

H: Testing Testing  
L: Okay could you say test test.  
H: Test test  
L: Test  
H: Test, test, test (BEEP)  
L: I hope all this equipment isn't intimidating you. It's intimidating me, not you. Please don't worry.  
H: (Laughs) I'll try not to.  
L: Thank you. Bill and I tend to be very informal about these things so....I'm just going to let this run. I must make sure this is working properly, this is very important so if you could just say your name?  
H: My name is Henry Stines.  
L: One more time please?  
H: My name is Henry Stines.  
L: Well, perhaps we could start by just um, if you could talk about your experiences in ESCRU and ah, and how you got involved in the projects in central Alabama and just tell us a little bit about that.  
H: Well, in those days in the civil rights movement I was rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Detroit. And it was a good sized parish with over a thousand members and everything was going well, and I was well liked and I was not looking for another job. Suddenly it came to me that all the sermon I'd been giving about the civil rights movement in Detroit and hearing about what was happening down in Atlanta and different parts of the south I felt that the need to go there and put into practice what I'd been talking about. So when I heard that ESCRU had this position open, I applied for it and the main job description was to join a team of other clergy persons of different denominations to witness the rightness of the cause and to help and support the ministries in the south. Especially those who were willing to witness to what Dr. King was trying to do. So I accepted the job and moved to, sold my house in Detroit and my wife and our kids, we went to Atlanta. Of course, in those days, Atlanta was quite different from what it is today because when I arrived in Atlanta in '64, we still had separate water fountains in front of Rich's Department Store. White water and black water and all the restaurants were segregated. So it was quite a different Atlanta. As a matter of fact, the same week I got there, Dr. King and Andy Young had been arrested at the heart of Atlanta with John Morris and they were in jail when I got there, and the worst part of it that for the offense they had them in chains working on the roads.  
L: In chains?  
H: In chains, I mean when you are working as a prisoner in the old days, you had shackles while you were working so that was kind of frightening to me as I was (laughs) coming in.  
L: You know I wonder, excuse me I'd better interrupt, you wouldn't, I may have to get my other microphone, this battery is weak, I wouldn't want your voice to,  
H: I should speak louder?  
L: No, I don't think it's you, I think it's the battery. I have no battery in my other microphone ah...  
H: Because I could speak louder if it would help.

L: Well let's see. If you could just give me test, test one more time.

H: Testing, testing.

L: This should be all right, this should be all right. Well we'll go with this.

H: Yeh, so I used to travel in the, 9 or 10 of the southern states, alone with ah...a team of Presbyterian ministers and the Roman Catholic Methodists and um, American Baptist, and we would go to certain places when we knew that King was going to be there, like Selma. We went to Selma 3 months before the drama in Selma. As we went several places, we went to Selma and what we would do is have a breakfast or lunch and I would invite the Episcopal leadership and the Methodist men would do the same thing, Roman Catholic and Baptists. So we would have a lunch or breakfast and that would tell, like in Selma, that the SCLC will be here a second time in Selma to dramatize the need for the voting rights act. I bet Selma's the worst place in the south but it had occurred to Dr. King that it had so many black people with Master's degrees that could not pass the test, so he said Selma would be a good place to dramatize the injustice, and then we would discuss the issues and show them how we believe that it was just to have those changes in America and the important part of it is that we know that if you take a stand in favor of it, you could lose your job, and one of the things we're here for is to reassure you that the Episcopal church, the Baptist church, the Methodist church, unofficially we have money available. That you and your family would not be in the streets if you got fired because you would get fired overnight and those churches were, the congregation had so much to say about it, and ah, so we could make sure that you're not in the street until 5 p.m.

L: So this was before ah, Bloody Sunday, before...

