Robert Canterbury, May 5, 1970, photocopy, KM4C. “It looked like a firing squad”: Charles Brill, quoted in “Kent State,” *Time*, May 18, 1970.

67. Persky interview. The author walked the area of the shooting with Jerry Alter on May 4, 2007. Erwin’s statement: box 34, folder 438, KSCY. On Roseann Canfora, see Schultz and Schultz, *The Price of Dissent*, 364. Schroeder had been prone when shot, but by the time Roseann Canfora saw his body other students had turned him over to try to aid him; Alan Canfora to the author, Sept. 17, 2014. Canfora has hundreds of photos taken the day of the killings. On Schroeder and his fellow ROTC cadets: Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation files, box 30, folder 364, KSCY; Michener, *Kent State*, 351, 393–94; Barbato, Davis, and Seeman, “This We Know,” 216, 218. Schroeder is reported to have told his ROTC commander, Don Peters, that he opposed Vietnam War and would go to Canada after college. Donald Peters, FBI interview, KM4C.

68. Barbato, Davis, and Seeman, “This We Know,” 217; Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 51.

69. Richardson interview. For Tymchyshyn, see OHSP, “Report of Investigation,” Aug. 14, 1970, box 77, folder 26, M4C. On his background in wartime Europe, Tymchyshyn to the author, various dates. Cheeks interview. *The OSHP sought to identify any student or participant in any of the protests in order to provide a grand jury with the information. Had Tymchyshyn been indicted (he was not), he would have been accused of the minor charge of “Failure to disperse.” Tri-Towers resident Chrissie Hynde—whose brother Terry played benefits for the KCEWV and whose dorm was struck by the guardsmen’s salvo—eventually left Kent State for England, where she formed a rock band, The Pretenders. Bruce Springsteen’s then girlfriend, Pam Bracken, lived in Hynde’s dorm and was friendly with her. Bracken’s story of the day must have inspired Springsteen,*
who wrote and performed “Where Was Jesus in Ohio?” the following month:

“Sometimes I feel I’m dead / And the gas makes it hard to breathe, baby / And the general never smiles,” sang the future star. Bob Lewis and Jerry Casale made it through the gunfire and went on to start the techno rock group Devo. Chris Butler, who had given his drum set to Jeff Miller, dodged his friend’s fate. Trying to make sense of the experience, Butler composed the song “Beggar’s Bullets.”

70. On Leon Smith: his testimony in *Krause v. Rhodes*, vol. 24, pp. 5893ff. When asked by the OSHP if he “hit the student,” Smith replied, “Possibly, I saw him grab his right shoulder[,] then run down over the hill out of sight.” Box 37, folder 488, KSCY. At the Portage County grand jury sessions in 1970, McManus was asked about shooting Russell. “You don’t think you hit him?” He replied, “It has since been found apparently that I did.” Box 36, folder 473, KSCY. Russell’s wounds and his distance from the firing line: Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 55, 115–16. According to the Bolt, Beranek and Newman report, “Analysis of Recorded Sounds,” the last shot fired was also from an M-1 rifle (23).


74. On Herschler: Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 101. An examination by the Justice Department showed Herschler’s rifle to have been fired, but he maintained that he had made no less than three switches of weapons with fellow guardsmen. On Breckenridge: Kelner and Munves, *Kent State Coverup*, 201. Canterbury’s comments to McGee: his 1975 trial deposition, box 36, folder 472, KSCY. For a photo of the seated crowd, see Michener, *Kent State*, 401. Hawthorne interview.

75. While a number of accounts of this final showdown have been written, I relied on Michener, *Kent State*, 400–408, and Carole Barbato and Laura Davis, “Ordinary Lives: Kent State, May 4, 1970,” in *Time It Was: American Stories from the Sixties*, ed. Karen Manners Smith and Tim Koster (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2008), 369–70. History graduate student Steve Sharoff, who had helped organize the 3-C civil liberties coalition and the May 1 rally where the Constitution was buried, also played an important, if underappreciated, role as a go-between.

