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S: You might want to add some things here. ....Why don't you go ahead and say something.

M: Testing 1,2,3,4 Tesing 1,2,3,4, and I can have a conversation like now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country and so forth and so forth.....

S: Takes a while to get set up doesn't it?

M: Yeh

L: It sounds good

M: How is it you take, you just tape voice and then you may dub in voice with the picture.

S: It's synced with the camera, well that has its own sound system, so that's internally synced and this is synced with the film machine. Ther's a sync channel on the recording.

L: That runs at exactly 24 frames a second and this has a crystal that when you play it back, it makes the tape run at exactly 24 frames a second. So we don't need any cables between them. It really is magic. I mean it took me a long time to figure out exactly what to do.

S: Pretty amazing.

M: You're sitting here as interviewer or he is.

S: Yeh, I don't get on, I'm not filmed at all.

M: Usually most interviews they show the interviewer so you know who the voice is. Don't you all do that?

L: Well Bill's questions won't even be on the tape.

S: No we,

L: In fact any questions that we frame, I hope Bill tries to ask them in such a way that, for example, one film I worked on, the interviewer David Lenster would say things like um, "So when you lived in West Chesterfield in the 1920's, you used to go by truck to Keene every day right?" and the answer would be "Yes". So, you know, we wanted to use what the person said and all we got was "Yes" when actually what the interviewee should have said was, "Yeh back in the 20's I did used to take a tractor into Keene" you know. But the way David framed the question was the poor subject had nothing to say but "Yes".

M: You know, Patsy and I were involved in a number of political things in the state of Georgia including the challenge of the Lester Matticks delegation to the 68 democratic convention in Chicago and we succeeded and we sent Matticks packing and I became a delegate and Patsy annulted and so forth. At one point, John Chancelor with NBC came and sat down next to me and he wanted some very clear cut answers about some very ambiguous material we were dealing with and ah, I forget what it was but he finally got frustrated with me and said, "Well thank you but" (laughs) I wasn't able to come forward because, I forget the nuances of political infighting that we were dealing with but it wasn't as clear cut as he wanted.

L: We just, in fact, we love listening to these afterwards and we tend to get involved in the whole discursive nature of it, we're not just looking for,

M: Now do want the subject viewing the cameras or viewing you?

L: No, just viewing Bill and any shooting we do, you'll be oblique to the camera. We've been kind of consistent with that. So, but please feel free to look around or move around or anything because this isn't on and he's got that

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at a sort of wide enough angle so it's just recording. It's really more for documentation.

M: I won't move around except to cross my legs and put them the other way.

L: I'm all ready Bill

S: Oh okay, well maybe you can just tell us a little bit about where you were born and that, just to document that?

M: Well I was born in Brunswick, Georgis, 1930, a lovely town on the coast, Six Simon's Island, Sea Island. All that's home country for me.

S: And then to pish it a bit, your religious training and, undergraduate and then religious training.

M: I was raised ah, we were episcopalians. We went to the St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Brunswick. I was an acolyte, meaning assissting at the service. I was in the boys choir at one point and ah, I went to high school in Brunswick, graduated in 1947, then went to Columbia University in New York for undergraduate, 1947-51 and in the ah, fall of 51, I entered the Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria and graduated from there in 1954, was ordained in the episcopal church and went to a small church in South Carolina, St. Barnabus, Dillon, South Carolina. That was the year of 54 of the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. So Patsy and I were in, we were married in 1952, we were in Dillon during this period of gathering storm on southern resistance to school desegregation and ah, we became involved in a major project there trying to ameliorate white resistance factor. All the while of course we were concerned for the churches position on these matters and in the south at that time, the episcopal church and most churches were not doing much to be constructive, helpful, at least as I viewed it, and we moved from Dillon to Atlanta in 1959. At that point, the idea for forming the organization that we created later in the episcopal church was kind of brewing in my mind with some others from the summer of 1958. So we've been in Atlanta since 1959.

S: Umhum, what was the inception for ESCRU amd its goals, strategies.

M: When was the inception?

S: Umhum

M: Well it actually, there was a conference, in fact in New Hampshire, I just now remembered. Where was that conference in New Hampshire? I can't recall, Conway, out in a conference center in Conway. It was a conference that was called by, essentially by the Rev. Neil Tarpley, who then worked for the episcopal church's national headquarters. He was actually in a parish at the same time in Virginia. There was growing concern throughout the episcopal church on this crisis of school desegregation and this was a conference to talk about what the church should be doing and at that conference, the Rev. Robert Kevin, Professor Kevin, from the Virginia seminary made the suggestion that we should have an unofficial group within the church that would operate as a catalyst, as a sort of pressure group, to do and say things that the official structure of the church would not be expected to do in terms of radical things.



That was the initial idea, that was in the summer of 58. By the summer of 59, several others were hard at work circulating this idea around the episcopal church and getting responses. And so after Christmas in late 59, in the first days of the 60's, we had a, what turned out to be the founding meeting in Raleigh, North Carolina, St. Augustus College and Episcopal School, and that when it was started.

S: And could you explain the goals and the strategies you were ah,

M: The goals are somewhat reflected in our long title, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, meaning that this is what we were for and we were, felt that it was time for the church to take a more vigorous and supportive role of things that were happening in society at large, like in the school desegregation move and ah, process. We also felt that it was long since over due for the church to begin to look at its own internal problems where segregation still operated in some form or another however faintly or passively. So we had this dual commitment to ah, to be a supportive agency of the just the emerging civil rights movement, the lunch counter sit-ins hadn't got started because a few months later they started, and to look at internal matters within the episcopal church and to get folks in the church to start making a difference.

S: Was this, did this philosophy come out of any particular teachings or, what's the origins of it other than a felt need to do that? How did one move to that position where, all of a sudden, the church would be active in social action and reforming itself?

M: Why ah, it is just in the ah, nature of the church that most of us felt to be concerned for equal justice and equal treatment and ah, and of persons whether in the church or in ah, society at large, ah, founded and grounded in biblical teaching and lord's words and the New Testament, Old Testament prophets let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an overflowing stream. It was a part of ah, a part of our understanding. It wasn't anything new that we were coming to perceive, it's just that we felt it needed to be looked at more seriously ah, we weren't creating any new outlook we were simply said it's time to take these things seriously and that the civil rights movement that was then emerging, was in fact ah god given opportunity for the church to ah, to stand up and be counted, to be supportive of the movement out in society but also to look at our internal problems where we had ah, some vestiges of separation or segregation and they needed to be dealt with. We had church schools that were being segregated. Here the public schools were being told they had to be ah, integrated and what about our church schools? what about, you know, a whole range of things.

S: Were the people involved all southerners and of one generation?

M: No, no, this was a national group um at our Raleigh founding meeting we were from all over the country um, the episcopal church has historically been sort of predominantly heavily concentrated in the east coast large cities with,



you know, both coasts, but we had people there from Montana from California, from New Hampshire, from ah, New York, Massachusetts, all over, and we had a goodly number of southern clergy and several bishops at our founding meeting. Um, it became a little more difficult as the years wore on to , and in fact as we took some very strong stands, at least they were perceived then on certain issues, it became difficult, we lost some of our southern church leader support. Not that people actually disagreed with what we were doing but it began to be ahhh, a little politically sensitive for them to be associated with us. So, they didn't. We were sorry for that when maybe a southern bishop decided he had to resign because we had taken the stand on the subject of interracial marriage or something like that and, you know, he was still a good, guy, probably trying to do the best thing in most instances is the best you can do and his, with all kinds of pressures on him so,. So we were not predominantly southern at all, it was just the fact that southern crisis precipitated, this event in the episcopal church looking at ourselves and looking at our role in the community and of course for a long time as you well remember, the folks up north all felt the problems were just down south and ah, it was a few years later that people began to realize there were problems all around. So it wasn't just the southern organization by any means.

