

K: We were in Norway a few years ago for the carbon 14 conference on the shroud.

B: Kim actually works with the CIA because he travels abroad frequently too.

K: This was the home of all of tremedson and they had his statue there, right in the main square.

L: It is rubbing (the microphone)

K: Yeh well it's happened before, that's why I thought. Yeh, okay my man, or are you a girl?

?: Pooh Bear

K: Pooh bear, great. You small Durkey, Durkey (beep) and the Wolfman. Testing 1,2,3 voice level for a test, testing 1,2,3,

B: That's just fine Kim.

L: Why don't you begin by introducing, if you could introduce yourself and what your position was back then and,

K: Oh, I'm going to turn this off.....

L: Well I'm just going to let this thing run so Bill Sullivan has something to look at um he would like ? I'm sure. I'll leave these lights out for now, is that all right?

K: Whatever,.....you've got enough light that you don't have to use your.....

L: Which?

K: okay. you just tell me when to start.

L: Okay

K: All right. I'm Kim Dreisbach, an episcopal priest and in 1965, at the time of the march on Selma, I was the associate director for ESCRU or the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

L: The associate director?

K: Yeh.

L: And the director was ah,

K: John Morris.

L: John Morris. Were you, did you live in Atlanta for some time?

K: Yes I moved here ah, I went to Union seminary in New York and my master's thesis was ah, a strategy to desegregate Willmington, Delaware, the episcopal church and it's role. Delaware was then sort of a paradigm before one man, one voted the whole country. Though it had a very populous northern county in New Castle, full of PhD's that worked for the holey trinity of chemistry, Dupont, Hercules and Atlas. They did not control the state house. The two southern counties, Soybeans and Chickens,

L: Chickens, yes I remember that.

K: Kent Sussex did that and I was told by some at Princeton that this was a paradigm if we could figure out a way to get things done, remember at that time Delaware was still basically a southern state and the movie theater in Willimington had turned away students from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania who wanted to see West Side Story, it was worse than the south.

L: Were these black students?

K: Yeh, not even, African students as a matter of fact. Noy even a junk row balcony, the just said no at the ticket counter and we had gone to work in that state and that's

when John Morris became aware of what had happened there and he and the ESCRU board extended an invitation to come to Atlanta, to join the staff of ESCRU.

L: How did you, what was the mechanism? How did that work? Did you have to get permission from someone to come down here?

K: Well I did from the bishop of Delaware, because I retained my canonical status and that diocese, as long as you were crying to tell southern bishops, especially at that time the Bishop of Alabama, Bishop Carpenter. I remember once carrying a picket sign in front of his office saying "The Carpenter of Alabama denies the Carpenter of Nazareth" It was better to have your canonical status in a northern dioceses where bishops were sympathetic to your stand, then to be under the jurisdiction of a southern bishop who could have cut off your water quickly.

L: So canonical status meant that the southern bishop could, while he might be irritated with you, he could not um, take away your privileges.

K: No, he could not, and also ah, I worked, I thought, diligently served on the staff on the camp here and the dioceses of Admada helped served one of the parishes St. Bartholomew's, let them know that I was an episcopalian but wanted the church to live up to what it had proclaimed itself to be and not have a regional buy, if you would, on the issue of desegregation.

K: How were you contacted again? How did Johnathan get in touch with you? How did he know where..

K: I, John would have to tell you that. Somehow the name came up,

?: Well I think actually it was late in December that highly recommended you to be our associate director, you..

K: Laten was at Swophmore and we had been on a picket line together at the Giraurd College in Philadelphia and a few other,

?: Laten Sember was an episcopal priest who was on the ESCRU board for awhile and he's now out in,

K: Arizona.

?: Arizona. So that's what, you know, good strong concerned clergy weren't too available, they weren't clammering on our doors to come on our staff.

L: And how many associates did you have?

?: Henry was, Henry Stines and Kevin,

L: All right, I get it now.

