

Gloria House (with Richard Morrisroe & Marc Oliver
Sullivan's House

GH: not very photogenic, I already know that, I know that already (laughs). I made a television course of 65 half hours, right, so

S: Is that right?

GH: Umhm, call that American mosaic in which we deal with the um, histories of various people of color in the United States, so I've seen myself on the tube far too much (laughs)

S: Were you with the ah,

GH: I was the instructor of record and the interviewer and you know, along with one other colleague. So.....so we have a voice level?

L: Yah

GH: Okay, we're going for it.

S: Begin the same way Gloria, tell us how you got down to Alabama

GH: Ah, well, I was in school at ah, University of California, Berkley and um, watching, I guess as the rest of the country was, all of the activities that were going on down south and um, 2 events really stayed in my memory. One was the discovery of um, Goodman, Chaney and Scroener in the Mississippi River and um, the other was the bombing of the church in Birmingham and I can remember um, going home from classes, I was in graduate school at the time, going home from classes and reading about these 2 events and in one instance they had a picture of the bodies being put into black plastic bags, Goodman, Chaney and Schroener and the policemen standing around and ah, I started to feel that um, it was more important to be down south and part of the struggle than to be in school and that was in my mind a lot of the time and ah, then I got involved in FSM, Free Speech Movement ah, at Berkely. Um, that movement was directly related to the southern movement in that Mario Savio had been down south in the summer of 64, the famous summer, and had come back and was ah, busy ah, politicizing other people about the southern movement and ah, collecting funds that could be sent south and everything and the university decided that as students, we didn't have the right to be involved in that way and certainly not to have a base, to use the campus as a base for that. And one thing led to another, we had a sit in and students were arrested and most people know the story of FSM. But it was a victory for us because we did win the right to struggle politically on campus. Anyway, in the spring following FSM, I met a group of students at San Francisco State who were conducting a book drive and they were going to go south and set up a freedom school for the summer and I thought, "Ahha, finally" you know, I have a concrete project that I can become a member of. Um, I had heard Stokely speak, I had heard Bob moses speak, they had come out to San Francisco and I had heard Mrs. Hamer speak and so I was very much impressed with their leadership and just wanting to be a part, wanting to make a contribution. So um, I got together with this group of ah, San Francisco State students ah, we collected books and we went south and we found a house right on the border

of the ah, housing project in Selma, where the West's lived and where Brown Chapel is, ah, on St. Anne's Street and that was our freedom school house and there we ah, had claases in the morning for all the children in the project area. So I met all the West kids and the Bell kids and everybody.

S: That's nice

GH: Yes, and ah, they um, my colleagues made me teach french. I couldn't for the life of me understand what use french would be to these kids in the housing projects in Selma but they insisted that I should teach french. So it turned out that the french class was the most popular one because the kids were intrigued by, you know, anyway. The first night I was there ah, we went to the mass meeting at Brown Chapel and Stokely was speaking,

S: Now when was this?

GH: This is early summer.

SL June, July

GH: June and July of 65, right at, well school had just finished at Berkley and we packed up and had gone south so it was early summer um, heard Stokely speak and afterwards we all got together and we went to the West's house as we often did, you know, drink coffee, sit around and talk about the movement and laugh and try to ah, enjoy ourselves in spite of what was going on outside around us and um, Stokely invited me to come into Lowndes County. So my summer consisted of teaching at the school in the morning and then going out to Lowndes in the afternoon and in the evening and attending the mass meetings and going out on Sunday evenings especially for the mass meetings. Um, Lowndes was ah, one of SNCCs first experiments in ah, independent politics um, many of the SNCC workers had been involved in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party effort, which had failed, as most people know, and there was a great deal of demoralization around that um, SNCC workers and the local people in Mississippi had been hoping for the support of the liberal establishment up north, the Democratic party, the UAW etc. and that support didn't come through. The people who had gone to be seated as the legitimate delegates from Mississippi were not seated and people came back with broken hearts and ah, a lot of disorientation and so, within SNCC there was a great deal of discussion about where to go next, you know, what would be the next direction and I came in at just that moment when people were talking about what's the next direction. Well, over the summer, as I said, I got to know the people in Lowndes um, I became involved in some literacy teaching in some ah, explanation of the whole concpet of independent politics. It wasn't difficult because ah, people knew there was no way they were ever going to have any kind of political life in that county as ling as things remained as they were. The problem was that the land was owned ah, for the most part, by maybe 10% of the population, whites, and ah, the other 90% of the population, blacks, owned pretty much nothing at all and worked as share croppers. So um, it was a matter of encouraging people to go ahead, register to vote, become politically active, in spite of the fact that their very livlihoods were under threat. That's basically what the work of SNCC was in Lowndes at that point. And also