S: Not that we need to go into great detail, but could you mention a few projects before the Alabama project came into being?

M: Well ah, the ah, in 1961, the freedom rides had started and um, someone called me long distance and said, "Well ESCRU (being the abbreviation for the Episcopal Society for cultural and Racial Unity) ESCRU should sponsor a freedom ride. I took this idea and, and said in a fact that yes, but, we must also look at the church. So in the fall of 1961, the freedom rides had started in the spring of 61, we had what we called, and creating a new term that didn't exist for us episcopalians, a prayer pilgrimage, a group of 25, I forget the precise number now, episcopal clergy, we met in New Orleans, we prepared ourselves there for a bus trip from New Orleans to Detroit where, this being a week before the episcopal churches national general convention was to open in Detroit, we created an itinerary that included stopping at, at episcopal day school in Mattery, Louisiana, that was segregated, another school in Vickburg, Mississippi, all Saints College that was segregated. We went on to Jackson ah, planning on spending the night, some did in our group, and ah, at a college there not an episcopal school, a black college. Also planning at that point to leave our chartered Greyhound bus that we departed from New Orleans in, but to go into the Trailways bus terminal to seek passage on a regular bus, not a chartered bus, and before that, before we got on that bus, we wanted to ah, have lunch or dinner, I've forgotten which it was. So we went in, headed in to the cafe. Immediately, as more or less expected, the police arrived, you can't go in there black and white clergy, um, that confrontation lead to the arrest of the group of us ah, but we had not sent all our



group into the cafe. We had left some to continue this pilgrimage to Swannee, Tennessee, University in the south, an episcopal college which was segregated um, and then on to Detroit stopping at several other places where, there were points of focus, focal points for church segregation that we wanted to look at. BUT then finally in Dearborn, Michigan, a community still somewhat known for segregated housing, the blance of our group, those of us who weren't in jail, went on to Dearborn and met with the mayor to say somethings wrong here in Dearborn, Michigan. Finally to Detroit to the convention which was just opening, while 15 of us were back in Jackson in jail. This all tended to galvanize ah, the convention up in Detroit ah, because respectable, upstanding, clean shaven (at that time) ah, episcopal clergy didn't ordinarily go to jail and this was in, became rather, much more popular later but ah, in the fall of 61 it was still a new thing. So the prayer pilgrimage, which then had a continuing activity in what the court case resulted in and the supreme court decision that we actually won that allowed us to sue the police authority and also um, the judge, who was an episcopalian in Jackson, had ruled that we had violated not only civil law but church law with, when one of the churches teachings is you should obey the civil authority. Well we hadn't, we had violated the civil authority but, therefore violating church teaching he said. So that was a major ocassion of an involvement that was viewed, generally speaking, as a freddom ride. But for us it had these points of focus on church life. So it was both. So that was in 61. In 62 and 3 we had a, something came up close to the home here in Atlanta. The beloved school was an episcopal church related school, church related not owned by the church, but in the tradition, a very historic tradition in the episcopal church were schools having a very close affinity with the church. The headmasters and the episcopal priests, the chaplin is, they had chapple services, the episcopal prayer book, the dean of the cathederal serves as the chairman of the board of the school. They rejected Martin Luther King III, now one of our Fulton County here in Atlanta, commissioners. Coretta King had asked me on a plane coming back from Albany, when Martin King was involved in Albany demonstrations and Coretta and I were on the same plane, about schools and I had told her that the episcoapl church had just resently, in its diocese convention in Atlanta um, said that all church facilities and all church related facilities would be open without regard to race. And I told her this but I told her I wasn't sure what would happen. She applied, they applied for Martin III, he was rejected, ESCRU, our headquarters here, we had to then obviously raise all kinds of hell and we had, so we picketed the school for many months and, our ESCRU chapters around the country sent clergy in lay here and we kept a picket line going over a period of time and ah, that was the year 62 or 63 I think as I best recall. During that time though, we had ocassion to picket a church hospital in Brooklyn, New York, St. John's Hospital for having a segregated all white wing or ward or floor, I forget which it was. Well that caused a little consternation



up there and um, there were other similar type things which ah may come to mind. Not only in the south, I mean some of what I just said, recounted, seems to be concentrated in the south and to some extent it was. But our local chapters of California, Michigan, New York, Boston, were all dealing with whatever needs they had in their particular local.

S: I saw a sign in Daniels paper, it had SCLC, um, SNCC and a few more organizations, NAACP etc, then it had the ESCRU ah, initials, so

M: Yes, it's sort of a funny sounding acronym, if that's what it is and I didn't use it in the beginning, I didn't much like it but it got so popular that we still currently use it.

S: I thought it was interesting because these other groups are very well known and then ESCRU, I think, you know, seeing itself as working with those groups, an interesting way. Well how did ah, the involvement of ah, this group get going in the Alabama Project?

M: Well, you, um, the Alabama Project being the Selma thing ah, I was ah, I flew with Andy Young on a plane to Selma on the day, the early morning of the first effort to march across the Edmond Pettis Bridge, Andy and I went there, I went with Andy, he was going because it was an SCLC thing. He asked me if I wanted to go along and I did. Ah, Andy and I were not on the bridge with John Lewis and Williams and others. We were, we had gotten to Brown's Chapel, the march had just about begun so we drove in our car down somewhere near the bridge where we could see it up there and then heard on the radio of the tumult that ensued, the tear gas. We went back to Brown's Chapel where then the tear gased folks were in great pain and distressed were coming back and so everyone available helped comfort and otherwise whatever was to be done for their recovery from this tear gas factor. I, I guess talking with Andy probably, I said this is an occasion when it's time to get church folk to come to Selma and ah, ah, he, we were on the phone then to Dr. King here in Atlanta from Selma and I suggested to Martin that he issue a call to invite, to encourage church clergy laity to come and show support for the Selma demonstrations that had just begun after this awful mess at the bridge. And Martin said, would I draft a message for him which I did and then phoned back to the Atlanta SCLC office and ah, that was then sent out as a telegram I believe from him. I hold up in the Holiday Inn for the next 2 or 3 days on the long distance calling ESCRU chapters, calling people in other denomination groups similar to ESCRU and denominational headquarters because ah, we had people in the episcopal church at headquarters in New York because we were all very supportive of all these things, they weren't as free as ESCRU to act and operate but they were totally supportive. So I was on this long distance with people all around and many other people were too so it wasn't that ah, I mean obviously by then the TV had carried the news around the country and there were a whole bunch of people who were organizing to then call the church, churches of the country to show symbolic support. So that that, a few days later there was



a rival in Selma and then that second effort to go across the bridge, which it was the agreed, of course with Dr. King's negotiations and determination, that because they hadn't gotten full support from the courts at that point, they would only go so far and there was just an impasse and then they voluntarily pulled back and then several days later, by virtue of the court orders and all the, the official march was begun that became the whole way. Ah, so we had many episcopalians come from ESCRU chapters and presumably others who weren't ESCRU members um, to Selma and ah, the whole event, we were just one heart, we episcopalians and many other church folk, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Lutherans, Presbyterians etc. 2 members of the Jewish community both reformed and conservative of the traditions, so it was a very ecumenical occasion there as it all developed. Ah, in the aftermath of that great march to, in front of the state house in Montgomery and Dr. King's speech, it was felt by many people, including myself, that there, back in little Selma, that it would be a shame if there wasn't some continuing presence, persons, that all these thousands of people would now leave town so that the tide waters would come back in. And some individuals on their own, like I think the Rev. Morris Samuel, one of our episcopal clergy, he stayed on for a number of weeks immediately following the event and mostly living and working and meeting people in the black community, the white community was not very approachable, ah, and it was, from that of course, for that whole concern for continuing presence that Jon Daniels and Judy Uppam having come down from our seminary in Cambridge, Massachusetts, they wanted to return and ah, for a, to be part of this continuing ministry of presence um, and we've got to probably presume it to that more. And during the Selma, all these events between the several marches, we also had in ESCRU or in the episcopal church, our own problems and confrontation with the fact that the episcopal church in Selma, St. Pauls, turned away ah, on several different Sundays, integrated groups of black and white clergy and laity with confrontation at the doorway. Ah, ushers with arms like so, barring entry, discussion and all that, kneeling outside on the sidewalk. We were in touch with the ah episcopal bishop in Birmingham and he told us all to go home and go away.

