Rev. Dr. LeRoy Haynes, Jr.

SR 1758, Oral History, by Jan Dilg

Oregon Historical Society Nominated Oral Histories

2018 October 8 - December 5

HAYNES: Rev. Dr. LeRoy Haynes
JD: Jan Dilg
Transcribed by: Jan Dilg, 2019
Audit/edit by: Jan Dilg, 2019
Reviewed by Rev. Dr. Haynes, 2019

Session 1

2018 October 8

JD: Today is October 8, 2018. I am here for the first interview with the Reverend Dr. LeRoy Haynes, Jr. for the Oregon Historical Society Oral History Project. We are doing this recording in his office in Portland, Oregon, and my name is Janice Dilg, oral historian. Good Morning.

HAYNES: Good morning.

JD: I think, why don't we start at the beginning, if you would just tell me where you were born and when?

HAYNES: I'm a native of Beaumont, Texas. I was born July the 2nd, 1949, in a segregated hospital called Wallace Hospital in Beaumont, Texas.

JD: And maybe if you would continue with just a little bit about your family? Maybe start with your parents?

HAYNES: My mother's name is Beatrice Haynes, maiden name Kemp. My father's name is LeRoy Haynes; I'm a junior after him, you know. He was a veteran in the Korean War, and they married at an early age.

JD: And what were their occupations, or what did they focus on in their lives?

HAYNES: My mother, she had several jobs. Primarily in terms of being a—on the side job was she was a singer in a jazz R&B club on the side—but she was, during the daytime, she was a clerk at a restaurant.

JD: And I'm going to assume that was a segregated restaurant at that point in time.

HAYNES: Segregated, certainly.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: Beaumont and during those years Beaumont, Texas was the kind of city that was very deep South, deeply segregated. Life was divided, like two communities, two nations, Black and white. And there were always signs that you couldn't cross over. I often say, we had Mississippi and Birmingham segregation.

JD: Meaning very strict and—

HAYNES: Very strict, restricted lines, demarcation lines—water fountains, restaurants, getting off the sidewalk if a white person was coming and needed the room. And so those were the kind of very, very strict segregations. Public schools every aspect of life was what we call Jim Crow.

JD: How do you remember your parents or your grandparents or other members of the community sort of teaching you what you needed to know around that?

HAYNES: I had three siblings. My oldest sister is named Betty Haynes; she was the oldest sibling. She always called me, "My baby brother." Then my brother Dwight Haynes, and then my baby sister Brenda Haynes. She married a guy named Brother Joseph. We were in an extended family because my mother and father divorced at an early age. And so our grandparents—what we call Big Mama, her name was Thelma Kemp, and my grandfather, Fred Kemp—they were kind of the matriarchs and patriarchs of our whole family life.

So we lived with them a great many years for periods, from time to time. Sometimes the kids split up. I lived with my mother and the other kids lived with the grandparents. But even when we lived in separate houses, we went to Big Mama's house for breakfast before we went to school. So it was a deep extended family. Everything was centered on the extended family. And Big Mama, she did all the decision making. And my grandfather, Fred Kemp, he worked various jobs in different stores. He came from Louisiana, the southeast part of Louisiana, as well as my grandmother. They were Cajuns during that time and actually spoke the language at an early age but it was looked down upon a great deal. They moved from Morgan City area in southeast Louisiana to Beaumont, Texas and started a family from there, yeah.

JD: And I asked you a bit more about your mother but I want to ask you a bit more about your father, his name and his work.

HAYNES: He basically was in the military most of the time during the Korean War when they were married. And his father was an assistant preacher at a Baptist church in Beaumont, Texas. His mother had died at an early age, so I never got to know his father. Reverend Haynes remarried but we would visit with them from time to time but after the divorce, there was not as intimate contact as it was previously, except for his sister. One

of his sisters, you know, would make sure she would have us keep contact with the family and so she would invite us over, and they would call her Aunt Virginia. She would invite us over and come get us and all of that and keep us in close contact with the family.

JD: So talk a little just about family life—chores you had to do, relationships with your siblings.

HAYNES: Oh! Everybody in our family had chores. It was a very loving household but there was also duties and responsibilities. You made up your bed; you put your clothes away—you know, the basic fundamental discipline things were taught at an early age. Big Mama taught everybody how to cook. Everybody had to learn how to cook the basic stuff of cooking breakfast for yourself, doing lunch for yourself and so, but as we grew older into our teens, the girls in the family, they did most of the cooking but everybody had to wash dishes, okay. [*chuckles*] My assignment was always, my brother cutting the yard, okay, and taking the garbage out—those kinds of things and running errands for Big Mama or for my mother, you know. So those, you know the house, like most average families, the house you had divided up assignments for housework, and so you grew up working and doing those type of house duties.

JD: Sure.

HAYNES: My grandfather was very involved with us—especially in our teens—of taking us to high school football games. Football was a religion in Texas, and sometimes I think above God, [*laughing*] you know, okay. He would take us to games. Football is a little different than it is here. On Friday night the whole city shuts down and goes with the football team if they're going out of town. We would drive sometime to Galveston, to Houston, and different places. He always made himself accessible to us and bringing us. So he ended up, his father's job, ended up working for US Steel in Port Arthur, Texas for about a good twenty-five years. He retired from US Steel. My Big Mama, she did domestic

work primarily, and she was a great baker, and so she would also do that on the side too for extra money.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: You know, baking and doing laundry—those kinds of things.