explaining how county government functioned, you know, what were the roles of the different county officials etc. So I got involved with Stokely and Ruby and ah, George Green and Bob Manns, Jimmy Rogers, those were some of the people that were doing that kind of work. Well, then came the Fort Deposit demonstration.

S: Had you met Jonathan yet?

GH: Oh yes, I'd forgotten about Jon, okay, yehj, okay we're talking about Jonathan um, ah, I met Jonathan very soon after I got to Selma and ah, you know, with visiting the West's and all, of course he was there. We got to be friends very quickly and I remember one day he was visiting us at the freedom school and he discovered that I was an episcopalian and there was this great glee, you know, because immediately he, you know, he knew finally, we can go to church, we can integrate this church right. And ah, I want to try to describe the feeling you had with Jonathan. It wasn't a feeling oh, we're going to go in there and integrate this church. It was more, oh isn't this wonderful, you know, (BEEP BEEP) now we have an opportunity to take another step in the right direction. So there was a kind of joyfulness about it and um, So we decided yes, we would do that and I recall 2 visits. Once when, I think maybe it was Jonathan and myself and maybe Marc, then there was another visit when we took some of the West children with us. On both occasions, um, the ah, congregation was very, very angry with us for intruding ah, on their lovely Sunday mornings, you know, ah, after we took communion, no one else would take communion, no one else would go to the altar and when we left the um, the priest refused to shake our hands or to acknowledge our presence. So those were 2 acts that Jonathan and I were involved with almost immediately after we met each other but we continued to be in touch. I was living right there in St. Anne and he was just a step away at the Wests. And then of course we were involved in the Fort Deposit demonstration together.

S: How did he get involved in that?

GH: Well, I think probably um, just as I did. People who were going in and out of the county with Stokely and the other SNCC workers um, learned about the demonstration and those of us who were prepared to be involved went, you know, went ahead with it. Ah, all the SNCC workers didn't become involved. In fact, there were just a handful of us SNCC people who actually participated in that demonstration.

S: I'm kind of interested in what Marc was saying that the idea was for SNCC to be low profile and then particularly whites to be very low profile, so what was it that moved Jon Daniels to,....?

GH: I think Jonathan's own courage and wanting, one of the things that was very special about him was his capacity to identify with the local folk and with black people um, and to, in a way behave as if he were black. I don't know, that may be offensive to some people to think in these terms but um, that is the way he behaved ah, there was no ah, paternalism or patronizing ah, he was, you felt as if he was truly along side you, with you. A real comrade, not someone who had come in to help you do something but someone

who had placed himself all the way on your side and was moving with you into whatever you had decided to do. So I think maybe he decided he wanted to be part of that demonstration. It's true that um, Lowndes County was notoriously dangerous, I mean, everybody knew that. From the minute you said Lowndes people would say, "Oh my god!" Um, and there had been very little effort to try and organize in Lowndes since the 30s. There was movement in Lowndes in the 30s organized primarily by the communist party. But from that point on, Lowndes had been sort of, you know, no mans land in terms of organizing. So everybody knew the danger. S: I had read that ah, Fort Deposit was where they made the clubs that the Ku Klux Klan actually carried.

