



Oral History Interview of James P. Feeney

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Interviewed by: Michael Owens, Suffolk University student from History 364: Oral History

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Interview Summary

James P. Feeney, who was born and raised in South Boston, Massachusetts, discusses the impact of the 1974 Garrity decision, which required students to be bused between Boston neighborhoods with the intention of creating racial balance in the public schools. The interview covers South Boston’s reaction to the decision; the media coverage of the aftermath of the decision; various protests and demonstrations that took place; and how the dynamics of South Boston changed during that time period.

Subject Headings

Busing for school integration

Feeney, James P.

Morgan v. Hennigan (379 F. Supp. 410)

South Boston (Boston, Mass.)

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This interview took place on February 16, 2005, at the John Joseph Moakley Law Library,
Suffolk University Law School, 120 Tremont Street, Boston, MA

Interview Transcript

MICHAEL OWENS: First we'll start off a little bit with your family background, just sort of get started. If you could just tell me what your name is, where you're from.

JAMES P. FEENEY: James Feeney, from Southie, born and brought up in South Boston. Five years I lived down the lower end down on West 5th, and then moved up to East 5th, that was a great move we went from West 5th to East 5th. Now I lived there in Southie for twenty-one years.

OWENS: Can you just give me a little bit about your family background, your parents' names?

FEENEY: They're both Irish, they're obviously of Irish decent. My mom is Eleanor O'Connor, my dad is James also. My mother was Southie born and bred till the day she leaves, and my dad was from Dorchester.

OWENS: No siblings?

FEENEY: I have an older brother Jackie, and a younger sister, Claire.

OWENS: Can you just tell me a little bit about growing up in Southie? Did you enjoy it?

FEENEY: I loved it. Truly. I lived in a great neighborhood. Every house on my street—again it was between G and H at one time or another. I was in everybody's house just growing up. I remember it was like trick-or-treating and they were all three-deckers for the most part, so you get to one house and you get three baskets of candy. I never really played organized sports, but I never had a problem playing baseball, football, street hockey, all down the line.

OWENS: Would you say that the neighborhoods in South Boston were similar or would you say that the makeup of one neighborhood might be different from another?

FEENEY: Sadly, they were different. I think the lower end, a lot of them were one-parent families. For my own way of thinking, I don't think you had the camaraderie down the lower end that you had either by the hill or the high school, or [the] more affluent, the people by the point.

OWENS: What I want to do is just break up a little bit and go into the Garrity decision.¹ Can you just tell me where do you first remember hearing about the decision?

FEENEY: I think it was in the early seventies, '73, '74. I mean, that's all you heard of. You heard about it for years and the years prior too. So it wasn't like all of a sudden you woke up one morning and it was like, "Oh, what's going to happen?" Stuff that you heard for a long time was going to happen and then the decision was it probably would. I believe the first year was 1974 when they first started the actual busing of the children.

OWENS: Do you recall how your family reacted to the decision?

FEENEY: Very upset. They are and still are a blue-collar family. Boston was also a town of neighborhoods, and all of a sudden to find that you're not going to have your close-knit of a South Boston or East Boston or Charlestown, it was—they were very upset. You know, they bought their house thinking, "Okay, I was within blocks, or a distance of a block, to the grammar school, to the church, you know, the beach." Everything was set up that way. All of a sudden to have someone come and say it's not going to be this way anymore—it was very hard.

¹ The Garrity decision refers to the June 21, 1974, opinion filed by Judge W. Arthur Garrity in the case of *Tallulah Morgan et al. v. James Hennigan et al.* (379 F. Supp. 410). Judge Garrity ruled that the Boston School Committee had "intentionally brought about and maintained racial segregation" in the Boston Public Schools. When the school committee did not submit a workable desegregation plan as the opinion had required, the court established a plan that called for some students to be bused from their own neighborhoods to attend schools in other neighborhoods, with the goal of creating racial balance in the Boston Public Schools. (See <http://www.lib.umb.edu/archives/garrity2.html> for more information)

OWENS: What school did you go to growing up or which schools?

FEENEY: Grammar school wise, I went to the Benjamin Dean. Then they were called grammar schools. I went there for five years, kindergarten through four. Then I went to the Thomas M. Hart for five and six. Then I went to Patrick F. Gavin Junior High for the seventh and eighth. And then I did four years high school at Boston Tech.