?: myself and then Malcolm Boyd and ah a non-resident.

L: Okay

K: He had portfolio because no one else would grant it to him.

L: Oh, okay now I understand. So you were the boss in the sense and you had two associates with you, sort of a tri-effort in a sense. Okay. Then um, you reported to Atlanta, how did you end up...you didn't end up in Selma.

K: Yes, I ah, as a matter of fact I was back in Delaware attending their annual dioceses convention, when John called me from Selma, and this was after bloody Sunday when John Lewis ah, had had his skull damaged ah, on Petis Bridge, the



initial march, and told me that Mrs. Gumble of Washington, D.C., a widow of an episcopal layman. They had always wanted to go to Africa and he had died before that happened and she was underwriting a chartered plane from Washington to Selma to bring in concerned Episcopalians. And I went immediately to ah, Piper Cub in Rehobeth and flew into Washington's National Airport, got on a plane that night and we flew into Selma and we were there until the time of the march. I think we came back once to Atlanta and then went back there to start the march.

L: So you would have been there around the same time when the contingent from New England was arriving.

K: Yes, all sorts of people, ah, John came in ah, another person now dead of natural causes as I remember, who came in very quietly and impressed me a great deal, was Gary Merrill, the actor. Drove in a little Volkswagon like John's, in this case it had the Maine plates on it. No one recognized him. He went to the black leadership and said, "What needs to be done" and they said, "We'll see how serious this person is" they said, "We need someone to dig holes for the porta johnnies and cover them up" and that he did, the whole week of the march. When it was over, there were no press agents, there were no photographers. It wasn't like Marlon Brando and some of the others who came ah, he quietly, wearing dungarees the whole time, got back into his Volkswagon and went back to Maine.

L: Amazing. I always liked Gary Merrill. So what, so you had already been, when did you arrive in Atlanta? Just around the same time as,

K: I came on January the first, 1965 and ah. In fact it was snowing and we came out, the day we were moving in, came out here with children, we had two young ones and mine got to sled for the first time including the first head bumped into a tree right on this very property. (laughs)

?: It was down that hill.

L: It snows here then occasionally?

K: Oh yeh, not often. More ice than snow, but that day we had snow.

L: Okay, so now I get the way of the land a little bit. Excuse my, I'm trying to reconstruct it. So what um, then how did Johnathan get involved in all this? He just came down on an airplane from Boston. How did you all run into Daniels?

K: Well I think John Morris should be the one to tell you about that, which he did on the video tape and,

L: And then I also have that on audio tape. So we probably wont have to go over that. Maybe I should focus in on Kim's involvement.

K: So John, at that time, having been involved in Selma and made contact with John Morris ah, was then our, if you would, our designated presence ah, post-march presence in Selma to develop the ministry there and then in August of that year SCLC was holding its annual meeting in Burmingham and Father Henry Stines and I and my wife came with us, were sent over to Burmingham to make sure that John could get, at least, a rental car. Something other than the Volkswagon in



which he had arrived which was now indentified by all the anti-civil rights forces, something that could outrun them, and that's when my wife met him fir the first time. Had a premonition or a vision of somebody, as it turned out, with holding something in front of his chest, and her vision, it was a bath mat, but the kind in the shower, the ones with the holes in it, and she, only later after he had been killed, and she asked me, "What was the weapon that was used?" She had always thought it was a rifle and when she found out it was a shotgun, forever wondered if the holes in front of the chest ah, in that mat, were some kind of prevision, if you would, of what his fate would be. Always wondered if she should have done more. Of course never realized what it could be.

L: Was that a dream she had or just an image?

K: It was an image that came, came two days before she had met John in Burmingham. I think there was anxiety, you'd have to speak to Patsy and others, but the wives or sweethearts or families of those who were involved in the movement, remember people were buying, from Chainy, Goodman and Schwerner to, well, even in the town where I preached a memorial sermon to John's death, was a place where Jimmy Lee Jackson in Marion Alabama had been slaughtered by the, I think it was the Alabama state police protecting his mother in a demonstration in that time.