S: Bishop Carpenter?

M: Bishop Carpenter right ah, he was a little upset that any of us were there, especially in fact that there were several episcopal bishops from around the country who'd come.

Bishop Pike who became well known in other areas several years later. Bishop Mallard of California, ah, Bishop Myers and our bishop in Michigan um, and I, actually I think there was several others and I might remember if I tried remembering the names right here, but we, so we were dealing with that internal matter, internal to us that ah the apropos St. Paul's church and it was symptomatic really of other things like that so our involvement there was both supportive of the movement that was happening generally and ah, focused also on some of internal housing, church



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household problems, um

S: Do you know if Jonathan was in at the ah, we do have an AP photo of you all kneeling down in front of St. Pauls, do you know if Jonathan's in that group?

M: I don't know ah, I was in and out of Selma, from our Atlanta office. My associate, the Rev. Henry Stines, was also over there, probably as much or more than I was um, and Henry would more likely, no Henry may be the one, if you have the same picture that I mentioned to you last night, Henry Stines is the one leading the group in prayer, they're kneeling he's standing. That may have been Henry leading that group in prayer ah, to whether Jon Daniels was there that second time I don't know.

S: Yeh, he was in Selma, he did get involved in it prior to going back with permission.

M: He more than likely would have been there because he did, he was very concerned for this, as I recall, and when things finally somewhat opened up in St. Paul's, I believe he had some good effect in talking with some parishoners there and helping them do changes, as I recall.

S: Yeh, he then, I guess Carpenter, Bishop Carpenter ultimately told Rev. Matthews to, that he could not disallow blacks, the ushers could not stop integrated groups from entering the church and then, as we know the story, the Jonathan took black children into the church. Do you recall any of that?

M: No, you with all the research you've been doing will know those details better than I from this distance in time and at that point I was more than probably just back in our Atlanta office staying in touch with Jon and Judy and they came over here to Atlanta several times to sort of rest up from things um,

S: Well maybe you can um, talk a little bit about how they became part of your group, that they, that they wished, how many wanted to stay there, did stay there? We think it's pretty unusual but,

M: Since this is so long ago and without researching my own files let alone going and finding the ESCRU files that are all down at the King Center, I can only to just hazard a guess, I mention the Rev. Murray Samuel ah, was one ah, episcopalian, there may have been others from other churches um, but I don't really know. We got ah, in other words, I don't know maybe how many stayed on ah, Murray Samuels and Jon and Judy are the only ones that I can recall that somewhat represented us as a continuing presence.

S: And what was their motivation? Could you explain that a little bit more as you perceive that motivation to stay on um?

M: A great hullabaloo has happened within the community, the demaonstrators, black, the Edmond Pettis bridge, the tear gas, the country has responded and come in thousands, the great march to Montgomery, the ceremony, the pagentry as it were even, and then all of a sudden everybodies going to go home and um, flood waters are going to come back in and the old white racists are going to keep their ways? What is this black community going to think of ah, of all this support that's been demonstrated if there's not some, some,



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at least some presence of, in terms of the people who saty on to work in the voter education project or to simply help deal with social conditions and ah, soup kitchens or whatever it was that was happening, or educational factors ah,. I think Jon Daniels and Judy Uppam and Murray Samuel and others who may have stayed ah, just felt a keen sense of the church having a responsibility to say "We're still with you, we'll still satnd by you. We'll even be here right on for an undefined period of time" I would think this was ah, it was our corporate motivation for thinking this was good and it would be the motivation for the individuals who chose to stay.

S: Would it help insure safety for the blacks if whites were present there? For blacks, let's say, who participated in the march, I'm just wondering if the white presence was a way of securing also perhaps some, some actual physical safety um,

M: It's hard to know whether that in itself would induce safety. It might have been some bit of ah, greater front to the white conservatives to see these mixed groups around rather than seeing the um, the um black folks like they were accustomed to seeing. It did give some sort of access let's say, to the outside world, contact with other denominational headquarters and groups like ESCRU and perhaps some greater ah, access to the press ah, ah, so I don't know that it produced a safety as such ah, it was welcomed by local black community ah, at that time and ah, but, but I mean I'm sure whether it was, they think, safer or not.

S: And most of these people would stay with black families like Jon and Judith?

M: Yes

S: That was common?

M: Yes

S: Um, when they came down now um, your group sponsored them, how did that work? When they returned, they went back to Cambridge to get permission to finish the semster um, down in Selma.

M: Yes, we said to them that um, they could consider themselves as ESCRU field staff with portfolio and I, I believe we contributed some small amount of money, a stipend of some sort to help defray their costs, I don't, ah, or to help them to cover things. I'm frankly not, I'd have to look in our files to be sure of that.

S: I think it's true and Mrs. West said Jon would often use some of that money to buy the kids ice cream, whatever he had left over, yeh

M: Yes, but it was much a fraternal bond of um, we're with you and you're with us and if that's helpful and useful use it and you know, if you don't need to, don't. In other words, we didn't, it was certainly nonstructured staff position for which we had no prior experience, nor did they and it just evolved basically from their initiative ah, we trusting them. I didn't presume to say to Jon Daniels or anyone else what they should do. They became the on sight expert for knowing what was needed, apropos church support or church interest in the local scene. Now another case



that I'm sure you ran upon, the Rev. Francis, this concern for continuing ministry lead to the creation of um, of an ecumenical interdenominational thing that also then produced the Rev. Francis Walter, an episcopal priest who became the director of the Selma Interreligious Project, SIP. That was part of the continuing presence and then Francis had ah, a keen involvement with the quilting bee, the black women of the area who make quilts and, so Francis as his initiative, he put them in the business, he helped to put them in the business of selling their quilts in New York for a reasonable, a good price instead of giving them away for nothing down there. Now that was an economic factor which actually turned out to be a very strong plus. That was a continuing presence in a very specialized way.

L: Francis Walter wasn't the ah, he wasn't the ah rector of St, Paul's?

M: No, no

L: It was Francis ah,

M: Frank Matthews

S: How many times did you meet Jonathan, just over this period? Let's say from, he went down in march and of course his journey in August?

M: I could only hazard a guess that he came here at least twice, ah, over there and here I must have been with him say 3 or 4 different occasions before his death.

S: How would you describe Jonathan? What sense did you have of him as a person?

M: Very ah, very serious minded, dedicated, religiously driven or inspired ah, .....a caring, compassionate person ah, I like him ah, and I trusted him and his judgement of whatever was going on that he would be more than competent to make decisions that were appropriate for what he was doing there um,

S: Could you, we, we're not um, very well versed in the nuances of religion. When you say religiously driven, could you, what does that mean?

M: Driven actually is a word I don't ordinarily use um, ....a religious person has a commit, speaking as a christian here, I have a commitment to christ. I believe him to be god, to be someone, a being whom I relate to and ah, in prayer and a sense of knowing there is this other that has concern for me and for every person. Then when I, or see some case of gross injustice to other human beings, I have a sense that god and jesus christ have a concern for this too and that would, they would want me to make a difference, to try to make something better for this case of injustice or whatever it is that I actually come upon. So that the religiously inspired person who involves themselves in caring for others is, motivation can be so mixed as to why one does things but the religiously inspired person has a substantial sense of doing what he or she feels is, god calls him or her to do, or inspires, encourages and wants them to do um, not that we would have any, or I would have any sense that only religiously motivated people can do something like this because obviously humanists and others have men who may disregard religion, organized religion, do great works and often times in fact, religiously motivated people have done very bad works. So I would have, I had a strong sense that



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Jon Daniels was strongly motivated for religious reasons.