**Chapter 13**

**Aftermath**


4. Destruction at the airport: “Vandals Damage 6 Planes at Portage County Airport,” RC, May 4, 1970. The article indicates that the arson might have been the work of environmental radicals. Burning of the university-owned maintenance barn: Michener, Kent State, 422. The shots were fired by guardsman Thomas A. Simmons. Simmons FBI statement, KM4C. The Daily Staff Journal, 1BN, 145 Inf., 29 April–5 May 1970, indicates that one round was fired, although Simmons’s own report states two. The log indicates that “one shot at a arson suspect after refusing to halt. Sheriff’s Depart. reported an armed man in a car in the area.” 1970 Ohio National Guard Logs, 1970 May 2 and May 5, box 91, ACLU Coll. Simmons was the last guardsman to discharge his weapon, but Portage County deputy sheriffs reportedly fired on a car on the southern edge of campus Sunday, May 10. When the vehicle failed to stop for a roadblock, deputies opened up, but apparently missed the occupants. See “Shots Are Fired Sunday Night,” Wooster (Ohio) Daily Record, May 11, 1970.

account does not address the controversy over plainclothes agent Terry Norman, from whom a .38 revolver was taken shortly after the fatal killings. Norman apparently was paid by the FBI and on more than one occasion was thrown out of SDS meetings in 1969 for taking photographs. A virtual cottage industry has arisen over whether and when Norman fired his handgun. The issue remains unclear, although neither the author nor Alan Canfora, the most knowledgeable expert on the Kent killings, believes that Norman fired his handgun. On this see Tom Hayden, “Closure at Kent State?” The Nation (online edition), May 15, 2013. For more on the issue, see Janis Froelich, “Kent State—A New Look,” Tampa Tribune, April 30, 2006. Froelich is a 1968 graduate of the Kent State. For her article on the HNN web site, see http://www.tbo.com/life/kentstate.htm. The author is grateful to Joe Sima for this citation as well as for his decades of interest in Norman’s role.


10. Interview of Lucius Lyman Jr., in Bills, Kent State/May 4, 72–74.


12. Timothy DeFrange, interview by Helene Cooley, April 30, 1990, Kent State Shootings Oral Histories Collection, M4C. See also Sarah E. Tascone, “Behind Closed Doors” The Burr, Spring 1995, 46–47. Nick DeFrange had been active in Kent’s NAACP. Eleanor DeFrange was Henry Tompkins’s godmother.

14. The primary vote and its interpretation: Richard G. Zimmerman, “Rhodes’s First Eight Years, in Ohio Politics, ed. Alexander P. Lamis and Mary Anne Sharkey (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1994), 80–83; and “‘70 Election Trends—The First Clues,” U.S. News & World Report, May 18, 1970. While Zimmerman feels the shootings may have helped Rhodes, some news outlets speculated that Rhodes “may have been hurt by the killing[s].” See “Primaries,” Time, May 18, 1970.

15. Conversation with Rick Felber.

16. Alewitz interview; Michener, Kent State, 420–21; “Here Are Latest Arrests at KSU,” RC, May 5, 1970. Alewitz had been wearing a sport jacket at the time of the shootings, but to better portray his outrage he exchanged it for a protest jacket. All three men were later charged with breaking the 8 p.m. curfew, although they were arrested at 4 p.m. See Butz’s “Arrest/Booking Report,” Kent, Ohio, City Police, in the Butz file in box 77, M4C. Tim Smith, a BJ reporter, also saw deputized civilians while en route to Ravenna, recalling that they “were wearing civilian clothes and carrying shot-guns and rifles.” See Endres, Pathways, 127.


24. For the tensions, which led to a split in the New MOBE and the end of the VMC, see Wells, *The War Within*, 409, 437–46. “200 Students Plan ‘Kent State in Exile.’”


26. Jeffrey Powell, “The Storm” (unpublished memoir). For one example of the interest in
Powell and the SDS leaders, see the report by Sgt. D. D. Sumrok, Ohio Highway Patrol, June 5, 1970, box 107, folder 27, M4C.


29. Ibid., 78–79. A photo of Young with Mrs. Fannie Chaney and CORE leader Dave Dennis, taken a CORE meeting in Kansas City, MO, appeared in *Muhammad Speaks*, July 31, 1964, not long before the bodies of Chaney and his two companions were found buried in an earthen dam in Mississippi. **Photo story courtesy of Gene Young, Ph.D. Dr. Young, a frequent speaker at May 4th commemorations, died in March 2011.**


recovered from the sharp downturn later in the year. **One who does call attention to the market is Richard Reeves. See Richard Reeves, President Nixon: Alone in the White House** (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 215.