OWENS: So you were in high school when the Garrity decision was—

FEENEY: I was a junior the first year of busing.

OWENS: And was your school affected by it?

FEENEY: It wasn't because Boston Tech was an exam school. We, for the most part, were racially balanced, strictly on academic breakdown.

OWENS: In that case what I'm going to do is I'm just going to go ahead and talk a little bit about how South Boston reacted to the decision a little bit.

FEENEY: Well I wasn't involved as far as in the school, but I was affected in how we got to school.

OWENS: Okay.

FEENEY: In the sense that, you could not be kept back [after] school anymore. [If] you had detention, you had detention in the mornings. You had to do detention at six-thirty. They didn't want—I was bused every day but it was a chartered MTA² bus. It wasn't a yellow school bus, so we came and went a lot more freely and were a lot more unnoticed. But if you did have detention and whatnot you had to do it in the morning, because the only way to get home from

² MTA stands for Metropolitan Transit Authority, which was the name for Massachusetts' public transportation system prior to 1964, when it became the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority.

Boston Tech was to connect through Dudley Station [in Boston's Roxbury neighborhood]. Which would have been as bad for me as a black child, black kid, at the same time going to Broadway Station [in South Boston]. It was just not the right thing to do, so they would have us go to school in the morning instead.

OWENS: So did your school bus or did you witness any violence that occurred?

FEENEY: My bus was stoned once. And we didn't even know it. There happened to be a police car in the area and I remember now the police car pulling the bus over and asking was anybody hurt, and the windows did not break through so no glass entered the bus.

OWENS: Did you have any friends from the neighborhood that attended other schools at the time?

FEENEY: Most of my friends—again I was a junior—most of my friends at the time were juniors or seniors and a lot of my friends who were seniors went to Newman Prep³ to finish off so they wouldn't be involved in it. They needed X amount of credits—they went to Newman Prep and got their credits and their diplomas that way.

OWENS: So did they do that as a result of the Garrity decision?

FEENEY: Most definitely. They would have definitely rather gone through Southie High. From Southie to Boston Tech, senior-wise there was maybe only ten seniors coming out of Southie. As opposed to three, four hundred seniors in the high school. Tech was a very small portion of South Boston.

OWENS: Were your parents involved in any political or grassroots?

³ Newman Prep refers to the Newman Preparatory School, a parochial high school in Boston's Back Bay neighborhood that is now called the Newman School.

FEENEY: Grassroots, nothing political. Myself, I went to motorcades almost every Sunday. If there was a protest, we went. Sometimes we went for the fact of protesting, and sometimes—I was seventeen, eighteen, so sometimes when we went it was going to be a rabble-rouser, as you’ve seen when the Red Sox won the World Series. The rabbleroxing was always done at South Boston. A lot of times it was at night when the school was closed, but they still had all the TPF [Tactical Patrol Force] police around the high school and you were only allowed to get within one hundred yards. Sometimes it was just fun to see how far you could push the button before you would get chased. And then if you got chased, and there were no students, you weren’t doing any harm to anybody, they might have given you a boot and just told you to keep going.

OWENS: Can you—oh, I’m sorry. (Mr. Owen and Mr. Feeney speaking at the same time)

FEENEY: We did all belong to ROAR., which was one of the anti-busing groups. ROAR was Restore Our Alienated Rights. We all had the buttons on our jackets, whether it be the ROAR button [attachment A] or the Stop Forced Busing button, which was a button with a stop sign with a “Stop Forced Busing” in the middle of the button.

OWENS: Can you describe what those demonstrations were like?

FEENEY: They were very—mostly political. Most of them were either at city hall, or they would pick on a politician of the day, and find out where he or she lived, and there’d be a motorcade to that place. Some of it was trying to get—as busing went on, some communities sort of left the fight if you will. East Boston initially was all behind the anti-busing movement. Then when they found out that children cannot be bused through a tunnel or over a bridge, they were not going to be affected anywhere near as much as Southie and Charlestown, and they sort of dropped off the face of the map. So a lot of it too was just trying to keep the other communities of Hyde Park, Southie, Charlestown, together.

OWENS: How were these demonstrations portrayed in the media?