S: In the sense of doing Christ's work?

M: Yes, yes. Now you have seen and read some of his writings and things which I'm not, wasn't knowledgeable of and still not really, at least in recent years, and um, so I just speak of the Jonathan that I sense ah, I knew then and ah,

S: Now when you say somebody has called, describe that a little bit. Does one feel that in one's body? Does one hear that or, in other words, what does that mean when you're called to do that? How would you describe that?

M: I think that's a word that doesn't mean the phone rang and you got your orders straight from upstairs. It ah, means that you feel this is ah, a just right and necessary action or stand or involvement that you believe is not just you sitting there thinking it up but ah, some higher authority has an interest in same goal for changing, whatever is wrong.

S: Is it an intellectual awareness, or physical sense or, I'm just trying to get the feel because one writes fervently about having it so I'm trying to understand what it is.

M: I think that would be such an individualized thing that I'm not sure I could ah, certainly speak for anyone else. For myself in those days of ESCRU, I knew intellectually that segregation is wrong I ah, I knew emotionally it was wrong. I had counted ???? things that happened that made me say something wrong here. I was a member of a church that told me this was wrong, I mean didn't tell me like you must but rather I knew from my involvement in church life in spite of the ambiguities, in fact we had some segregated schools and things like that. We also had some clergy and pronouncements of the church that had long since been saying segregation is wrong, it's evil, it's um, therefore, I would have felt, I might not have used the word I have been called to do this work that we were doing in ESCRU but I wouldn't have, I would have said Yes I was. I didn't actually, I didn't go around saying that but if you asked me I would say sure. Now I can't, you know, getting to the nuances of what does that mean emotionally, intellectually or, or even the dangers or risks of feeling like one is god determining what is best for others. I ah, I think some other people have done things in the name of god that have been bad and evil things. So it is a little bit risky feeling that the telephone has rung and you've gotten instructions. But ah, the church has ah, told us, I mean I grew up just knowing that segregation was wrong, from church influences, even in the south some clergy were ah, who were very influential on me as a child in ah, a young teenager in Brunswick ah, clergyman who's long since been in Korea started a monastery there and does very great work the Rev. Archibori had great influence on me when I was in high school and he was a very liberal oriented southern clergyman for awhile before he became a foreign missionary. So, I'm sure all these kinds of things contributed in different ways to Jonathan Daniels. He had people who influenced him and teachings of the church or whatever other writings he may have, that you have been researching into.

S: We know he had an NAACP card in 1963, um

M: Yes well there, there you are in early on ah, 2 years



before the Selma occasion. So a commitment and concern and especially being up in, well he was in Virginia then or  
S: He was in Cambridge.

M: In Cambridge then

S: Yeh, that would have been his first year.

M: Yes.....

S: We're not quite sure where the turn came in his life but um,

M: Well, there probably was no occasion for him to turn from anything contrary where the, so he wasn't changing was he? He was rather simply beginning to implement much more seriously things that were emerging all the while, I would guess. I didn't change, I didn't grow up in the south as a segregationist and after having a great conversion so many novilists would ask me "My, when did you convert or when did you change your mind?" END SIDE ONE(TAPE ONE)

S: And then all of a sudden this person moving to a very active position um, and then in 63 as they say, he graduated from VMI in um, it would have been 61, and then went on to Harvard for a year and graduate school in english literature and then by 63, had made this commitment to the ministry and the NAACP. We're not quite sure how all that played out.

M: Well I'd like to hope since he was in seminary or headed towards seminary, that during that early 60 period that some of what we were doing in ESCRU like freedom riots, prayer pilgrimages in Mississippi, are the things up there, our Boston chapter may have had some small influence on him. In other words, obviously the newspapers told each day what was going on so um,

S: Did you have a chapter related directly to the seminary at that time or what would be the contact for a seminarian student with ESCRU in Cambridge?

M: We had a Boston, very active Boston chapter ah, that I, I can't recall now specifically. It must have had some of the faculty and presumably students who were members and I don't really,

L: Well there may have been conversations, Bill, between faculty members at ETS who were also in ESCRU.

S: Yes

L: And that Jonathan became aware of.

M: Yes, there's a faculty member there now I was looking up the other day in my directory for another purpose. John SNOW is on the faculty there, he was a very active ESCRU member, I know, he's on the faculty now, he wasn't on the faculty then. Um, Gardner Day, the rector of the christ church, the great big episcopal parish, long since retired and now is dead, was a very active member and um, oh, if I stopped to, maybe had some time to think, I'd probably remember the names of individuals who, but the seminary was sort of, the seminary, we had 7 or 8 or 9 episcopal seminaries, that was one of the major ones and it was a key part of the episcopal church. In fact, this is what the clergy in training and therefore, it wasn't necessary to have an ESCRU chapter there, it was just the involvement of concerned episcopalians in Boston that presumably included



some folks from the seminary.

S: Okay, go back to Alabama a bit, um, when Jonathan went back for graduation, not that he was graduating, but he went back to finish up he studies in May and to attend the graduation. Then he came back down through in July. Do you recall sponsoring him then too?

M: I can't pinpoint any dates on that. I'd have to look at the material that you looked at last, i gave you yesterday in order to jog my memory ah,

S: Okay, and at that time, just to run through it, he got involved in SNCC projects and I'm wondering if that was unusual. The first SNCC project he did with a man named Eugene Pritchett and they went out into the ah, Dallas County and they interviewed ah, poor black people in terms of what services they would need and what facilities and governmental agencies could provide those services. And then after doing that for 2 or 3 weeks, they made up a memorandum that they would then distribute to the poor of Dallas County so that they could ah, find the necessary programs to meet their needs. I don't know if that rings a bell at all with you?

M: No, it doesn't specifically because, again, being in our Atlanta office and traveling to all parts of the country, I wasn't, I wasn't walking the dusty back roads of ah, Selma, like Jonathan was. I did walk a few dusty roads in 1 or 2 places but ah, not in Selma. So ah, so I can't, I have no specific memory of what program in SNCC or SCLC or, with full implicit confidence in Jonathan's, just his commitment and concern, I ah, he could have told me they were planning a mission to the moon and I would say well that sounds fine you know. I trusted him, I liked him um,

L: I have a question um, was it unusual for episcopalian, episcopal seminarians to be in ESCRU?

M: Unusual?

L: As opposed to, ah people who had graduated from the seminary?

M: Oh I don't think so. I have no recollection that it was. I don't really see much of a difference. One's a seminarian and one's, then your out in the parish work.

L: Well I was thinking of one being a student and one not being a student. Maybe I have the wrong idea. A seminarian who is learning to be an episcopal priest, but

M: Yes, I have no knowledge of any dicotomy or anything in our membership....I visited most of the seminaries and spoke at them. I can't recall specifically, I'm sure, I know I was at ETS, it was then called the Episcopal Theological School, now it's the Episcopal Divinity School because they merged with another seminary that had a different name. Ah, the Rev, Joseph Fletcher was a faculty member there during that period. He was in, his filed was ethics and situational ethics. I think I spoke..

S: What was his name again?

M: Joseph Fletcher

S: Yes right

M: I think I spoke to a group that he may have pulled together or something for an evening meeting or um, ah, but then I would have ordinarily gone to speak, meet with the



ESCRU chapter or we'd have a service at the church, I might preach or meeting haal, where there would just be people there. Some from the seminary and the greater number from parishes since that was the greater number of people. The seminaries were, didn't make a, numerically they were not the greater part of the episcoapl church but they were obviously a very key part.

S: Did you have anyawareness of Jon's work in Lowndes County? The voter registration? A sense of what the was about? When he started out, he began?

M: He would, when he came to Atlanta to visit, certainly told us about everything that was going on um,

S: Do you remember any of that? What he was doing and reflections on all that?