JD: So were the football teams integrated?

HAYNES: No, no, no, everything was segregated, deeply segregated in Beaumont. You had the state law of segregation. You had the state fair; we had one day for the fair called Negro Day for the fair. And I can remember even as a young boy, we had a kid's show that would come on TV, and once a month they would have the [moderator call little friend ?] Negro Day for the kids. At that particular time, we were called Negros, and so they had that. But everything was very, very deeply segregated. So it was like living in two different worlds—one white and one Black—but you had to intersect if you went downtown somewhere, or sometimes you had to walk through a white neighborhood to go to a football game or to go to work. So you were called a nigger so much that you thought that was your third name. That was just part of the life and the culture there, you know. But there was so much affirmation that because the politics, the economics and everything was so divided, that you had your own stores. And many of the stores were owned by Italians, and the other stores were owned by Black people. You had your cafes, your barbershops, your restaurants. But you met up, you intersected— Blacks and whites only intersected, usually, at a major grocery store, or at place of work, or in terms of when you were in the downtown area, or you're walking through a white neighborhood, which at certain times, you know, it was not necessarily safe to walk through. Plus we had an extra dangerous thing in Beaumont because the headquarters for the state Ku Klux Klan was about fifteen to twenty miles away in a city called Vidor, Texas. It was very deeply segregated. They used to have a sign before the interstate went through on the old 90

West, it would say, “Nigger read and run. If you can’t read, run anyway.” You know, so and—

JD: That was a billboard?

HAYNES: Yeah, mm-hmm, and so it was a tough area. And they would come, you know, maybe once a year and burn a cross in the Black communities. You had about two or three major Black communities in Beaumont, and they would beat up somebody. Every now and then, they would kill somebody to send us a signal to stay in our place. And so it was that kind of terrorism and segregation.

JD: And how did your family or your pastors or your school teachers talk with you young folks about that as you’re coming up?

HAYNES: It was mostly our parents. In terms of school teachers, they would talk one-on-one. But mostly, in Black communities, the African-American community, that’s called, “the talk.” And “the talk” was usually given by either one of the parents or the grandparents about how to keep yourself safe around white people in order to come home because, and that’s kind of Jim Crow—highly tense segregated environment. You could be beaten by any white person. Or your life could be taken, and nothing would happen at all. And so there was a talk about how you were doing. And like, you were told never to look a white person directly in the eyes; always look down when you talk with them, and always be respectful and say, “Sir,” you know, and so, to try to get home. That was given to by most Black parents in that situation.

JD: And do you remember what age you were the first time that your parents had that talk with you?

HAYNES: It probably was about I would say probably between seven and ten, something like that, seven and ten.

JD: And did you and your sisters and brother talk amongst you about how to comport yourselves, and did you have experience, treacherous situations, that you were lucky to get out of?

HAYNES: Most of our situations were in terms of, we had to walk sometimes to school, and when you had to walk to school sometimes in a neighborhood. And so they would throw rocks at you, okay, while you were on your way to school. So that was kind of a regular thing. You knew in certain houses to try to cross over the street and so the rocks wouldn't take a target on you, you know, and that type of thing. I think it was a lot of conditioning. You expected to be called certain names; you expected to have confrontation in certain places, and so you adjusted to those forms of oppression and expectation. And there, of course, there were always incidents that took place or that you heard about in terms of that happened from time to time, mm-hmm.

JD: Mm-hmm. Can you maybe fill out the picture a little bit more about what the Black community in Beaumont was like?

HAYNES: The Black—

JD: What's the geography of Beaumont?

HAYNES: Back then it was probably a good sized city for Texas. Maybe back then it was about between 100 maybe 150,000 people which was, you know, a good sized city. In fact, Beaumont was, historically they thought it would be the growth city over Houston. But for some reason they did not expand their port area like Houston did, and so then the growth went to Houston rather than to Beaumont.

So you had a support city on the Gulf of Mexico. But it was, you know, the main industries were, around the area, were refineries. And you still had a big Mobil refinery there—you could smell it when you wake up in the morning. We used to have the highest rate of cancer in Beaumont, Port Arthur area, the "golden triangle," just from the pollution before the EPA started coming in and everything like that. So it was that kind of city. It was a good job for Black men if you got a job at the port because it paid a little better and wages were better, you know, And so, the Black middle class was composed mostly back then of teachers, and entrepreneurs, small entrepreneurs, undertakers—they call them funeral directors now [*chuckles*]—a few dentists, and a few medical doctors, and those kinds of things and professions. That type of thing, you know. Insurance company, Black insurance company, because whites did not write policies for Black people at that time. Everything was segregated from the time you were born to dying—even the graveyards were segregated.

So it was America apartheid, very similar to what took place in South Africa. But at the same time people learned how to keep living and keep enjoying life in the midst. What it did—you had a community, a sense of community. You had a sense of the neighbors; everybody knew each other in the neighborhood. They took care of their children. At that time they allowed neighbors to discipline you because if you got in some trouble—broke somebody's window, you know, those kinds of things like that—the neighbors, certain neighbors, had a right to discipline you. And then you got disciplined when you got home. Okay, so they would tell anything that happened in the neighborhood, it would get back.

JD: There was no hiding.