H: Oh it was long before that yeh. And ah, and would answer questions and would, you know, have a dialogue with them and then ah, and then leave and go somewhere else. Now our job was not just simply to warn them trouble was coming and that type of thing, but ah, when Selma would come or St. Augustine was another big theater again, that we would be there in the street with the people ah to testify. We did the same thing. Now the men, I remember in Selma, the episcopal priest, his reaction was it, he was very cocky about it, he said, "King came here once, we took care of him and we'll do the same thing again." which was so offensive ah, that anybody coming in were just troublemakers from the north and that kind of stuff. Another big one again, was in St. Augustine...in Florida ah, I arrived there a week after Mrs. Peabody and ah, Mrs. Burgess and the wife of Bishop Campbell, Mrs. Campbell had been put in jail there for going to a restaurant and the church there again in St. Augustine had turned black folks away from services. So...I went to church there with a group, interracial group, and I was turned away in my collars. So the next day I went to see Dr. Seymour who was rector of the parish and also graduate of the same seminary, General Theological Seminary, and I told him that ah, just by coincidence, I was born and

grew up in Haiti and the bishop of Haiti, Bishop Carson, was from Jacksonville.

L: the Episcopal bishop?

H: The episcopal bishop from Jacksonville, and while he was in Haiti, the people in the diocese of Jacksonville used to be very supportive of his missionary work in Haiti, sending clothing and food and money, and I said, "the first black cassic I owned through the General Theological Seminary in New York was given to me by the women of this parish, and now it seems to me that you should try and make a Christian out of me, way back there I could at least see them and say thank you to them." And Seymor was very touched by this and he said, "You come next Sunday and I will make sure they will allow you to come in." And he kept his word ah, he said hat they had been sending, ah turning people away because I'm in a sanctuary and the wardens are doing it but I didn't know that. So Sunday, you come with your group at a quarter to eleven and I will be at the door to make sure that you get in. And ah, we went and he was there and the senior warden told me that colored people don't worship in this church and there is a black church in the ghetto where we could go, and I told him that we had investigated, the vicar has been out of town, the church is closed and this is the only episcopal church open in this community. But he said, "You still can't come, can't come in." And Dr. Seymor said ah, "John(whatever his name was) this is the house of God. You cannot kick human beings out of it and I wish you would step aside ." And he dropped the bulletins on the ground and he left and went home and ah, and we went in and sat in the 4th pew from the front and there were no problems. It was a nice service, we joined the singing, but it was morning prayer so there was no, we're going to communion to test them on that. But that the word got around, things were really hot in St, Augustine, but the word got around that some black folks got into that church. Of course restaurants, everything was still segregated, and when we went out there after the service, at least 300 people in front there raising hell.

L: White people?

H: Oh yes, with confederate flags and almost ready for a lynching party, and the troopers were very protective. They put us in our car in front and the back and on the side ah, he escorted us to the black neighborhood. So I remember I was never happy that there was a black neighborhood someplace around (laughs). But they were really angry that ah, it was really no great danger, that's the word, back in the black neighborhood. I'm saying all this to show the danger of, that Seymor had been a good priest there, wonderful job, wealthy parish. He was out of the parish in a few weeks. But we did keep our word ah, Arthur Wolmsley was another bishop of, of ah, Connecticut, was at headquarters in charge of Christian social relations and he was the one in charge of that fun and all I had to do was pick up the phone and say, "Seymor is in trouble," and ah, money was available to take care of him and his wife until the priest in the parish in Louisiana somewhere.

L: So it wasn't um, it wasn't a national position of the



episcopal church to have the segregated churches.

L: So it wasn't um, it wasn't a national position of the episcopal church to have segregated churches.

H: Not only that we had a cannon roll(?) against that, we still have in our books that no one has the right to keep anybody from any church, unless they are disturbing the service or something, but not based on race.

L: Now the catholic church, I think, also had no such exclusion. The baptist church did and maybe the methodists suffered,

H: Ah, even in those days, those southern churches were changing their policy because when we went to Savanna, Georgia once, Easter day. John moriis was there, six of us went to that ah big episcopal church there in Savanna and the ushers stopped us. So we spent that whole Easter service kneeling in front of that church and the priest cam out and said, "This is our policy. There is no way you can get in." and then went out and the choir went. But shortly after that, we got after the bishop in national church and said on easter we were kept out of church. So they pulled away from the episcopal church and ah, they were out for what, 2 years, as an independent church because they were not allowed to remain in communion in the episcopal church. The same thing up in the presbitarian church, another big wealthy church there, they did the same thing and they were forced to puul out. BUT two years later they came back in.

L: Now it was around the mid-'60's then that these protestant denominations changed their policy?