L: Would you have to go over to Selma frequently to um, to work with Johnathan?

K: No, that was part of Henry Stines liason.

?: Henry was our seven field service, that was his title, representative worker.

K: Yeh, I was there and then when the assassination took place, I was called, I'd just gotten home on Friday afternoon. Just up to my door when the phone rang and John told me what had happened. He had been called by John Lewis ah, in Selma and at that time I don't even think we knew where Johnathan Daniel's body was, but Father Richard Morisroe had survived, and I went to Montgomery and went to the hospital where he was laying in what, I guess we would call an intensive care unit um, and he was the first eye witness who had ever survived such an attempt. And I remember the terrible feeling that you couldn't go to the FBI or the local police that would be normal allies because, in our opinion, they were tied in with the forces whom we opposed. And I, it may have been ah, total prejudice on my part, but when you see the stereotypical, large, pot bellied, red neck with bib overalls, walking up and down those hospital corridors looking into that room where Father Morisroe lay, must admit that I had great fear that somebody, when a nurse wasn't looking, would think about pulling the tubes so that this man could never testify against those who had committed such an anus crime.

L: Did um, when you speak in terms of, in other words, southerners, that they would talk to you about this motive?

K: No, not about that and the only time I could ah, if you would, talk with the opposition was when I would be in civilian clothes. Once you had this on in the south it was



like waving a flag and saying, "Here am I and guess which side I'm on" ah, plus my accent, of course you've noticed right away, the melodious tones of my dixie heritage.

L: So when did you first meet Johnathan, yourself, just as a person, just you, Kim, and John?

K: I really got to meet him, I guess, during that SCLC conference in Birmingham, because Henry Stines was primarily assigned and then later on it would be Francis Walters, whom I know you're going to talk to. And then the ones who went to visit him in jail and all of that, I met him that time within, well what, less than two weeks. He was gone, and I will never forget the last time I saw Stokely Carmichael was standing at Johnathan's grave in Keene, 'cause we all linked hands around the grave and sang We Shall Overcome at one time, but I do remember him talking to rules within the movement and some of the black community which I went on to serve in Atlanta after ah, my ESCRU had had disbanded. Then some told me that Stokely Carmichael, best known as a black militant, had even considered the possibility of episcopal priesthood and that, because of the witness of Johnathan Daniels, and John Lewis, in talking to me once said, "You know, when we got word that John had been killed, Stokely just let out a scream like a wounded animal and the tears immediately came on his eyes and he said, my god, my god. If they do that to their own, what chance do we have?" So Johnathan's impact, and remember people were looking for phyness, for white guilt, all sorts of wrong motives that may have led people into it. But I think Johnathan ah, not only talked the talk, but walked the walk and that he was authentic.

L: That's a great expression, I always liked that expression.

K: He was not one who spoke with a foreign tongue. He was not only a hearer of the word but a doer also, in James' terminology.

L: So you must have had a chance to talk with him?

K: Yeh I did.

L: ...two weeks

K: You said sir ah, an authenticity, of course I had not been ordained that long myself, I'd only been a priest for 3 years ah, you could see someone else coming in seminary ah, who took this seriously, who was willing to delay his seminary education by being on station in the south, and that kind of integrity and dedication impressed me.

L: Did you um...did you ever talk to Johnathan about the concept of witnessing, of what that means in an episcopal church?

K: No I didn't and I'll tell you why ah, from my own background at union, I couldn't imagine that anyone wouldn't feel that way. It was not the people like Johnathan who really amazed me, it was those who wouldn't join us who also wore the...what shall we call it, basic black and pearls of the profession.

L: You see, the reason I ask, Kim, is that the concept of witnessing, Bill Sullivan and I are intrigued by, both he and I are raised protestants so, witness means something



different to us. So we're trying to get a handle on what it meant to people like Springfellow and Johnathan. I mean what, what would be it's, it's ah, a lot of epistimolgy exactly what it's, what would it mean to be a witness?

