

Jane Upnam 4/22/90

non-sync

\*=?

J.U. A group of the kids got teargassed Monday and we heard they were going to march again Tuesday so two car loads of us went down to add support.

B.S. Hmm

J.U. Got stopped by the possy in the middle of town. Spent about forty-five minutes talking to the mayor, He let us go ahead and try to find the group but there was no action. Finally found the Cambdon (\*) Academy which is a combination public/private Presbyterian Negro school...swear I've got a picture of their stove, their wood stove that they used for heating. While we were talking with the leaders of the movement there one of the girls came in crying to say that her thirteen year old brother had just been beaten up by the sheriff. A few minutes later the school grounds were surrounded by police who stayed there until after three to keep us from leaving. At the request of the kids we went back to marched with them Wednesday. The first time we marched from the school we got turned around, then John and three other seminarians went over to the Antioch Baptist Church on the other side of the courthouse and joined the group during the march from there. So that marching from the school...A second about eleven-thirty and we, we again stopped by the Mayor, Mayor, Sheriff Possy...

Gizmo!...No Scratching!

L.B. You should have been in these headphones when you yelled at the cat. I thought I was gonna go down the side of your couch.

J.U. I'm sorry

L.B. No that's alright.

J.U. I'm sorry. I'm sorry.

L.B. That's alright.

J.U. I didn't think...

B.S. That's why...\*...a cat.

L.B. I think I'll get a cup of coffee.

J.U. Yes, yes there's more.

L.B. Boy, boy you've just got pictures of the tub. (\*)

J.U. I guess. I don't have headphones on either.

A fair size group of rednecks along with three or four negroes which really burned me, stood up on the hill watching and occasionally making nasty comments. This time we didn't return to school but just

stood. Police eventually got tired of waiting around and teargassed, teargassed the lot of us. I didn't get very much since I was at the back of the line but it still wasn't particularly pleasant. Well with the church John ended up leading a march which got stopped by the mayor but had a rather successful confrontation with him which resulted in his actually looking up the statistics to tell John that there were sixty-six registered Negro voters in the county...population of Wilcox County seventy-eight percent Negro. They found out about our kids being teargassed and staged a second march in protest. And then this time they got gassed but in spite of that managed to advance a few feet rather than retreating. John picked up a couple of, a couple of teargass cans for evidence. So we've had teargass in the car ever since, also lots of crystal by the driver's seat which came off John's clothes. Thursday we drove down to Mobile to buy some clerical garb for John and met a really great southern white christian. They've really neat people there.

Oh, because we weren't sure we'd be able to get to Mobile before 5:30 and she stayed open late just for us because she knew we were coming. Friday we drove back down to \*Cantanooga march again and this time it was very peaceful and not incidence. We had parade permit, we were about 750 in a group- speeches rather dull as usual and no problems were actually solved, but the moral value was great.

One of the farmers who had a lot of negroe tenants refused to let them come so last night they started having, moving them all...yes last night they started moving them all off his property in houses in town and were trying to find other jobs for them. And as one of the negro ministers said "He the farmer has to learn that slavery is dead

in the south". He should have real problems now since none of the other negroes in the county will work for him. And white people help even if you can get it is expensive.

Spent the afternoon talking to some kids at Selm University. The girls who live in the dorm have to be in at 6:30. Imagine. Anyway.

B.S. So there was a, I had seen a reference to that, that there was a, you and John were interested in trying to get some movement going.

J.U. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.

B.S. That was an all black school

J.U. Right.

L.B. Still there.

B.S. Is it?

L.B. \*\*\* it would be in better shape.

J.U. Anyway.

B.S. Now who, who organized the uh demonstration of Cambden?

J.U. I have no idea. I would assume it was probrobly Snick or maybe it was just some of the kids in Cambden.



L.B. Hmm

J.U. And that, a lot of the places they go out,...you see they've been waiting for someone to organize them so they they organize themselves. Yeah.

L.B. \*\*\* we've got to book 'em. It doesn't have to be many particular way.

B.S. Alright.

L.B. This is ah, Reverend Judith upman, Syracuse NY. Today is the 22nd of May, 1990.

B.S. Ok great. Well if we'll just stop and run through the whole meridith and then well, see what questions come up.\*

L.B. Ok.

B.S. Now you graduated from Radcliff in 64.

J.U. Right.

B.S. Then came to the seminary.

J.U. Right.

B.S. John was in his 2cd year.

J.U. Right.

B.S. So how did you get to know John?

J.U. Uhh, first off none of us noticed him in the bookstore partly because he was always smiling and his shoes were always polished. And then he spent more time polishing his shoes than anybody I've ever seen. He says it was a leftover from VMI.

Umm firsttime we really spent time much together was, I don't remember some time in the fall- ran into him on the subway. He was just, he and Harv were coming back from fieldwork in Providence Rhode Island and I had taken a bunch of our youth group downtown for some big youth rally and- there was John and we got to talking and \* rub back, basically rub back together, walk back to the school together and I .. saw more and more of him as our paths kept crossing.

B.S. What was he like then?

J.U. Very interesting I think, umm could mever quite predict what John was gonna do and uhh. A wonderful smile and uh very funny with, he had a sort of odd sense of humor and uh, My father was involved in a, a lawsuit in Boston at that point and so, my whole family was in town when the suit went ot trial and John went out to dinner with us and back to the motel and we spent most of the evening clowning aroun telling jokes, making puns, and one point uhh John and my brother John

had cigarettes stuck in their ears..Ha Ha Ha...we had a great time!

B.S. Was he uhh, what was his politics back then?

J.U. I haven't the faintest idea. Umm I don't know that we ever exactly talked politics, we were, all of us liberal, probably registered Democrats but I wouldn't have the, I wouldn't know.

B.S. It's kind of interesting to us because his background was pretty solid Republican background.

J.U. Who knows John might have been registered Republican. I don't, I really don't know. So.

B.S. Was he involved in events of the time, pretty much unconscious of them...

J.U. On the whole yeah, there were a fair group of us who used to after dinner go downstairs and watch news, in the sort of in the lounge that we had at school that had the tv set. We also watched the world series, and uhh, anything else that people happened to be interested in.

B.S. Mmm Hmm. How about the impact of the field work and uhh did you hear much about that?

J.U. I think it was fairly strong, umm, it was an integrated parish in

a very poor neighborhood. And uhh

B.S. This is in Providence?

J.U. In Providence and I think it affected him from what I can tell.

L.B. \* Well we have some photographs of his work in D\*...

J.U. Dorchester you mean?

L.B. Dorchester, I'm sorry.

J.U. Actually I think those were pictures taken after John was killed. Yes because we met Prissilla Dollof who was the fieldwork supervisor at St. Anne's in Dorchester at the march. Spent a fair amount of time with her as a matter of fact uhh, in Selma. So when \* it got to anything about fieldwork for the following year it made sense to go and work for her. Cause obviously she was a lady who believed a lot of the things that we did and was willing to put herself on the line, but hey that that should be a good thing to be doing.

B.S. What had he been doing in the fieldwork in Providence?

J.U. I, I honestly don't know he was working, I think he was working with the youth group, teaching Sunday school, and more than that I really don't know. The person to ask would be Harv Sander.

B.S. Sanders yeah.

J.U. Yeah.

B.S. We, we got a uhh, I guess the students did evaluations of the \* fieldwork.

J.U. Yes.

B.S. And we got a little writing from Jonathon.

J.U. Oh good.

B.S. ...on his fieldwork.

J.U. Should be interesting. I think \*\*\* was director of the parish. And I think at one point he was in Selma too. Umm, but I'm not absolutely positive about that. He may or may not still be around to ask.

L.B. He's agreed to do an interview.

B.S. He's in New Hampshire.

J.U. Oh he's in New Hampshire oh maybe he's the director of \*\*\* in New Hampshire.



B.S. Right.

J.U. He's the director of, I don't remember the name of the \*\* in Providence.

B.S. What was the name of the\*\*\*\*.

J.U. I think it was the Cathedral, but I don't..

B.S. Episcopal Cathedral

J.U. Yup, yeah sorry. Ha Ha for us it's always the, the Cathedral but uhh, Ha Ha Ha.

\*\*\*\*\*

J.U. The Episcopal Cathedral. Yeah and I don't remember the name of the guy there. Don't know that I ever met her.

B.S. Umm, and other things that were just questions that come up \* that were kind of interesting, did he ever talk about his father?

J.U. Some umm mostly all I remember about his talking about his father was, a very loving, very strict person, and somebody who'd cared about other people. And I think his death was traumatic for John. That was real clear.

B.S. Yeah. The story we hear was that when he dropped out of Harvard

he was having all kinds of psychological problems one of 'em was this supposed delayed grief over his father.

J.U. That could very well be. It could very well be. John took things in very deeply, and was a very sensitive and aware person. So that he could, he knew how people were feeling and uh responded to it.

B.S. It seems like, like at VMI he would find a, a kind of father figure in some ways too, somebody that, that could fill in for his dad.

J.U. Yeah.

B.S. That's the impression we got anyway.

J.U. . Could be.

B.S. Then in 62 we have this problem and then he went to church and that just reconversion experience.

J.U. Could be, I don't honestly remember.

B.S. Don't remember much about that

J.U. Well, he, he must have said something about it but I don't remember what.

B.S. What about all this business that we get a sense of from, from the readings of uhh a kind of debate between whether your studies were to be abstract or to be in the field. The conflict between the field work approach to the ministry and then a more scourly sort of approach.

J.U. I don't know what John thought about that but I think basically I was in a sense that we were in the field, we were good that for that time that was the most important thing to be doing. Umm, John was very bright, and very intellectual, and \*\* he wrote very well. So I don't know there were times he, he thought about being act of, an act of \*dimission rather than a priest even..

B.S. umm hmm

J.U. or maybe interdission to being a priest.

B.S. Yeah I wondering because when ah, when he talks in this evaluation about the field work..

J.U. umm hmm

B.S. ..it's sort of like a, a discovery that, that here's. here's a part of the ministry that really appeals to him.

J.U. Yeah, that sounds like him, John liked being with people, he was

basically an extrovert.

B.S. Umm hmm.

J.U. In the sense that extroverts need to have people around.

B.S. Mmm, he felt he was having a kind of impact I guess

J.U. Yeah

B.S. Do you know anything about the New York ah field work when he went up to the ah, some kind of uh, mental counseling that he was doing in up stat New York.

J.U. Oh, umm clinical pastoral education, everybody had to do that, usually at the end of your ah, junior year. Which is your first year in the seminary. I think he found it, my recollection is that he found it difficult but very rewarding. \*\* you see that your making a difference in people's lives.

B.S. What would he do..\*

J.U. Well, I don't know what John did, I know what I did which was the summer of '65 in St. Louis and they weren't all that different, umm, usually had long seminar, daily hour and personal growth and umm, theological issues and psychological issues, lectures, presentations, some of them that we did ourselves. We spent a lot of time visiting

patients on the wards, talking to them and uh, trying to analyze what was going on, the kinds of interventions we made that were helpful or not helpful. You know how do you talk to somebody. And uh, I think during the course of the summer we had to write ten or twenty verbatums, just write down word for word what they said, what I said, what they said, what I said, here seem to be some key turning points in the conversation. Here's, if I'm going to do it over I wouldn't have said that, that was obviously a really dumb thing to say.

B.S. Umm hmm

J.U. Umm, and then, then you would present it to the group and the group would analyze it and say "you're right, that was an incredible dumb thing to say". Or well, "now that one, that was, that was a good point" ah

B.S. And then you, you talked to one of the uh, one of the people there about your own development?

J.U. Yes. Like people, people who do this drive me crazy, how can I handle that. Umm I don't seem to uh, I seem to be missing whenever people start talking about such and so I seem to block that out. Or I've got learn to be more, be more careful if somebody's in restraints, don't get too close. I got kicked once. \* I got too close to somebody, I should have had better sense.

B.S. Umm Hmm.



L.B. You were literally kicked.

J.U. Literally kicked, yeah.

B.S. So how close were you to Jonathon by March of that year, is that pretty..

J.U. Well that depends on, by who's standards and in what way, umm. I guess Ash Wednesday I'd decided I was in love with him and was gonna marry him. I never was 100% sure what his plans were but that's a different issue and who knows what would happen if he haddn't gotten killed umm. Maybe we might of uh really developed a much closer relationship, we might of hit it off, I don't know.

B.S. Mmm. \*\*

J.U. I was real clear that this was somebody who, who was absolutely fascinating, and I loved to be with him and do things and uh. We didn't exactly date very much, I think we went on two real live dates, open, close quote.

B.S. \*\*\* was a seminary at that time or a ? \*\* socially conscious place?

J.U. Umm, vaguely, not, not certainly not the way it is now. It's much more socially conscious, I think John and I made that difference.

\*\* Selma made that difference. Because a lot of people got involved suddenly that hadn't really been much involved before. And that involvement then spread out.

B.S. Un huhh. So when Bloody Sunday occurred, that was the, the kind of event that really..

J.U. Ahh, it shook everybody. After we, we did have, let's see our class had three black men in it. Umm, I think it was three Mark, and Rob(?) and uhh Clarence, And I'm not sure about John's class. He was a class ahead of me.

B.S. Yeah.

J.U. But mostly we were, we were white middle class folk, uhh wanted to do good works for the Lord and uhh. And not oblivious to the outside world. but you get involved in studying and depending on where your field work is and I was working at very white middle, middle upper class \*\* \*\* \*. They didn't underline the our but they did..ha ha, nobody else, just ours. Somebody said that there was not, there was not a whole lot of social conscious there.

B.S. People, people were not involved in any demonstrations up to the S\* ,,

J.U. Well you know, I don't think there and this may be my own uninvolvement, I don't think there were any. At least not in the

Boston area, that, that we could reasonably have gotten into.

B.S. Un huhh.

L.B. I think that's true

J.U. There may have been some folk who went to the Big march on \*\*  
yeah I think we were aware of the freedom riders. I was certainly  
very aware of Freedom summer of '64.

B.S. Umm hmm.

J.U. Sort of, as I recall it was sort of in '64 I was toying with  
the idea of spending the summer in Mississippi but I graduating from  
college and ah, it just didn't seem to work out and perhaps I was  
scared. Mmm humm who wouldn't be?

B.S. Right.

J.U. Sort of dumb not to be.

L.B. Ha Ha Ha

B.S. Did you have any classes with John?

J.U. No he was a year ahead of me. And so

L.B. You wouldn't overlap in classes

J.U. We didn't overlap in classes. I was taking a whole different set of stuff.

B.S. Well why don't you tel us about the uhh, Bloody Sunday and then King's address and how you found this out, heading on down there.

J.U. Oh ok. Well we had, it, this must have been on Monday, Bloody Sunday ws in my mind something that had happened but I haddn't seen the news reports. I just sort of heard about it and heard that Martin Luther King had issued a call for people to come and that some people from the seminary were going. And after supper we were planning on leaving \* the St. John's society which was the student organization, student government group. And uh I remember going back to the dorm to get my checkbook because there, I had stuff that I had to do and there was really, I didn't have time to go \* around marching in the streets.