FEENEY: For the most part they really weren't bad or negative. My personal quirk that always aggravated me was there would be a motorcade, and they might say there was five hundred people attend the rally, fifty cars in the motorcade and they would always downsize. For some reason, they didn't downsize the crowds. But you would have to have like fifteen people per car to get the numbers. That was a little quirk that always stuck out of my head. [For] the most part they knew we were mad, we were fighting. The racism part really didn't come in the beginning. It was just community sort of being—we felt betrayed. We felt a lot of politicians turned their back on us.

OWENS: When did the racism come in, and if so—

FEENEY: Oh, I didn't think that it was "if," I think it most definitely did. I think initially with busing if you just said, "Southie, you're going to go to Charlestown," white kid on white kid, you would have had the same fight. You know, "Why are we doing this? This is stupid." But then, when the racism did come, we felt—the whites in South Boston—at times felt the blacks were being pampered. And probably the other way around. It's just the view you are looking through. The blacks probably felt the same idea, "Well, you know, they are siding with Southie." That was one way or the other. Then for five, ten years, South Boston had a justifiable racism name to it. It was hard because, initially, the way the city is set up, whites had to go through the black areas to go to work. It was a common thing. Blacks had—I mean this in a nice way if it is—blacks had no reason to come through South Boston. It's sort of an island by itself. You didn't have to go through Southie to go to work, and sadly they stood out more when they did. Whether they were going to work it was—they were just more of a target, because they stood out more. It wasn't a common thing to see blacks going through South Boston.

OWENS: (pauses to think) Would you say that there was a general consensus of the way that South Boston felt, or did one neighborhood feel maybe stronger than another?

FEENEY: No. Southie was totally unified. Whether it be the housing projects or City Point. Southie was totally unified against the decision.

OWENS: Do you ever recall any friendships being broken up because of this decision?

FEENEY: A lot of friendships were broken up, and I think a lot of it, too, were people who left the city before hand. People were Southie born and bred, and they might have moved to Milton or Quincy or Weymouth. I know there was a lot of friction there. I know my parents lost friends that way. It's like, "You people are racist; why are you doing this?" It's like, "Well, you know, stand in my shoes first, and then tell me what we are doing is 100 percent wrong." So there were definitely families—not families, but friendships divided and lost.

OWENS: This move out of South Boston, how was—

FEENEY: Well, this was before busing. This was just people who improved their finances and just moved on. It's—Southie was traditionally when you got money you went to Quincy. [If] you couldn't afford Milton, you went to Quincy and maybe Weymouth. And if you went out in the early sixties, you could have gone to Hingham, before Hingham got to be, you know, just too expensive.⁴ This is not the white flight that came afterwards, this was just, you know, people who were advancing with their finances and said, "I can do better than this. I can get a single family home with a yard. Instead of a three-decker with an alley way between the houses."

OWENS: Just to go back quickly about the media coverage. How long did the media coverage last in South Boston?

FEENEY: Years. Truthfully, years. Not as much, but I mean again, with the students—when the black students were at Southie High, they would go home at two when the day was over. They would go home at two when the school day was over. You could go up there at ten o'clock, and the media was up there at ten waiting for the powder keg to pop. It was almost like great news, great—it sold a lot of papers.

⁴ Quincy, Milton, Weymouth and Hingham are all suburbs located south of Boston.

OWENS: Would you say that their presence provoked violence?

FEENEY: Yeah, well, I don't want to say provoked. I don't even want to say encouraged, it just brought it on. There are a lot of kooks—if they are going to do something, they'd rather do it on TV. And it's like, "Oh, let's do it now. We can see ourselves on the six o'clock news."

OWENS: Do you think that that hurt Southie's feeling about the Garrity decision, or the message it was trying to get across?

FEENEY: Somewhat. It didn't hurt their opinion of the decision. It hurt South Boston's reputation for a long time. Southie was an all-white community. Maybe 99 percent, but it didn't have any problems. And now we are a 99 percent white community that did have a lot of problems.

OWENS: Do you think that they were portrayed that way on purpose? For example, there were other communities that were having the same issues, but they necessarily weren't as targeted as South Boston.

FEENEY: No, they weren't as vocal. Charlestown was portrayed almost as bad as Southie for a long time. Hyde Park, Roslindale—they were more of a diverse community. They didn't like the idea of being bused to another community, but they already had a pretty good mix within their—where they lived. It was pretty common to play ball with two black kids and a white kid. They were more advanced in that aspect than we were. Southie was just—"We had our two bridges, and don't cross them."