K: Well it would be a presence, you know ah, I think it was Judge Oliver Wendall Holmes who said "He who fails to share the ideals and passion of his own time does so at peril of being judged not to have live at all" and I think this kind of thing, I knew Bill Springfellow first in New York when I served a parish when I was in seminary St. Mary's Manhattenville, and he was ah, a lawyer doing crobono work in western Harlem at that time, and I think for people like Bill Springfellow and Johnathan Daniels and the like it, there wasn't an option whether to or not, this was the implication of the gospel. If you have an incarnate gospel, then you must also incarnate the implications of it. And I think, I can't speak for John on that, but I know, I went to union seminary to study under Nebor and Tiller to either teach in theology or in ethics and to be the beloved professor in the herringbone twill jacket with the leather patches on the elbow. But suddenly one day it hits you. That you can't be in the ivory tower of isolation. The gospel is for the streets.

L: That was quite a decision for you to make then.

K: Well I think so but it seemed a natural one and therefore when Johnathan made it, it seemed natural to me too. Not a surprise, but the logical implications of an incarnational faith was to stay in the streets. Remember Jesus spent more time in the streets than he did in the senagoge and that's how he was known. Meeting the needs of the people, where they were in the circumstances where they were and that's what Johnathan certainly did.

L: Now within the episcopal clerical structure, those of you who made the decision to hit the streets rather than the ah....more abstract teaching profession, what kind of sacrifices were you making in terms of promotion and all that.

K: I didn't feel that I was making any, though I must admit that others told me, when I left the cathedral in Willmington, Delaware, and they said, "That's the end of your career. You will never be called to be a cardinal rector, you will never do anything. You will be known as one of those contentious people and that's it. You really ought to think twice if you're thinking of a career" and to me the only thing that I ever considered was, where is god calling me? and should I be faithful. When I came to Atlanta I thought I would be in the field of Christian social action for the rest of my life. When ESCRU went under, and I shouldn't say went under, when it's time had ceased to be, because it was obvious by then that a black agenda had to be, and priority system had to be determined by those who were black, and the real problem for those of us who were white was white racism, and that was a much bigger problem than any of us ever imagined. And came time to be called to a biracial parish here in Atlanta, and I thought, You can't want me to do that god. I mean it is so trivial compared to



being, ah, Latten Zimmer, who's name John mentioned earlier, had put out a book called On the Battle Lines, and it was a multi-authored book by people who were there, Springfield included, On the Battle Lines, and I thought that;s where Christians should be. To be home and taking care of a parish, but again people told me, don't take that, you know, it will blow up in your face, but that's where he seemed to want it. And that has been the only constant in my ministry, is to be open to the call, and the call at that time was certainly "Choose you this day whom you will serve"

L: You think Johnathan would have followed the same path had he lived, I know this only conjecture, what do you think might have happened. He was going back to school to finish up.

K: Yeh, I don't know, because my own life is so different than I would have imagined it in 1965. I hope, I don't think Johnathan or any of the rest of us would have ever thought or ever changed ah, in terms of feeling for social justice. Now the victims of oppression may change with time and it may be ah that today, the victim of AIDS ah, the inner city homeless, the unemployed ah, may be it. But we'll always be looking for that. Always looking for let justice flow down like waters.

L: How about the fact that Johnathan was a seminarian. Was there any problem with your having been ordained and he not having been ordained. Is ordained the right word? Is that the worf?

K: Yes ah, no I don't think so because I learned a lesson from 2 people early in my career. One, a black presbyterian pastor for whom I worked in New York City ah, Rev, James Herman Robinson, and he started Crossroads Africa which Kennedy really copied and expanded into the Peace Corps, and working for him he said, "Remember when you put that collar on," he said, "it sets you apart among people and not from people. It confers no special privileges but an awful lot of extra responsibilities."

L: So it wasn't a prejudice against Johnathan within the,

K: No, no, no

L: structure because he wasn't ordained?