I wasn't sure what I thought about that anyway. So I went over to watch tv and go to the meeting and with the checkbook and I remember running into somebody on my way over and they said " Hey are you gonna go"? And I said "No, I'm gonna make a contribution so other people can go. And stood there in this little room, the lounge where the tv set was watching the news, almost literally sick. And uh, I was standing next to \*Rede Nelson, a guy from North Carolina who was a good buddy and ah Rede was planning on going. And looking, and Rede just said "Oooh, do ya see that"? "Ah yeah", I said, "Doesn't that frighten you"? He said "Well yeah". And I said "And you're gonna go"?

"Well yeah", he said. And I'm \* "Oh". Now John, turned to me and said "Are you coming with us"? And instead of saying "Well now here's my check" I found myself saying "How are we getting there". Hmm Hmm Ha Ha. What? And the next thing I knew I was on the phone adding my name to the list for the plane reservation for the \*Turner flight and then wait a minute, wait a minute. I've been praying for seven weeks now God tell me what You want me to do now and I'll do it but this wasn't exactly what I had in mind. Are You sure about this? And it was very clear that I had to go. So I think, I can't remember whether I called my father either from, from school or from the airport and it maybe even was from the airport. And the first thing he said to me was "Be careful". And the second thing he said was "You know I'm so glad your going now I don't have to feel so guilty because I can't, and you can represent us all".

L.B. Mmmmmm, jeez.

J.U. Yeah well, My folks almost got tossed out of Oklahoma in the late 40's for getting involved in the Civil Rights. Umm, it, it kind of runs in the family I guess. So umm, I guess I'm about to be going through a few things in a, in a bag to carry along but we didn't think we'd be gone very long so we didn't take very much. And uh, we sort of gathered outside in the parking lot. It was about 9:00 at night and it was very dark, anyway, I don't remember what time. And uh we had a couple of van I guess that were going to drive us to the airport. There were gonig to be ten of us, from the seminary who were going.?. And uh, Bishop \*Liptonburger who was retired presiding



Bishop of the Episcopal church, he had parkinsons, could barely talk, although amazing man. He did a \* senior seminar, he got his wife to type up the questions for us to discuss, we'd discuss it and he'd go off, hold up his hand, take a book off his bookshelf, open it up, hand it to somebody and point to a paragraph to read and either it was the stuff that we had missed or it was something, the answer to our questions. And so the Bishop gave us his blessing, and we all went off to the airport, and took the plane, As I recall I ended up sitting between John on one side, Rede on the other side. And so in the middle of the night arrived in Atlanta and were bussed over to the uh SCLC office. Ended up spending the night in Martin Luther King's office. I mean his very office, not just somewhere in the building. There were pople scattered all over the building but we actually got his personal office. Ha Ha and uh, woke up the next morning, read morning prayer which, all of that stuff really came alive with uh, some of the canticles and the prayers and then we took the bus to Selma. It was all of us I think we were\* well what have we got ourselves in for here? And then arrived at Brown chapel and got out and said well now what there were hundreds of people, maybe thousands I don't know but hundreds anyway and we were told to go and get in line over there. So we did and spent hours standing around and so \* what next? And most of the time there was nothing next and so\* practically every demonstration we did was enormous amounts of waiting around, to see what next. Eventually with great exitement we realized we were marching off. We marched down to the end of the street, turned right, and walked into town. I think, I think they gave us some instructions and I'm not sure whether we got so that the duck and

cover at that point or whether that came later. It got so that it was automatic. You know any of these threatening, when somebody raised a fist to me auto\* and I found myself on the ground covered up as if- ok I'm ready. Ha Ha. Reflex. Umm. So we got somewhere fairly close to the bridge. We were way back in the line, no where near up front and uh. Then we realized there were people coming back and so we marched up to the bridge then turned, you'd see the whole column just- I think we were maybe three or four or five columns blocks long of march. And we were informed at some point or another maybe before we even got to the bridge we were turning around they don't want a, they don't want another bloody confrontation so we were going to march up to the bridge and turn around. I think maybe some of us thought well maybe just go ahead accross anyway, and said no, we're here to do what we're told. And I, and I felt that was also useful for, white folk are used to taking charge. We're not in charge here we're

B.S. umm hmm

J.U. do, we're we're soldiers, we do what we're told to do not to not go running off on our own, yet. we don't know, we don't know beans about anything. We're strangers so uh, we're here to help, not to run things.

B.S. King had already negotiated uh, not going through there I guess.

J.U. That could be. I thought they were negotiated at the bridge but

they may have negotiated it beforehand. You know we were, we were peons. jWe just said wait, wait for instructions, then, then you do what you're instructed to do, and gripe probably.

B.S. So that was the first day

J.U. That was the first day. Now that evening umm, some of the folks from the seminary went back, and I think a fair number of folk who came from a number of assorted places went back home. And we just said well, there was gonna, we were gonna try at least to march to the courthouse and uh, and then some of the details were a little fuzzy but we stayed, spent the night out on the street. And I guess, somewhere in the evening then James Rede was killed. And there was a big mass meeting at Brown Chapel, and then things began to get very sticky. \*\*\* some of us at least who hadn't left decided, this is no time to leave. You know let's stick it out and see it through. So we spent the next three or four days, I mean people were wonderful and said "You know come over to our house" and feed us, um when it got late and people really wanted to sleep, people from all over town came with quilts, blankets, whatever, which I'm sure must have gotten incredible filthy but I never heard anybody complain about it. And I don't know that anybody ever got their own blankets back I guess maybe if the brought them they got some back. And uh

L.B. Did you, did you say last night Judith that one of you looked out the window and how many white faces there were still..

J.U. Yeah but that was later

L.B. that was later.

J.U. That was later in the week. Yeah.

L.B. OK. I see. You hadn't met the \* Wests at that time?

J.U. I don't think so. The, the first family we really met was the Scotts, and uh they lived right accross the street from Brown Chapel about the second or third apartment in on the left.

B.S. \*\*\* haven't got the number\*\*

J.U. And when I, suddenly I blanked it. Umm, somewhere I've got it.

B.S. Ok

J.U. I think it was 118 actually and I think, I think the Scotts were 118, the Wests were 313.

B.S. So the first couple of days you were kind of frustrated, you didn't know what was going on..

J.U. Nnyah kind of yeah, and and\*\* I was excited. I mean it was a, incredible numbers of people from all over the place, and uhh-(cough, cough) contingent from St Louis arrived and \*\* a couple of folk that I



knew. And uh, Dr. King came and he was some ways in the distance, maybe even had a chance to shake hands with him, I'm not sure, James Pike who.. well I guess you know James Pike at one point flew in and maybe that was when we actually had permission to march at least to the courthouse. But again, I mean, talk about feeling like a peasant, he wasn't paying any attention he came with his little set of people and uh slanked in to the place and the rest of us, you know he had no right, Buddy thanks a lot. Us good soldiers wouldn't mind some, some uh attention here too but that's alright. \*Most of us had enormous amounts of coffee with evaporated milk, I think it was the first time I'd ever had coffee with evaporated milk which is much easier than cream and it lasts..

L.B. Right.

J.U. ..but tastes different. And there were always sandwiches and I think more than once I helped out with the sandwich-making crew. And so \* somebody would come around and bring us sandwiches. Tried to march out to the courthouse

B.S. My understanding was that was to protest the Rede killing

J.U. Yes. I spent a lot of time just standing out in the street in line ready to march kind of and, and then you'd get tired of standing in ah, in line and I think we kind of made the Scotts our, our headquarters. And uh as soon as we'd get tired we go over and talk to Mrs. Scott or one of the kids or just talk to anybody who was around-



you know, all sorts of fascinating people., you know where'd you come from, what brought you here, what are you doing, ahh, what are you gonna do with the rest of your life? And kids would tell us about the times they'd been thrown in jail and uh, some of the demonstrations in town, well before we got there. I mean this was not the beginning, this was somewhere in the middle

B.S. \*\*they'd been active

J.U. Yeah, they'd been working for quite some time. And I think OCLC had been active for a fair amount of time too. The story the way I hear, hear it is that uh the OCLC staff looked for the dumbest sheriff they could find, the one who was most likely to provoke a confrontation and decided that Selma was the place.

B.S. \*\*\*

J.U. \*\*\* And then well national publicity you get somebody like \*Bo Conner or James, James Clark?

B.S. \*\*

J.U. Yeah. And then uh, then came the day we, every, everyday more people left they said nothing was happening, well it's time to go home and uh, we may have thought about it a couple of times but didn't ever do it. So I called Rede Nelson, uh, got in terrible trouble with the Bishop who uh, as a Southerner was not at all happy about Rede's

becoming an outside agitator. Ha Ha. Rede later married a black woman and that really killed him off as far as \* North Carolina was concerned. Ummm where he met Lynn but, anyway so Rede went home fairly quickly because uh they were threatening to can him from the process for ordination if he didn't get his home, himself, right back to school where he belonged. So he went back. I guess somewhere along, along there we also met Prissilla Dolloff(?) who was the parish worker at St. Anne's in Dorchester, and so we spent a fair amount of time talking to her too. And then we got to march to the courthouse and that was exciting. I mean it was a nice neat march, there were indeed people lining the streets to yell and scream at us but, we didn't mind. We would go where we wanted to go for a change, and, and again, marched, marched to the courthouse, a couple of speeches, marched back. And that, that was the night that Johnson gave his speech for voting rights act, and uh we gathered,

B.S. \*\*\*

J.U. ..the famous \*rays, gathered at the uh Scott's to watch tv and some of the kids were coming back and I remember Ronny especially, sort of holding his hands out and saying "I shook hands with Sheriff Clark, he was, he was just sort of standing at the corner and I shook hands with him and thanked him for, for helping us with the march", and he says, "I don't think I'm ever gonna wash it again. It's the first time I ever shook hands with a white man, who \*?wasn't a civil rights worker". And uh, so we're listening to Johnson's speech and he says "We shall overcome" and the whole place just, just cracked up. I

mean it was amazing. Now I don't know whether it was that night cause the days all get confused or the next that we all decided alright well, we had our march to the courthouse, and it's probably time to go home. And I guess it must have been the next morning because we missed the bus. I, we had gone was it, did I go to the drugstore, John was busy talking to somebody and we missed the bus into the airport. So we stuck around, went back over to the Scotts, and by evening Mrs. Scott was, was talking about how worried she was, about what would happen when all the white folks left. And told us about one of the times that the cops had surrounded the projects and Helen, their daughter was next door, but she couldn't get out to come home, so they talked to eachother on the phone and how frightening that had been. And some of the \* demonstrations the kid had done before and some of the time they spent in jail, and uh, how bad the conditions were. And I can remember thinking this is absolutely awful, absolutely awful, how can I sit and listen to this. And then thinking to myself 'You arrogant person, if they can live through it you can certainly listen to it, so keep your mouth shut and sit here'. Which I did. And I guess we finally decided it was, \* either we went out to take a walk around or umm, we decided it was time to go to bed, or go do evening prayer which we did every night, and morning prayer every morning. And John and I got to talking, does it really make sense? When we came, however many days it was we said in essence to these peopole we are willing to lay our lives on the line for you. How can \*\* well jeez wiz uh, I've got more important stuff to do now I got to go back to school. What kind of a committment is that? And then we were talking to ?Maury Samuels who was a priest from Los



Angelos, who said basically "Go take a look outside and see how many white faces you see". And we took a look outside and said uh, "Not many are there"? And the crowds were, when there used to be, the whole street was almost always filled with people. And it wasn't anymore, and there didn't seem to be a whole lot of people around. We must have been waiting to march again to someplace because there was, I remember the barricades were still up on the street, and I don't know why they would have had barricades unless we were planning another march. I think we were still trying to march to Montgomery..

B.S. Oh yeah.

J.U. ...and we were still hanging around to see if that was still gonna happen. And so Jonathon and I sat down and talked about it some more and decided that it really didn't make sense and that we really didn't want to drop out of school, but we had to come back. So we uh, got a ride into the airport. I just found in my files, a letter from, what is it Betty Washington, a reporter from uh, I think Detroit, not free press, defender\* who rode back with us to the airport. Which I had totally forgotten until I found her letter. She was gonna write a book about John but I don't think she ever did. And uh, so we went back to the airport and started making plans for how are we going to organize this. Took the plane back, arrived in Boston, eveningish. Got to the seminary and immediately, as soon as we got in, I think we took time to shower and change clothes. We went to go see Joe Fletcher who was our ethics professor, and say Joe we have got to go backe to Selma, we would like to go back with the school's permission

and come, come back to Cambridge in June and take exams. What do we have to do to get that arranged? And he went "Why on earth do you want to do this"? And 'let's look at motives' and 'what's the point, what will you do when you get there'? And he decided that we knew what we were doing, and agreed he would help us do that and so we sat down and made a list of all the professors that had, had to be talked to. I made an appointment with the Dean, umm. And so we then I guess called our families, to tell them, to kind of clear it with them. I think I called my Bishop to tell him, he was pleased. And uh, one night maybe it was a Wednesday night, maybe we went, maybe we went back on Monday. Oh I've , I forgot the bit about the Episcopal church, do you want to hear that bit?

B.S. Yeah I was gonna ask you.

J.U. Ok, ok well we can back track I found one of the letters I wrote somebody. Evidently the, well we got to Selma on Tuesday, on Wednesday some of the Episcopalians got together and decided we should go talk to Frank Matthews who was rector of the Episcopal Church. And , ended up I think with the contingent of cameramen, newsmen coming along with us, which we were not real happy about, the same group on Sunday morning who knew, decided we were going to go to church also went with us which really annoyed me because they were just there for taking pictures. They didn't have anything to do with worship. We talked to Frank, a group of, a number of us, and somewhere I have a list if you want me to look it up, do ya? Well let me see. Which letter is that? It's one of the early ones



B.S. Now the church at that point, blacks couldn't \*\* in service is that right?

J.U. Well, basically, I'm not a hundred percent sure whether they could enter the service but I think basically not. In fact there were no black Episcopalian in town because they have been discouraged from, from coming, umm, I don't think it was a major, I haven't even ever thought about it. Our theory was that the Episcopal Church was a church with power. And uh, alright which letter is it that I've got that? Do you want to turn the tape off while I look for this?

\*\*\* credit card and said to call at least once a week, and use it for anything else, any other phone calls you want to make too.

L.B. Wow

J.U. Yeah. Right.

L.B. These people were behind your seat.

J.U. These people were behind us all the way.

L.B. \* Well there was a sense of ob, of committment and obligation to these people who were \*\*\*\*\*

B.S. \*\*\*

J.U. Yeah, yeah.