HAYNES: It would get back to Big Mama, what happened. When somebody would be playing baseball—and you not supposed to go over the fence to get the ball, you supposed to go to the door—and if you jump the fence, of course, they reported everything like that.

So there was a sense of a strong community there. People took care of each other, even in the way of adoption of the communal sense. They didn't do legal adoption. They

would say, “Mary you got those children. I know you’re having a hard time. Why don’t you let me take one of those children and rear them for you?” And that kind of sense of community. My Big Mama, we had not much ourselves, but she fed anybody that was hungry in the neighborhood. There was always a place at the table for people in the neighborhood, and they knew that.

That strong sense of community—we had a little league teams, baseball teams, you know. They didn’t do a Pee Wee football but—and the small business, like the barbershops and funeral homes and others, would sponsor them. And so there was life. We also had the nightlife. I lived on a major street; we lived right off a major street, and it was a club area—there were cafes and clubs and restaurants. And so on Friday and Saturday night, it lit up like, Harlem did, okay? You know, you hear the music, and you see BB King. Tina Turner used to come through the circuit there, and all of them used to make that circuit there.

And then there, of course, you always have, like any city, a criminal element because you had gambling, illegal gambling going on. Back then it was policy, and so that was controlled usually by the Mafia in New Orleans—Marcello’s and them, you know. So they had it segregated Black policy ring in the Black community. So it was just a community with all the aspects of life of a regular community, except it was just totally segregated. Yeah.

JD: Mm-hmm. And what about school? What was your relationship with school?

HAYNES: Oh, school—I attended Pipkin Elementary School.

JD: Can you spell that please?

HAYNES: P-i-p-k-i-n, Pipkin Elementary School and Lincoln Junior High School—they call it middle school now—and Charlton Pollard High School. So school was like, I was excited; I can still remember the first day of my first grade, I was going to school. I had been

watching my big sisters and brothers go to school, and I was just full of excitement to do what they had done, you know? And there was a lot of anxiety and fear on that first day because you went into another environment. The school teacher, everybody, was Black. You know, the principal, we had a female principal named Ms. Grogen [sp?], and teachers, all the teachers. And then you had to deal with the rules—you couldn't just get up and go to the restroom [*laughing*]. You had to wait to certain times to go to the restroom.

But it was a great year. I enjoyed being with friends in the neighborhood and then meeting other people in the neighborhood. Throughout school, from the fourth grade on, what was drilled in us by the Black teachers in the segregated areas is that one day integration would be coming, and we are preparing you to compete. And so it was drilled into us as Blacks that you had to be better. You had to be better than white people; you had to be better—whatever they did, you had to be better than them. And so, that's from the fourth grade on through high school that was something that was drilled into you. Even though you didn't have the best books because we got hand-me-downs, the books that had been to the white schools and then when they used them, we got them—the same thing with the football uniforms, the band uniforms, and all of that type of thing.

But you had excellent teachers because you had teachers of the level, some had degrees. Most of them on the middle school level and the high school level, some of them had doctorate degrees because they couldn't go anywhere else. So you had PhDs teaching high school and that type of thing. The teachers in the Black community during that time had major status. They were looked upon as leaders. It's quite different now than back then, but they were the leaders in the community, along with the pastors and others. But they were looked upon as major contributors. And then what they would do also, they would identify certain people, students that they would put extra work in after school, you know, and that type of thing.

I eventually, in high school level, became one of those students that was identified, because I never really expected to go on to college because my family didn't make that kind of money. But it was a Black teacher named Mr. Calvin William that told me, he said, "Have you ever thought about going to college?"

I said, “No sir.” I said, “My parents can’t afford that.”

He said, “Well you know they have scholarships and different stuff like that, you know.” And he later became the first city council person in Beaumont, Texas, along with another teacher named Paul Brown. They were inspirational at that time. And you know, my family was not an educated family. I don’t think neither my grandparents went beyond middle school. My mother, she went through, I think, the first year of high school. So I didn’t have examples but there was inspiration for education—came mainly to me through neighbors and through the church and especially through teachers in school that inspired me. My brother, Dwight, he was considered the genius in the family because he would break down radios. Anything you put in front of him, he put it back together, you know. And so he ended up becoming an electronic technician and eventually ended up working—retiring from Channel 8 News in Dallas after twenty-five years. But you know when your father, and your brother, and your school teachers expect, “Well how come you’re not like your brother? [*laughing*]

JD: I’m the younger one, too [*laughing*].

HAYNES: They say, “How come you’re not like your brother?”

But I had to find my own niche, and my niche was, of course, and it is, social sciences. And I was enlightened, really, by a seventh grade teacher by the name of Mr. Winn [sp?]. He’s from San Antonio, Texas. He asked me one day, we were in the class, I was getting ready to leave, and he said, “Have you ever read anything by Alexander the Great?”

I said, “No sir. Who was Alexander the Great?”

He taught history, okay? And he said, “I’m going to bring you a book.” And so he brought me a book on Alexander the Great, and it just fascinated me and inspired me for knowledge, the knowledge. That one teacher and one book—took an interest in me and from that point, from that seventh grade on, I just was constantly seeking knowledge and really found my niche in education in high school. I competed in the interscholastic league

that was segregated too, and in my first competition, I actually won third place in a state competition in creative essay writing. And it just so happened that the main person that took sick fell out, and the teacher asked me to compete. I did an essay on why we should have rehabilitation in prisons.