H: Just about, yeh. But in those days they would tell you in a minute, this is the law of the state and the law of the city and we don't want to break the law, and that kind of thing. The same way a restaurant would tell you it's not because I don't want to serve you it's the law.

L: Was it your thinking Rev. Stines, that if you could get the churches to change then maybe the communities would follow?

H: I have some real question about that because usually those people from the church are in the community ah, evolves from the community and ah, it's amazing how when the civil rights act was passed, how those people in business fell right in line and the church just sort of followed them, because those are the people who fill up those churches. So there was a time we believed, maybe there is some truth in that, if you convert a small group in the church they might go out and spread the news. But you know, it's such a slow process that sometimes you think you are doing the job and then it's just saying one thing Sunday morning and then during the week following, right back into life of doing no witness.

L: witness?

H: Yeh, so I think the thing is a, the power of the law is, is necessary, that you're not changing attitudes, you're just changing behavior and it's amazing how behavior being changed will lead to a changed attitude. I'm convinced of that.

L: So ah, you weren't, you were centered in Atlanta and from there would move out to various cities.

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H: We would travel in different places.

L: How did you end up then in central Alabama?

H: Well Selma was a hot spot and we kept our eye on it. The reason John was there and decided, John came there as a visiting firemen like most of the others coming in and fell that he got more of a mission in the name of Jesus there than being in seminary, and, talk with John Morris and John says we don't have enough clergy person on our staff to have a presence in Selma and if you want to stay there in the seminary, you can wear a collar with a little white strip there to show you were a seminarian, but you could wear a black shirt and the collar, we'd be the episcopal presence there and we'll support you, and that's how John accepted the job ah, to stay there, maybe for another year or two.

So, we could say that ~~ESCRU had an outpost there~~ and it was just sometime ah, a feeling you had that you must do something. I was, my way was to drive quite a bit. I was on my way to New Orleans and I said, "I want to stop by and check how things are and how John is doing." So I drove to Birmingham first,

L: Had you already met John by that time?

H: Oh yes I knew him quite well. So I said, "Let me stop by ah, and see how things are going." So went to Birmingham and then went to Selma and as I was arriving that morning and stopped by the SNIC office....(funny noise in the background.....tape goes off)

L: Testing test test There we go, that's the way it should be Testing test test testing....

L: We were talking about um, going to Selma and that would have been in winter of 65?

H: No I ah, you mean going to see Johnathan?

L: Yes when,

H: That was in August.

L: Oh, so when did you first meet Johnathan?

H: I met John there in 64 ah...and this incident, when he got killed was in 65.

L: Right, August of 65. He arrived for the first time in Selma in, two days after Bloody Sunday. That would have been March....March of 65.

H: Something like that yeh. No, as a matter of fact, the first stop was in Atlanta when he was going down to Selma.

He first stop was in Atlanta, he stayed with us in Atlanta.

As a matter of fact, I believe that we drove together to Selma and then ah, stayed in the same house where he was staying ah, the West family were there. It was some kind of nice guy with an alcoholic and they were going to get drunk and raise hell and that kind of thing I remember.

L: Yeh, he's living in Chicago.

H: Is he I didn't realize that.

L: Yeh, the rest of his family is still in the same house.

H: Oh, but he used to be quite a character when he was boozed up. But I remember that's where, I slept in that house several times.

L: Well we won't use your quote about Mr. West.

H: Of course not.

L: We'd like to interview him though. We'd like to talk to

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him because we heard he was the one who talked to Johnathan, who invited Johnathan to move into the West's home from Brown's Chapel.

H: Possibly yeh. But anyway, that morning I sort of had a funny feeling about Selma and John and I decided to circle around on my way to, to...Louisiana because I was supposed to meet in Louisiana with a number of my colleagues there and Jack Seeson, who was a Roman Catholic, was stationed and I was stationed in Atlanta but he was stationed in New Orleans so I was going to meet with him. So I stopped there that morning and, and ah, John was not at the West home so I went to the SNIC office....and ah, the lady was very upset, the secretary there said ah. "Stokely got arrested and John got arrested and a group of them were picketing somewhere in Hayneville," not Hayneville but,

L: Fort Deposit.