K: Remember 99% of the episcopal church are lay people. Bill Sprinfellow being a prominent example of it.

L: Oh, I thought he was ordained.

K: No

L: Ooooh.

K: And ah, as a matter of fact, one of the things we used to kid about in seminary was, you know when god wanted to get things done, remember Jesus was a layman. He spent his time contending against the professional religious of his day. If he had been professional religious, the bureaucracy and other strictures might have kept him from ever exercising that ministry.

L: Now you went into, did you visit Johnathan in jail?

K: No I did not. I said it all happened so quickly from that Saturday in Burmingham at the SCLC convention. That part of the story will have to come from Henry Stines and Francis Walters.

L: Francis Walters, okay well, the one other thing, before we wind up, is the few minutes of um, you visited, you visited Morisroe in the hospital. Was he conscious?

K: Oh he was not at that time. This was the very Friday that it happened.

L: Hum, did you um, were you involved in any way in claiming Johnathan's body or any of that business?

K: No, John Morris had the god awful task of doing that and getting as far as Dallas, I guess with Glubber Magee, and then ahving to shift to another plane. And Henry and I flew up, what commercially to Keene? Somehow we got there by plane and were there for the funeral in Keene, and standing at that grave, it ah, I have had a problem, I guess one that got me into the ministry and still is with me this day, of shaking my fist at God and saying Why? Why this? The lectionary at that time of his funeral, was there was a widower name who's only son. Now I know John was not an only child, that he had a sister. But I can remember using that passage and preaching on it with regard to his death and seeing the heartache in that family. His father all ready dead, here was a fine young man who had gotten out EMI and the seminary and all of that and the world had been short changed by his untimely death.

L: Did you stay in touch with Mrs. Daniels after that?

K: No I think I saw her once afterwards at an ESCRU function somewhere ah, John had the,

?: I did for several years ah, and then actually I felt guilty after 5,6 years or so I had forgotten to stay in touch.

L: Well I can't think of anything else unless there is anything else that um, any of you would like to, think we should discuss. I have plenty of tape and I'm plenty interested, I just don't know,

?: What do you have going, the audio?

L: Just audio and I've got the video just running as a reference.

?: Oh I see, this light?

L: Yeh it'll be all right. But what I, why don't we shoot. I was thinking maybe what we should actually shoot or get on film, if you don't mind, is your description of Stokely's um, response, if you think that would be appropriate. If that would help us. Because one question we have is what happened. What happened to SNICK after Johnathan's death as it turned, not relatively anti-white, it wasn't like that, but they decided to exclude whites from the membership.

K: Yeh, well as I remember it, the story I was told, and I would hate to put words in the mouth of John Lewis or somebody who might deny them later on, I can just said I heard from without specifying sources.

L: It's just that,

K: But the John, both Morisroe and John Daniels, if I remember the story correctly, were the first two whites that Stokely had ever allowed to work in Lownes County.

L: We heard that too.

K: In that Voter Registration Campaign, so therefore, they had to be something special, ah,



?: Well Stokely had reason to know Johnathan over a period of time. Morisroe just arrived that weekend.

K: Yeh, yeh

L: He'd worked in Selma in March. We found in the hospital records, that Morisroe was treated for strep throat in early March. But he didn't know Daniels at the time. But that may not be bad to emphasize. Just the fact that the unusual nature of ah, because I'd like to get your image into this film if you don't mind. That would be nice, you know ah,

K: But he, he named a child after Johnathan, didn't he? Morisroe?

L: Yes he did. He wanted to bring him this last November but he couldn't get to the airport.