35. On the Akron Teamster, see “Concern about Economy Grows among Workers,” *NYT*, Oct. 29, 1970. When his fellow miners learned that Greg Hawthorne was a Kent State student later that spring, he found the issue of Guard deployment against the Teamsters the best way to create an understanding of the campus antiwar position. **For some of Bill Whitaker’s fellow Teamsters, the connection was already apparent. Harvey Pekar’s co-workers at Cleveland’s Veterans Hospital were supportive of his decision to join the protests on Euclid Avenue. Pekar interview.** “The slaughter of four students . . .”: James Watt, CAP Director of Michigan’s UAW, quoted in “Labor,” *Burning River News* 1.6 (May 13–27, 1970); the same article also includes criticism of the war by Gus Scholle, president of the state’s AFL-CIO. On the Cleveland AFL-CIO and labor participation in the New York antiwar protest, see “Labor Movement Begins to Act on Indochina War” and “N.Y. Workers, Students Demand Peace,” *Guardian*, May 30, 1970. David Livingston of the Retail Clerks quoted in “Speakers Denounce Rhetoric,” *WP*, May 10. On Meany’s well-known backing of the war, see Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up? American Protest against the War in Vietnam, 1963–1975* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 333.


38. For brief descriptions of Lewis’s and Cleary’s wounds, see Joseph Kelner and James Munves, The Kent State Coverup (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 92–94, 116. The author has had many discussions with the two men and others of the wounded since and during the 1975 civil damages trial.


42. Riggs interview.


45. White’s remark had been quoted in an article in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Aug. 20, 1970; Mrs. Carol Sedgwick, a Cincinnati resident, wrote to White on Aug. 29 criticizing the statement. White’s assistant Ronald Beer replied on his behalf on Sept. 10; the remaining quotations are from his letter. Box 127A, folder 49, KSU Administrative Offices Papers. Amick’s testimony: “Rhodes Shuns Hearing,” *PD*, Aug. 20, 1970.


54. Yippie Jerry Persky was one of those carrying a toothbrush. For the sign, see “Arthrell: ‘Pawns’—In a Tranquil Place,” *DKS*, Oct. 28, 1970.


56. See the following in *DKS*: “KSU Veterans Against the War Held Guerrilla Theater to Dramatize ‘the Horrors of War’” (photo story), Oct. 16, 1970; “Yippies’ Rally Friday” (first rally) and “Morgan: Kunstler Coming,” Oct. 19; “Doctor White Rejects Yippie Demands,” Oct. 20; “Morgan Calls for National Moratorium,” Oct. 21 (second rally and Butz quote); “I. F. Stone Asks: ‘No First Amendment Here?,” Oct. 27; “4,000 Students” (photo story), Nov. 3 (Columbus rally). Alewitz interview.


Among those who took umbrage to the remarks were Ken Hammond (communication of June 23, 2009); Ken Johnson (June 24, 2009); and Joe Cullum (also of June 23).


61. See the following in *DKS*: “Dragnet Total: 18; Arrests Continue,” Oct. 27, 1970; “Tolliver’s ‘Save America in Spite of Itself,’” Nov. 10; “Blood, Sweat & Tears Remembers Kent State, Do You?” (advertisement), Nov. 11; “Performs Cleveland Concert for LDF,” Nov. 17; David Ifshin is mentioned in “Dubis Explains Legal Defense Fund,” Nov. 17, and “Syracuse Donates $2,546 to Defense,” Nov. 20. The author served on the KLDF board of trustees and recalls opening the envelope containing Spock’s check.


**Chapter 14**

**Carry On**


13. See the following in *DKS*: “Butz, Vets Group Offer Spring Plans,” April 14, 1971; “Anti-War Vets Plan D.C. Rally” and “Spring Sprouts Antiwar Activities,” April 20; “GI Planned to Lead Protests, but Lost Life in Cambodia,” April 27. Cleveland native and Kent student Tom Cole also participated in Dewey Canyon III.


Among the thirty-three dead was a Cleveland area soldier. See


22. Among the extensive coverage of the Kent 25 trials, see DKS, Sept. 27–Dec. 7, 1971, and RC, Nov. 23–Dec. 8, 1971. “Rejoice!” (editorial), DKS, Dec. 8, 1971. **The lead prosecution effort against defendant Jerry Rupe was derailed when at least one juror (Tom Houger) refused to vote for conviction. Houger had taken a business position before the start of the trial and had a conventional appearance. While rumors circulated about Houger being the lone holdout, he later noted that was not the case. Houger to Alan Canfora, May 7, 2000; Houger’s e-mail came in response to an interview given by Rupe’s attorney, James E. Hogle, in The Burr, May 4, 2000.**

23. “Antiwar Rally Set for Saturday,” DKS, Nov. 5, 1971; coverage of the protest: “Hecklers, Weather Combine to Put Blemish on Peace Rally,” PD, Nov. 7. See also Zaroulis and Sullivan, Who Spoke Up?, 371–72; and Wells, The War Within, 528–29. **Reflecting the tensions within the antiwar movement, those not aligned with the Trotskyist-led National Peace Action Coalition wore buttons supplied by the People’s Coalition for Peace and Justice identifying themselves as the November 6th Coalition. Within this grouping in the march, those to the left of the PCPJ/Nov. 6th Coalition organized a contingent called the George Jackson Brigade, named after a prison-rights advocate and Black Panther Party member who had been killed in San Quentin Prison in August 1971, allegedly during an escape attempt that left five others dead. The flyer for the Nov. 6 march, “People Get Ready!,” is in author’s possession.** The author participated in the Cleveland march. Gologorsky quoted in Appy, Patriots, 415.