H: Fort Deposit and they got arrested and would you go and see what's happening to them.....So I drove there and um, and found them ah, Gloria I remember, she was not married to House at that time, was downstairs with the women and then all the men were upstairs and Stokely and Morrisroe and John and maybe another 10 or 12,

L: Let's see, James Rogers, Willie Long, Ruby Sayles

H: But ah, all packed in one cell there. It was just sort of wall to wall people there and ah, they were serving food and leave the dirty plates there and it was really a very nasty situation. So they, I had a good visit with them and listened to what they had to say and Stokely's main point in that particular case was, I had raised Stokely, "Why don't you let me get you and John out of jail and then when you are outside just bail the others out because I don't have more than a couple of hundred dollars with me and of course it would be at least a hundred to get one person out." But Stokely refused, he said that you have any more kind of victories there in Washington and New York and in the north but we want some local victories here. We were picketing, we got arrested and we'll stay right here and see what they want to do with it. So I said, "Well if that's the way you feel about it, I cannot convince you not to do that except when I walked into this jail this morning, the only people I met downstairs were the cooks. A man and a woman cooking downstairs, no guard what-so-ever." So I said, "Anybody can walk in here and shoot you right behind those bars and I wouldn't stay here." So they said they would take a chance and I told John, "Why don't you let me bail you out and then when you're outside you can minister to these movements, see what's happening to them and possibly get them out. BUT he said they were going to sort them out and he would feel terrible if he were to get arrested with them and then accept to leave them in the jail.

L: Do you remember what, noe they were let out on Friday, the 20th. Do you remember what day you had arrived?

H: If they were let out on a Friday, I probably was there on Wednesday because it was 2 days, because when I left, and I said goodbye to him and got on the road and ah, went and spent the night in ah, in New Orleans.

L: Now who was with you when you went to the jail? Did you

have someone in the car with you?

H: I went by myself.

L: You went by yourself.

H: Yeh, I was in a rented car and ah, after I left the jail I went back to the office and reported to the lady that I saw Stokely and they were in jail and they did not want to be bailed out.

L: When you got to the jail, there was no one there to stop you. You just walked right in?

H: Any clan's member could get in there and shoot those people in jail. As I said the only two people, when I went downstairs, there was a man working in the kitchen and a woman cooking for the prisoners and I said, "So I can just go upstairs?" and they said, "Yes go ahead."

L: So anybody could have walked in.

H: No protection what so ever, so I said, I told John that's enough to let you know this is not a safe place to be. You should get out of here. There is no protection what so ever.

L: Now he was in the same jail cell as Stokely?

H: The whole bunch was, about 12 of them in one cell.

L: Did anyone else think about leaving, about having you bail them out? Morrisroe or the others?

H: They all refused. They all wanted to stay there and witness to the fact that ah,

L: You mentioned this word witness before. I've read about the word, I've been reading Stringfellow as I mentioned to you on the phone. Witness has something very, a very specific meaning and maybe later we can talk about it.

H: Well a witness in those terms that, John used to use it quite a bit himself that ah....and he was very conscious of the Greek meaning of the word witness, meanings martyr, that when you witness that means death could be the result of it, and witness to the truth: that means if you believe that people in Lowndes County should be able to vote and you're going to put you're body on the line for it and in that sense he was....So by going there picketing and they got arrested they were not going to be bailed out and chicken out of it. They were going to stay right there and say what are you going to do about it in that sense. So they all refused actually to leave. They wanted to stay there and say, "So what are you going to do about it?"

L: How long were you actually talking to these men before you, how long were you in the jail?

H: At least a half hour maybe longer ah, listening to what happened, how did it happen, why are they staying here. But my main argument (laughs) anybody can walk in here and do you harm and I remember that was my main point.

L: So you talked to them about the dangers and they were aware of it?

H: Oh yeh, maybe they sort of were feeling so strongly that they wanted to stay and witness to their belief. They just need, you heard what I said, when I kept saying I walked in here only two people downstairs cooking, no guard.