B.S. Well, we were going to get back to the Episcopal

J.U. Yeah right so early on, maybe it was Wednesday a group of us, maybe ten, fifteen went over to the Episcopal church to talk to the rector about what would happen, if, if we were still here, here on Sunday and wanted to come to church and uh, what he saw was going on in town and uh, and we just had a, a big circle with four \* Frank Matthews uh, up on the, the sort of the head spot on the circle and we really put him on the spot. And some of the guys were very pointed blunt, maybe even nasty. And he didn't see that he had much power in influence and we tried to say to him ' Look, you're the Episcopal rector, Episcopalians have power and influence that's who we are as a church, and especially in the South. And it seems to us that we ought to be using it for some kind of good. And it was a , it was a relatively cordial meeting not, not nearly as hostile as it could have been. We were told that some of the folks who went to the Baptist church we uh, were told that "This is our church and you can't come in". And uh, and to which somebody replied "Oh, I always thought it was God's church. Ha Ha Ha. But uh, so that that kind of left, after we moved back to Selma, John and I tried to make a point to try to spend about an hour or two a week with Frank Matthews. Partly talking about who in his parish we could talk to, how could we bring blacks and whites together, in just small numbers, are there, did he have any people in his congregation who are willing to sit down and, and talk

to some of the black people in town. As I recall Frank said the only black people you know he really knew were his servants, the people who worked for him. And uh, he'd be willing to do something like that. We never were actually able to pull off that kind of a meeting. But we did try very hard to do that. Umm and you've got my list of people in the congregation that we did talk to. Some of whom even invited us into their houses. A few of us would only see us in the office and some, didn't have, want to have a thing to do with us. Umm, so on the Sunday morning, it being Sunday and us being Episcopalians we were going to go to church. So we uh set off, and unfortunatley, some of the news media discovered that's where we were going and so followed along. Which I think made it very difficult, if we had just gone, it uh, they probrobly

B.S. \*\*\*\*\*

J.U. Uh yes, yes, including some black clergy. Earl Neil from Chicago, umm was there umm and I know Maury Samuels was there from L.A. Maury's white but Neil is black. And other Episcopalians, some black, some white and uh, so when we got to the door of the church the ushers stopped us, did not want to let us in. I think Frank Matthews came and talked to them. Given, the, the news media it was pretty much of a circus. And uh, we didn't look like a bunch of people coming to church, we looked like a bunch of people coming to do a demonstration, and if I'd of been a member of the congregation, I probably would have been a bit upset too. Things were bad enough as far as they were concerned without this being added to it. And as I

recall they said "Oh clergy could come to church, and the lay people, forget it". And so fortunately the clergy said, "Hunh, forget it, we're not going to be a party to that kind of a scheme". So we uh, said the general confession, knelt down on the sidewalk outside the church and prayed for a while. Then went back, then went back to uh, back to the projects and I think Maury Samuels celebrated, we had an outdoor celebration, everybody in their blue jeans. I'm not sure but what if that was the first time I saw priests celebrate in his blue jeans, maybe not but hmm. That, that was a very meaningful service. We did that on several occasions. So we got ours and then, then I think we went to services at Brown Chapel as well, a big, two very different kinds of churches. So it must have been, it must have been that night that we were talking to Mre. Scott and decided that we had to stay because \*as news that I could tell that I, that we went back to school on either Monday or Tuesday and I've forgotten which now, Monday. We went back on Monday night.

B.S. And you were staying, by the end of that were you staying with the Scotts..

J.U. Yeah we were staying with the Scotts, I think we only, I think we only really slept on the street two or three nights. And Johnny May, I guess Johnny May and Helen and I shared a bedroom and John moved in with little James, maybe, maybe John slept on the couch, I don't even remember but..

B.S. umm hmm



L.B. Now when you say sleep on the street you mean..

J.U. I mean literally sleep on the street, yeah

L.B. ...literally sleep on the street. I see.

J.U. Oh yeah, yeah people brought, brought in quilts and blankets and it was not terribly cold fortunately and it was also not raining.

L.B. It was kind of dangerous though.

J.U. Well, the barriers well the police barricades were up at either end of the street.

L.B. Oh, I see.

J.U. So the, because they were trying to keep us in and contained so that we couldn't march anywhere, or sneak out and march anywhere and umm. So we were well protected from the whites in town. And the only people we really weren't protected from were the police and they were doing their best to try and keep things as calm as they could because they didn't enjoy the notoriety any more than anyone else did. It was, it was basically like a big, like a big street fair.

L.B. This, this is right in front of Brown's Chapel on \*Elm st.



J.U. Yeah, right on that street that runs right in front of Brown's Chapel. And the projects spread for more, three or more sets of buildings on either side of it, and there, there they had the barricades. And I think you could get out of the projects by going through the first line of building and then, there was a street there. That's the street where you have the picture of John and me, lean, leaning against the car. And uh, so you could have gotten in and out that way. They may have had some sort of police \* but given Rede's experience, we weren't going out..

L.B. umm hmm

J.U. ...certainly not by ourselves. Absolutely not. And so we stayed very much within the confines of the project. And the equivilant of about four square blocks.

B.S. Ok so then you, you come back and you got permission to go down..

J.U. Yeah

B.S. Did a good job of that right?

J.U. Yeah, yeah that worked very well. Spent a lot of time talking to the professors, to the social action committee of the St. John's society which was willing to sponsor us. And John checked with his Bishop, I checked with mine, checked with our families. Connie, and I

think Mary Elizabeth came down for John's birthday party, which would have been on about the nineteenth because my recollection is that we left on the twentieth if that was a, well I know we left on Friday. And I think that was the twentieth. And it's Sunday the twentysecond was when the march actually started? Could it be?

B.S. Finished on the twentyfifth.

J.U. Yeah finished on the, yeah that sounds right about Friday.

B.S. About the twentyfirst it started.

J.U. Ok so maybe we left on the nineteenth. And the next day was John's birthday, we went, we were going off to maybe it was Kmart, or it was the equivilant, maybe it was Target. Bought umm, good hiking boots, for running shoes, uhh, collected what we needed. We left with, \*\* my volkswagon was crammed to the top. Cause we had to take the type, typewriter, we had to take school books, umm, had to take clothes, although we didn't take much in the way of clothes, we didn't need that much. Demonstrating clothes, jeans and shirts

UPHAM  
I, B

Upham, tape 1, side B: J: It was going to be Jon's birthday, and we needed something to celebrate.

Bill: Now, you werethe only two from the school.

Judy: From the school, yeah.

Bill: Fromthe school, down there.

Judy: Right.

Bill: Well, we have some pictures that maybe you can tell us about, but obviously you were, this time you were able to really see the south more, because you were driving, and--taking a plane at night, and you came across all these--examples of a real racist society.

Judy: Yeah, although almost all of the pictures of the signs were around Selma. or Montgomery, yeah. The Laundromat that's two blocks up from the project is the whites only, the black side and the white side. The highway project was between Selma and Montgomery.

BILL: Then there's asign, "Through this door walks the greatest people in the world?" We could never figure out what that one was about.

J: I think that was the laundromat. And I thinkthat was over the Whites Only sign. But I cannot remember--I'd have to look at the picture, and then it might come back. Because I recall the --our very cynical, "Ha!" reaction. (laughs)

B: Figured there was a little zing to ---somewhere, there.

J: Uh-huh.

B: In that Burning Bush essay, he talks about some of the you know, --kind of terrible --on the way downthat we --you might want to go in and get a soda, but then you'd have to go into a store that was obviously racist.

J: Yeah, somewhere, in oneof my letters,late at night, well, the first night we stopped in--at VMI, spent the night with I think one of Jon's English professors. With whom he was very close. We also stopped there and spent the night on our way home.

L: Do you remember, was it Colonel Dillard?

J: I think so,that sounds right.

L: He also talked withanother professor on his way back down but I think it was when he went back by himself.

J: That could be.

L. Colonel Roth.

J:: I don't remember for sure, but Dillard sounds right.

B: That was sort of, the kind of father figure that was kind of

Judy: Yeah.

L: I'd like to ask a question--at this point, when you stopped at VMI on the way down, this is the second time down,the first time you flew, second time you drove.

Judy: Yeah. Right.

L: Were you and Jon and Colonel Dillard all in the room talking together, about what---

J: Probably, but I don't honestly remember.

L: Be nice to get a vision of how Dillard and Jon and you responded to Jon's move down. Dillard played such a tremendous influence ---



J: My recollection was that they were relatively supportive. They fed us, gave us a bed to sleep in, especially on the way back, I think I only slept about an hour on the way back, because going back to Cambridge, I managed to to run the car off..fell asleep at the wheel and ran the car off the road (laughs), fortunately on the mountain side, not the cliff side, so, so I hit the gravel and was suddenly BOLT awake. I was taking benzadrine like crazy. Jon was sound asleep, bless his heart. Once we assessed the damage and shoved everything back, he went right back to sleep. (laughs) And I would BOLT awake the rest of the way down the hill, to say the least. This was somewhere on the Skyline Drive of Virginia. (laughs) So we stopped for coffee and then Jon drove for awhile after that! (laughs) I've always had the feeling that we were going the wrong direction.

L or B: All right.

J: Anyway, um,...

L: (Unintelligible) you stopped at V.M.I.?

J: Yeah, stopped at V.M.I. and then um, and we may even have stopped fairly early in the morning and slept, because the next stop was Atlanta, and we spent the night in Atlanta at the Canterbury House, and I have the feeling that it must have been a Saturday night. because the letter talks about Sunday morning, we went to church, as I recall we had communion in one of the living room of the Canterbury House. Jon and I were the only white faces in the entire crowd. It was neat! And uh, a circle of maybe thirty people for communion. And then we drove on into Montgomery and into Selma. In Montgomery, we saw the Klan gathering. That was very spooky! Um, coming across a bridge, I don't know what bridge it was, but there was this huge parking lot filled with pickups, cars, little kids and their white, white robes and pointy hats...their parents...I mean, this was always a family affair (laughs) waitin' to go out and yell at whoever they could! and of course, we still had the Massachusetts plates on the car, which made us a little bit anxious, because clearly we were not from around there! And um, we arrived in Selma just after the march had started out, and we just...row after row after row of people...incredibly impressive. And so we went and found, drove, drove into town. It took a little bit of doing to figure out what streets to take to get back to the projects without running into the line, and got ourselves basically settled at the Scotts'. And then the next day, drove some supplies out to the march, because they stopped every night, and only a certain number of people were allowed to camp out because that was the way the parade permit read...

Bill: Right, three hundred or something, I think...

Judy: Yeah, I don't even remember. Jon did a couple of nights of guard duty, and I think came back in the daytime,

UPHAM  
I-B

and we managed to organize the books on the closet shelf, and sort of settle in, and I guess on Tuesday, went int to the Courthouse to get Alabama plates on the car. I remember it was the following week, we went in to get Alabama plates. I had forgotten just a little, it seemed a lot safer that way.

Bill: That was after the Liuzzo killings...

Judy: Well, I'm not sure it wasn't before, because, uh, Liuzzo was killed at the end of the march...

Bill: The twenty-fifth...

Judy: Yeah. And I honestly don't remember if we had gotten around to getting the Alabama plates. I think it was after she was killed that we got the Alabama plates, so it would have been after the march rather than immediately after we moved in. Somewhere we could reconstruct it from the letters...um, I spent, again, a fair amount of time hanging around, making sandwiches, talking to people, and uh, generally settling in, and I joined the march by the time they got to the edge of Montgomery, I mean the night before the, the triumphal entry. They had incredible entertainment, camped on the grounds of some school or another, and I, it's probably, it's probably in the records somewhere and I don't even remember. By then, it was raining (laughs) because I remeber getting wet and spending an enormous amount of time sort of hanging around. We were talking to all sorts of people, and a group from the seminary came down. We connected up with them, Harvey Guthrie, and I don't remember for sure who all else, and uh, a group from St. Louis, and uh, the morning the march...again, we spent a long time hanging around before it was time to move. The entertainment was gone, we could just hang around and find a bathroom that the line wasn't too long if you could afford to wait....And it was kind of like all, all the pictures you see in the old movies of the troops marching into Paris...

Bill: Um-hum...

Judy:...the liberation of Paris, I mean, just people lining the streets all over, a lot of cheering, some people joining the march as we came by, and got into downtown maybe three or four blocks from the capitol building. My brother and Jon popped out of the crowd...

Bill: Oh, great!

Judy: Well, I knew he was coming, and we hadn't figured out how on earth we were going to connect up, but uh, I guess he had just been watching until he saw us in the march, and popped out of the crowd, and there (ha ha) there he was! Sat and listened to the speeches and we made, we made a couple of trips to ferry people back and forth. I guess I must have driven my car into uh, wherever the campsite was the night before the march.

Bill: Five miles outside?

Judy: Something like that. Something like that... 'cause once the march was over with, they had to trudge all the way back to the car, I remember ending up in some dinky little



restaurant somewhere, sort of a diner...I swear we were talking to Will Campbell, who is a fairly famous Southern writer who's done a lot of stuff, including "My Brother, the Dragonfly," and some other good, good books. It must have been Jon, Jon and my brother John and the three of us and Will Campbell, sitting around this table talking, and we were waiting for some of the crowd, I guess, to die out, to drive back, so we hung around, uh, to say goodbye to the folk from the seminary, and other people, and ended up, I think we made...a couple of trips back. I think John, my brother John and I stayed in Selma once we got bacck and Jon drove back and forth a couple of times to pick people up and carry 'em back home.

Bill: Just like the...

Judy: Just like the (unintelligible)..that's right! That's right.

Bill: Hum...

Judy: And which again was another, another great shock. I think we all went around kind of stunned for awhile, but I do think that's when we went to get Alabama plates for the car. And my brother John didn't stay very long. We drove him from Montgomery into the airport the next day or so. then we started a round of...spent a lot of time talking to people, um, there was a real let-down after the triumph, and Martin Luther King's speech was magnificent! And, it was kind of hard to hear, we were far enough back, which was the other thing...hundreds of thousands of people, it seemed like, it probably wasn't, but anyway, we just sort of hung around and got to know the kids, talked to them about school, and the importance of education, uh, tried to do...

Bill: Were the Scotts...

Judy: Yeah, we were still with the Scotts'. I think we with the Scotts for a couple of weeks until we got the Alabama plates, and then we gave her address as our address and somewhere said in a letter to somebody, "It only cost us \$3.75 'cause we had the bill approved in Massachusetts - tax was already paid, so we didn't have to pay that on it. I don't think it was very clear to whoever at the courthouse exactly who we were or what we were doing and why we were there, so they sent word to the project manager, "They better get these white folk out." And he sent word then to Mrs. Scott that she had better get rid of us, or she was going to be in trouble and he was going to be in trouble, and he didn't want that. And that's when we moved out with Cheryl Williams. I found her last name in a letter somewhere, and her aunt.

Bill: This was out in the country? (???)

Judy: Not ????? on the edge of town.

Bill: ?????

Judy: They didn't live in the projects. They had, they owned their own home. I don't think that Bea rented; I think that she owned the house outright, so that they couldn't touch her.

Bill: Oh.

Judy: So she was a safe place for us to stay. And we conferred with Frank Matthews again, the rector of the Episcopal church and started making our list of people in town that we would like to go and talk to and try to bring some groups of blacks and whites together and just got to know people generally around the projects and the people who were the SCLC and SNCC kids who were in charge of whatever was going on. And it's hard to distinguish one day from another...

Bill: Um...

Judy: um...

Bill: Eventually you got to Camden?