GH: Oh really, i didn't know that.

S: They manufactured clubs there.

GH: I didn't know that. So um, of course we went ahead with the demonstration, Jonathan and Father Morrisroe were the only,

S: Could you give us a little demonstration, a little detail on the demonstration.

GH: I can tell you what I remember of it. Some of the details have been somewhat muted over the years. But I do remember that we, we gathered somewhere um, and talked for awhile about the demonstration under a big tree somewhere. There were people from the SNCC office in Selma who did not go with us for the demonstration but who were there and took part in that discussion before hand. Then a group of us went to demonstrate at this ah, grocery store in Fort Deposit.

S: Why the grocery store?

GH: Um, my recollection is that people in the area were, felt that they were very much abused by the owner and by the way that grocery store was run and they relied it, they needed it. They needed that store and they needed to be able to shop there and I think also some of the youngsters, the teenagers, who were involved, might have even thought that they should be allowed to work, you know, in some part-time jobs or whatever in that store. But as I said, this is all very vague, you know, um, maybe Father Morrisroe can remember some more details of this. So we went there and we formed our little line in front of the store and I don't think we were demonstrating for very long before the officials showed up and we were all hauled on to this big truck that was used as a garbage truck and I can remember the stench of the truck, I can remember that there were bits of garbage still in the truck and we were taken to the county jail.

S: Was there a holding place that you went to before you,

GH: Not that I recall.

S: You went from the street to the,

GH: We went to the jail in Hayneville.

S: Okay because, what we sort of heard was that you might have been placed in this little structure that was like a one room jail for a while and then brought on to a truck.

GH: I don't remember that. It seems to me,

RM: Some may have been brought to there while others were being gathered. I have a vague recollection of that, of

being taken to someplace in Fort Deposit briefly before we were put on the truck and it may have been some of us were waiting for others.

S: Okay, good

GH: Um, there were 3 women in the group. There were quite a few local teenagers, youngsters, um, Jonathan, Father Marrisroe, ah, Stokely and Scott B. and Jimmy Rogers, who were already field secretaries who ended up in the jail, um, the 3 of us women, myself, Ruby and Joyce Bailey, who was a youngster, a very young woman at that point um, were put in the same cell together on the first floor of the jail and the men were upstairs, in various cells upstairs. We could hear them, we would sing together occasionally and carry on and make lots of noise. We were told repeatedly not to do this so we did it even more, as I recall. but the 3 women were downstairs. The jail was filthy um, there was water on the floor, stagnant water on the floor, the toilet didn't work, the sink didn't work ah, Ruby was not in very good health. It was very difficult for us to be there.

S: Did you have any communication with the males other than through singing?

GH: Just through singing and yelling,

S: No letters exchanged or,

GH: No, and after, I think a couple of days um, it was decided that Stokely and Scott B. should come out because we knew that they could earn money and raise the bail for the rest of the group. So they left. That was one of the reasons we felt very uncomfortable being quote "let out" of the jail, when they finally decided to let us out because we thought certainly Stokely or Scott B. or some other member of SNCC would have come or maybe one of the local people in the movement would have come, you know, to get us, to pick us up. And ah, when we were told we were being released on our own recognizance, we thought, this doesn't sound, this doesn't make any sense at all and we asked, "Well has bail been payed?" "No you're being released on your own, there's no bail required" and the more they talked to us the stranger it became and we really didn't want to leave the jail ah, but they forced us out of the jail, um, I'm running on so I don't know if I'm answering the questions you want. Okay, they forced us out of the jail and then we decided well we'll wait on jail property until someone shows up to pick us up or you know, we can make some sort of contact.

L: Why don't I, excuse me, should I film this part, that way we wouldn't have to ask you to do it again. We've got a couple minutes of film left, is that all right?

GH: We're doing an audio, ah, we're doing audio now

L: ????? and then we've got the video just for back up in case this thing decides to dissappoint us which I don't think it will.

MO: How about the symbolism in the trash trucks?