M: No, I can't now recall. I mean from, how many years ago is it? 20?

S: 25

M: 25, yes. I ah, I have to read my notes and files an corespondence and all that to, to just even then get a clue, although I'm just confident that he didn't arrive here at our house in Atlanta to visit us, without hearing in great detail what was going on. I mean, they would have been,....I certainly have, you know, I have no recollection of ever habing any concern or anxiety or feeling of ah, something that he should do or wasn't doing or

S: He was pretty much on his own.

M: On his own, in fact it would have been presumptuous of me to have said Jonathan you should be doing this instead of that. You know, I didn't know what he should be doing. He was finding that out and determining as he went....

S: Um, so you then found out, I guess the next thing you had, next contact would be when Jonathan was killed?

M: Yes, I mean after what, yes

S: How did that all transpire? I mean why were you contacted for that and how did you get involved with that?

M: I don't know who called me,

PATSY: I think we knew that they were arressted John.

M: Oh we knew they were arrested, yes, that's right. We knew that they were arrested and my associate Henry Stines, Father Stines, went over there and went to the jail to see him, see them ah, ...and when and how precisely that the word came that they'd been released and they'd gone into the store and Coleman had shot them, I don't, I think I was in my office in downtown Atlanta when I got a call. I don't recall from who, that lead to much hectic involvement on the phone with....and the next thing I remember now is that we were involved in getting arrangements for transporting his body back to New Hampshire.

S: We heard there were difficulties even in finding the body, that ah, there were calls made to various funeral homes and nobody knew where Jon's body was. Do you recall that?

M: I can't recall that no, whether that happened, whether I had any knowledge of that.

L: We have a tape of um, of SNCC members sitting around a table at ETS with Mr Tillson as a moderator discussing that and it was Ruby Sales who says that, I think it was Ruby



Sales, who says that they couldn't um, she called a certain hospital and was going on for hours and finally the hospital admitted they had, Father Morrisroe was being operated on and they kept calling a funeral parlor in Montgomery and they got stone walled for hours and finally um, after a call from Katzebach

M: The attorney general

L: the funeral parlor admitted that they had Jonathan's body there and they had had it all afternoon.

M: I don't remember all that and I don't doubt it ah, I just have the general recollection of getting, working on arrangements so that one point that included talking with someone on the White House staff because there had been another killing, a murder, and the White House had provided a plane to transport the body. I can't recall now who or where? I got irritated with this White House assistant, who's name I don't remember, because, if I had jumped up and down and yelled and screamed at him, perhaps he had the feeling, he might have helped us on this simple matter of transporting the body. But they were, it was going to take more pressure on them to get this done so I said the heck with that and that's when I called, or was in touch with a friend here in Atlanta, ah, Glover Magee who has ah, had his own plane, and he flew me over to Montgomery and by then, whatever funeral home it was had met us at the airport and Jon's body was in a body bag, and this was maybe by prearrangement because it was a small plane,

L: Maybe we should film this and that way you won't have to say it again, unless you don't mind?

M: Oh no, that's all right. Um, and ah, turned out there was terrible weather and as we got Glover and I flying north with Jon's body, we got up further north, it was so bad Glover said he couldn't go further in a small plane. So we put down in Dallas and chartered a slightly larger plane to finish the trip to, and I think at that point, we had to fly into Boston, Logan Airport I guess ah, I was going to stay somewhere in New Hampshire. That's my vague recollection now.

S: You didn't fly directly into Keene?

M: I don't think so but you may know that better from your research. I think we flew into Boston and a hearse or ambulance or something was, drove. But that's a small point I'm not clear on. It may have been the weather again.

S: So you literally had to hold the um, the body bag? Is that right?

M: I beg your pardon?

S: You literally, on the plane, had to hold the body bag at one point?

M: No, no

S: No, okay, that was,

M: There was room in the after section of the plane.

S: I see, okay..and um, you attended the funeral?

M: Yes

S: Do you have anything you recall about that?.....

M: No, no, just a blur of ah, emotion and ah, and ah people.

No I was ah, I don't recall specifically much about it.

S: How about the trial? You said you went to the trial.



M: Yes um, well it ah, from my record ah, I was reminded that my colleague Henry Stines and I went to the trial in Hainville and ah, just to sit through the whole thing and, not that we were serving a purpose, but really to be there on behalf of Jonathan um, the only thing, the thing I most remember is that of the jury coming back in from the jury room, one of the jury men looks to someone right in the audience there and winks at him, kind of a "it's all right buddy, we've got it taken care of." And of course it was because the accused was fully acquitted and ah, that's about all I recall about, it's too much an unhappy experience of course.

S: Was it an all white male jury?

M: I think so, um, ah

Patsy: Oh certainly in that time (?)

M: That's right

S: Now where did you stay in Hainville when you were at the trial?

M: I don't think, I don't think we stayed in Hainville. I don't believe we would have wanted, I don't think we would have felt safe staying in Hainville, Bill and I suspect the downtown Hainville Motor Court never was, and still probably isn't. So I don't recall where we stayed.

S: We've heard reports that the trial was a real sham and ah, um, .....and that Coleman smiled throughout and things of this nature that ah, it was pretty awful. How would you characterize Jon'd death on ESCRU um, and its activities after his death?.....Was he the first ESCRU member killed or the only ESCRU member killed?

M: First and I think only. Well it had a ah, it was a very ah, heavy period or moment or time and it simply brought home the realities of nobody is immune from the dangers that had all ready been happening to both black and white, mostly black, in that period of time going back to Emmett Taylor in Mississippi and right on forward and Medgar Evers in Mississippi and ah, the Philadelphia trio in Philadelphia, Mississippi and then of course Selma with Jennings Reeb, and Viola Liuzzu and then Jon Daniels. So it was, it, it came closer to home for us, I mean that's just it, I mean closer to home than the other persons who'd been killed because he was part of our immediate family you might say.

L: When Jon was arrested, he had his episcopalian, his clerical?

M: Yeh, his clerical collar on. He um, he wore this ah, frequently there as we've seen in pictures. Technically we don't have such a garb or uniform for seminarians but it was his choice though and, I certainly must have approved of it because I certainly didn't have to tell him other wise to wear this as a symbol. Actually the collar has a, as I think we might see in the photographs, has a small line in it here in the center of the white clerical band which is a, I believe, a Roman Catholic tradition for seminarians to wear, the Roman Catholic seminarians will do this. In the episcopal church we don't ordinarily do this but but here was a, this was a case where a uniform helped. And of course, it was rather amusing over the years of the movement to see how the clerical collar business thrived because baptists and methodists and presbyterians who never wore



clericals like we more formal episcopaliana, we all buying up clericals and wearing them because it said something, and I don't disapprove in doing that but I mean. So Jonathan having a clerical collar was his personal choice. It wasn't any kind of uniform that was laid on him.

S: Would it be to be a witness, again, for the church?

M: Yes, that would have been a very, that was, that would have been on his part, a very conscious decision to say "I want to be here because I must be here but I want it to be known that I'm here on behalf of christ and the church and this collar says that" And ordinarily seminarians, episcopal seminarians would not wear the collar like roman catholic seminarians often did. So this was a very individual choice on his aprt that I think was a very good idea. I wouldn't have thought of it myself, you know, the collar was something, when you were in seminary you, you went to the store and bought it and had it ready and tried to learn how to get it put on when it's kind of difficult to buckle back here, but it wasn't until after ordination that you wore it out on the street, except in the case of this, in Jonathan's case. I think his collar had a black line in the center of it, or if it didn't, I think he, if it didn't, it didn't matter. He was representing the church thre and therfore it was good that he be symbolically seen as such.

L: So Coleman lowered his shotgun, whether or not he was aiming at Ruby Sales and wether or not Jonathan consciously pushed her out of the way, he killed an episcopalian priest as far as he was concerned?

M: Oh I should doubt that he knew the difference between a seminarian and a clergyman.