Judy: Yeah, eventually we got to Camden, I think that was after we already moved out with Bea and Cheryl. Got to the demonstrations in Camden, which was very interesting. The letter tells more than I actually remember about the ...going to meet with the kids at the Camden Academy (coughs) and having one more ??? in which we got tear-gassed, and then another march and carried the...and I clearly remember tossing the tear-gas cannisters in the trunk of the car, which, since it was a Volkswagen, meant that we kept blowing tear-gas, leftover tear-gas crystals into the car (laughs) and decided that was pretty dumb, so we dropped them in the well in the back (chuckles) instead.

Bill: They were demonstrating what? What was the demonstration about in Camden?

Judy: I don't know. (laughs) See, that's another thing about being a foot soldier, um,

Bill: (Unintelligible)

Judy: Somebody says, "We need some help, there's a demonstration in Camden, we need some help, would you, um, would you come and help us?" and we said, "Yes!" Again, our job was to provide white faces where white faces were needed. I guess the day after the first demonstration in Camden that didn't work very well, we drove down to Mobile to get a clerical collar for Jon, so that he would look "clergy-ish" as a seminarian, um, nobody could tell ???it was a religious figure. I mean, that was the other thing we were really trying to do was say that "We're here because God cares about you! And we care about you because God cares about you." And for us, that was an important part of the witness.

Bill: Um, hum...So that's why he...

Judy: tha'ts why the collar

Bill: He insisted wearing a collar?

Judy: Yes. Yeah. Right. It did, it was sort of a symbolic presence of God among us.

Bill: Yeah. Now why...you had a comment, "You were the white faces when they needed white faces," now why was that?

Judy: Yeah. Well, because given the way society is, how many black people got killed that nobody ever gave a damn about?

Bill: Uh huh...

Judy: You know, you start putting white faces in a crowd of



blacks, the other whites have to stop and pay some attention. And when these are outsiders, if we really do anything to them, it causes bad press. Um, we have to consider them, they have to consider the possibility of the national media getting involved again and making them look bad again, and it's also ???these are not people that you can totally ignore, because there are other people who care about them, and we're here to tell you there are other people who care about what happens in your town.

Bill: Had anybody heard much of Jimmie Lee Jackson, who was killed in late February?

Judy: Yes. and his death...

Bill: A good example...

Judy: Right. And his death was ignored.

Bill: Yeah, it was ignored.

Judy: And he still tends to get ignored, unfortunately, but um, but that again was another reason that white faces were useful. We've got witnesses as to what would have happened in the concentration camps in Germany if there had been somebody to say, "This is what's happening." Which I guess is another reason to write all the letters is, "This is what's happening. It is not forgotten."

Bill: 'Cause that kind of idea and action come out of any theological position by Harper (?) or where does that come from?

Jedy: Well, for me it comes from practically my whole life. My parents were like that, too. You didn't get around...they were not racists, despite being born in Oklahoma and lived in Oklahoma most of their lives until 1954, but uh, '52. But they were not...racism was something very foreign. I knew it existed, and given the fact that I'm white, obviously have some racist tendencies that are just so ingrained that I don't even recognize them.

Bill: No, we don't...

Judy: Yeah. I have a couple of people in my congregation who help keep an eye on me, in a sense who say, "Wait a minute. if you're planning to do this, this has the appearance of racism," and I have to stop a minute and say "Oh, you're right. Totally unintended, but you're right." Or, somebody would say, "did you realize what you just said?" I do now, thank you" So, we all had these blind spots, that we don't recognize; I think at the age of twenty-two, I didn't recognize them as much, but (laughs) even when we tried to be careful, you know, we were not there to run things. We were there to do what we were asked to do. By somebody else, --black--who was in charge. And we were not in charge. We felt free to make suggestions.

B: I guess, to me, the word witness is kind of new, that's one of the things we discovered in doing this, I don't know about Larry, but I just don't have an idea of whether that's purely a theological term, or--

Judy: Well, it's also a legal term.

B: A legal term.

Judy: You know, I mean, who is it that testifies on the stand? That's a witness. So I guess what we meant witness both in the legal and the religious sense of it. We'd go home and give our testimony, which is in some senses, a legal--this is what I saw, this is what happened, but it's also a testimonial-- I testify, now here is how God is at work, in the world. One of the few times in my life I've been absolutely clear that I was doing what God intended me to do.

L: I have an idea.

J: Yeah.

L: Why don't we treat you to lunch someplace.

Judy: You getting hungry?

L: Yeah.

Judy: All right. (laughs)

L: You mind?

J: No. (tape ends for lunch)

L: Just let me know if you're going to yell at your cat again, OK?

J: The cats are all out, so, maybe they'll stay all out. (laughs) I didn't--

L: That's all right. I got over it.

J: That's good. Now, you're permanently deafened.

L: OK, continuing here.

Judy: OK: Sure everything's coming through ok?

L: Yeah, seems to be.

J: All right.

L

B: Judith Upham interview, part 2. Can you hear all right?

L: Yep.

L

B: OK. I want to go back and ask you one thing about the second time down. We didn't quite get it on the tape. When you were traveling down, and you came across some of these segregated stores?

J: I only remember one, for sure, we didn't stop much, having stopped at VMI and having spent (forgot earrings! hmm!) having spent the night at the chaplaincy at ah, in Atlanta, and I've forgotten--where, for sure, which university, Emory, maybe. I don't even remember. Cause it was all black. Um, I remember it was on our way in to Atlanta, fairly late-- Jon was going to get a cup of coffee, and I was just going to stay in the car, and, as I recall, the sign was something like -- "All Monies Collected, Goes to support the Klan." So we just walked out, didn't buy coffee, and we kept looking over our shoulders, as we drove, wearing Massachusetts plates, and the fact that we clearly didn't belong around there. And then, once we got sort of settled in, as we came across interesting signs, like that wonderful one, "Paid for with Your Taxes," only it's 90% Federal money. Had to take a picture of that, and some around the Capitol in Montgomery, and I think it was the laundromat.

B: So White Only was the laundromat?



J: Yes. And then next door was the door for the blacks only. I can't remember whether they had separate washing machines as well. I think they did. Basically, it was two right next --in the same building, which is--this is the black side, and that was the white side. Strange.

B: And we talked about Camden, and I guess we should get into the details of what you did next about integrating St. Paul's.

Judy: Oh; well, we kept on going to church, and always took some of the kids from the projects with us. And they seemed to really like it. And, they had morning prayer fairly often. The times we went, that they were having communion, they made sure they seated us in the very back row. So that, all the whites were seated before black lips touched the cup. (laughs) Although, interesting, one usher, I've forgotten, was it the eight o'clock service? on Easter? Or maybe it was Palm Sunday. The usher sort of leads up each row at a time, and, and I asked-- customarily, the way you tell when you're through serving communion, everybody is--and the ushers are the last to receive--I remember asking the usher, "Do you want to receive first?" And he said, "No." Well, good for him; good for him. The letter--I found that piece in, I think that was Mike Hoke. Who might be somebody you might want to look up. And I don't remember-- he was fairly nice, as I recall. The-- we did have a problem with Easter Sunday. We went to the early service and we were ordered politely (voice dripping with sarcasm here) not to come back for the late service. And we said, "Thank you, we didn't plan to anyway." So, in fact, I think we'd been over the week --at some point, the week before to assure Frank that we were not coming for Easter Sunday. Went to St. Elizabeth's to worship for Easter. But we did go to the--as I said, we went to St. Paul's for the early service, we were kneeling there, they have around their altar, "He is Not Here, For He Has Risen," and I just sort of said, "Well, strike the last three words, and they're absolutely right." "He is not here." (laughs). But reading over the letters, people were nicer to us than I had remembered. I also remember being called names, and spit at a few times. So we got a very mixed reception from the congregation; some were just horrified, and others, sort of wished we'd go away and leave them alone, but-- they weren't that terrible, and a few were even really nice to us, and rather cordial. So-- but they felt very helpless.

B: Eventually you had to--what was the dispute that led you to the Bishop and the--

Judy: I don't even remember; I'd have to find a copy of the letters. I think it was when people spit at us and called the kids "God damned scum." And--

B: Didn't you write a letter protesting --maybe I can jog your memory, if I remember right-- that, it had to do with --the letter protested the policy of having the blacks sit in the back of St. Paul's--

Judy: That could be.

B: Like they were in the back of the bus, that's the irony.



Judy: I think that's probably very true. That, having gotten our foot in the door, we wanted farther than just in the door, thank you. I remember talking to Bishop Carpenter, and, he was Bishop of the Diocese, and, he was going on about how he was caught in the middle, and he didn't want to change things too fast, and so forth, and so on. And I remember George Murray, who was the suffragan bishop at that point, maybe co-adjutor, anyway, he was an assistant bishop; coming up to the school to speak at some point after Jon died, about how he'd gotten battered from both sides, --thinking, I may even have pointed out to him, I know I pointed it out to a couple of fellow students--that if you're going to get beat up, you might as well get beat up for doing the right thing. And if he'd make a stand, even a racist stand, rather than this waffling in the middle, at least he had some support on one side, as it was, he was making enemies of both sides, because he was too liberal, for the conservatives, and for people like me, I mean, he wasn't much better than a racist. He tried hard; maybe if I had been a bishop, I might understand his position better, but, we didn't take it --I don't want to say we didn't take it real seriously, because we did, but it wasn't -- "You rotten bastard, we hate you!" kind of thing. It was almost funny. And sort of like, "look, maybe you have to take that stand, but we also have to be public about the fact that we don't approve of it." LAnd you don't necessarily even have to take it personally. We had a good time marching around outside the Bishop's office with our picket signs, and--we really didn't expect to get much of anyplace, with him. But we just really felt we had to do that. I mean, this is our church. And we're part of your family, and you gotta treat us like part of the family.

B: How did you feel, as seminary students, taking on a bishop?

J: I don't think we were afraid of anybody, at that point. It helps to be righteous. Maybe righteous in quotation marks. Oh, kGod, we were so young. (laughs) You know, I still take on the bishop every once in a while, and he takes me on. I'm a lot less wild-eyed, ranting and raving about it. But people disagree, and I remember when the presiding bishop, John Allen, the one before the one we've got now, was coming here for the 150th anniversary celebration for one of our parishes-- Jack Allen did not believe in the ordination of women. But I was a member of the cloister, and I was going to become a celebrant, and we're very clear in Grace Church that if he had a problem with that, and wanted to say I couldn't do it, rather than go to the service, we'd be perfectly willing to stand outside and picket. And it was, you know, he was very amicable about it, on the outside, I don't know what he felt on the inside. And I made sure that he distributed the bread, I distributed the wine, right next to him, right after him. "It wasn't that hard, was it?" (laughs) And I remember the bishop dragging me over, "Come on, meet the presiding bishop," and



I, "I don't want to do that, " he says, "come on," "Bishop Allen, this is the Reverend Judith Upham, she's the rector of Grace Episcopal Church. " Stuff it in your ear, buddy! (laughs) So, ah, they haven't changed that much since I was so young! He's the guy who's in charge, and if you want to get something done, you go to the people in charge and say, "Look, this is the right thing to do, so do it." And your bishops and bishopesses are supposed to do the right thing.

Bill: /Bill Wolf (?) when I was talking to him, there, he said that a few weeks before that, he couldn't quite place it, he said he had had a dispute with Jonathan, because Jonathan supported the need to do what the bishop says: this was before he went down to Selma.

Judy: (laughs) That's interesting. I hadn't heard about that, but yeah, that makes sense, John and Jon had very Catholic tendencies, and ah, I agree with that, we do pledge obedience to bishop, and on the whole if the bishop says to do something I do it. But I also use my judgment, and if I think the bishop is dead wrong, I don't; and frankly I'm going to tell him, I think that's a bad decision. Which of course, bishops don't usually like to hear, and, they're like the rest of us, I don't like to hear I've made a bad decision either. But yeah, well? circumstances change what seems to be right. That's funny (laughs) I believe it.

B: Kind of interesting.

J. Yeah.

B: The other thing I was going to ask you; during all this, Jon had feelings of really, initially, I guess, from his readings of really beginning to dislike white southerners.

J: Oh, yes.

B: At one point he said he was ready to take to the hills and get a rifle, and--

Judy: I believe that.

Bill: And then he kind of moved to a position where, I guess, from again, just reading his writings, where he felt kind of empathy with the southerners. So I'm wondering how that works. Did that work the same way with you, as with Jon, or---?

Judy: Well, it could be, or around it--part of it depends on how tired you are and what kind of mood you're in, and who's yelled at you that day. I remember one day coming back --it was very early on--from a demonstration, and we had some black folk in the car, and us, just up the street from the projects was a white family, and a mother, grandmother, and little kid, maybe 3 or 4, and as we drove by, I could see the mother shoving this kid to the edge of the porch, to spit at our car. And I think, my God, when you've been trained from the age of two or three, as tiny as you can, it's very hard to believe anything different. And when you drive around Selma, and look downtown at the black section of downtown, mostly what you see is drunks on the street. And the only other black people you see are your maids, the guy who mows your lawn, --you can understand some of that



prejudice, because they don't know people, they don't sit and talk to them,, eat with them, joke with them, they see the bums, and servants whom they don't treat as people. Or, who are an exception-- "Well, our Annie, is wonderful, but she's not like the rest." And so you can begin to understand and many of the people we talked to, in fact most of the people we talked to really felt very caught in the middle. They were not your typical rednecks. They were people who really wanted to do the right thing--weren't sure what it was--and had all the outsiders tell them that they were doing the wrong thing, and I can understand their resenting that. "But what do you know about it? You don't live here!" That's a good point. Sometimes it takes an outsider to see clearly. ??? When I had new people come to church, I asked them sometimes, "What is your impression?" We think of ourselves as a friendly parish, but we all know each other, and if you come in from the outside, do we seem friendly to anybody else? and I realize, looking at other churches, sometimes our signs are terrible. Somebody comes in, they don't know where to go. we know, so why bother to put a sign up.

Bill: Right, right.

Judy: Well, it's the same kind of thing, but I also turned down a job in Arkansas once, because when I went for the interview, I went into the motel dining room for breakfast before I had the interviews, and just listened to people around talking--I literally couldn't stand it--the accent--they sounded like such terrible rednecks, and so did the people I met at the college and they were delightful, very nice people, but I had to work so hard to get past the accent. And so there's my prejudice...and it's hard not to hate some of them. And it's hard not to assume that everybody isn't as rotten as Tom Coleman. And he may be wonderful to his children, but ??? he's the kind of man that kicks his dog every day! (laughs)

Bill: And there's that bit where Jonathan says, you know, he was proud to be called a white nigger, then when you were heading on back to Cambridge for graduation and finals, he repeats you were tempted to take off the Alabama plates.

Judy: That's right!

Bill: But he wouldn't do it.

Judy: well, I mean, people would look at us and think, you know, there's some more of those damn Southern rednecks that were white, and so how's anybody else going to know that's what the outside looks like? Because you really have to get past the outside to look at the inside, and that's not always easy.