GH: I know, isn't that something, yeh, put us on, put us on a garbage truck.

RS: they didn't want to dirty up their cop cars

S: Did you ah, did you actually confront people other than ah, in Fort Deposit? Were there a crowd of people there or was it that you just showed up?

GH: We showed up, we did our line, as I recall we did our line there in front of the store. I think there were people coming and going, you know, in and out of the store. There might have been some angry looks or, you know,

S: No confrontations?

GH: No, there were no confrontations as I recall.

S: And then the authorities showed up and off you went.

RM: I have some recollection, you know, the voting rights act had been signed a week before that, I think the 7th of August, and there was a fair amount of unrest but there didn't seem to be any instant mechanism for implementing the act. But that was one of the ah, some of the discussion and the feeling that the younger people, that voting was not an issue for them. We still had a 21 year old requirement in order to register and that some other additional activity had to be done to keep their interest.

GH: Keep their involvement

S: Well some reports you read ah, say the Watts riots kind of created a different atmosphere in the ah,

GH: Well we were in the Lowndes, we were in the Hayneville jail when the riot took place. We heard that on the radio.

RM: Well it broke out the night before. I remember preaching the night of the 13th in a black church, a revival meeting, Jonathan somehow got me there and talking ah, to people in terms of cities and where we were going and that night I remember seeing early Watts, it may have been the first night or one of the early nights of Watts. It continued through the time we were in jail but ah, it had already occurred.

GH: I see, I didn't learn about it until we were in jail and I remember how, you know, that gave me a lot of courage, you know, I felt oh, all right, the people are struggling elsewhere. It's not only us in this lice ridden cell here.

S: Okay well, let's get back to, just want to film some details, because we get different stories and we're trying to,

GH: yes, we want to piece it together too. It's been so long.

S: So you're out of the jail and you've been,

GH: We were out of the jail and there was some discussion with the jail officials, you know, why are you releasing us, you know, is there someone here for us? Has our bail been paid? No, we're releasing you on your own recognizance.

Okay. Finally they forced us out of the jail (BEEP BEEP BEEP) and ah, we decided to wait on the jail property to see if we could make contact or if somebody would come for us or whatever and they say, "No, you can't wait here" and we're forced off the property on to the road. Um, and I think it's then that people decide oh it would be nice to go to the store and have some kind of treat. We had not, the food in the jail had been awful and um, we all start walking in the direction of the store. Um, now we had to walk about a block on this road, maybe a little more than a block, more than a city block, to get to the main road in Hayneville where the store was. So we walked a little more than a block, turned to our right and the store would have been less than a block away at that point, from the corner. And

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just as we turned that corner heading toward the store, ah, gunfire broke out and um, we all thought oh, this is it, you know they're just going to kill us, they're just going to massacre us. And um, the youngsters, the young, the kids from Lowndes just scattered. of course they knew, probably knew Hayneville better than we did. So they scattered, they disappeared and ah, um, Jonathan was shot and died almost, he must have died immediately because when we looked at him and tried to speak with him there was no response at all. Father Morrisroe was hit in the back and he continued to ask for help. I just remember moaning, his moaning and Ruby and I wandering around the road, calling, screaming, trying to get people to come and help us. Um, eventually an ambulance did come for Father Morrisroe. i don't remember who actually was responsible for calling it or getting it there um, and ah, eventually SNCC people did come to get Ruby and me and maybe Jimmy Rogers, I don't, I can't recall if Jimmy was still there. I just remember riding back into Selma with Stokely and someone else driving and Ruby and myself in the back seat sort of holding onto each other ah, and we were both traumatized by, needless to say we were both traumatized. But Ruby kept saying "It could have been me. It could have been me" And over the years I've thought about that because I've heard that people who've been in wars, you know, and lost buddies who were in the trenches with them or whatever um, have that kind of feeling. it could have been me, it could have been me and ah, that's something that they are never really able to let go of and that was the way Ruby responded to what had happened. Um, S: Then ah, how long did you stay down there after that? GH: Well, I um, several of us went up to Keene, came here to Keene for the funeral ah, there was a stop in Cambridge. We did some interviews there. I don't know if there was a service at the divinity school or not, I'm not really sure. But I know we stopped in Cambridge then to the funeral. Then we all went back to our several places. I went back to Selma to finish up what I had been doing with the freedom school and to get ready to go back to school myself, in Berkley. Um, I was a teaching assistant in the French department so I had a job to go back to as well as um, my studies. And I did that, I went back to Berkley. I was there about a week and um, i was in such anguish that I really couldn't stay. So I went in and asked the chairman if could release me from that commitment um, I either wrote or called someone in the episcopal um, organizational structure in Selma or somewhere in the south and told them I really wanted to be back in the south working and um, he arranged plane fare for me. So I came back immediately. Within a week I was back in Selma and then I went directly into Lowndes County and um, I was made a field secretary in SNCC and stayed there for 2 years.