L: He knew what clerical

S: And then he shot another one in the back.

M: Father Morrisroe right

L: Who was also dressed in his clerical?

M: Yes

L: Now you were at the trial. We haven't spoken with anybody, Bill, who was at the trial.

S: Yeh, Geraldine was at the trial.

L: Was she?

S: Yeh

L: For the entire, everday?

S: No, and Ruby was at the trial too. I think John is the only one I know of who was there for all of the trial.

L: WHat um, in absence of our ability to find the trial records, besides I think accounts would be more interesting, what was, what did Coleman say? How did it transpire? What was his defense? What did he say when,

M: I can't really remember ah,

Patsy: He wouldn't have been put on the stand

L: Coleman wouldn't have been put on the stand?

P: You have an absolute right not to be put on the stand.

L: So Coleman maybe never even spoke?

M: I can't recall myself, in other words, the whole thing was one big, huge trauma that was, I'm not good at remembering details anyway several years later but especially something that was so depressing.

S: Well through all of this, have we missed anything about the Daniels story, that you can think that you'd want to



add? Um, other things that we should cover or mention or other?

M: You all ready know his close friendship with Stokely Carmichael who had some difficulties as time wore on relating to white people but got along with Jonathan, as I understand it ah. not to long after that, there's some stories about Stokely's ah, withdrawal further into the white for white involvement.

S: Separate dispositions

M: Um, .....Patsy can you think of anything else that you wanted me to say here?

P: I was in pain through all this.

M: Okay...ah...no I, I have to reread Bill Sneider's book and other things that I have'nt read for many years to have any, to jog my memory.

S: I think we just sort of close out from the tape the ah, the end of this film ah, and what the church is doing in other ways to continue that work. And as an organization, you were saying last night, I think if I remember right, that ESCRU formerly dissolved in 72, is that right?

M: Yes

S: And then I think you said there was, there were other ways to work toward those ????

M: Well the episcopal church has always had some, one or more, or several staff persons on New York at our headquarters that do, that maintain some concern or proogram or whatever in social justice and civil rights and other related fields. They just never were free to enter Bishop Carpenters diocese and stay, and do this or that around the country like we were. Um, so, ESCRU folding, going out of business was I think a derivative of the fact that the civil rights movement had succeeded in its objectives of all the legislation that was obtained and perhaps ah, some of the ESCRU folks at that time ah, maybe were forgetting that we all still had some unresolved things in the church itself. There was this, there was a degree of tension between the issue of do we just focus on the community and support the civil rights movement and go to Selma or do we also, at the same time, deal with internal needs within the church and by the time of ESCRU's folding, there was a tendency to down play the internal needs, so, which I regretted and I myslef had resigned in 67 and my associate director Kim Dreisbach became the director. Um, there was also some growing problems with different points of view on black power and or seperatism that were coming up ah, in ESCRU as well as generally in the society and in the movement. SO I think this was a good idea that the persons who had succeeded me in the leadership and um, decided to fold up rather than sort of carry on the struggle to maintain the organization. So many groups have to find a new cause that may be unrelated to whatever they started for which ah, if, I don't think ESCRU served its purpose apropos internal church needs and problems and awareness, but perhaps we had in terms of what could be done, historically speaking at that time in the general community.

S: Within the civil rights movement?

M: Yes

S: I did remember one little bit of the Daniels story that I



want to ask you about and that was the picketing of  
Carpenters um,

M: Yes, headquarters, the dioceses house.

S: in Burmingham, if I remember right. Do recall  
anything...

M: I can't recall what we were picketing about (laughs) When  
was it?

S: It was, well, Jonathan went over there because now they  
were allowed in the church, but was happening, and he wrote  
an ESCRU bulliten on it, what was happening, they were  
seated in the back of the church and they had to wait until  
all the white parishoners had received communion and he  
wrote this ah, letter saying that the bishop wasn't doing  
much about this and was ironic because Rosa Parks had to  
ride at the back of the bus and now black communicans had to  
sit in the back of the church and wait for all the whites.  
Now there is an interesting story behind that somebody told  
us, this idea of obeying the bishop, it was one of Jonathans  
teachers, Bill Wolf at the seminary, he said just before  
Jonathan went down south there was a debate in the class of  
whether one obeys one;s bishop or not and Jonathan took the  
position yes, said heirarchy in the church and one obeys the  
bishop and ah, it was rather ironic that a few months later  
there he is down in Birmingham picketing the bishop's  
headquarters over this issue of putting blacks at the back  
of the church and having them receive communion after the  
other white people

M: Well Jonathan might have said somewhat whimsically, "Well  
Bishop Carpenter was not my direct in line of authority  
bishop. He was more subject to the bishop of New Hampshire  
where he probably was a postulate for holy orders." Ah, so  
he might have answered that by saying I owe allegiance to  
that bishop not this one. Although it's true, there would  
be those church men who would say you musn't go against any  
bishop, which ah, and it undoubtedly was a little difficult  
for some of our bishops who came to the Selma demonstration  
to, because this created a little bit of furor in the church  
that you, a bishop, especially a bishop did not enter  
another bishop's diocese and start carrying a picket sign  
because the very upset the apple cart um, ah, because there  
a bishop wasn't obeying another bishop, you know, doubley  
worse. But, I'm sure that Jonathan, after he..perceived the  
reality of things in Selma and in the diocese of Alabama and  
Bishop Carpenters own views, realized that ah, that ah yes,  
even if you feel very keen about obeying authority,  
sometimes you have to impose it.

S: Is it likely that he structured all that himself, ah,  
again in terms of his autonomy down there or is it more  
likely that he checked all that out with you? I remember he  
even had this poster that you have that that was one of the  
picket signs, sgregation seperation um,

M: Is it likely that he structured this, that he felt he  
cause?

S: ???????? or, was he, I'm just trying to get an idea, was  
he free lancing down there?

M: I have no recollection that he was ever in quandry about  
being there or ever worried that he was upsetting a bishop,



Bishop Carpenter. I think he must have resolved any hesitancy, if he ever had any, about staying on and coming and whatever. And it had been too much demonstrated to him and all the other clergy and bishops who'd come. But I don't recall that he was so inclined toward respecting authority that he felt this was the case where,

S: he needed some feedback (?)

M: yeh, I should doubt that he ah, I wouldn't think so, unless you've found something writing or

S: No no, no what the relationship was between your organization and what he was doing. BUT it sounds like he was pretty free to do what he thought best.

M: Yes

L: Did you ever get to meet the pastor of St. Paul's, ah, Rev. Matthews?

M: Oh yes, Frank Matthews, actually he had been in seminary the same time I was, I think a year ahead of me.

L: How did he handle the events at his church?

M: I think he ah, I don't recall in detail now what Frank was doing or not doing ah, I have a pretty, generally poor recollection of his capacity to provide positive leadership in that crisis which may be unfair to him and of course he may have been trying to get something to happen to change for the better. I don't really recall.

L: We wanted to speak with him but we never did make contact with him.

S: We called him a few times. We'll try and get him again. I was going to ask you one last question, what's it like for a white, let's say....when we were down in Selma, this may sound like a northern question, when we were down in Selma we said to ourselves things like "What if you joined some of these black groups as a white and tried to help them out? Wouldn't you be completely ostracized and wouldn't you feel completely lonely down there?" Is that a fair appraisal of what you would feel or what Jonathan would feel in terms of relationships to other whites, particularly during that period? What did it mean for a white to be in the south and joining civil rights movements?