JD: And you were what age when you were writing about this?

HAYNES: I was in high school.

JD: And do you remember what your reasons were that you wrote this essay?

HAYNES: I don't remember that [*laughing*]. [*Narrator's note: It was a theme picked by the designers for all participants.*]

JD: I just figured I'd check [*laughing*].

HAYNES: But it caused me to look at, when I went off to college, to think about going into criminology. And I got some information about the University in Omaha and the criminology department. So I was inspired for that. But of course, the other aspiration in my life came from church, and my pastor, and the Reverend William B. Oliver, III. He was the first white pastor of a Black congregation in Beaumont, Texas. And so he was breaking the lines of segregation, okay, during that time. He was seminary trained. He went to the same seminary that I would eventually go to, Southern Methodist University. Eventually I was recruited to that church by, there was a family called the Graham family—a church was named after them called the Graham Congregational Church in our area. And so they would, Mr. and Mrs. Hopskins [sp?], Reverend Hopskins [sp?], would recruit us. And they had a little nursery and different stuff like that. I was very, very impacted by the Sunday school teacher named Mrs. Thompson. It was interesting because I ran into my fourth grade teacher there [*laughing*] because she was also a member of the church. But we

really became as a family, with my siblings, involved in the church. When Reverend Oliver came, we became very engaged.

My grandmother and grandfather were Roman Catholic. Of course, they went to Mass and that type of thing, but her mother had actually became a Saint in the Catholic Church because she was given the honor of Saint for the healings that she performed in Louisiana—Sheridan, Louisiana, up in that area. You know, there's a little church, a Catholic Church, where they have a glass window on her behalf. But she was a powerful, spirited lady. She grew up as a little girl doing it. She lived to about 106 years old, and so she was a little child, mm-hmm, not quite a teen, when slavery ended, you know? And she was a very wise lady. And she married a Native Indian who she would do the intercessory prayer and the healing, and he would do the herbs; he had the herbs as part of it, and so they made a kind a team in ministry.

And my spiritual part came from my Big Mama because Big Mama was into intercessory prayer warrior. And as a little boy we used to watch her all the time spend many hours on her knees, at bedside in prayer, praying for the family, and individuals, and loved ones. And so she was always a spiritual [—?]. I like they called them Rosary beads.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: This is where we got our spirituality from, along with the church—from her and her core moral values. And eventually Reverend Oliver actually became part of our family because my grandfather on my father's side remarried, and her daughter Loretta married Rev. Oliver. At that time it was still illegal to marry white people in Texas, so he was breaking all kinds of segregation [*laughing*]. Yeah, it was interesting. He was my inspiration for the Civil Rights Movement because he had connected to King, and helped create the Southern Christian Leadership Conference down in Beaumont and got some other pastors involved in Port Arthur too; [he was pivotal in starting] the contemporary Civil Rights Movement in Beaumont. The NAACP had been doing some things like picketing the Newberry department store and other things, but the direct action thing of King actually

came, in a way, through him, you know. It was primarily student based, as I say, with university students, as well as high school and middle school students.

JD: And so you attended Reverend Oliver's church?

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: But how did he go about approaching members, young members of the church, to this other social-justice activism? Because those were very intertwined in the Black church, but still separate.

HAYNES: Well, he went primarily—. The way we were recruited is that my big sister, Betty, was first involved. And she, as well as Loretta Williams and many of the high school students at Charlton Pollard, she was ahead of me, and so she recruited us—the rest of the family, [*laughing*] okay? Say, "Oh, come over. Y'all going to enjoy it." She didn't tell us what we were getting into [*laughing*]. So when we went in our first demonstration, it was scary, and at the same time, fun. It was scary. And at the time we didn't know because by being in the early teens, we didn't know the total implications of the dynamics, but we knew very seriously that it could get us hurt, okay?

We knew that part because when other people knew that we were involved, they would try to get my grandmother to put a stop to it. You know, neighbors and others would try to get her to stop. I think Reverend Oliver had won their hearts over. He had won them over, I think, because he would come to the house and eat and talk. And he would come to the house and pick us up and take us for rides and stuff. That's the way [*laughing*] he helped recruit us. So we were excited, and he gave us special attention and that kind of thing.

And plus we were already doing the work at the church, folding bulletins and all of that kind of stuff like that, you know. But yeah, that kind of person—he felt very comfortable around Black people, very comfortable and very familiar with the culture. And we used to

call him a soul brother all the time, yeah, yeah. But he had that type of charisma, even though he was well educated and a professional preacher, he could communicate on the level with the uneducated and others too.

JD: Well you raise an interesting point as you are talking, that the families and the larger Black community sort of had a stake in the activism—that you all were kind of on the front lines, but it often would have broader ramifications. You know, you're talking about the KKK just being up the road. How did you all work through that, and it sounds like maybe your family was supportive.

HAYNES: Well, the family was supportive, and as I say, I believe that Reverend Oliver had convinced them that he would take care of us. But it got more dangerous also because one night we were on the picket line at Hub Diner, which is across the street from the Baptist hospital. We were on the picket line, and the Klan came out, young Klan, and there were chains and hacksaws and all that kind of stuff. And it just so happens we had another squad coming up at that same time to take our place on the picket line. It kind of frightened them because they were getting ready to beat us down, and I had one friend that was beaten in integration of Lamar University in Beaumont. He was a leader in our group called Eskimo, and they cracked his skull.