OWENS: Would you say that people in South Boston are still upset over the Garrity decision?

FEENEY: No, it's been too long. It's been, what, almost thirty years. People might way in the back of their head think, "What did they do to the community?" They did destroy the community. I never would have left South Boston. I had every intention of living in South Boston my whole life, and because of that, South Boston as a community, the houses, couldn't

be more expensive. So South Boston survived; the neighborhood did not. I can go out, see my mom now after a snow storm—when I grew up there would be thirty, thirty-five, forty kids out in the street having snowball fights. I go down there now, you might see two or three kids on the street. In general families aren't as big as they used to be, but you can just see it. They are either yuppie families with no kids, or my mother's generation, who is staying until the end. When the time comes, we don't want the house, we are just going to sell it. My siblings and I will just sell it, and that was never the case before.

OWENS: What I'll do now is just ask you a little bit about your wife. You mentioned in an email that she went to South Boston High.

FEENEY: My wife—I didn't know her at the time. My wife is only four months older than I am, but because of that four months, she was one year higher in school, so we never met. We had no ties until after high school. We met after high school. But my wife was a senior at South Boston High. She was the class of '75. I am the class of '76. So she was the class of '75 at Southie High.

OWENS: What sort of reaction did she have toward the Garrity decision?

FEENEY: I don't think—my wife, she wasn't—I'm not saying I was political, but she wasn't—it was weird. I think I was more affected, and I didn't even go to Southie High. She was a senior; she just wanted to get out. She was number six of eight; there's eight kids in her family. She was the sixth graduating from Southie High, and she felt that they ruined that last year of memories for her. Other than that, she just wanted out. She never attended any of the rallies of any sort. Her family owned a house in Marlborough—not a house, but a cottage. So she spent all of her summers in Marlborough, and a lot of weekends and such. So she didn't have the South Boston community aspect that I did. I went to Maine one week a year. That was my trip out of Southie, and she was never really in Southie other than to go to school.

OWENS: While she was attending the school, did she ever mention any of the violence that she might have experienced?

FEENEY: Yeah, she remembers quite often being chased down the hallways, and they would put on announcements over the intercom: “Stay in your classroom.” Which was the stupidest thing, you know, then of course every classroom would empty onto the street—not the street, the hallways, and then they would truly just divide up—color-coded. The blacks would go to one section, the whites would go to the other section. She always resented the metal detectors. Not saying they weren’t really justified; there was a stabbing at that high school. But sometimes they would even point down to her bra strap that was setting it off, and these kids just wanted to go to school. Again, they wanted to have their senior prom, they wanted to have their class day, and everything was completely overshadowed by the state troopers in the hallway.

OWENS: Did she ever mention how the teachers and how the faculty reacted to this?

FEENEY: They were frustrated. Doc Reid,⁵ who was the principal at the time, became a scapegoat. I think he did everything he possibly could to make things go as smoothly as they could, but it just was not going to happen at that high school. And the teachers, they became policemen. A lot of their time was spent, you know, “Whew, we made it through a day. No one got into a fight, no one got hurt today.”

OWENS: Would you say that the dynamic of the school changed drastically because of this? Or the make-up, rather?

FEENEY: Well the make-up—the allegiance of the high school changed. Within two or three years of this you would ask a buddy on the street, “Are you going to the football game?” And they look at you like you’re a nut. The Thanksgiving game, which was Southie-Eastie for a hundred years, and it was just like, “Why would I go there? I have no allegiance to that school anymore.”

⁵ William J. “Doc” Reid (1912-2007) was headmaster of South Boston High School from 1965 to 1975. OH-053 in the Moakley Oral History Project is an interview with Mr. Reid.

OWENS: Did any of her [Feeney's wife's] classmates or any of her friends leave the school as a result of—

FEENEY: Some. A couple of family friends moved to Plymouth because of busing. Instead of graduating with their class, they had a lot of younger siblings, so their parents just sold their home and moved. (pauses) Actually, on their—if you look—that class is known as the last white class of Southie High, and if you look on their class mug that they got at the prom, the initials are on it “TLWC”.

OWENS: Really?

FEENEY: That they sort of snuck in within the design of the—on the mug is the design of the national monument, the [Dorchester] Heights, and if you look closely enough, you can see the kid who drew it up. That was sort of their last hurrah to the school.