K: So that that, you know, the brief time, maybe it isn't the amount of time you spend with somebody, but what we say quality time, or the significance. There was just something about that. There was a beautiful, as we were saying downstairs earlier, a beautiful mievate ah, we really didn't realize how complex the problem was ah, one of the other vignettes from New England ah, I can remember that...with all the, the influx into Selma and people eating churches fry, or Kentucky Fried Chicken, the crash problem was real. And there were bones and papers and boxes and everything else. Now the sexton, or the custodian, at the Brown's A&E Chapel, was not ah, a potential candidate for a PhD at Harvard as I remember, though Harvard had sent many of it's history department down who were wearing their taylored three piece suits with vests and their Phi Beta Kappa keys flashing in the sun. And so when they asked what they could do to help, they were assigned to trash control. And I'll never forget, I thought this is what we mean with the lion laying down with the lamb, or god able to reconcile seeming opposites. To watch this custodian, just a humble, son of Selma. But he was the straw boss because he knew more about trash control than these folk would ever know directing a group of about 7 of the Harvard faculty history department on rakes, raking up the boxes and the chicken bones and all the rest, and he was the boss man and they were the work crew. Those little vignettes that were there ah, another person that John and I know, now dead, both he and his wife. There was no ah, well we needed supplies and this fellow worked for Armor meat and so a, a truck full of meat was driven from Chicago and he and his son came down and delivered that. I was preaching in Columbus, Georgia ah, a few months ago, and the son, now a grown man and parent and father of his own will never forget that Chris Church who came with his father on that one. That was lovely ah. When it came time for the march we needed tents for the people. The then bishop of Arkansas had saved some wealthy man from drowning when they were both boys and the man had said if you ever need a favor, call on me.

?: Who was he?

K: Bishop Brown of Arkansas. He called on the man, who at that time made large tents. Can you believe it? and one was put on the train and brought down and used.

?: Really, to Selma



K: To go over.

?: But Brown had written a book on the Little Rock School interigation thing and he'd been good at that but I didn't realize.

K: Well he, he helped us get a tent to go over, 'cause it was very rainy and muddy. I remember the night we got to the city of ST. Jude, walking across the inside of that compound, there was mud almost up to the knees and some nun grabbed me, again not knowing that I wasn't a Roman said, "Father have you been assigned?" (laughs) I said, "No what can I do?" she said, "Come with me" she said, "Don't let anybody but the stars out of this gate, one at a time." My job that night, was to open the gate in a little block house that they had where the volunteer entertainers had come, and let out Odetta, the Chad Mitchell Trio (laughs) and people that I could have never afforded to see at a concert, one after another, go out on that stage and sing, I think even Billy Extine, all I could remember was "If I Told a Lie" from college days. Sammy Davis had closed down Golden Boy on broadway and come, and that night of celebration before we walked into Montgomery the next day.

L: And Peter, Paul and Mary were there.

K: Yes

?: Yes I got a lot of those on the tape.

K: Of that,

L: Johnathan must have been with you on that, but you wouldn't know that.

K: Yeh. On that last day, the one thing I will never forget was that ah, Dean Sayres of the Washington Cathedral, was it Sayres?

?: Frank Sayre.

K: Yeh Sayre, and came in, and of course the taylored coat and the Homberg hat and there were Alabamians, who were not sympathetic to the cause, hanging out of windows and shouting terms of turision and questioning our paratidge, even our humanity you might say, with some of the parents we were alleged to amend. And the dean shook his fist and came back with a verbal retorent to one of these people, and a young SNICK worker, couldn't have been more than 17 or 18, had a colored band around his arm to indicate that he was a marshall, came up to the dean and said, "Sir I'm sorry," he said, "the discipline of the march is that nonviolence also applies to the mouth. If you can't abide by that discipline, I'm going to have to ask you to step out of the line of march." And here was what, the nephew of Woodrow Wilson or whatever his connection was, reduced to humble silence and looked like ah,

?: Well he never was given the great statements of prophecies so he must have been,

K: Right, but he was greatly subdued by ah, a younger fellow and marched in on the,

L: So what part, shall we um, get on film? What would you feel most comfortable with? What would you like?

?: Kim, Johnathan/Kim, Johnathan/Burmingham, car, I don't know.