So it was a dangerous situation, and my parents really got involved when we would, we would go to jail on different squads. It was well organized. People don't realize how organized the Civil Rights Movement—you already had a lawyer in place; you had bonding money in place; you had—. We would send a squad to—on Friday night we go to jail; we stay in jail Friday night, Saturday, and bail out early Sunday night—or either Monday morning, because you had to go to school, okay? I don't care if you've been in jail for picketing; education was so important in the Black community, you had to get up and go to school.

We enjoyed being in jail. We would get all together, and they would sing; we would sing all night and keep them woke and everything in the jailhouse and everything. Because

they put all the girls together and all the boys together in jail, except one time, when I guess they start feeling heat about arresting so much, and somebody had filed a suit, I guess, them putting juveniles in the regular jail. So they say they wanted our parents to come get us, and so they began to threaten the parents that if they didn't come and get us out of jail that they would arrest them—so different ways of putting on pressure.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: But you have to understand how years of conditioning, of fear and terrorism in the Black community, had taken a toll, that people were fearful for their lives. And if I remember that night I ran into a Black preacher in Beaumont that knew that we were involved, and I showed them my SCLC card and he said, "Young fellow, that card is going to get you killed. I wouldn't carry that around in my pocket." Yeah. So there was that kind of fear and terrorism and conditioning over years and centuries in the community that had taken place. But sometimes when you're young those things don't matter, [*laughing*] you know? You're excited; you do some things that other people wouldn't do.

So that's why most of the foot soldiers were younger people, and college students, and high school students, and middle students. We were the foot soldiers out there in the battle, you know. And you feared a little bit, but you knew that something—you couldn't quite wrap your mind around it—but you know something great was happening, and something great was taking place. So I just tried to recruit some of my friends because I was also kind of the youth recruiter organizer. And often their parents would prevent them from coming, but I got a few of them. I got a few of them to come, and so it was good. And they stuck with it, those that came.

But there was a great fear. People had seen and experienced tragedy from racism and Jim Crow, and they were fearful for their children at that time. In '48 I think historically they had a race riot in Beaumont over the death, well over the rape, of a white woman. And the Blacks and whites were competing for the workers at the shipyard and the Mobil refinery there. And somebody put out a rumor that a Black man had raped a white woman.

They came raging into some of the Black communities, there and beating people and shooting and all that. So Beaumont had kind of a history of that. And you had another race riot in the late '60s, but this was when I had a relative, a cousin, that owned a restaurant on Gladys Street, where I used to live. The Klan came through in a car and was shooting and shot her and killed her. And that was around '68, '69. It started a riot, and so this riot was led by the Black community.

So you had those conditions there, but the impact—it was interesting that after we had desegregated the restaurant and many of the friends that I had invited to join us, they were the first ones at the restaurants that were desegregated [*laughing*]. But you had to learn, at that time that was just part of the role you had to play, you know and that type of thing.

JD: And you're talking about how organized everything was?

HAYNES: Yeah.

JD: And I know that there was usually some fairly extensive training before the foot soldiers were allowed to go out and engage.

HAYNES: Yeah, you were trained before in non-violent techniques and tactics; and we would do role playing. In fact, in one of the major trainings, Reverend Hosea Williams, one of Dr. King's lieutenants, came down from Atlanta, Georgia. He was a major leader in Atlanta, Georgia, and he trained us, and I'll never forget when I went up to the church for the training. And he said, "What's the password?"

I said, "What password?"

"What's the password to get in the church?"

And I said, "I don't know."

And he said, "Now, I want you to learn the password. The password is freedom now! freedom now!" Okay? That's why I remember him so clearly as one of our trainers, because

he stopped me at the door of the church and asked me, what was the password? And so, they would do role playing, you know? You would be called all kind of names and act like they were kicking you, and you had to learn how to—there were design things to protect your inner body, and you had to cover the women with your body and take the blows, the blows and kicks and all of that to protect the women in there. So there was always constant training in non-violent technique.

And then they asked everybody, if you cannot take the beating they didn't want you to go. They didn't want you to participate, and if you're not willing and if you wanted to fight back—and we had some that just couldn't do it. I remember a couple of big football players, they say, "I have to hit back. I can't do this." But overall the majority of the people there went.

And then you always had a scout that would stand back and not participate in a demonstration. They would observe the demonstration, and their job was to report. Before we ever went to jail, they had your name, your address, your age, your parents, who to call and everything like that. So everything was really well-organized. And then you always had a squad leader that would lead you into the demonstration city and would go to jail with you while the other observer would report back on what happened and everything, and that type of thing.

People don't realize. They just think people got up and demonstrated, but everything was pretty much scripted. Now, you can't script for everything because incidents happen—situations that evolve and that type of thing. You know, first the manager would ask you to leave, and then he would call the police, and the police come, and they say, "If you don't leave, you're going to get arrested." And those that were assigned to get arrested would stay, and others would pull back at that time, in that process. But people don't realize that one of the hardest restaurants that we hit was Piccadilly. It was a major chain, southern restaurant. It took us almost a year to break. I mean, weekly demonstrations to break the Piccadilly Restaurant. Many—Pig Stand, and Shelton Drive-in, and Carnation Cream—they were a lot more easier than Piccadilly

Restaurant. It was a southern chain, but we eventually broke them; we eventually broke them.