OWENS: Before we just close up do you have any stories, or anything that you would want to add that we didn't necessarily cover?

FEENEY: Just some of the protests that I attended. I was there—the infamous photograph of the black gentleman with the flag in the face by Joey Rakes, who I knew quite well. The black man was totally in the wrong place at the wrong time. Totally innocent to anything, but busing—that was the case where it brought out the worst in somebody.⁶

I was actually, if the photograph was reversed, I'm standing—it just so happens, I'm standing behind the photographer. That was a protest that we got out of—we just got out of city hall, and we were just all, again, kind of raising hell because we were young teenagers, or old teenagers. And this poor guy was coming to work. He did nothing wrong, it was just one of the ugly incidents that happened—that was brought on. Before busing, the word “nigger” was never used in my house, it was considered a swear. And after a while it—busing brought out a lot of

⁶ Mr. Feeney is referring to a Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph taken by Stanley J. Forman which depicts Joseph Rakes, who is white, lunging at Ted Landsmark, who is black, with the staff of an American flag. The photograph

hatred. I think everybody is a little prejudice, no matter what. You are not born racist. This brought out from prejudice to racism to hatred, for no reason.

I think the way they brought on the whole busing aspect was wrong. They started with high schools; it was stupid. If you are going to do it, start with—I can't even see starting with babies, but say if you have a neighborhood school one, two, three, "Starting out this year grade four is going to be bused somewhere." I don't think people would have harmed a child, but when you get seniors and juniors, some of them twenty, twenty-one years old, totally fixed in their way, you're going to have problems. As bad as the decision was, it was implemented wrong. If they had started with the younger children, who didn't have the hatred built into them yet, and just say, Okay, this is how it is going to be, you are going to Charlestown, you are going to go here.

I think things would have gone a little bit more smoothly then—1974, they took the junior high class out of Southie High and said, "You're going to Roxbury," and vice versa. You're bringing in eighteen, twenty year old kids, and it's not going to work. Again, we felt a lot of politicians turned their back on us. There are a lot of politicians who endorsed this, and yet every one of their kids goes to a private school. It wasn't a case where they were in the same boat as us. They're telling us what to do, and yet in the same token, not one of them is doing it to themselves.

OWENS: How did your sisters—how were they affected by this?

FEENEY: My sister wasn't because she went to parochial school all the way through. She was already going to parochial school. I don't know why my brother and I were told to go—we were publics. But my sister from day one went to parochial, so she just continued on through.

OWENS: What schools did she attend?

was taken in April of 1976 at an anti-busing protest on City Hall Plaza.

FEENEY: Gate of Heaven, which was my parish. They had a grammar school, [grades] one to eight, and then she went to Monsignor Ryan which is in Dorchester, which just recently closed. One of the high schools that the Catholic schools just closed in the past couple of years. And my brother missed it because he graduated in 1970, so he was already gone before it happened.

OWENS: Just to go back quickly, this is just one thing that I forgot to ask you. Now even though your school was not affected directly by the change of the Garrity decision, how was your first day? Was it a tense day?

FEENEY: No, it was not at all. We got along fine. I got along fine when I went in there in 1972 and never had a problem when I left through 1976. I attended, more so my junior and senior year, which was when Boston was having its problem—because I am getting out of the school, I started to attend more—more high school—more of my own school sporting events: basketball, hockey, football. We went and cheered on the team that (inaudible) the old Boston Garden when they played basketball. I would go to White’s stadium, in the middle of Franklin Park, to attend football games.

My school, knock on wood, everybody knew I was from South Boston. If somebody asks me today, “Where are you from?” I’ll still say, “I am from South Boston, I just happen to live in Marlborough.” But, I went to Boston Tech everyday with my “stop busing” buttons on. I think—I like to think they might have respected my opinion. But I never went out looking for trouble, this is just the way that I felt, and this school is by choice, this school works. So we never had the trouble at Boston Tech.

OWENS: Just one final question, unless you have anything else to add, and that was—looking back thirty years later after the decision, could you just describe its effects, not only just in South Boston, but on the city in general?