S: So there were a lot of changes in those 2 years.

GH: Well um, a lot of, can I say I saw a lot of, I saw a lot of mobilization, organization of the local folk, yes. Um, a lot of sacrifice. Many people were thrown off the land where they were share cropping once they became involved in the movement. We set up um, tent city which was on land

owned by one of the people involved the movement, right at the corner of highway 80 and one of the county roads and ah, whites would drive by there and fire into that camp at night. So ah, there was a great deal of danger. In the freedom house at night, we didn't dare sit on the porch or have lights on because people would drive by and fire. So we would sit in the dark in the freedom house and talk and do whatever we had to do and um, and dive for the floor when they'd come by. So change, i don't know. There was a great deal of hostility on the part of the whites. They were determined not to see the change that we were proposing. We were actually, we were proposing to take over the county government. Blacks were in the majority and they certainly didn't want to see that, um,

L: Bill, there was an area I'd like to ask about.

S: Sure

L: And that is more about the trial because you were there, that would help us a lot.

GH: Okay, I'll try to remember something

L: I want to film that, get an idea of what was going on there

GH: Well um, it was very clear that um, from the beginning that ah Coleman was not going to serve any time, he was not going to be convicted. It was clear to us. Um, I remember taking the stand, I remember Ruby, Stokely, Jimmy Rogers I think, several SNCC people came back for the trial. We all testified um, there was ah, this argument had threatened Coleman's life, that he was carrying a knife and that he intended to kill ah, Coleman um. As I remember it, he wasn't even close enough to Coleman, I mean, if he had a knife or even if he wanted to hit him with his hand, he wasn't close enough really to do that and, but that was the totally absurd argument that ah, that they made. That this was Coleman firing in self defense.

L: The jury was all male, all white locals?

GH: I don't remember

RM: Well there's a picture of the jurors in the book ah,

S: There are 2 stories on the jurors, now which one is right? One is it's all white and one is there was one black who was a sort of token juror.

GH: I don't remember, I remember being in the courthouse.

RM: ???????? grand jury a year later

S: Ahha, that might be the confusion.

L: Right

RM: Here's this is the picture from the ah, book, from the memorial, when they dedicated the memorial. I think you've seen that, have you before?

GH: uhuh

RM: Ah, this is from the Montgomery memorial that was dedicated to that

GH: oh okay, no I haven't seen that

S: Well it's certainly all male

GH: Let me see

S: (Counting) maybe 10 or 11 of them.

L: There's movie footage of that as well whe they were out in front of the courthouse.

GH: Somehow, I don't know if it came out during the trial or later we found out that Coleman had been deputized, okay,

specifically for this moment.

S: Right

GH: Yeh um, What else do I remember?

S: Most of the people we interviewed,

GH: I guess the despair, the feeling of despair that no matter how, how careful we were to tell the truth and, you know, to really say what happened that things were going to go down the way they were going to go down, no matter what.

S: Do you remember specifically your reaction when the verdict, were you there when the verdict was read?