And I'll never forget this as a little teenager—when the '64 Civil Rights Bill was passed, I didn't tell Big Mama. I saw it on TV and on the news, and I got on my bicycle and went downtown, and I found a white restaurant. I went in and ordered a cup of coffee, and everybody turned around—this was just right after the passing of the civil rights—everybody turned to me, and they waited; they waited, and it seems like an hour or so passed by. It may not have been that long, but they eventually brought me a cup of coffee. I took about two sips, paid for it, and got up and came home and told Big Mama what I had done. She said, "Boy, them white folks gonna kill you [*laughing*]."

JD: Well, you mentioned earlier there was a mixture of excitement and fear.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: When you were going to these sit-ins and demonstrations, what did you do to overcome your fear?

HAYNES: That was a kind of inner push. I'll never forget my first sit-in demonstration I went on. I couldn't stop my leg from shaking. You know, it just kept shaking. I grabbed it because, you know, people were—there was a big white man, was standing in the back of you talking and pouring stuff over you and all that kind of stuff like that. But I knew something in my inner spirit, I knew I could go do it, and after I went through the first one, the second one, it was easier because I had, you know, had experience. It's something when somebody standing behind you, calling you names and pushing you in the back and everything, like you're not supposed to turn around. You're not supposed to turn and confront them or anything. You're just supposed to sit there, and you don't know what they're going to do—whether they're going to take a chair to hit you with or whatever.

But even as a young boy, there was not the illusion or anything like that. You knew there's something in the spirit, because when we would get to the church, before we went out there and got our assignments, we would sing songs. All this, "Which side you on, boy? What side are you on? Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around"—freedom songs. And then we would have prayer and everything like that. You were up in the spirit before you went out to demonstrations, and then the reality hit you, you know. And so we would walk around, march around the church like Joshua and Jericho and that type of thing. So, you were well motivated but there was always that sense that you were participating. You couldn't quite explain it as a young teenager, but you knew that you were participating in something great. Something great was going on, you had that sense—and that it was the right thing to do; it was the right thing to do, yeah. Even though you may get hurt, it was the right thing to do.

JD: And how aware were you about other demonstrations, protests that were going on around the country, around the South maybe, just in particular?

HAYNES: Oh yeah, I was a news junkie before CNN. [*both laughing*] I loved to play, and I played with my friends growing up and everything like that, and also I worked as a child too. I had my own paper route when I was ten years old and shoe shine boy and all of that. But I was always a news junkie. I watched the news. That was very important to me. I couldn't explain why, but I was always drawn to that. And even in high school, I won the, one of the leaders in the regional *Time* magazine current events award. Yeah, *Time* had sponsored a test that they would give in schools of current events that would take place in the world, and so I was one of the regional leaders at Black Jim Crow schools. But I always felt an instinct to watch the news, so when the news came on and seeing the other demonstrations that are going on and seeing what was happening and then eventually brought in the Black Power Movement coming out. I was always observant and watching. And the same teacher that inspired me in high school, I can remember, we used to have a debate. He set up a debate for us to do between Martin Luther King and the Black Power

Movement, and so we did that one time. But I guess they had put some pressure on him from the white school board about it. What you have to understand about segregation in *Imitation of Life* was a threat—you couldn't do that in segregation. That was considered to be a controversy play [*laughing*]. So I kept up as much as possible and read the newspapers because there was always something that drew me.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: But not only Civil Rights Movement, but what was going on internationally.

JD: And you raise an interesting point in that you are growing up at that time when not only the Civil Rights Movement was really in full swing, but also the Black Power Movement, which certainly intersected, but it also created some tensions. And you straddled both of those; you were involved in both of those.

HAYNES: Oh yeah, I was involved—

JD: So maybe talk a little about that.

HAYNES: Well, you know at the height, I went straight from high school to college, you know—in other words, into the fall semester there. And so it was '67, and Stokely [Carmichael] had stood on in Greenville October of 1966 and began to shout, "Black Power." And so, here I had the background of SCLC and civil rights, and I was recruited. There was a SNCC recruiter on the campus by the name of Larry Jackson who was in SNCC. So I was recruited into SNCC, so I flowed immediately from SCLC into SNCC. At the height, Leotis Johnson was the state president of SNCC. And so I flowed directly from SCLC into SNCC, and SNCC was the Black Consciousness Movement, and because one of the first major books that I read was the Malcolm X autobiography, and I couldn't put that book down in my freshman year. I read it all night, all over, and I had to shake my head

because what he was describing, and it was many of the things that I had experienced in segregation and living in a Jim Crow life. And so SNCC was almost like a natural for me.

But because many of the other people that came out of SCLC were thrown into SNCC, because even though in SCLC we were the foot soldiers as young people, SNCC was young-people led; it was student led. So you had the leadership was your age or a little older [*chuckling*] okay? And then the Black Consciousness Movement was not only thing. The political Black Power Movement, the cultural consciousness movement. You see in Beaumont, I grew up in a caste system. It was a caste system because you had a caste system that flowed between light-skinned Blacks and dark-skinned Blacks that came off of the plantation, because the sons and the daughters of the master was given special privileges because of their light complexion and relationship.