L: No one, I thought that there may be somebody to ask you who you were and ask for your credentials and,

H: It was some kind of dirty ?, nobody was there. I went to

the kitchen and asked for permission to go upstairs and I don't know whether whoever was supposedly there left on a break or something, but the whole time I was there, there was nobody there except those two people in the kitchen, a black man and a black woman cooking downstairs.

L: Can you remember, even after the passage of these years, Rev. Stines, what you might have talked about other than the concept of witnessing uh, in that little bit of time that you had?

H: We talked about what, you know, what's happening over the country and the chances that things would change and so on and so forth, and of course the minutes, the were not changing fast enough and that kind of thing, but nothing in depth um....that you can remember.

L: No I would think, also I want to ask you, you had met Johnathan before, had you ever had any time to sit and talk with him before the jail episode or were you just mainly ships passing in the night or, how?

H: No no, as I said, when he first came south he came to Atlanta to be interviewed by John for the job and that kind of thing and so we had a chance to talk quite a bit in the office, at home, he stayed over night with me and when I used to go to Selma, I used to go to Selma very often, and we would spend time together talking about, and always more than once I asked him, you know, whether it was better to go back to seminary and finish your job, get ordained and then you can just, but he felt that ah, this was, to him as a vocation, this was more meaningful than going and sitting in a classroom at this time. So he spent a lot of time, not only demonstrating, but visiting white people ah, and trying to convince them with the whiteness of the corners, spent a lot of time teaching the black children in Brown's Chapel. Real sense of dedication ah, like a link between the two communities so to say. He was not bashful just staying with the black community and raising hell, but he was made that, he and Judy spent a lot of time visiting white folks, interpreting the movement to them.

L: She told us that Johnathan referred to himself as a foot soldier, just a foot soldier. He didn't see himself as a leader or a boss or...just a foot soldier.

H: I think ah, that would be a true description of what he was trying to do there, to...stay in a black home and sharing their lives and their miseries and frustrations and um, and being kind to people.

L: Let me ask you that, when you went down, you went down to, to New Orleans and the next day or so...

H: I drove, I attended my business there, the meeting I had there and then I drove to Bugaloosa, there was another hot spot there, and there was going to be a big demonstration there that night and I wanted to be there, and then a national leader was visiting and I can't even think of his name there, it was a quick call.

L: Was it General Foreman?

H: (Mumbling) The main leader of coren and, Farmer, Farmer.

L: James Farmer.

H: James Farmer was addressing the group and they had a big rally, and was there and I shared the platform and I didn't

~~have that much to say because the main speaker was the~~  
 have that much to say because the main speaker and that same night  
 ah, the oldest from that area the minister



priest, called Bishop Clayborn and says, "Here the episcopal priest was sharing the platform with Farmer and I understand he's from Atlanta. What are you going to do about it?" And I understand Clayborn said, "Well, this priest by the name of Stines may be living in Atlanta, but he's a canonically resident in the diocese of Michigan. I can't touch him. So you should call Bishop Emeric in Detroit." Well that bastard called Bishop Emeric in Detroit and said, "What are you going to do about this priest here from Michigan?" and causing all this trouble. So Bishop Emeric said ah, "I wouldn't do anything to him, but even if I wanted to do anything to him I couldn't because he's working for ESCRU and this project is being financed by the field foundation so church people can't touch him." I thought that was quite a statement, that a secular foundation was allowing me to be a profit in my own church.

L: Yeh, thought that was the only way it could happen I guess. When did you hear about Johnathan's death?

H: So I left Bugaloosa and drove to a place called Hooma which is way up north, just almost paired with Jackson Mississippi.

L: This was still Friday?

H: Yeh, and there was, that was the next, let's see I left there Wednesday, I was in New Orleans Wednesday night, I was in Bugaloosa Thursday night...and I was in Hooma Friday night. Whatever, the day was whatever day he got killed and there was another big rally there in Hooma, and after that I went to a small kind of make shift hotel there, and there was a TV on and Chet Hunkley, the news announced that Johnathan Daniels had been shot in Alabama and ah, I called my wife in Atlanta and she confirmed it. So the next morning I jumped in the car and then just sort of this straight line from home into Jackson into Bellingham and drove back to Selma.

L: So you were alone in a motel room when you heard about it?