25. Campus undercover agents: “Former Chief Reveals Agents Were at KSU,” DKS, May 14, 1971; “Police ‘Saturated’ ’71 Demonstrations,” DKS, April 7, 1972. John Shattuck of the national ACLU made the claim about the police saturation at Kent State. His office also handled the VVAW lawsuit against Fyke. He later went on to become vice president of Harvard University, worked in the Clinton administration as assistant secretary of state, and served as the CEO of the JFK Library in Boston. “In an undercover capacity . . .”:
Mohr’s statement, April 28, 1972, box 80, folder 32, M4C (in the statement he mistakenly gives his date of hire as Aug. 18, 1972).


According to Mohr’s own statement, he advised his “supervisor, Commander [Robert] Winkler, [that] . . . I had purchased the weapons. He instructed me to retain them pending further orders.”


30. “KSU Danger Point” (editorial), RC, April 27, 1972; “He’s Not Ending War” (editorial), RC, April 28.

31. See the following in DKS: “Move ROTC Facilities,” May 2, 1972; “5 Min. for Peace” (editorial) and “11th hour Campaign Evolves from Rally,” May 11; “11th Hour Plan Draws Wide Eyes,” “From Townspeople: 11th Hour Drive Gets Weak Reply,” and “11th Hour’ Goes Door-to-Door,” May 12; “11th Hour Vigil Gets Mixed Support,” May 16. See also “National Involvement in ‘11th hour’ Is Urged,” RC, May 11.


34. “54,000 Registered in Portage Co.,” DKS, Oct. 11, 1972; and “Final Tallies of Election Listed,” DKS, Nov. 9. McGovern carried only two of the state’s eighty-eight counties, the worst Democratic showing since 1956.

42. The antiwar movement’s effect on the conduct of the war will likely remain controversial. For all the attention to this, too little has been given to the staying power of the Vietnamese. On the debate over the use of force, Wilson Carey McWilliams contended that “violence has always troubled the liberal. . . .Violence is nothing new for the American poor; it is new for the intellectual and middle classes . . . because of . . . [the] violence which reaches the campus, penetrating ‘our’ [liberal] space in unexpected ways.” McWilliams, “Has Liberalism Come Apart at the Seams?” *NYT*, June 22, 1969. On the thinking of the Yippies: letter from Jerry Persky, circa Oct. 1975, copy in the author’s possession.
43. On Ashbrook, see Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 2, 37, 162n17, and passim. For links between the Old Right and the conservative ascendancy beyond the 1970s,

44. Savio quoted in “*Takin’ It to the Streets*: A Sixties Reader,” ed. Alexander Bloom and Wi

45. “The View from Kent State,” *NYT*, May 11, 1970 (Glass quote) and Doug Vaughan, “The

The Epilogue

**A Battlefield of Memory**

1. “Struggle to Recovery,” *Kent* magazine (KSU Office of Alumni Relations) 3.6 (June 1970): 4

2. “White Picks May 4 Committee” and “Police Nab Three ‘for Flag Desecration,’” *DKS*, Feb.


Ruined for Antiwar Beliefs,” *BJ*, May 1, 1975 (second quotation).


9. The author relied on his personal collection of Rosen’s remarks during a plaintiffs’ meeting in Cleveland and the oral arguments for the appeal in the Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 21, 1977. Months later, on Sept. 12, the court issued its decision in favor of a new trial.


11. For a photo of the jury standing next to the National Guard firing position at the Pagoda, see Hensley, “The Legal Aftermath,” in Hensley and Lewis, Kent State and May 4th, 61; see also Hensley, “Kent State 1977: The Struggle to Move the Gym,” in the same volume, 144–67.


Who Sent the National Guard to Kent State, Dies at 91” NYT, March 6.


Appendix

1. Suzanne Gordon used the word “radicalize” to characterize goals of some young Marxists who moved “from campus to factory” in the 1970s, seeking to transform unions and workplaces. See her review of Kim Moody’s An Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism, in the Guardian, May 3, 1989.