Bill: Have you--did an event take place at graduation where there was a Southern couple of parents from the South and they kind of left on the outside and Jonathan went over and sat next to them?

Judy: I don't know. See, I wasn't there for graduation.

Bill: Oh, you weren't there?

Judy: I had already--I took exams and then I flew to St. Louis to do CPE for the summer, and I had to report before graduation, so I didn't stay. it would seem likely that that happened.

Bill: Yes, that's what we heard.

Judy: It seemed likely.

Bill: Well, how would you kind of describe the change, maybe, that took place in you and Jonathan because you spent, you decided to spend April and May in that area and come back in mid-May or so? What sort of changes do you think transpired in you and Jonathan?

Judy: ???became a lot clearer on his theology, in terms of, under the current phrases "preferential options for the poor," that God does love the downtrodden and the oppressed and the...we need to...and I think we learned, I think we began to learn to distinguish that all black people are not wonderful saints. There were really some blacks we didn't like, which to me says, "Okay, we're getting past prejudice and just again looking at the outside and beginning to see people more for who they were, um, we also became more aware of our own sins and our own prejudices, and "Dose he look like he's a safe person or not?" Well, you can't tell from the outside. Sometimes ???some signs that are pretty clear, but others, um, who knows? I lost twenty pounds (laughs) dieting probably would have been easier! (laughs)

Larry: What was it you were going to St. Louis to do, Judith?

Judy: Clinical...CPE...Clinical Pasotral Education. I worked for the summer at St. Louis State Hospital.

Larry: Was that related to the work in Dorchester and Providence and...

Judy: Well, sort of, yeah, um, ...Usually the end of your first year in seminary you spend the summer in a program that's designed to teach you how to reflect on the mission that you're doing.

Larry: I see.

Judy: And so, as I say, I worked at the State Hospital and we spent the morning in lectures and discussion groups--did some psychodrama, presented, did some reading, presented papers, um, afternoons we spent with patients and at least twelve of fif...or twenty conversations we had with patients be typed up and then presented in the group.

Larry: Bill, did you ask this already, when you left for St. Louis in June or July?

Judy: Oh, June. Yeah, 'cause I started fairly early June, and i don't remember the exact date, but...

Larry: so you made two trips to Selma? One in March and then another to stay for the rest of the, uh, he went back to Cambridge to get ??? to go back?

Judy: Yeah, yeah, and so we took all our books and stuff, and then we had to go back to Cambridge to take final exams, mid-terms we took in Selma. they just mailed the exams down, we filled them out, took them, mailed them back. i mailed back an Old Testament paper every week, um, and I did



two or three papers for another course. I don't remember the course, and dropped one course because I couldn't begin to keep up with the reading.

Larry: So the last time you saw Jonathan, you had lent him your Volkswagen, flew to St. Louis, he took the Volkswagen, and went back to...

Judy: Well, no, he kept the car. He um, stayed for graduation, then was on the staff of the diocesan of New Hampshire Youth Conference, then drove to St. Louis, spent a couple of days in St. Louis, went to see Mary Poppins, which was a big movie in those days, sat around the pool, swimming, caught up on his news and mine, and then he went on down to Selma.

Larry: From St. Louis he did not return to Keene? He went?

Judy: Not then, no. That's right.

Larry: Did he go back, after that trip did he return to Keene at all?

Judy: Not that I know of.

Larry: No, that was...

Judy: I don't think so.

Larry: And that would have been at the end of June, early July?

Judy: Probably mid-June. I probably got a calendar somewhere to check. I don't remember.

Bill: Yeah, at least he showed up in Selma around June 30th.

Judy: That sounds about right, near the end of June.

Larry: Yeah. So we've got the chronology kind of worked out pretty much.

Bill: Pretty much. And when was that when you left???when you actually left Selma? In May?

Judy: Sometime in May, and I can't remember the date on that, either. Um, maybe it's in some letters. Somebody at the school would know when exams started, um, and that would probably tell us something. Oh, here's the (laughs) the original typed script of the paper, which probably ought to go in somebody's archives at some point or another.

Larry: (Can't hear) copy from the black belt???

Judy: Yeah.

Larry: Would it be with Jonathan's notes?

Judy: No, that's the text. I typed, Jon talked, and some of the paragraphs I wrote and some of them he wrote, but I couldn't begin to tell you which ones, who did what.

Larry: You know, what's interesting is the omissions here as well.

Judy: Anyway, so we went back late May, sometime or another. I honestly can't remember exactly when. I was in St. Louis by the fourteenth of June,

Bill: there are a lot of things we want to ask you about...what about the question of safety ??? How did you deal with that?

Judy: Uhhh...we were careful.

Bill; (Untelligible)

Judy: Well, let's see. First place, my dad's a lawyer, so

he pointed out the dangers of being picked up on a morals charge. So we were very careful about when and where we were alone together, um, we just watched where we went, um, watched the cars following us, which we usually had somebody following us--didn't drive off--stuck mostly to the main roads unless we knew exactly where we were going and were going with people, and tried to do most of our traveling around in the daylight.

Bill: Kind of tough avoiding anybody in a Volkswagen bug, I bet.

Judy: Well, it's a zippy little thing, and if somebody came out, if somebody really came after us in a big powerful car, um, sure, we'd been had. A couple of times we got stopped and were worried, but...always had been very, very polite, especially when you're by yourself, you don't, um, you don't try and precipitate confrontations. You only have a confrontation if you got a lot of people on your side! (laughs) And basically we were saying, "Okay, if that's what it costs to be here, that's what it costs!"

Bill: Jonathan was stopped one time, and some guy called him "scum" or something?

Judy: Probably.

Bill: Yeah. You weren't there when that, when that happened?

Judy: Well, uh, the one that's in the um, in the paper, yes. in fact, I think we were just coming out of Judge Reynolds' office, and ??? "Goddamn scum!" And he says, "Oh, yeah, well, too bad." (laughs) And we continued on our way.

Larry: So, after the march was finally completed from Selma to Montgomery, and many people went home,...

Judy: Um-hum...

Larry: ...they probably left because they didn't, some of them went back to other lives, or they might have...

Judy: Well, yeah.

Larry: Or they might have lacked a sense of....What kept..What was the sense of purpose that kept you and Jon there? Because you must have been like ten percent of who came down who stayed--maybe fewer!

Judy: Oh, probably a lot fewer. I mean, they couldn't, for one thing, the community couldn't have supported that many extra people. Maury (?) Samuel stayed on for a few weeks, um, I can't remember when Maury left, and there were a few other outsiders that had stayed on, but not many. There weren't, there wasn't room...

Larry: I see.

Judy: Really, when you come right down to it, for people, I mean, where would you live? There were only so many families who had room enough, and willing enough to take in people.

Larry: So the organization which uh, established the Selma to Montgomery march, continued in some form even after the march was completed, but went on to other tasks?

Judy: Right. Yeah, and as I said, there were some SCLC and some SNCC people around, and we did, we worked through them



when it seemed appropriate. Certainly at demonstrations we worked through them, um, and we did, there was some relief work. People were sending clothes and food and things like that, and we helped do some of that distribution, and uh, we just kind of made ourselves useful, whatever there was, we did three or four days of traveling around, taking pictures of shacks, talking to people, um, "This is what it looks like out in the woods, folks, or right on the edge of town."

Larry: The idea of witnessing again, in a sense?

Judy: Yeah, basically. We were there, and this is what it was like. Here's what seems to be going on.

Bill: Take those pictures definitely with an audience in mind?

Judy: Yeah.

Bill: Pretty much? Yeah.

Judy: Not with any specific audience, but with the idea that people need to understand that most people have an outhouse, unless you live in town, you have an outhouse, that's it. And a lot of them don't have meat to eat around here, 'cause they can't afford it. And uh, that's the reason i lost twenty pounds!

Bill: ??? did people react to whites coming around? ??? fom talking?

Judy: Most of them were uneasy, I guess. Some ??? were very glad to see us, but most people sort of "What do you want? Who are you? What are you doing here? And so we'd tell them and they'd say, "Oh, okay, ???here, take a picture of the hole over here. The landlord hasn't fixed that forever!"

Bill or Larry: (laughs)

Judy: And some would say, "Get out!" We'd say, "Okay!" And we left. No, we weren't trying to impose ourselves on anybody. I think we usually had some of the kids with us. Or at least sometimes had some of the kids with us.

bill: Well, maybe you could tell us something about living with the West family, too, how that affected you? What you did? The kind of impact on you.

Judy: Well, mostly we sat around and talked, um, there were a lot of people in and out of the house all the time because that became sort of a headquarters, and uh, visiting dignitaries popped in, we'd sit around and talk, but spend a lot of time playing with the kids. The kids all loved Jon, and he loved the kids. He was really good with the kids. And we'd just sit out and uh, play games with the kids, out in the projects, or sit around the house and talk, um, maybe help with schoolwork, um, we were really encouraging some of the high school kids to apply for college. I remember...(TAPE ENDS)

END TAPE I, SIDE B.

Tape 2, side A.

L: Test, test. We're alive. Alive and running. Take 2.

B: So that's what we're pursuing there. It's kind of interesting, you're saying what you learned was to discriminate. And Father Ouellet almost --

L: By discriminate you mean--

Judy: Make distinctions, yeah. Yeah, rather than seeing people as a class; some of that may have come from my family, as well, who tended not to, not so much to see people as aggregates, but as individuals.

B: That's kind of interesting, I think. Um, something just went through my head--

L: I'm sure we're going to think of a lot of questions afterwards.

J: Well, there's always the telephone.

L: I have a question about the children; we can get back to it, though. I want to ask, I keep thinking about Selma, Lord, Selma, and I got the impression from Sikora's book that it was almost a children's crusade, I mean---

Judy: In a lot of ways, that's true.

L: It seems to me that--

B: They were ahead of the parents.

L: Right. The parents. They didn't jump into it till later, so, when you moved into the West house, did you get that sense that the parents were uneasy, or were they already at that point had kind of gotten in with the kids?

J: Well, Alice and Lonzy were definitely behind the kids by then, ah, Rosa Scott was a little bit more uneasy, um-- I think the Bell parents across the street were even more uneasy. And most of the parents were real clear that it was their kids that dragged them into it. There's nothing like seeing your middle school, high school kid thrown into jail to decide, "Well, if the kids can do it, I certainly out to be doing something." And the kids were real clear, and I remember Ronnie saying at one point, "I've got nothing to lose, I'm not going to live my whole life like this. And I'd rather be dead than live like this my whole life, I'm not gonna do it!" The kids had a sense of, anything is possible, and I'm not gonna have the kind of life my parents had. And it's worth whatever I can do to change--things have got to be changed. And kids are also innocent enough that they don't quite understand the realities --that in fact, you can get yourself killed this way; I mean, all kids think they are immortal. So--

L: Did Jonathan think he was immortal?

J: No, I think Jon thought he was going to die.

L: You're not the first person who said that to us.

Judy: Yeah; um, after ---after the funeral, I think, I can't remember whether I got it--whether it was it the stuff at Connie's, or whether it was in the stuff um, from the seminary when I was helping cleaning that out. There were three or four sermons he had written for a homiletics course, and I wish I could find them-- if I can find them I'll send them off. A little black notebook. Almost all of them dealing with death in one way or another.



L: I mean, Martin Luther King thought he was going to die.  
Malcolm X thought he was going to die.

J: Well, they were right.

L: I mean--

B: When you put yourself in those situations, odds are, you know---they are getting smaller, at least, that you are going to die. J: Well, of course, depends on where you live, um--if you live in El Salvador or Nicaragua, the chances are very high you're going to die.

L: But Jonathan could have come back north--

Judy: That's right.

L: --set up shop in New England, and be sitting here with us right now, talking about the good old days.

Judy: That's right.

L: He decided not to do that.

Judy: That's right.

L: Is there a difference between thinking you're going to die, and being a martyr; there's a big debate over whether Jon wanted to be a martyr or not or whether, you know, he was pursuing martyrdom.

Judy: Who knows? I do think it's easier to die for a cause than to live for it.

Bill: What do you mean by that?

Judy: Well, in some ways I've always been angry at Jon, you know, like, "How could you go off and leave us like that." You know. "I'm the one that's left picking up the pieces; you got all the glory!" And somehow, it just doesn't quite seem right. You know, as the day to day slogging, through, you know, Alice West, running the Jonathan Daniels pre-school, day in and day out, just --you know, trying to get the kids to grow up halfway decent, ah, you know, it's a lot of work. Jon got early retirement (laughs). And see, and then I'm convinced this life is not the only life we've got. Indeed, there is something better waiting, and most of the time, I think-- "I'm ready to go." Until I almost crash the car or something, and then I'm "Well, I guess I'm not as ready as I think," but-- (laughs)--

L: Then, with that belief, we'll all be reunited with Jonathan.

Judy: That's right, yeah, um-hum. At least, I believe that. In one sense, it makes it a little bit easier, you sort of think, "OK, what's the worst that could happen is they can kill me. All right, I can deal with that." (laughs) You know, not that one necessarily enjoys it, but, but it's not the worst thing that can happen to you.

Bill: So, have you pretty much come to that conclusion? Had both of you come to that conclusion?

Judy: Yeah-- I think so. That, OK, I mean, in essence, that is always the risk you take. It could as easily have been me. It didn't happen to be.

Bill: True.

Larry: That's true.

Judy: It could have been almost anybody. And if you put yourself in that position, that's the risk you take, and,

ah, there a lot of things I wouldn't take that risk for. But that was one that seemed well worth it.

L: And you knew that before you went.

J: Yeah, I think we were clear about that. Well, James Reeb was dead, and all he did was go down for the big march which should have been safe, ah, --

L: That's true; later that evening, you knew, less than 24 hours out of Boston, that you were in a real bad, tough situation.

J: Yeah. But if we hadn't gone back, who knows who else might have died? It might have been Helen or Ronnie or Joyhhy May, or Nell, or Baby Sister, or--who knows who?

L: Did you ever think about your decision to go to St. Louis, in light of Jonathan's death? How maybe --I don't know, I guess I would do this, you know, I'd think, "Oh, maybe I could have kept him out of jail, or done something, or--"

J: Yep.

L: I mean, that's --that thought floats through one's mind, you know.

J: Yeah.

L But, none of us would be sitting here right now, discussing this.

J: That's right.

L: I mean, that's the very--fact of his --I don't want to call it martyrdom, but --it was a sacrifice.

Judy: I think it's a martyrdom, in a way, yeah. Depending on how you want to define martyrdom. I think most martyrs are sort of accidental martyrs. That's probably not true of all of them, but, but they didn't really intend to go get themselves killed, but given the situation, maybe it's not so surprising that they were.

B: That statement you just made is kind of interesting, when you mentioned the name of the West family. If he hadn't gone back, or you hadn't gone back, then--

J: It might have been somebody else.

B: Members of those families might have been killed.

J: Might have been.

B: So--and then, is that probably pretty important that this bonding to certain individuals and feeling a sense of responsibility --is that what I'm reading there, or---?

J: Could be, yeah, that, ah, at least, our presence might serve as some protection, for the black community. Not that we could have done a while lot. But just the fact that we were there maybe would make the whites more cautious. In, um, harrassing blacks.