L: Yeh, that area



K: Yeh either that or, or background mood, and the heavy stuff with Johnathan should be Henry, Francis and John.  
?: Well, you've got Henry, you've got me and Francis will be here.  
L: Well I need you again because I didn't get you on film all this time.  
?: The funeral out in Keene or ah,  
K: Keene, yeh that standing around. I will never forget that.  
?: You should decide.  
L: Yeh that's the best way to do it.  
K: We Shall Overcome because, you know, the next time I saw Stokely, he was married to Marion Makeeba,  
L: Yes, he still is.  
K: Ah, no he isn't, they are divorced unless they remarried.  
Tape goes off-end side one

K: Where do you want me to look?  
L: Let me, why don't you just come right over here.  
K: All righty  
L: Well everything's, this is automatically synchronized with the camera.  
K: That's tremendous.  
(Long Pause)  
K: Is the camera making it's own sound track or not?  
L: No, this will be the camera soundtrack.  
K: Ah,  
L: It just takes me a minute since I'm the only person, well to get them to quiet down on the set out there.  
K: Want me to tell them that?  
L: Okay (yells) John.  
K: You're having no effect.  
L: Yeh I hate to tell them to close the door.  
K: I'll tell them.  
J: Yeh what do you want?  
K: There is much, much too much noise out there for serious film making.  
J: Everybody can come into the living room, but now we have to be super quiet.  
L: Okay, now everybody is in there.  
K: All righty, complete with dog.  
L: In fact, you know what's interesting Kim, if you move a little to your left, that ah.....that engraving above you would be nice in the picture too.  
K: Oh, you mean this way.  
L: Yeh, right about there.  
K: Okay, fine, all right. I thought you meant turning my head, and I was, how were you going to get the engraving.  
L: No, just make yourself comfortable.  
Long Pause

BEEP

L: Okay, if you could just talk a little bit about your experiences in Keene when you were ah, when you went to the funeral.  
K: It was sort of unbelievable Larry, but someone that you



had known for a relatively short period of time, and a young man so full of promise, and with such dedication. See in movement talk at that time, he was one of those who not only talked the talk but walked the walk. He put his body where his mind was and as he said, "Came to witness to be a presence in Selma." So much promise snuffed out so quickly and I think I was mad at God and sorry for his family and so much promise had gone. There weren't that many of us and we could ill afford to lose someone of that caliber. But as we stood around that grave and linked hands, the last time I ever saw Stokely Carmichael, was holding hands and singing We Shall Overcome, I think that was the final tribute to him.

Later I was to have learned from someone else, who had been in Selma at the time, that Stokely had even considered studying for the episcopal priesthood as a result of John's witness. Now that was almost impossible to believe for one who went on to Africa and raised the black fist in Mississippi, married Mariem Makeeba and was on the radical edge. But I think it's a tribute to Johnathan and the impact he had. 'Course Johnathan was the first white who Stokely ever permitted to work in the Voter Registration campaign, in Lowndes County. And according to the same source, that on the afternoon that he was killed, when the word came to Stokely Carmichael, it was an almost animal like scream of pain that came forth, and as the tears welled up in his eyes, he looked at the others in the SNICK group that were there and said, "My God, if they do that to their own, what chance do we have?" Well, God spared not his own son, as the founder of our faith, and unfortunately, he didn't spare Johnathan either. But his witness of authenticity and integrity, if you would, may result, we hope, in his gaining a permanent place on the church calender with other witnesses who cared enough to give of themselves and make the ultimate sacrifice, and that Johnathan certainly did.

L: Good thanks.

K: Is that enough?

L: I think so. I think what would be good to use is the standing around the grave. Not that the business about Stokely and ah,

K: Well I purposely left John Lewis out of it that time,

L: I think that was a good idea.

K: as the source of the quote, 'cause I knew you wouldn't want that one to come back.

L: No, no. He's ah, we interviewed him you know.

K: In Washington.

L: Yeh, yeh                      Tape ends