GH: No I wasn't in the courtroom when the verdict was read. But we knew, we knew from, you know, from the moment we were in the courtroom, that Coleman would,

S: Did you see Coleman?

GH: Yes, he was there, yeh, he was there

S: Do you have feelings about that or,

GH: Um.....yes I do remember feeling anger towards him ah, but mostly I felt despair that ah, this kind of thing could happen and that an out right murder could be vindicated in this way.

S: I want to ask you what I asked Marc too, what was there about Daniels that made you bond to him so well. It seems to be the case,

GH: I was trying to explain that a little bit earlier by saying that I didn't feel this was someone who had come to help us or someone who saw himself as um, you know, um, helping black folks. I felt that Jonathan saw himself as one of the oppressed and put himself on the side of the oppressed. Identified as one of the oppressed and and used all those wonderful skills that he had, his human relation skills, his extraordinary intelligence ah, in order to advance the causes that he believed in um, and he was intelligent enough that he knew how not to intimidate people with his intelligence which is a real gift. um, and he just sort of, there was a kind of easiness about him, you know and um, when he said, "Do you want to go to church and integrate the church?" I said, "Absolutely" and it was, the pact was made. it was an easy, it was a easy thing to do.

S: How unusual is that, I mean in terms of other whites coming down to the south.

GH: Oh, that was extraordinary, extraordinary to find a white who has managed to rid himself or herself of that sort of ingrain superiority. Even when they try, you know, and of course many whites try. They make a great deal of effort to kind of um, free themselves of what our whole system puts into them. But somehow or other Jonathan had done a really good job of getting rid of all that nad it's, I suppose it's kind of, it's really unususla when you think of the kind of upper middle class background and environment that he came out of.

S: That's the one that kind of puzzles us, do you have any ideas how that came about?

GH: Well I think it was spiritual, I think it was, it wasn't um, I think this was grace. This was a gift, this was a spritual gift that Jonathan had and I think it was the same gift that allowed him to move with such a lack of fear. Um, and as I was saying earlier, I think he very early must have worked through the whole question of life and death and life

after death um, because that's the only way you get to that kind of fearlessness is that at some point you know that there is life after death and um. Also he must have had some sense of calling ah, not just to be a priest but this particular calling. I think he must have had some sense of that even though he was so young.

S: I can understand the working out of death, I don't know if I understand how grace allows you to identify yourself with the oppressed.

GH: Well I meant that grace allowed him to rid himself of all of his upper middle class ah, I think that through his spiritual practice and through his spiritual discipline, he was able to see himself as human being rather than white, New Hampshire, upper middle class etc. etc. Okay? I think, I can't explain any other way how he was able to break out of all of that.

RM: Gloria, perhaps it might help, in a sense you had to work through similar types of background during your 2 years in Lowndes County, did you not in a sense of the kind of gifted background you had come from. Maybe that, I assume some of what your saying is, is your sense of your own struggle.

GH: It may have been but I think it would have been more difficult for Jonathan because even though I had been privileged in many ways, I had family still working class, still some unemployed, some you know, very much oppressed so it wasn't like I was really removed from that in the way Jonathan would have been in his childhood. But certainly having traveled abroad, having gone to Berkley, yes, I had had a lot of privileges that people in Lowndes, you know,

RM: But again, the other factor that his mother pointed out so many times to me was um...his father practiced in Keene at a time when doctors made house calls and went to people no matter how poor or weak at any time at the night, for instance, to help them have their babies and ah, and again it may have reached Jon a special degree to what he had experienced spiritually. But it was also part of his,

GH: Yes, I think that's true, but you know, we often, I mean there are many many good people in the world. There are many, many people who are able to empathize with others who are oppressed. I'm not talking about that. I'm talking about a different quality. Um, I'm talking about um, the ability to say "I am in the same place you are" which is what people felt with Jonathan. That's why you could have a picture of Jonathan sitting holding Bunny. White men didn't go into black homes and hold children, especially girl children. Do you understand what I'm saying?