M: Well, in Selma, it, you wouldn't be going to the local meeting in, the Brown's Chapel Mass Meeting and then going back to the white country club to play a game of golf with your friends. They would have ah, you know, they would have been ah, you're either black or white, at least in that period of time. In the more metropolitan areas, the south has ah, sustained an endurance, some of us who are not so inclined to be ah, have the old south point of view. So I would have thought that it would have been difficult to maintain a full and equal existence in the white community if you were white as well as had been involved in some of things that Jonathan was involved in. Particularly in the crisis period of civil rights. I mean, in the earlier years before the movement, things began to change with school desegregation. Small towns might have tolerated dear sweet Susy Smith who is white and from a great gentile family and lives on her plantation home, in fact a woman comes to mind who lived on a plantation home in Magnolia, Mississippi, who's name I can't recall right now but it would come to



mind, and she, she had always been a kind of maverick there and was tolerated for it in terms of her views in race. They were positive and liberal and actually during the movement days, because of her strong position, she was somewhat tolerated, this woman of whom I can't recall the name of in Magnolia, Mississippi. Ah, but then, then she had the prestige and family standing to have been a maverick that she had where as a .....in Selma, Jonathan didn't have any such credentials. He didn't have family roots there that would have said, Well that's all right, Jonathan's just that way, you know, fine old family though in spite of the fact that he's gone array. Um, so ah, if your question was was this difficult ah, well it wasn't difficult for Jonathan because he knew he wasn't going to be ah, welcomed in the white community. So he, he was, he became a member of the black community for all practical purposes.

S: Yeh, where as in Atlanta you could be doing some of this work and still retain ties, I mean, Atlanta, even back then, would be different from Selma?

M: Yes, yes, ah Atlanta sort of a larger metropolitan and we had to worry about crank phone calls over a period of some years, that's why we have 2 phone lines and we got the other one at the time because we were getting crank calls from the same person who got more and more bartuporous and vicious sounding and um, we took the main line off the hook at night ah, and we ah, were ah, we would.....we had some problems here, I had some problems for a time with a bishop of Atlanta who didn't much like the fact that this organization had it's headquarters here (laughs). That's also appropos the love at school, the segregated church related school, that created a lot of local problems where I was not exactly persona grata with the local ecclesiastical establishment but.....it didn't bother us.

L: You made your own parish as well didn't you?

M: No, no I was just doing this full time, no um, I had been in parish work in South Carolina for 4 years during the early period of 54 school desegregation.

L: Were you affiliated with a parish in the same was doctors are affiliated with hospitals? Was there a parish you could go to to have a service?

M: We had several verying affiliations and in one instance it was a, turned some cause for a little grief in a way um, one parish we had been going to and we knew the rector quite well, in fact he was an active member of ESCRU and was on our board of directors. When he retired, not retired, resigned and took a parish up north after several years, that parish had some difficulty in determining that it couldn't ask me to help have services while they were without a rector because I had upset too many of the members of the parish who were upset with me. Therefore, the lay leaders of the parish felt that ah, I was a little too hot to handle and that was, that kind of hurt a little bit, when in fact I had, we had other members of the parish who were good friends and all. So we, I guess it was then that we started going to ah, an inner city project of the episcopal church here in Atlanta run by, created by the Rev. Austin Ford, the mayors house, Father Fords vision and dream for an



inner city run down neighborhood settlement house, service center, everything which you might think of that has to do with community service it was an episcopal church operated thing that has a chapel and Sunday services and so we went to church there ordinarily for some years.

L: The only other question I had was, were there, there were lay members of ESCRU?

M: Oh yes, oh yes

L: Okay, would you say it was maybe 50% lai and 50% clergy or what was?

M: Probably 3 quarters laity and one quarter clergy. At some point, I used to be able the percentage generally which is in fact quite good in terms of, relatively speaking, in terms of the number of clergy, the episcopal church had at that time 6,000 clergy maybe and we had about, or 7 or 8,000, and we had about 2,000 that were ESCRU members. Bishops at that time, we had how many bishops, ah, 120 bishops ah, now I'm just pulling names, ah numbers out of the air, but percentage wise we had about 50 or 40 or 50 who were ESCRU members which ah, I think the general ratios are probably accurate reflections of, of the fact we made some dent within the episcopal church, that we were trying to do.

L: And lai members you might have had as many as 10,000 then?

M: No, no um, no not that many

S: The total number would be what about?

M: Well maybe there was more like 50/50 clergy and ah laity apropos what I just said in terms of drawing the figure of 2,000 clergy, maybe, that must be high. MAYbe we had 1,000 clergy, maybe we had 3,000 laity or 2,000 or something.

S: So somewhere between 3 and 4,000 members?

M: I think so. I maybe, that maybe a great exageration. I would have to go to my records to be sure.

L: We're just curios.

M: Um,

L: Well, can you think of anything else Bill?

S: No

L: Terry, Nancy, anything you think we've skipped through that you think we should ah, cover or

S: We can take a break for a little bit and we can talk a little bit about what shots to take.

L: Sure

M: Ah, you know, I said to Patsy earlier, this is not apropos or anything (Tape goes off)

M: .....talk about it as if we hadn't talked about it before?

S: Right, right, just the whole thing ah, not the same, but go through it again.

M: Oh, in other words if I'm repetitive that's not good?

S: No that's fine, that's fine, that's good.

M: Because you won't be using both this and the other?

S: No no

L: So you can just say it again.

S: It doesn't have to be exactly the same but do it in a naturla way if you can. And then I'll ask you what calling meant, that was very nice I thought.

M: From the heart



L: Bill I think more important than that would be ah, bringing the body back to Keene though.  
S: Well, we got a couple  
L: If the camera holds up  
S: Yeh right  
M: Is there anything I can give you to help on the camera.  
L: No, there's actually a guy in Atlanta who can fix it but ah, Chandless, but I won't bother.  
S: So Coleman winking at the trial, that would be very quick if we could do that.  
M: It wasn't Coleman winking, it was one of the jurors.  
S: Oh one of the jurors, okay  
M: winking to someone in the audience  
S: Okay ah  
M: Um, I mean in other words, that the best, I can't say who they were winking to but it was ah,  
S: The jury came back ready to give,  
M: I can't say that they were winking to Coleman, they might have, in other words, at this distance from it, I just remember that wink and, in the courthouse Coleman I guess might have been sitting up front like that so it could have been,  
S: Well you can just say that, as you remember and then returning the body to Keene, ah that's going to take a little bit so we better to ythat second  
L: Okay, I've got plenty of film as long as this thing holds up for us. What happened is it started to loose a loop. The other magazine wasn't taking up properly, there's just 2 magazines and I think the other one is going to need major repairs. But I think this is all right. It might have been the humidity in Alabama that kind of dried it out, maybe the clutch was sticking, I don't know. But anyway,  
S: So, we're going to start by asking you why um, in your view at least, you felt Jonathan needed to help that he needed to stay in Selma and return eventually again to Selma, okay um (BEEP)  
L: There you go  
S: Okay, can you tell us why you thought Jonathan felt a necessity to stay in Selma and return again later to Selma?  
M: Because i'm sure he sensed what many people sensed, that there had been these thousands of folks from all over the country who'd come there to support the demonstration and the final great walk to Montgomery and that it would be a crying shame if everyone then left without anybody remaining behind as a kind of symbol of the presence of the concern of the country um, to, to be helpful in whatever programs the black community had going, voter registration, or other social service needs, to be sort of a contact or liason with the, with denominational headquarters and other churches and others concerned. So this ministry of presence, we often use this term in ESCRU, was a concern that we had in Hattisburg, Mississippi following ah, much earlier than Selma had, follwing a demonstration there, that gave birth ultimately to the Delta ministry um, and there was certainly a concern that I had and um, in Selma and in fact it lead to the creation of the Selma Interreligious Project that the Rev. Francis Walter headed up ah, as a continuing presence



and Jonathan and Judy's desire to be helpful in that regard like staying there, coming and staying there for a long time was a part of that ministry of presence

L: CUT Let me change the battery. We're doing fine I just need a different battery

M: What's the towel do?

L: Oh, it just keeps it a little quieter. These 16mm cameras have these complex pull mechanisms that can be noisy and ah

S: Well we got through a whole shot so ah

L: Yeh, I know it. I wish this thing had been running earlier. As long as we have juice. I had one battery failure on this trip and then that magazine problem.