B: Would you rather say, just out of interest, would you rather say, "black community," or would you rather say, like you phrased it, the other time, just mention six or seven individual names?

J: Either way.

B: Either way.

J: Either way. I mean, those are the ones I think of immediately, that I would have personally been very upset



about --you know, people I really loved dearly. But Joe Blow, would have been as tragic, but I wouldn't know him as well. And basically, we went for Joe Blow, as much as for Charlene and Juliette and Mark and Roderick and Carl, and--it's just that we didn't know Joe Blow. But that's all right.

B: How did you feel when you left there, knowing you wouldn't go back?

J: Well, actually, I was planning on going back.

B: You were.

J: Yeah, I was going to go back, as soon as I finished CP; in fact, I was furious with Jon the whole week of the tenth, or twelfth, of August, whatever that week was, because he hadn't called, to be clear about whether or not he was going bring some of the--drive some of the kids up to St. Louis, and pick me up, and we'd go back. We were going to finish off whatever there was in Selma, go to the ESCRU meeting, which was the end of August, the beginning of September, in Jackson, and then back to school, in time for the semester to begin. And he didn't call and he didn't call, and I finally got hold of Mrs. West, who said he was in jail, and, then I checked with the ESCRU office, and Henri had been over to bail him out, but, didn't have bail money for everybody, so we didn't use it for anybody. My dad was about to fly down, and say, "I'll get him out of jail." Being a lawyer, he figured he could probably do that. And he always regretted that he didn't. But again without bail money for everybody, Jon wouldn't have left.

B: So we hear, yeah.

Judy: So once I knew he was in jail, I stopped being angry, and just sort of well, I just wish he'd hurry up and get out. And left a message with Alice, "As soon as he gets out, well, tell him to call me so I know what we're doing." Should I take the bus down, which was the other possibility, or is going to drive up with some of the kids and take sort of a break, and then we'll drive back down, or what-- So I was planning to go back for a while, for only for 2 or 3 weeks. Because that was about as much time as there was.

B: Time that was left, yeah.

L: So he was planning on going back to Cambridge to school--

J: Oh yeah.

L: -- in September; he wasn't going to remain.

J: As far as I know, anyway.

L: So it was like his Freedom Summer.

J: Yeah, basically, that's right. Although, and one of the last phone conversations I had with him, was, he was saying, "How about if we go to Mississippi next summer?"

B: (laughs)

L: Sounds like a great vacation spot.

J: (Laughs) Well, right. But it was exciting--there's something about living in the presence of danger that I think you live more intensely. It was incredibly exciting. I mean, even when we weren't doing anything, just sitting around, that was exciting.

B: Did you know you were part of history, or---?



J: Ohh, only vaguely. I figured, we probably weren't even worth a footnote. By name, certainly. But yeah, part of history. This was something important, that was happening, that maybe was going to change the country. I wouldn't say that we'd done that much to change the country, things aren't all that different, but, maybe things have improved a bit.

B: Oh, yeah.

L: What you guys did was real important. How about Richard Morrisroe, did you ever meet him, before the funeral?

J: No, in fact he was still in the hospital, at the funeral, yes. ESCRU had an annual meeting in Chicago, where they presented, ah, an award to Jon--to Connie, actually, but it was Jon's, and they made a presentation to Connie, and went to the hospital to see-- I think Richard was still in the hospital at that point. Or, maybe he'd been out. So we had maybe half an hour, hour's conversation. Maybe he was Director, I can't remember. But he was still not well.

L: And that would have been when?

J: I can't remember. I think it would have been the following spring.

L: Do you remember the nature of the conversation that you had with him, Judith?

J: Not really.

L: We're looking forward to talking with him.

B: Yeah. Well, Jon only knew him a day, I think, before--

J: Yeah, I don't-- I didn't have the impression that they knew each other well.

B: They met at an SCLC meeting, in Birmingham, or someplace like that.

J: Yeah.

kB: Then they just --sound like Jon, he said, "Too much talk, let's go do something."

J: Yeah. B: He wanted to get back into the swing of things, so they decided to go to Fort Deposit.

J: That could very well be. (laughs) That sounds like Jon. Yeah--I think I got the impression from Richard that he had not been in the south very long. When he hooked up with Jon, and, you know, he goes off to the demonstration, and then he's in jail already, and then--

L: He gets shot.

J: Shot.

L: No wonder he's not a priest anymore. He figured, if that was his future, what a way.

J: I think he's married, which has something to do with his not being a priest anymore. (chuckles).

L: he, ah--

Judy: He came up to school for something, too, come to think of it.

B: Hum.

J: Which was the next fall, sort of indoctrination of new students, partly, the history of the school.

L: Something funny; I found two interviews with Father Morrisroe; one at CBS, and one WTN, and in both cases the sound had failed. Different cameras, different times.

J: That's very interesting.

L: On one the sound was blank, and on the other one, the sound had been lost. Then we located an interview with Father Morrisroe, down at Howard University, and the woman refused to send it to us because she said it was garbled and unintelligible, which I thought was very odd. I'd like to go listen to that.

Judy: Maybe he's not intended to speak for some reason.  
(laughs)

L: I'm not saying it's a cat and mouse game, but he wrote a letter to us, unsolicited, after he hadn't heard from us for a while; wondered how we were doing, and I wrote back; now I haven't heard from him since, but I think he's interested in what we're doing. And I think that he's just waiting for a place to jump in that makes sense to him. So I think we need to give him a call.

B: Need to have him. Maybe we can have him come in August.

J: Yes, yes.

B: For the event. We could interview him a day ahead. And have him there for the event. We could do that.

Judy: That would be neat.

L: To get back to the chronology: when did you find out about Jonathan's death?

Judy: The afternoon of the twentieth. It was Friday afternoon; we finished everything at CPE about noon; I'd been living at the hospital, because it was easier than commuting in, and I didn't have my car, which meant if I was going to commute, I had to borrow my folks' car. So, ah, when I got my stuff packed up, and either I had the car--I guess I had the car for the day, and moved my stuff home, moved out of the hospital, went to the grocery store, again, thinking, "Ah, I wish I'd hear from Jon, because I'd like to know what to do next," I was committed to preaching, at my home parish on Sunday, and, so I went home and was hanging around the house doing some thing and the phone rang, and it was Alice West. "Judy, Jon's been shot." I said, "Naw, couldn't be." And so she told me what she knew, which was that Jon was dead and Richard was in the hospital, and that was all she knew. Really. They'd gotten out of jail, and gone to the store, so I called the ESCRU office, in Atlanta, I figured they were likely to have the straight story, and rumor was so rampant it was hard to tell what was what. And, John said yes it was true, they'd sent Henri over to bail Jon out, but they didn't have bail money, and they had somebody who was on their way over. And they'd be back in touch, but as far as they could tell, yes it was true. So I remember walking out of the --cause the phone was in my folks' bedroom--walking out of the bedroom and carrying the cat. Dripping tears all over, Mother took one look at me and said, "What?" And so I spent the night on the phone to sixty billion people.

B: And then, you made arrangements, I take it, to go to the funeral? At that point?

Judy: yes, yeah. I called Ernie, who was a guy in my CPE



group, to come over and ah, and he made coffee and answered the telephone, and, sort of sat and talked, drove around a lot that night. A call to Perry Burton, who was our rector, to say, "Perry, I can not preach on Sunday. Jon's just been killed." So, ah, he agreed as to how he'd find somebody else to do it. And called, the--and I don't know who finally preached, but he called the priest at the next parish over, who came over to the house, was really sort of a jerk, but that's all right, I mean, I don't know what I would have done in such a situation, too, I mean it's hard, I mean, there was nothing he could say that would make any sense anyway."

B: Right.

L: So you went to the funeral in Keene, then you went back to St. Louis.

J: I went to the funeral in Keene, then went to ETS, down to the seminary, where we had a memorial service, the next day.

L: That's on the tape, isn't it?

J: Yeah, that's the one on the tape, I'm almost positive. Then went --my father went to Keene, with me, spent the night at Mary Elizabeth's --had a vigil in the church, I remember standing in the back of the church, saying, "Breathe, Goddamn it, breathe." Which of course he didn't, but--in the middle of the night, it was just me. And crying till about three o'clock in the morning, or some idiot thing like that, and listened to John Morris, who you really should talk to, I think. I guess we stayed in a hotel a couple of nights, too. Motel. Because I remember John Morris coming in to having just delivered the body. To the funeral home. Because he flew up from Atlanta and had got as far as New York or Boston? And the plane did not have room for the casket. So he carried Jon's body in a body bag. On his lap. To get it to Keene.

L: In an automobile?

Judy: No, in a small plane.

Bill: Out of La Guardia, probably.

J: Probably.

B: Yeah.

J: I mean, I have never seen John Morris so shook.

B: Amazing.

Judy: Uh-huh.

B: It took a long time to even locate the body, so-- it was a terrible kind.

J: yes. Yeah.

L: I can't imagine what that must be like, sitting there with the body of your friend on your lap.

J: I can imagine. I mean, he was more than a bit shook.

L: Like Vietnam.

J: Yeah. I think so.

L: So that school started when? You stayed on the east coast, and you--

J: Well, no let's see, how did it go, --

L: You were starting your second year at that point.

J: Starting my second year. Because we had almost a month



before school started. So, from ETS, we went to Selma, for a memorial service at Brown Chapel, my mother and brothers joined us there; John Coburn from the seminary, the dean of the seminary, he was back from his sabbatical also came down for the memorial service, he spoke at that one; I don't think he went to see the rector of the Episcopal Church because we wanted to have a memorial service at St. Paul's, and of course, they wouldn't let us do it. Which somehow didn't surprise me; I ended up --I think some folk at St. Paul's were upset about that. And others were sort of saying, "It serves the bastard right."

L: Probably waiting for an opportunity to get back at him.

J: Um-hum.

L: Then when school started, --

J: Well, now, wait a minute, there's a couple of more pieces, because --my car was still in Selma. So what we did was we picked up, packed up all of Jon's stuff, loaded it into my car, and I guess mother (???) had driven down with a couple of my brothers, because they drove first and I followed, and at some point the headlights on my car went totally out; no electricity left, so we spent the night in Lexington, or Louisville, or someplace like that. And then I drove my car to Keene, with all of Jon's stuff. Which was the first time I sent to Keene, that was the second time, after the funeral, and so I took it all back to Connie. And from there I think maybe--maybe from there, I drove to North Carolina, to see a high school friend, and stayed with her a couple of days, then I think I drove back to St. Louis, and I remember writing a letter to the woman who was going to be my roommate, saying, "I don't want a roommate. And I'll probably be a bitch to live with, but we'll try." Then I went back to school. And, ah, fairly early the first week or so we had ah, some kind of convocation, had to start doing speeches, and then I had, then I wrote the article for the ETS journal, which you probably should have a copy of.

L: Dowe have a copy of it?

J: The one with the sketch of Jon on the front. I think Preston Miers (Biers?) did that. Sermons that people had preached, and--

B: We have a number of them, I don't recall that one.

J: All right. I'll--I have somewhere I have an envelope about articles and papers re JMD. And that's what I've been looking for, and it's got to be, I think, in one of the boxes, in the room you're sleeping in. So before you go I'll see if I can dig that one out. It has a copy of Reality is Kalidoscopic, it has a copy of, um, it has a copy of, the theology paper that that was read as the eulogy for the funeral service.

B: We have that.

J: Yeah. And has an article that I wrote, saying basically, let us not get so swell-headed and romanticize what Jon has done; I just remember he was an incredible grouch in the morning, impossible to get out of bed. And if he was in the middle of a conversation with somebody, you could not drag

him off for whatever reason, even if it was more important than what he was doing; and he was a human being like the rest of us. Sometimes the rest of us are called to do the same thing.

B: Well, we kind of like that idea. One of the things about the film that kind of intrigues me is humanizing, rather than --looking at somebody who isn't a Martin Luther King, you know.

J: Yeah.

B: That kind of, more common kind of person who --

J: Actually, Martin Luther King was just like everybody else to start off with, I think.

B: Yeah.

J: You know, what happens is, as, as circumstances (???) you find yourself doing things much greater than you have the native talent to do.

B: That is amazing, --

L: You know, just looking at the media record though, King, there's hundreds of thousands of feet of King before his death--

Judy: Yeah.

L: On Jonathan there's nothing, except when he was five years old. I mean, we're taking someone who --

J: Yeah. Who is a lot more--right.

L: Just a citizen. But who gets raised to greatness, not that what he was doing wasn't great, but the recognition of it didn't occur until after he was killed.

J: Right.

L: You know, I wonder--if Coleman--- was Cole--I wonder if Coleman was there to kill Jonathan, or one of the blacks, or just to scare them, or what was going on.

J: I think he was there to kill anybody who came through the door. Maybe just to scare them, but I think to kill.

L: Cause it's not clear--I mean-- some accounts say that he levelled the gun at Ruby; and Jonathan pushing her out of the way, took the shot. Others say that he was, ulm--

J: Was going for Jon anyway?

L: Yeah. And ah, others --the third report I heard was that Jonathan was walking up the stairs with his hands out, trying to speak to the man.

J: Probably.

L: So there's like three different --I tend to believe the three young people.

J: Um-hum.

L: Well, there must have been a huge hole at ETS when school started, in 1965.

J: Yes. To say the least.

L: I mean-- what did it do to the sense of commitment at the school? In terms of--

J: Increased it enormously. That's the beginning of ETS being the radical seminary. In the Episcopal church.

L: Jon's death.

J: I think so, yeah.

L: Is it still, a radical seminary?

J: Yes.



B: In what way, did it become a radical seminary?

J: Well, they were involved in the peace movement, it is now--they were in the forefront of the women's movement. They hired 2 of the original woman --eleven women clergy who were ordained outside sort of the normal process. And ah, they are into gay rights, and to, ah, inclusive language, and to a curriculum that that works on what you need to to learn, not "You will take these courses." Um, our class was kind of the swing class; the class before us was sort of all very straightforward. We had some crazies in our class, and, the classes after us had even more crazies. And, ah, also a lot more women; in my class there were three women. The class before us: none. The class before that, three. The class immediately after us was four; the class after that was three, and then, they started building the school no half female.

B: Could you tell me (???)

J: About 40, give or take a bit.

B: You had three blacks in your class.

J: Yeah.

L: What Jonathan did in the south was not separated in his mind from anything he was doing here in Cambridge. I mean it was the same thing.

J: That's right. Yeah.

L: It would be an oversimplification to call it theory and practice; it was all the same thing.

J: Um-hum. And we would fairly often at night reviewed the day, you know, "What have we done today, what sense do we make out of it?" Um, "What is still left undone?" Um, we sort of did our theological reflections as we did our action.

L: Retrospectively, in a sense.

J: Well, basically it's the only way you can reflect on something is if you've done it first.

L: Yeah, and I think what that might mean to the day ahead, you know.

J: Yeah, well then you think OK, what are our plans for tomorrow? And so we went through that every day, too, you know, OK, here was today, what's tomorrow? If we're going to declare a holiday tomorrow we're going to go into Birmingham or, tomorrow we're going to go into Montgomery and go to this store; my jeans are wearing out.