H: That's right....and I, when it happened I just said, doggarnit, I felt like something like that was going to happen. I didn't have any details, I thought he got shot in the jail actually, but they told me that they had turned him loose first. So I went um, back to, to Hainville and visited Morrisroe, who was in the hospital there, and of course John's body had been put in a morgue somewhere until John Morris had a very traumatic time because he went there and actually carried that plastic bag on his back to put in a small plane and fly it to Keene. It was after that he was really affected by that.

L: You know something, we've heard that from many people, but we asked John about it, you know that he blocked it out. He said, "I can't remember, I can't remember. I want to tell you about it but I can't remember." I think it must have been so horrible,

H: Could be yeh, I knew it was awful because that night ah, layman from Atlanta volunteered to fly John to Hainville to pick up the body and after he got there, it was pretty stormy and some problem with the plane and he had to make some changes. So he had to, he carried the body on his back

ah, to the next plane. So by the time, I did not travel with him because I went back to Atlanta and then flew back to Keene, but when I got there he was really shook up, and I can see right now, maybe you've tried to set off, blank it out.

L: He admitted that he, that's...we heard the plane was so small, he had to travel with John's body,

H: On him yeh. But he felt pretty good about the fact that, when I heard that John was, I had limited amount of money because I knew I was going to circle around the south side and you always traveled with money in those days because you could be stuck 4 or 5 times going somewhere and you have to bail yourself out and usually it's \$25 to get out of it so you have to carry some cash. But that morning I went to the phone right away and called John in the office and said, "John, Johnathan is in jail, has no business staying there and needs some money." and he wired money by western union immediately and told me, "You're right, get him out!" So when he refused to go I called back and told him that I tried but he didn't want to come out.

L: What did John say?

H: He was upset because he knew what kind of jail they had there in Hainville.

L: Well Hainville had already been the sight of ???

H: Of course yeh, yeh.

L: When you went back, did you, did you ah, come back for any of the trial?

H: Oh yes, I was still in Atlanta.

L: I'd like to talk to you about that if you wouldn't mind telling me what the trial was like. We've talked to two people about the trial, Morris was there as well, but they don't have specific recollections, so it would help us to have some idea of what went on in the trial.

H: I can't remember the name of the lawyer from Atlanta was the civil division union, I'd been working for Sears Robuck.

L: Not Richmond Flowers who was the attorney general...

H: Oh no, this fellow was stationed in Atlanta and he was the executive director for the Sears liberty union.

L: All right, we don't have his name.

H: Ah, he was very, he was originally from Alabama and took a stand in the civil rights movement and talking one case after another in court for black people.

L: Did he write a book called One Voice, One Vote?

H: It's possible.

L: Yeh see I think we have this book.

H: Well John would remember his name because they were kind of close. The morning, not the morning, the night before the trial we went to....to Selma and stayed at a Holiday Inn outside of Selma. This lawyer was there and John was there and ah, another leader from the Sears Liberty Union in ah, from New York was there, an old lady, I can't remember her name. But he was supposed to be, his boss, you know, he was listening to what she had to say, and ah, so the next morning we drove to the court in Hainville. The first thing I remember was outside of the, like in a kind of a corn field, but outside of the court we had about 4 or 5 black men 6 feet or taller in khaki uniform, and the thing is that

those black fellows had been deputized the day before and put on new clothes and new shoes. So you had these 5, so called police there in charge of the black folks because there would be some black folks there, but not too many black folks showed up. Of course the courtroom was just about the size of this room, it was filled up, especially with SNNC workers from Selma, and there was the jury I remember and there was the judge and Tom Coleman was sitting there and this lawyer from Atlanta, he did a magnificent job, very eloquent, and ah, I didn't see it but it was reported that during the trial that the jurors were winking at Tom Coleman saying don't worry, everything's going to be cool. And ah, Coleman took the stand I remember and he said as he was in the store he saw John, something shining and he said, and the only thing shiney that John had was some change to by this coke, and he thought he was armed and that's why he opened fire on him. And ah, after comes not too long a trial ah, everybody, they had no witnesses to testify although there should have been some. They refused, I remember, the judge refused to delay the trial because Morrisroe would have been a good witness. But ah, he was still in the hospital and couldn't come. And then the jury got back and ah, .....no there were 2 or 3 people to testify, but the witnesses, they had about a dozen lined up, I don't think more than 2 testified, but all the witnesses were kept outside, you know, not allowed in court. They were just in the yard and whenever they were ready to get them some clerk would go to the window and say "???" and would call that. I remember Ruby Sales was one of the young girls about 16 and he would say "Ruby" and she would come in and testify. And of course within a short time the jury came out and declared Tom Coleman innocent.