And this system was very similar to New Orleans and the civil war, but we had the culture—that New Orleans, Louisiana culture—in Beaumont, and so we didn't have a dark complexion high school queen, until after I got out of high school, you know, or something like that. So there was a motto that went around in the Black community. It say, if you're light complexion you alright, if you're brown stick around, but if you're dark get back, get back. And so in the segregated school system, the key positions, like president of student government, were always light complexion students, okay? And so, you had a lot of what I called double oppression—if you were dark-skinned and didn't have the right hair, you were oppressed by your own people, and then you had to deal with the white racism and the oppression. Very similar with what happened in South Africa came from America. They studied America you know, between the colors and the native Africans and all that type of thing. And so we had to deal with the culture thing. And so, as you would see in my book, they got a picture of me with my big natural and everything in there. [*Sound of flipping pages of a book*] Oh, [*laughing*] you got it!

And so the cultural aspect of the Black Power Movement too was very, very impressionable upon me, and as well as the political. And so I began to learn more about other movements across the world—because SNCC had international connections too. And we would do some of the very similar things in SNCC that we did— voter registration,

pickets and all that kind of thing, but it was more Black Consciousness Movement than SCLC was. And I describe in my book how I had to grapple with both of them.

JD: And you're doing this while you're at the University of North Texas?

HAYNES: No, no, my freshman year I went to Houston [Tillotson College], I went to a historical Black college in Austin, Texas. I didn't finish that, but I just went there a few years. And that was where in Austin I joined SNCC.

JD: Okay.

HAYNES: Okay, so when I went to Dallas I was already in SNCC. Yeah, I was already in SNCC, and in 1968 there was an attempted merger between SNCC and the Black Panther Party, and so some of us stayed with the party, and others didn't join. They had made Stokely a prime minister and H. Rap Brown minister of defense and James Forman, general secretary.

JD: So you're still in Texas?

HAYNES: I'm still in Texas.

JD: And SNCC and particularly the Black Panther Party, I mean J. Edgar Hoover called it the most dangerous organization in the country, I think at that time.

HAYNES: Oh yeah.

JD: So how are you navigating all of that?

HAYNES: Well, it was dangerous [*laughing*]. I think the background I had of being in the movement and making the automatic connection, which SNCC will move into that. And the next stage of the Black Cultural Revolution, was both knowledge and also another level of leadership. Because when I moved to the Dallas area, that was where I connected with some old SNCC leaders that were in SNCC in Dallas; they had a chapter of SNCC in Dallas. So I began to work with them. I spent a little time while I was in Dallas at El Centro Community College. I took a few courses there. I organized the Black student union there called Soul Student Organization for Unity of Liberation and took over the building and accidentally got kicked out of school there.

At the same time I was doing that, we were working to develop a Black Panther chapter. It was primarily people I had recruited from El Centro College—I was president of the Black Student Union there. [Other Party members included:] former SNCC members and then there were a few people in the community. And so we decided that we wanted to apply for a chapter in Dallas. So we actually made connection with the headquarters in Oakland at the time. They told us to meet them in Los Angeles. They were having a rally in Los Angeles. And Huey Newton was in prison at that time, and Bobby Seale was in prison too. And we had a connection because one of our members knew the interim chairman; David Hilliard was acting as chief of staff of the Black Panthers. And so we got into two car loads, and we drove all the way to Los Angeles.

And that was the time when Angela Davis had just got released. She was at the rally. And then the Chicago thing had went down in ’69, when Fred Hampton was killed. And we had a couple of people like Doc Satchel [Ronald “Doc” Satchel] and others that were at the rally, and then the New York 21. Now, Dhoruba [al-Mujahid bin Wahad] and some of them other Panthers were at the rally, but we were able to form a chapter, and they put Geronimo Pratt [Elmer “Geronimo” Pratt], as our supervisor over the chapter. And you may be familiar with Geronimo. He was one of the Amnesty 21 during that time. They had put a murder charge on him, and Johnnie Cochran was his lawyer then. He spent about twenty-seven years in prison on that charge. Johnnie Cochran got him out because the FBI and the intelligence had set that up on him, and he won fifty-million-dollar false

imprisonment suit against the Los Angeles Police Department. He later went on to Africa. He married Kathleen Cleaver's daughter and started a foundation of digging wells in Africa for villages and died over there in Tanzania maybe 10 years ago. Yeah, yeah.

Geronimo was a key person in the party—a Louisiana boy from southeast Louisiana, down there. And was an 82nd Airborne, part of their Phoenix program, (assassinated village chiefs of Viet Cong) in Vietnam. And so when he came back from Vietnam he was recruited into the Panther Party and became head of the Los Angeles chapter of the party. And so that's how we got our start. Now remember, my connection came through the SNCC at first, and then we were able to form a chapter in Dallas in '69 and got recognized in that chapter. I did a few things in Dallas and different areas. We were raided a couple of times, but nothing compared to other chapters. [I was targeted by the COINTEL program.] At that time I was one of the co-organizers, and I [was on the] FBI [watch list].

JD: So they had a dossier on you?

HAYNES: Yeah, the dossier. I was one of the persons that if there was a racial strife in America that I would be one of the persons that would be picked up because I was one of the major leaders—co-organizer of the party in Texas, [according to the Freedom of Information dossier].

JD: So this seems like it was an interesting political and perhaps philosophical evolution for you.