L: Bill, is there any way we can get that incredible sense of purpose into this film? I mean, look at the air-heads we teach a lot of, I mean, I don't care that this is going on the tape--all they worry about is what color finger nails they're going to paint the next day, or something. How can we? there's got to be a way to get this in there. I mean, I'm not quite sure how.

B: Well-- I think it's part of the sixties, in a way that people did examine purpose and meaning.

J: That may be.

B: But that was coming out of a kind of an existentialist approach to existence. Sort of ask yourself what is important and what isn't important.



J: Yeah.

B: What should you be doing; what shouldn't you be doing. Not that you always did it, but--

J: Right.

B: You sort of felt the need to do something like that.

J: People don't do that any more?

B: I don't think so.

L: But you know, Bill, on the other end of the continuum, you have people who lived in Haight-Ashbury and smoked dope and had-- the last thing they would do is sit down at the end of the day and review what they had done during the day. I mean, that would be antithetical to --yet it's the same continuum, of of breaking with society's normal, dominant way of dealing with things. That's what these people were doing, that's what they were doing, but--

B: Eventually, those 2 movements came together.

Judy: Um-hum.

L: Then they got blown out of the water.

Judy: Um.

L: Not quite. They're still going on, but not --

B: I still don't understand Jonsathan's transformation early on, from what seemed to be a kind of strait-laced Republican don't-stir-the-water traditionalist background to the point where in 64 when you first knew him, he was obviously a supporter of Johnson's Great Society.

Judy: Oh, yeah.

Bill: Program. So I don't know, how that happened.

J: Well, we have to throw Jack Kennedy in there too.

B: And Kennedy, that's right.

J: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do to your country." For your country. Yeah. And I think there was a real clear sense among most of us that we were involved in service, and we were not there to get out what we could get out. But what have I got to give?

L: That would be consistent with the way his father viewed the world.

J: Yeah, I think so.

L: His father worked himself to death; everybody says so.

J: Yeah. I tink it also--maybe it has to do with growing up with enough--I think we grew up dirt poor, hungry, one of your goals as an adult is not to be hungry, and to get what you can get. We grew up with enough: my dad was a lawyer, Jon's was a doctor, um, we knew that money is not what gives you happiness. It helps; it's nice. But money is not the essential--and I think, you know, in our family, too, we had a strong sense of do what you can to help others. My dad was on the board of the community school; active in church; my mother was Christian Social Relations Chairman for the Dio;cese of Ohio when I was in high school, and in fact I can remember her coming back from a couple of meetings saying, "Well, we had to--we didn't spend the night the wayl we were going to because they wouldn't accept Anna, or whatever her name was, who was the black woman on the board. Sowe couldn't stay.

B: Where's all that come from. Does that come from religion, class, or---?

J: Not religion, class, but just religion, lived. If indeed you are going to call yourself a Christian, you have to love the people that God loves, and that's everybody.

L: You know, you have that tradition from the thirties, with the caretaker mentality that President Roosevelt had. I mean, he came from a privileged class, and yet everybody-- a lot of his peers thought he was selling out the rich. And, by--

Judy: Well, he was, I think. He was trying to, yeah. (laughs).

L What I'm trying to say is, maybe this is a vicious thought, I don't mean it to be, but--was there a caretaker ethos at all in what Jonathan was doing, or --there certainly wouldn't have been in Stokely Carmichael, but some of the poor went along. But people are in revolutions for different reasons, it seems to me.

J: Oh, yeah. I'm sure they do.

L: And Jonathan's --it's still not clear to me.

B: Service is different from mission. Is it (???) or not?

Judy: Well, we weren't trying to convert anybody to Christianity, that's for sure. We were just sort of doing what God seemed to be calling us to do. And here are people who need help, go help them.

B How do you define that, I'm just trying to understand terms--you wouldn't define that as a mission. More as a calling? There's a difference between a calling and a mission?

J: I'm not sure that there is. In the sense that yes, I'm sending you, this is your mission. Mission and to send are the same root.

B: So "missionary" as a native word is in the sense of conversion, as you see it.

J: I wouldn't say that the missionary is necessarily negative, um.

B: Not negative. Because some people use that word in a pejorative sense. "He thinks he's a missionary."

J: Um-hum.

B: And then you get the sense of somebody filled with a sense of --

J: "Do it my way," kind of.

B: Yeah.

J: The imposing of culture which is not at all what we were trying to do, more like, it was sort of like, if anything, if we were trying to convert anybody, it was --we were trying to convert some whites into knowing some black people, and ah, trying to convince some black people that not all white people were like the rednecks they saw. That there were some who cared. And thought that they were perfectly, ordinary equal people like everybody else.

B: I know Jonathan once said he lost his Yankee sense of messianic, messianicness--

J: Yeah, like sort of, I have all the answers, well, no we don't.



B: That's what he meant by that?

J: Yeah. I think that's what he meant by that. It was real clear: we didn't know beans about the neighborhood. You know? We had to depend on other people. Just for someplace to live and eat. Somewhere there's a bit that Jon wrote about going to chapel and singing the Magnificat. "He has thrown down the mighty from their seat, has exalted the humble and meek."

B: Now this was--

J: "The poor he has filled with good things; and the rich he sent empty away." So in a sense you might say, we almost went for our own salvation. Even being set away because we were rich and we never did anything for anybody else.

L: You know, I told you that we found Dr. Daniels' diary when he was in WWII.

J: Yes.

L: And, that's another thing we can send a copy of, we have a transcript of it, and if you're interested.

J: I'd love to see it.

L: It's interesting reading. So we'll make a list of things to send. But that-- he talks about service, not a whole lot.

B: It's interesting-----concept of service comes.

L: Think of anything else, Bill? Before we--?

B: Well, I was just going to ask you if you wanted to say something about what you would like to have Jon remembered for. I had 2 questions, actually. How you felt about the death then and now. Sort of, how that has changed, if at all; and then, how you'd like to, you know, have Jonathan remembered. Those two things.

L: In other words, the microphone is yours. No more prodding from the two.

J: Mother Theresa gets very upset when people call her a saint, because she thinks that trivializes her, in a sense, well, "You are a saint, you can do this. I couldn't begin to do anything." And it seems to me that for me one of the major examples of Jon is sort of the faithfulness of the ordinary person. That ah, we all of us, need to do what we know is the right thing to do, and, to serve where we're called to serve, and most of us, it doesn't cost much. But ah, we don't have to be, sort of intimidated by the label. Jon was not that much different from anybody else.

L: Father Ouellet said, when we talked with him, and we didn't prod this out of him, he said, "If it were up to me, I'd have Jon canonized tomorrow."

J: Hum, yeah.

B: (laughs)

J: Yeah. You know, he was a special person, but that's true of an enormous number of other people.

L: Yeah, but things have to kind of factor in. Special ---place, special time, then something ignites. He must have had some clue--he went down there.

J: Yes. I think maybe so.

L: In March of 1965. This was a special time and a special place. I really believe that.



J: Um-hum. It was a special time and a special place even if Jon hadn't been killed.

L: Oh, yeah.

J: You know. But that just --

L: Then you have a special human being in there with it.

J: Yes.

L: And -- it becomes almost synergistic, just wham.

J: Yeah.

B: Now that verse from Isaiah, we're going to use that as the title, "Here I Am, Send Me."

J: Um-hum.

B: Would you say that's common that Jon, or is that something that would have---

J: I think in some ways that's certainly what got me there.

"Tell me what you want me to do, Lord, and I'll do it."

Because I was not 100% clear of my focus, and it was just,

"Are you coming with us?"

L: What is the context of that in Isaiah?

Judy: It is the call of Isaiah. Isaiah, six, one, "Know the King Uzialat died, I saw the Lord, high, lifted up in the temple. And um, he says, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" First, it starts with: "O, woe is me, for I am a man of unclean lips, from people of unclean lips, and one of the seraphim takes the coal from the fire and touches his lips, and says, "No, you're not now," and then, "Whom shall we send, and who will go for us? And I said, here am I, Lord, send me."

L: So who says, "Here am I, Lord, send me?"

J: Isaiah.

L: And he says that in answer to the cry of the people?

J: No, actually, to the cry of God: "Whom will I send?"

L: So God doesn't know who he's going to send. Until Isaiah responds. I mean, by, "know," I mean, ----

J: Yeah; that could be, yeah, but it's like, "I'm looking for somebody ----"

L: Right, and ----so what happen when Isaiah goes?

J: Well, he spends a long time prophesying, and, ah, totell you the truth, I've forgotten what the final end of Isaiah is, I think he, ah, either he gets carried off to Egypt, or he runs off to Egypt, gets carried off to exile, in Babylon, or he's killed in the fall of Jerusalem. And I don't remember--I'd have to look at the end of the book.

B: We looked it up about 6 months ago, can't remember.

J: OH, ok. Well, I've got a Bible over there, I'll find out.

B: The Magnificat, those lines are from where?

J: Luke.

B: Luke. Yeah.

J: Yes. The Song of Mary.

B: The Song of Mary.

J: Yeah, when she does--just after the Annunciation, the Angel Gabriel comes and says, "You're going to have a baby," she says, "What, who me?" (laughs) "I don't know any men, how can that be?" At least in the sense of physically, and

he says, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and you will bear a child and call his name Jesus, because he will save the people from their sins. And, behold, Mary, your cousin, no, Elizabeth, your cousin, is with child, and she's only 6 months gone." And so Mary rushes off to see Elizabeth, which makes sense, I mean, you're 14 year old, pregnant kid, unmarried. You go to somebody older and wiser. Like cousin Elizabeth, who was an old woman. And she's having John. And she comes in the door, Elizabeth lives up in the hills, Elizabeth says, "Ah, Mary, kid kicked me. Who am I, that the mother of the Lord should come to me; even in the womb, my babe recognizes yours." And Mary says, "Blessed be the Lord, because the Lord has done great things for me." "Whole generations on are going to call you Blessed Virgin, Mary." Elizabeth says that.

B: And the humble business comes up---

J: Yeah. Actually, I'd have to get the text to start it off, probably there's a new translation, and I keep getting the old and the new confused. "My soul magnifies the Lord, for He has done great things for me. For holy is His name. Behold, His mercy is on those who fear Him, and all generations showed strength through his arm(??) He has scattered the proud, in the imagination of their hearts. He has set down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted the humble and meek."

B: Those are the lines that--

J: Yeah. "He has exalted---" let's see, "The hungry he has filled with good things, and the rich he has sent empty away."

B: OK, now suppose the he---

J: "He is remembering in His mercy, hath hope in His servant, Israel, as He promised to our forefathers Abraham and his seed forever." Well, it's a standard evening prayer canticle.

B: It is.

J: So, every evening, or four evenings a week, for evening prayer, we sang that canticle.

B: Um hum.

J: Became sort of very ingrained ; it just hit Jon. ???that's it. That's where I have to be.

L: You Episcopalians make a lot more sense than the Catholics.

J: (laughs) I'm sorry.

B: The fact that that would be a nightly canticle is --I mean, that's --keep repeating that as you say it.

J: It becomes a real firm part of your heritage.

B: Yeah. hum.

L: Want to take a break?

B: Yeah, then we'll ask some film questions.

L: Well, thanks very much. Over and out. (end of side A, tape 2)



Upham sync takes--Tape 2, side B.

Larry: Test, testing one, two, test. Testing, test, test, test, test, test, test, test. A test and a test.

Judy: All right.

Larry: Test one more time, so I can --

Judy: Test, all right. Is that a reasonable level?

L: That's great.

Judy: All right.

Bill: We need to get Larry a pair of roller skates.

Judy. (laughs) Actually, ---

Larry: Chicago filmmaking. They've actually got a name for it. One person doing it. Actually has a name; Chicago filmmaking.

Judy: Why?

L: I don't know, I guess Chicago filmmakers don't have much money.

Judy: That could be, now what is that--

L: That's just to minimize the sound, although with that microphone you've got on, I'm not really worried about it.

B: Flatters (??) just a little bit.

J: Huh.

L: I'll slate it first.

B: All right.

J: What's the little thing on the front? Oh, my goodness!

L: Judith Upham, take one (CLAP) Don't worry about it.

J: Now, that's fancy, I always thought that the small thing was on top, not on the bottom.

L: We're rolling.

B: OK.

J: OK.

B: Judith, could you tell us about ah, the day you and Jonathan decided to go, and what really convinced you that you ought to go, down to Selma, after Martin Luther King's request?

Judy: Well, you want to know what convinced me, not what convinced Jon, because they are two different things, I think.

B: Um-hum.

Judy: Basically, I was planning on giving somebody some money to go. And went down to the lounge after dinner where we were having a meeting of the St. John's society, which was the student organization. And stood and watched the TV report, and saw the pictures of people getting beat up, chased by cops on horses, and sort of stood there, unable to believe that was actually happening, and I turned to a friend who was going, I thought Reed was going, and said, "Reed, you see that?" And he said, "Yeah." And I said, "Doesn't that frighten you?" "Well, yeah." I said, "Are you going anyway?" "Yeah." "Oh." And then Jon turned to me and said, "You coming with us?" and I found myself saying, "How are we getting there?" I had already answered that question before, "Naw, I can't go," I don't think are you going, it was the are you coming with us? There's a difference in the

TAKE  
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question. I was going to write a check, and there I was on the telephone, making reservation on the plane! And, I'd said, been praying for weeks, God, show me what you want me to do, I'll be glad to do it. And ah, that wasn't what I had in mind, are you sure? But the answer I got was clear, "Yeah, I'm sure, that's where I want you!" For Jon it was listening to the Magnificat, at evening prayer, and God has thrown down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted the humble and meek, filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent empty away. For him, that was the key. It seemed to us that that's where God intended us to be, with the people that God loved.

Bill: Cut

Larry: Great! Great.

Judy: Rehearsal helps. (laughs)

Larry: Don't be nervous. Is this mine or yours. (laughs)

Judy: that was yours! you have a fish.

Larry: All right. Okay.

Judy: You have the fish, I have the super-size, Bill has the Budweiser.

Larry: That was just as good as the tape, as the sound-only tapes. It had the same humanity to it.

Judy: Okay, (laughs)

Larry: What I did, I nibbed it in the last twenty seconds of your explanation as I zoomed in just a little bit tight, tightened it up, tightened it up.

Judy: Okay, whatever. You're the expert on making films. I'm not.

Bill: We'll leave that to Larry.

Judy: (Laughs)

Bill: We can take a little break between these ???

Judy: Here's some more Coke, here.

Larry: (Can't hear) What's the second question, Bill?

Bill: Uhhhh...Why...when and why you decided to study that night in the Scotts' apartment...

Larry: There's no reflection off the glass or anything?

Judy: Oh, good. You never wanted to go to work for hollywood, or something like that?

Larry: Me? Are you kidding?

Judy: Ha! Ha!

Larry: Actually, I suppose it would be nice, but I enjoy being boss so much of the time, it's easier if I'm the only one.

Bill: (laughs)

Judy: That's very true.