L: Was this all done in one day?

H: Oh sure that same morning.

L: So it wasn't a trial that went over several days?

H: No, no, started about 8 or 9 o'clock.

L: Now were any of the black witnesses to the murder called to testify. Well Ruby was obviously.

H: Ruby was one of them, maybe 2 others were called to say what had happened and that's about it, and I don't remember how long the jury was out, not that long. I think by 12 noon we were out.

L: And the line of defense was self defense by virtue of the fact that Coleman was...

H: Something shiny, something shiny in his hand. And he said the same thing that ah, he was sure that Morrisroe had a gun in his hand, but no weapons were ever found by anybody.

L: I've seen photographs of the murder weapon, we have photographs, this was brought into the trial I imagine. What was Coleman like when he talked?

H: He was, in those days, I remember him while he was a man in his 50's or 60's

L: He's 55.

H: 55 yeh, lean...cool, not nervous, he was pretty....

Side one ends



H: Francis Walter?  
 L: That sounds right.  
 H: I think it's with Francis Walter.....  
 L: Reverend Francis Walters,  
 H: That's the name.  
 L: Burmingham, Alabama.  
 H: That's right. He's from Alabama, that's what I remember.  
 H: We spoke with him. We had a good talk.  
 H: Yeh he was a graduate from general seminaries, a very brilliant seminarian.  
 L: He had something to with a book about quilts, ah  
 H: I think he was involved in some sort of cooperative movement. But anyway, he took John's job after John died and ah was in charge of that post for a year, a couple of years or something like that, cause he was always battling the bishop of Alabama, Bishop Carpenter was definitely a segregationist and was not in good favor with the dioceses of Alabama.  
 L: So what did John's death, I know what it meant nationally, I know how President Johnson responded. I Think I know how Stokely Carmichael responded. What about the people? Especially the, not the whites so much, but the blacks, in central Alabama? The reason I'm asking this is I've heard some tapes that were taken in black churches in winter of 1966. One tape in particular, a black preacher is saying, "Now that white preacher from up north dies and white people will kill their own kind just to keep the power. We can't put them so much at risk. We've got to do it ourselves." That seemed to correspond with Stokely's need to have SNNC, to begin to exclude white members from SNNC and I, I was trying to get a handle on how, if Johnathan's death added to that at all or, or maybe not, maybe not. Maybe I'm persuing something that isn't.  
 H: Not that I can remember because um, after John died, it was like after those 3 others had been killed in Mississippi or Lee Oslow had been shot there and ah, it was that kind of reaction that folks were opposed that ?? would do anything to preserve that way of life and you better be careful um, but with no feeling that we had to stop, I guess that's for some.  
 L: Well you know, can you think of anything else that we should touch on that you would advise us to investigate or consider in our progress towards completion? Anything else?  
 H: Not really, I, of course after all those years I've still trying hard to remember those things um, ah,  
 L: John's path has been a difficult one for us to follow. It starts in Keene and then it goes to Virginia Military Institute and Lexington, Virginia and back to Harvard and the south and, it's amazing. Witnessing is the heart of all this. I know it.  
 H: He took his Christianity seriously um, and felt that he had to act according to his belief instead of just talk about it. So we went to, the funeral was quite an event in Keene. Big crowd and Stokely and quite a few of the coworkers from Selma were there and Stokely was really shook up at the funeral and I was very, I was devastated myself. I always felt that I should have stayed there longer and get him out, so it was that sort of feeling and I was, I was, I

had a lot of anger.

L: Where did you stay in Keene? Do you remember at all?