FEENEY: It might have made the city more—I would say the city is no longer a city of neighborhoods. It’s more generic than it once was, and that could be good or bad. There were no problems before busing, when it was strictly neighborhoods. I think looking back, the

school system, in my opinion, has never recovered. The SAT scores continually go down in the city of Boston. The money that they spend on busing, they can easily put towards the schools. More and more of Boston now is racially balanced—tremendously much more than it was before. So if South Boston is somewhat mixed, racially mixed, let the kids go to the neighborhood schools, and put that money into the school system. They're still stubborn in that aspect. They're still trying to get something to work that doesn't work anymore. The money is wasted; they could put the money towards much more better things than having the buses idle.

OWENS: Do you have anything else to add?

FEENEY: No, I think that's about it.

OWENS: Just one other thing that I wanted to mention that I forgot was ROAR. Can you tell me a little bit more about ROAR, what it was?

FEENEY: That was—I think it was sort of leadership. All of the groups were splintered and this was sort of one banner, if you will, to get under. They might have published papers; they would come out and tell you when the next rally was. It was an informational thing. They sort of brought all of the splinter groups together. It wasn't military by any means; it was just a way of notifying people what was going on. Ray Flynn,⁷ I think, belonged to it at one time.

Billy Bulger⁸ was a great speaker for the city. Jimmy Kelly⁹ made a name for himself, and he is still on the School Committee. So a lot of politicians made names—Louise Day Hicks,¹⁰ I

⁷ Raymond L. Flynn (1939-), a Democrat, represented South Boston in the Massachusetts State House of Representatives from 1971 to 1979. He later served on the Boston City Council from 1978 to 1974, then as mayor of Boston from 1984 to 1993.

⁸ William M. Bulger (1934-), a Democrat, served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1962 to 1970, in the Massachusetts State Senate from 1970 to 1978 and as State Senate President from 1978 to 1996. OH-014 in the Moakley Oral History Project is an interview with Mr. Bulger.

⁹ James M. Kelly (1940-2007), a lifelong South Boston resident, represented South Boston in the Boston City Council from 1983 until his death in January of 2007. He served as city council president from 1994 to 2001. OH-0187 in the Moakley Oral History Project is an interview with Councilor Kelly.

¹⁰ Louise Day Hicks (1916-2003), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts Ninth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1971 to 1973.

think, was a very good fighter for South Boston, but she got the wrong reputation. Same way, I think, Elma Lewis¹¹ was a great fighter for her community, but wasn't perceived well from the other community. I think they both had the greatest hopes for their group, the people they were supporting and speaking for, but if you weren't within that group on either side they got a shaft on either way. It's the Irish in me coming out, I know, but I say politicians who turned their back on us—people in South Boston really thought Ted Kennedy¹² turned his back on us. He is another one whose kids have never gone to a public school ever, and he was one of these ones [who said], "This is gonna happen." We grew up in houses—we had a picture of JFK on one wall and the pope on the other. So I think we expect to get a lot more help from him, and we never got it.

OWENS: You mentioned that some of the demonstrations would pick a politician of the day, and then they would go and they would—?

FEENEY: We would protest out in front of their home. It was vocal. I don't ever remember stoning their homes. It was—get out there. Again, you have the media come out. We went to Garrity's house. I know we went to his house on a couple occasions. We used to go to downtown Boston too. I might have the street wrong—I am tempted to say Mount Vernon Street—where Kevin White lived. I know where the house is now, because I still kind of work in that area. We would go to his house and protest. If anyone was on the school committee at the time, we might go to their house and try to get them to vote, even though their hands were tied. Maybe looking back now, I realize that more so. That their hands were tied more than we thought they were. But we would go to their homes and again, I don't ever remember going to houses to stone them. You know, it's just to scream, let steam off. You felt, "No one is listening to me; I'm going to have to go to you instead."

OWENS: Well, I think that's it on my end. If you don't have anything else to add.

¹¹ Elma Lewis (1921- 2004), the daughter of West Indian immigrants, was a native of Boston's Roxbury neighborhood who devoted her life to supporting the arts in Boston's black community.

¹² Edward Moore "Ted" Kennedy (1932-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts in the United States Senate since 1962.

FEENEY: I don't know if you want to put down—I am looking at this [points to recorder] and there is dead air.

OWENS: No, that's fine.

END OF INTERVIEW

OH-048 Attachments

Attachment A Photograph of “Stop Forced Busing” ROAR pin (DI-0304); part of the John Joseph Moakley Papers Collection (MS100/09.03-378)