Larry: It looks good.

Bill: Good. What are you getting on...the uh, mostly head shot, or...?

Larry: No, I checked.??? I started here, and brought it in to here.

Bill: What are you getting for background?

Larry: Just the couch. Little bit of the outside. you're going to see the windows and the grass. What was the second question, Bill?

Judy: Why did he decide to stay there?

Larry: How did he...(can;t hear)

Bill: (can't understand)

Larry: Oh, yeah. Just double-checking.

Bill: ?? one shot. We did shoot one shot without the tape on one time.

Judy: (laughs) Oh, well. I've done several with no film in the camera.

Bill: Is that right? We haven't done that yet.

Judy: Or ??? it's been the end of the roll, or something.

Larry: We have to make sure you're still in there. Yeah, you're still in there.

Judy: Okay. That's good to know.

Bill: Okay.

Larry: Judith Upham, Take 2.(Snap)

Bill: Judith, could you tell us why you and Jonathan decided to stay while others left after a nubmer of days in Selma?

Judy: It seemed the only thing to do. We had been-- I forget which day it was, I think it must have been Sunday, we were going to go in the afternoon, after church. And ah, I guess Jon got to talking with somebody, and I, went to the store, or something, and missed the bus, back to the airport in Montgomery. So, we ended up spending the night at the Scott's house, again, and that night Rosa got to talking about how concerned she was, about what would happen when everybody left. And it was just back to them. Told us about the nights the police had surrounded the projects, and Helen, their oldest daughter, was next door, and couldn't get out of the house--it was only a few feet, but she couldn't get out of the house, next door to come home. And she was crying on the phone, and Rosa was crying on the phone, and they were petrified. And they told us about the times the kids had been in jail, and some of the mistreatment--treatment they'd gotten; and I remember sitting there, thinking "This is terrible, I can't listen to this." And saying to myself, "You'd better listen to it, these people had to live through it. It doesn't hurt you to listen." And Jon and I took a walk around afterwards, saying, "This is rediculous. I mean, when we came, a week or two (??) ago, we said, in essence, we're willing to lay down our lives for you." And, a week later, how can you say, "Oh, good-bye, too bad, I got other things to do, have a nice life." It just didn't make sense (chuckles). So, we started debating, and well, how could we get to stay?

Should we stay? I guess, it was the next morning, Morrie Samuels, a priest from Los Angeles, that we'd seen quite a lot of, said, "Go take a look outside, and see how many white faces you see in line." And so we did, walked a block up the street and back. And certainly, there weren't as many as there had been, less than a week before. Said, "OK, you're right. We have got to stay." So we packed up, caught the plane back to Boston, and preceeded to get permission from the school to stay. And take our books, continue to study-- ah, I wrote an Old Testament paper every



week, Jon did his papers, I did -- they mailed our exams down, people mailed class notes down for us; but we just couldn't leave. And there was work to be done.

Bill: OK, good. Cut.

L: OK.

B: OK, great. (long pause)

L: What, are you waiting for me to do something?

B: No, --

J: We're just--sitting. (laughs) Just sitting.

B: A pause!

L: An angel is passing over.

B: OK, so we got the two afterwards, what you learned about--you've covered some of that on the tape.

J: Yeah.

B: I don't know if you want to do the same stuff, or whatever you ---

Judy: I don't know. (laughs)

Bill:--whatever you want to do on that. ????? one memory.

L: How many more, Bill:

B: We've got two more to do.

L: OK.

J: Whoops.

L: Klunk!

J: Carre-ful!

B: Want to do some of that? Before we-

J: We can move it over then, when we get ready to talk. Take a couple of puffs.

B: We'll take a break, till you're ready.

L: ( can just---

J: Yeah. We're wasting lots of tape.

L: It doesn't matter. I've got a--

B: We've got a lot of tape.

L: Bradlee's had a sale.

J: Oh, how nice, yes.

L: So we're all set with tape.

J: OK, why don't we move this over, out of the way.

L: I'll take it.

J: OK. It'll burn out, so we can--let it sit there.

L: Put it right here?

J: Great. Behind the camera--

L: ---copasetic. It is tiring, isn't it?

J: Yeah.

L: It is; it is.

J: (laughs)

L: I have a lot of respect for people who sit down in front of the camera.

B: Well, you get tense and nervous.

L: Sure. I mean, this can't be easy for you, I mean, we understand, that's why--

J: I figured that, yeah. You worry about irrelevant things, like--"I should have gotten my hair done two weeks ago, instead of, Friday, or-- maybe I shouldn't have even gotten it curled."



L: Now, that's a nice, natural pose, if you want to keep your arm right there, that's great.  
J: I will, for a while.  
L: Let me, ah--I just want to get back a little bit, I like the green behind you, it looks, it looks so nice in contrast --I mean, you know.  
J: What green?  
L: Well, I'm getting some outdoor stuff.  
J: Oh, good. Great.  
L: I mean, I've the background, I've got that cross, got your right arm, got the chair in the back with the little plant on it.  
J: African violet. (laughs) I forget what variety, I have a --Happy Helen, which is a purple with a little white edging all around the edge of it. That's the only one of my African Violets I know the name of; the rest of them, are, some kind of African Violet or another.  
L: So, if that's position is comfortable, we'll just, ah--  
B: Yeah.  
J: That's fine.  
L: We'll just get things cranking here. Judith Upham, take 3 CLAP).  
Bill: Judith, could you kind of summarize what you think you and perhaps Jonathan learned in your weeks, spent in Selma?

Judith: That's a toughie. Um, I guess we learned that practically everybody is a mixture of good and evil, for want of a better way of putting it. Some of the folk from the Episcopal church, the white folk, that we thought were dreadful, when you sat down and talked to them, were not so terrible. There were people who were really caught in a bind, and some of them trying very hard to do their best. Some of them, of course, not. (chuckles) And --we discovered that we weren't so totally pure, either. That, when it came to loving our enemies, we didn't do that very well. Sometimes, you didn't do very well loving our friends, even. We discovered that the black people were similarly a mixture --um, one of the guys was an incredible drunk; we found a fair amount of hostility, and yet there was a sense of purpose, of making a difference. And of being able to change both ourselves and others ;-- we were going to the Elks Club one night, with Alice and Lonzie West, and a couple of other people, --the black Elks Club, of course-- and we were sitting around, having a drink, and a young black man walked over and to Alice West: "What are you doing here with them? They're white people! They don't belong here!" And she just looked at them and smiled and said, "They're our friends. They're here with us." And he walked away, and that was the end of it. And there was somebody, who was also changed. And I don't think Alice West had ever had a white friend, friend, before. And yet, we became important to them, and they became important to us. People aren't really all that different, anywhere. I mean, there's some people you get along with, some that you don't,

and what ties us together is love. God's love, for all of us and our love for each other.

B: OK, cut.

L: Beautiful.

B: Thank you.

J: That's kind of prosyletizing, but that's all right. (laughs)

L: Story--that story's great.

B: Good story.

J: I love that story, yeah. That also may be implied in, "Reality is Kaledoscopic," I can't remember.

B: I don't remember that one.

J: But I remember that, very well. And I think it was Stokely.

B:---who said---

J: Who said, you know, "What are you doing here with them?"

B: Um-hum.

J: I'm not absolutely positive, but I think it it was Stokely, because I think that's when Stokely met Jon.

B: Um-hum.

J: Because I remember the rest of the night, Stokely and Jon then got to talking, went off in some corner, meanwhile, Lonzie kept getting drunker and drunker and drunker. And Alice and I kept trying to drag him out of there (laughs). I think Jon was driving, or we--it just took two adults to get Lonzie home. I was saying, "Jon, come on." He says "I'm busy, not now, I'm talking." I said, "I know, let's stop talking, we've got to get Lonzie home." (laughs)

B: That must have been a great conversation between those two.

J: I'm sure it was, I'm sure it was.

L: They came from different planets.

J: That's about right, yeah. And Stokely was definitely the angriest of the blacks that we had met. What did it take him? only a few more months, to get into black power.

L: Do you think he ever changed? Ah, being angry? I've seen interviews with him done in the last year, in Eyes on the Prize II, and I just, seems really, still--

J: I think he's angry still. Just the report--I should have saved it for you, the report of his speech at ah, SU, sounded (???) and angry, still. And I think he's also incredibly tired and discouraged.

L: Wonder where he lives in Africa. West Africa, is it?

B: I forget.

J: Don't know.

B: I forget.

L: I can see that as a kind of Marcus Garvey response to life here, I mean, just, you know, go.

B: I teach one of his essays about black separatism, it's an excellent essay.

J: Um-hum.

B: Best one I know that kind of explains psychologically, economically, spiritually, why separatism is a necessary thing, for blacks, from his point of view.



J: Yeah, I can understand it. Um, you know, it's the same kind of issue as women's separatism.

B: Right.

Judy: And even at girls' colleges, and the reason the girls at Mills College are so concerned about going co-ed.

B: Right.

J: Because the evidence is: even when a majority of the class is female, males do more of the talking.

L: Yeah; Bill and I were talking about that on the way up, um--that's why all-black colleges make sense. I can see all-black women's colleges.

J: Yep.

L: A colleague of ours, Edith Notman, one of her daughters went to Mt. Holyoke, and she said it was the best thing for her because it gave her confidence that wouldn't have happened, otherwise.

J: I think that's right.

L: So, to condemn them all as just, separatist, sexist institutions is wrong, but that's what people do. Ready to go, Bill?

B: OK.

J: And there's no question but the civil rights movement, the whole peace movement-- were still incredibly sexist.

B: Oh, yeah. Well, it was awful.

J: You know, we bought into it. As I recall, I was more--I was somewhat ticked that Jon got to wear his clerical collar, but he was going to be a priest and I wasn't. And even if I was a seminarian, I couldn't have gotten away with it. So, I never bought a clerical collar for me. (laughs)

L: That's interesting. I mean, well, you do one battle at a time, maybe, you know?

J: Well, I think that's part of it. And also, in some ways, it didn't really occur to anybody, and I did the laundry. I think Jon helped, but that's --basically, I did the laundry, for both of us, and I don't remember Jon ever washing the dishes; maybe he did, but I don't remember it (laughs).

B: Cooking?

J: Usually, the woman of the family that we stayed with. You know, we just ate whatever everybody was eating, and when we could, we threw in money for food, and when we couldn't, we didn't, and they just fed us. And every once in a while, we'd go out, and take some of the teen-agers with--there was only one place in town that we could go out to eat, that we could go together. And it was the Holiday Inn.

Bill: Hum.

L: What's this next question?

J: Well, um, the question originally was, who did the cooking. And it was the woman of the family that we lived with. Whichever family that happened to be, usually. And whatever they were having, we had. And, however much there was--they and they always made sure we had sort of the first pick of the best, which we tried very hard to be very careful about; you don't take the biggest piece, just cause



you get first choice, and and the deference was sort of a problem; we did our best to not allow ourselves to be deferred to, and to be deferential ourselves, cause we weren't running things. But it's hard, because it's such an ingrained pattern.

B: Yeah.

J: I mean, you got somebody white in your house, you treat them like a king. Just like when you've got a male in your house, treat him like a king. (laughs) But there's a difference between sort of accepting it and demanding it.

B: Right, yeah.

J: And we did our best not to be demanding, and we were very careful, I mean we could, we could have escaped very easily. All we had to do was drive out of town, and nobody really knew who we were, even. We could be travelers passing through in Montgomery, or Mobile, or anyplace else--Birmingham. And the times we went up to Birmingham, we did eat well. But mostly, if we were going just because we were hungry, we took the kids, or some of the kids. We thought it was only fair. And if they couldn't go, we couldn't go, either.

B: They probably loved you, for--

J: Oh, sure they did, sure, of course (laughs).

B: All right, this was the last one. In memory of Jon, the, ordinary, you talked about him being ordinary. I don't know if you can talk a little after that about the business about, ah, "Here I Am, call, call me." We don't have anybody yet talking about the title of that. You might want to say something--

J: I'll throw something in, yeah.

L: We have that on audio only, but ---

B: Yeah, it might be nice to see. But, the major thing is, ah, that business of, ah, your lasting memory of Jon.

J: Um-hum.

L: Judith Upham, take four (CLAP).

B: OK, Judith, um, I had asked you to think about perhaps what you'd like to have us remember about Jon?

Judy: I guess, ah, the main thing is that Jon wasn't that much different from any of the rest of us. I loved him dearly, so he was very special, but that's sort of a prejudice of mine, and it --and he wasn't that different, and it could have been me that was killed; it could have been anybody else. What Jon was, was somebody who answered a call, to be where God intended him to be, at the time God intended him to be there. And, his death is what happened, but it could have been anybody. And, he was a grouch, sometimes -- you couldn't drag him off, if he was busy talking. And it's easy, to sort of romanticize a saint, a hero--" I couldn't do that! Poor little me, oh no!" But the fact is, you could. When you're clear, about what you believe. And when you're clear about what God wants you to be doing, and what's important, and what your values are, then you do what needs to be done. And, if it costs your life, great, that's just the way it is, and--in fact, Jon

got off easy, in some ways; it only cost him 27 years of his life, or 26. The rest of us, it cost 40 years, 60 years, eighty years-- so what are you going to spend your life for? (long pause)

B: OK, cut.

J: (chuckles) Yeah.

B: OK, good. I think we're done.

L: Unless you want to ask about Isaiah, the name of the film. If you feel like it.

B: Should I ask you to explain that to me, would that give you a---

J: You could try to do that.

B: OK.

L: Let's see, I'm sure we have millions of feet of film.

J: Yeah, that's a good thing to check. I thought that last line was kin

of a nice wrap-up, so--

L: It was.

B: Yeah.

J: (laughs)

L: Judith Upham, take five (CLAP).

J: Judith, could you explain the title of our film for us? (laughs)

J: (laughs) Well, in the Hebrew scriptures, in the Book of Isaiah, Chapter 6, Isaiah starts, "In the year that King Uziadiot, I saw the Lord high and lifted up." And it's a story about how he was called to be a prophet. And his vision--he first felt a great sense of unworthiness, and he heard the Lord speaking, sort of to the Heavenly Court, is the image, "Whom shall I send? Who will go for us?" And Isaiah responded: "Here Am I, Send Me." Unlike most of the prophets, that had [said] "Not me." Moses, Jeremiah, said, "I'm too young. I can't speak well." But Isaiah and Mary both, you know, "Be it done to me, according to Your will." Mary, in the Magnificat, "If that's what you want, that's what I'll do." Isaiah: "You need somebody to go, I'm not worthy, but I'll go." So--and that's what we're all called to do, is listen for the Lord's call, and say, "Here am I, send me;" not "Here am I, send somebody else."

B: Cut.

L: Cut.

B: Good.

L: Leave that on, for--what I'd like to do is, ah,--

Judy: Get some more voice-overs?

L: No, no, if we could all just --sounds strange, no, ah, OK, what I want to do is get one minute of room tone, so we can cut it in if we need it. So we have to just sit here quietly for sixty seconds. Ready? [one minute later] OK, end of room tone.

[END OF TAPE]