H: Ah, John and.....and Driesback and, there were 3 of us stayed with Womslly. Womslly at that time was still working for headquarters in New York but had a summer home just outside of Keene, somewhere in the woods somewhere. That's where we stayed that night ah with Arthur Womslly and his wife. And after the funeral we went to Mrs. Daniel's house and we had something to eat and was quite a, for a couple of hours, was a very intense kind of thing to, I remember I explained to her what had happened ah, in the jail and my conversation with John and everything was done to get him out of there but he didn't want to go and that sort of, in all her grief, she was proud of him. I mean she was devastated but she had no regret that her son had done that, which was very touching and everybody was there kind of interpreting the event and this was kind of a special moment.

L: How about Stokely?

H: Stokely was there um, some of a the SNCC workers, I mean they were really welcomed by the members of that particular community because I remember Judy Oakman's father came in and one SNCC worker didn't have decent clothes to go to a funeral and he went there and got his suit and his shirts and he kind of got things together to be very supportive of.

L: Did you ever stay in touch with Mrs. Daniel's over the years?

H: Not really except once I went back to New Hampshire, what was the reason, I can't even remember why, and at a church affairs I bumped into her and I reminded her who I was and she remembered me. So only one, only one instance I saw her.

L: Well, you know what I think would be good for us to put on film would be 2 things, when you visited Johnathan in jail and um, your impression of the jury if you wouldn't mind. I'll just turn that thing on and I'll come back and sit here and we'll just do it again but with the camera on.

H: Okay

L: And then we'll be done.

H: Great

L: I just need a light reading off your face. Let me make sure that ah, I hope that it's just the battery. Let me just aim this. I'm not going to take pictures there is not even any film, but I just want to see.....(Pause to get things ready).....I'll let you know before I do anything here.....this camera broke down on me um, in Fort Deposit of all places, and so we were in a police car ah, there's a black sheriff now in Hainville and he told us that ah, he told us that we better, that we better check in with the policeman in Hainville before we ah, in Fort Deposit. So we took his advice and he kind of took us around. Big redneck cop. I don't think that much has changed in that town (Stines laughs) I really don't. I mean I don't know it for a fact but.....(More pause).....BEEP.....Okay, if we could talk about the ah, your arrival at the jail and what ah, what you saw when you came to the jail to try to get them to accept bail and leave, just for a minute.



H: As I said, I was on my way to New Orleans and decided to stop by to see how John was doing in Selma, and I went there and I heard that he was, had been arrested with a group of SNCC workers. So I went to the jail to see him and ah, discovered that the only 2 people in that jail there, outside of the cells, were the 2 people cooking in the kitchen, and I asked them for permission to go see the prisoners and ah, the women, including Gloria House, they were downstairs in the cell and the boys, the men were upstairs. And I went there and we had a good half hour visit or more, tried to convince John and Morrisroe they should get out of here because this is not a safe place to be. Anybody could go in there and shoot them and ah, no matter what I said they decided they wanted to stay there and witness to there belief about the need for everybody's right to vote in this county and they refused to be bailed. I said goodbye to them and moved on to New Orleans and I heard about his death 2 days later.

H: Now when you went to the trial, just a minute or so about your impressions of the trials that day.

H: That morning we, we drove from Selma to the courthouse in Hainville and there was very tense atmosphere. The small court was packed with people, especially with ah, SNCC workers, and outside they had about 5 or 6 black sheriffs that had been deputized who had been deputized apparently for the occasion to keep order. Very tall black men there to keep order along the courthouse and ah, as I remember the trial was over, everything was over by 12 noon because the jury did not spend too much time to decide that Coleman was innocent and it was self defense and ah,

L: Where were the witnesses kept again?

H: All the witnesses were kept outside. They were not even allowed downstairs in the courthouse, they were kept outside and they would call their names out from the window to come in.

L: One last question and then I'll turn that off. Do you think John was a proper, adequate witness for his faith?

H: There's no doubt about it because in those days ah, some of the clergy in the south were rather timid. Some others were hostile about people coming in ah, making witness on the issue of civil rights, so I would say that John was unique in the sense that he was not even an ordained priest but a seminarian who took his religion very seriously and ah, and was aware of the fact that danger of death was there at any time. He was, he was not under illusion that it was some kind of a game and that he would get out safely. He knew that his life was in danger.

L: Well thank you. Thank you Reverend Stines.

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