S: Okay, just so we get it, if you could tell us, this shot when he's ready, um, returning the body back to Keene. how that transpired. How you arranged that.....

L: We may have to put on another tape

S: Sound okay

L: Yeh.....BEEP BEEP

S: Could you tell us about how you arranged for the body to come to Keene?

M: I was on the long distance ah, at our office in Atlanta with ah, with, well I was at one time with the White House because there was a possibility we might have a government plane sent to take the body back but, that was going to take more political pressure or leverage or my yelling and screaming at them that I felt like was warranted and was due so, ah, I called a friend of mine in Atlanta, Glover Magee, a lawyer, ah, very nice guy who had his own plane and he and I flew to Montgomery where the funeral home hearse or whatever is there at the airport and Jonathan's body was in a body bag which was placed in the plane and we headed off north. But it was very bad weather and my friend Glover Magee finally realized that he couldn't fly into this bad weather in the northeast. So we set down at Dallas Airport outside of Washington and chartered a more, a larger plane for carrying me and the body on to ah, on to New England

S: CUT.....

L: Okay, I'm going to change the tape

M: Was that ah, was that.....(End of side 2 tape 1)

## TAPE TWO

L: laughing

S: Testing, testing testing

L: Yeh

S: SO this will be a quick one. This will be your remembrance of the jury when they returned to the courtroom.

M: umhm.....

L: Morris Take 3 (BEEP) BEEP BEEP BEEP

S: Could you tell me your recollection of the jury when they returned to the courtroom?

M: Yes, ah, it was a small courtroom of course and ah, one of the jurors of the all white jury turned toward the



ausience and I don't know whether he was looking at Thomas Coleman or to someone else in the audience and had a wink, a definite sort of wink like "It's all right buddy, we've taken care of it." I don't remember a whole lot of that trial, it was ah, but I do recall that telltale sign of what was kind of a foregone conclusion even before they had the trial that Coleman would be acquitted.

S: CUT Great

L: That's good

S: Okay, you want to try the calling shot ah, if you remember (Morris laughing) I was asking you ah, the various aspects of calling which were intellectual, emotional, what does all that mean?

M: You can try any of those again. I might get, I almost got carried away on the machinations of so called calling because Jim and Tammy Baker were called, you see and Swaggard was called and all those jerks so that, I didn't know whether you were trying to plum the depths of that interpretation of calling

S: No, it's a word that he uses a lot and we, we don't profess to understand it so

M: (laughing) Well, just chalk it up to being a pios word used by some church folk.

L: I've got some news for you Bill, I don't think the film was advancing at all.

S: Oh really

L: I just made a mark on a frame, turned it on, same mark, same mark Bill. We might as well have the bad news now.

The reason I got suspicious was because of the,

S: amount of footage

L: The amount of footage hasn't changed. I can't understand why it's burning so quietly and beautifully.

S: Yeh, with nothing going through.

M: You want to call this person in Atlanta that knows how to fix it?

L: Um.....

S: We're going to have to rely on the video.....

(Larry turning camera on)

M: That's the sound

L: If that's working, now hang on. If I can get one good take.

M: Nancy, did you put the ???? in the oven?

N: You want me to put ???? in the oven?

M: Why don't you put them in the oven if they'll fit. On warm.....

S: We're lucky that we got ???? almost every interview on this film before,.....

M: umhm.....

S: At the end of his?????.....

M: I know that's frustrating.

L: Frustrating isn't the word for it.

M: yeh.....it's funny, I used to think the lights in this room made it bright, now with those big ones turned off ah, it's pretty dark

L: If I can only get it working for take Terry, no..... it's not advancing at all

S: No

?: How can that be Larry?

L: I don't know. It just ah, the mark on the frame is there.  
?: I don't understand how that can happen  
L: I don't know  
?: What is the mechanism. This thing is what's messed up, this thing right here  
S: It's not going anywhere  
?: Well it strips the wholes it grabs on to and then it just goes  
S: It's engaging the sprocket, can you tell  
L: That must be it. Okay let's lock it.....mark it, now turn it on.....  
?: It's not moving, it's stripped  
L: That's what I suspect  
?: Well we'll have to rely on the video I guess  
L: Well you got the takes with the good lights though  
?: Oh yeh, I got everything  
L: There's one more take  
S: One more take on the video, then we'll be done  
M: Well don't hesitate to call anybody in town and hang around as long as you need to  
L: I have no idea what it could be  
M: Like I said, still got beds, you can spend tonight here if you need to  
L: I don't know,  
S: It's Sunday  
L: I know. well we've got Tillson, we might as well hang up the camera  
S: We'll just do Tillson on the vidoe that's all  
L: Yeh but I wanted to produce this film from 16mm not video. So far we've got everything we need on film.  
M: You can't transfer video to 16mm  
L: Yeh but it's expensive.  
?: Well maybe a trip back to Atlanta  
L: Yeh, god dammit Excuse me  
M: That's all right, I was going to tell you earlier that I would have been throwing some helpful language to at least ease the pain.  
L: An expensive camera that was rebuilt before I bought it and it's been flawless until now. Okay, let's do the last take and then we'll just back up.  
S: Well, we're going to ask you to try and  
?: Do you want a shoulder ?????  
L: Yeh  
S: Do you have the sound on, Testing Testing  
?: Do you want to plug the sound into this?.....  
L: AH, we might as well  
?: A quick painless procedure (END TAPE 2)



L: Just ah, coming back from Brown's

S: Coming back from various memorial services

L: Yeh

M: Well one was in one place at one time and one was in the other and they all had to meet up or something to have this safe convoy through dangerous country sides.....

L: It is weird being the only person in ?????

M: It's all right, I thought you, I was very impressed how (BEEP BEEP) you were doing. So I think, you know, I kind of felt that there might be a bit of a problem.

L: Well I just decided to relax about it. Okay, if you wouldn't mind telling, telling us a little bit about the ah, location, bringing the body back to New England.

M: Well, ah, I was telephoned from Alabama and told of Jonathan's death, and I think, in fact, it was Francis Walter who called me to tell me. I immediately set to looking to go to retrieve the body, also sought to seek out air transportation and one thing we've not actually discussed today was that I almost had the White House ready to provide ah, a plane to pick up his body, but they renigged at the last minute, unless I had raised holy hell or something and I was so ticked off with them I gave that up. A friend of mine here in Atlanta, now retired attorney, Glover Magee, a very fine gentleman, active episcopal laiman at the time, his hobby was flying. He flew me to Montgomery where we by then had learned the body was in the care of a mortuary house in Motgomery. We flew into Montgomery, I think it must have been late morning around maybe 10 or 11 in the morning um, in his small plane, got Jonathan's body which was in a body bag, a small plane wouldn't have taken a casket, anyway, and from Montgomery we headed north. Well terrible weather insued. Glover did not have proper licensing for instrument flying or something of the effect for the kind of weather we were in, and he said he simply had to put down in Dallas airport outside of Washington. So we did, and there at Dallas, with his assistance, I chartered ah, another small plane. His plane of course was not chartered it was just his flying out of the generosity of his heart. Buthe couldn't go all the way. So we hired a small plane that flew me and the body on to Boston. Not on to Keene again because of the weather and an ambulance or hearse or whatever met us at the airport and a whole bunch of ESCRU people and made the drive to Keene, and ah, from there the rest is what you know about it and the funeral.

L: You were at the funeral? We have a little bit of film left, you were at the funeral, do you have recollections you want to mention of that before we turn off.

M: The whole experiance was so tramatic, I don't, I know I was there but I don't have any specific recollections of it. I do recall the plane and Glover and picking up the body and having to put down in Dallas. I recall just a great collage, great sea of faces and the chapel and the funeral, I just recall a great multitude of people. Ah, I can't,

L: Okay, thanks very much

M: Okay

END OF INTERVIEW