L: It would have been um,

GH: There was a level of trust there ah, and certainly in the West household, that wouldn't have happened because Lonzie had his eye, you know, on everything happening there. But Jonathan had something that allowed him to win that kind of trust. He was one of that family and so um, those children could relate to him as if he were part of that family. That was really extraordinary, really extraordinary.

S: Now do you get the sense that he acquired this through

the experience in Selma or that there was something in his immediate background that,

GH: No, I think he brought that with him. I think he came to Selma with that.....

S: But he hasn't had much experience with black people per se that we know of up to this point.

GH: Right, that's why I say it's not something that was learned. I think,

L: He was dealing with a spiritual dimension,

GH: That's what I keep saying, I think it is a spiritual dimension um, maybe through his life as a discipline spiritual person ah, he was able to break through to that level of humanity, you know, where you really are not involved with this superior/inferior, black/white etc.

S: One area we haven't probed enough and I don't know how to get to it quite yet, is ah, the field work he had done previous to coming to Selma which included work with juveniles down in Providence and um, in Cambridge, Mass and ah, up in ah, upstate New York dealing with ah, psychological counseling. I don't know if that layed the groundwork or um, in some way for this kind of ability,

RM: These were programs through ETS?

S: Yeh though ETS and we haven't really found a great source on that yet. Um,

RM: Did they appear somehow on his records?

S: I've got reports that have been filed on him and by him and one gets a sense that he was picking up a new kind of social consciousness and um, sensitivity to people.

GH: So maybe there was some preparation for the Selma and Lowndes,

S: YEH, but we can't

GH: Yeh, and it's hard to know about this spiritual dimension but i really do think that's what it has to do with because it wasn't just empathy, okay, it wasn't ah, um, because there were many whites who came out of empathy, out of knowing that what was happening was wrong and wanting to do something, but couldn't shed their paternalism, could not. And in fact, that's one reason why SNCC eventually said, "No whites in black communities, you know, if you want to stay in SNCC fine, but you have to work in white communities" Because that persistent, you know, racism was there even though people were trying their damndest to get rid of it. But didn't feel that in Jonathan. It just wasn't there, it wasn't a factor.....So I don't know how he got that way (laughs).....

MO: He's a special guy

L: Can you think of anything else, anything?

GH: I didn't mention that, you said that ah, amazing changes in the 2 years, there was one thing I wanted to say. We worked hard to prepare people to run on a slate right? A slate of black candidates in the election of 66. They lost because it was so tampered with. the whites were determined they were not, but the following election year, Mr. Hewlitt was elected sheriff, you know, and several other people were elected. So eventually the fruits did come, but we didn't see them immediately.

L: I've got um, I have no more question, I just wondered if

we covered with you, thought we should have them filmed Bill. I taped, I filmed you Gloria describing when you got out of jail, I caught most of that and then part of the Fort Deposit discussion. Maybe, if you wouldn't feel uncomfortable, maybe, just with a few feet left on this role, that discussion of Jon's empathy needs to be, we can have that on the audio track but it would be nice to have an image of that, you know. If you, I'll just let it run, you can say that again.

GH: okay

L: It's always hard a second time

GH: Yeh, it is, it is. It sounds so, ah

S: There was another scene, it was so good we could have filmed it, which was when Jonathan learned you were an episcopalian, you did that with a lot of,

L: yeh, that was great, I don't know if I caught that or not. See Bill and I worked out a system of just signals and I know, you know, we know what we want on film but, there are limitations. But we've got more film.

GH: Maybe you could use the audio over just Jonathan's picture. You can use the talking about the special tract or whatever.

L: Yeh we can do that. Okay.

GH: That will save you some film and it will keep me from having to say it over again.

L: Okay well let's um,

S: Okay thanks

L: Just set that on the couch

S: It will all come together in the end

Rm: When do you want this?

(talking about background noise, tape was left on while people were talking about what they were going to do.)

End of Interview