HAYNES: Yes. But it was still Movement-wise.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: Understand, the movement is still movement-wise, from tactics from non-violence to self-defense. But you have got to understand the history of freedom struggle

within Black America—from Nat Turner, Reverend Nat Turner, to Denmark Vesey. The church where Dylann [Roof] killed the people at Emanuel AME Church. That [church existed] in 1822, it was a church where the biggest slave revolt took place in America by Vesey. Vesey was an elder within the AME church there. They burned the church down after that, and it was eventually rebuilt there. [The process] of becoming more politically conscious, more of a revolutionary, and was the type of thing that took place in America.

And the 1960s, '68 was something else, okay? It was where the whole nation was in an upheaval between Vietnam, Civil Rights, like from riots and everything. It was a place where the nation was like it is now, searching for its identity and what direction it's going to go. And that took place. I often tell people, to me the '60s, that revolutionary period was like being a laboratory; it was like a laboratory. And you know you were not only experimenting and learning, you were part of the participants [making] the history. And so that period was a, it was great—I moved from being just an organizer to being a major leader in the movement [in Texas] during that period of time. I had some background while most people didn't have.

JD: I'm not quite sure how to ask this. You've talked about people seeing things in you, but at some point you have to see things in yourself to say, I've got what it takes to be a leader. Do you remember a particular moment, or it was just you kept stepping up and stepping up and there you were as a leader?

HAYNES: Well, my oldest sister, she used to tell me all the time that I was born to be a leader. She would constantly tell me, she reminds me of that all the time [*chuckles*]. But I think when I first started off in civil rights, even being an organizer-recruiter in [Beaumont]; I was always out there trying to bring people into the movement. But it was SNCC and eventually the Black Panther where I had major decision making power, in other words. What you decide is going to impact the lives of people, and you live with that—that if you make a mistake you can get people killed, okay, okay. And so I think that was a moment I think I had, when I made that move from Austin to Dallas. I knew at that point that I was

coming into, and had a desire at that point, to exercise leadership. It was in that transitional period that made the decision, and a part of it was because, like the Black student movement at El Centro College, nobody had the experience [*laughing*] that I had. And it was a combination then of [things.] but there was also inner desire to exercise the skills and the knowledge that I had learned through my journey.

I was [developing] in coming into my own and feeling a lot more confident because and growing up in school, I was a very shy person, very shy, very shy. But the movement took me out of my shell. It forced me to release those inner things that I believe were already in me. It put me in a position where I couldn't be shy [*laughing*] if I wanted things to happen and society to change and a dream to come forth.

JD: So how are you feeling? You've been talking for about an hour and a half now.

HAYNES: I feel good.

JD: So you want to go a little more?

HAYNES: We can go maybe 30 minutes more.

JD: Okay great. So I'm not really sure what your academic studies were when you started college, and that certainly morphed over time. And then you felt the call, and then you went and studied for the ministry. And so maybe you could kind of walk through that period.

HAYNES: You have to remember that I always was going to college and organizing, and going to college and in SNCC, going to college in the Black Panther Party. So I always had intellectual curiosity that was a part of my life. And it was enlightening by college. Now, El Centro was the first college that I went to with both Black and whites—a predominantly white [student body with black college students.] [It was a] junior college there in Dallas. I

was in class, and I was reminded of the high school teaching that you had to be excellent, and I was able to make great grades and compete. You begin to realize you can—you're just as smart as white people, and in most instances even better, you know, intellectual-wise. That was where I got my intellectual undergirding there.

And so, we had the chapter in the Dallas. It was highly infiltrated by the FBI, and there was a shootout that took place when I was not there. You had some of the members of the chapter came and testified against other members because they were informants in the chapter during that period of time. Prior to that I had led another cadre—separating myself from them because I saw some things that were going on that I could not ethically deal with. I think that's the core values that were in me from being a church boy. We started a new chapter and many of the cadre moved up with me to Denton, the University of North Texas. And from the University of North Texas, we began to continue the relationship with the Black Panther Party and continue to spread out even broader in Texas. We had cadres in West Texas; we had cadres in my home town of Beaumont, and East Texas, and Tyler, Texas, and different places like that; and went into Dallas. So we began to spread the Black Panther Party ideology and the cause throughout the State of Texas.

So, I was in school running the operation of the state party now, okay, at the same time. And also we had pretty much integrated the Black student union [with Party members] and then recruited a lot when I was there. Academically, I've always been excited about education and school.

Now, it was at the height of running this statewide operation that I got my calling into the ministry. It was what many in the Black preaching community called an Acts: 9 Apostle Paul in the Damascus road experience—we call it the Damascus road experience. Everybody doesn't have as a dramatic calling into the ministry like Paul that, formerly Saul had, but, I had that. I was at my headquarters, and then we always had bodyguards because at that time we were still under a lot of intensive pressure in the party. I had went to bed, and I had this transformative experience, spiritual experience, where I saw my spirit leaving my body and transcending up to heaven. I am going before the Throne of God and hear him speaking, not like I'm speaking, a voice, but an inner speaking within me, and

calling me into the ministry. And when I woke up that morning it had such an indelible imprint on me that I went to the university chaplain, and he knew who I was. He said, "I know you. You're that Panther."

And I told him, "What would I have to do to become a minister?"

And he said, "Are you sure about that?" [*laughing*]

I said, "Yeah, I am."

And he gave me some options and called me and told me to come back and talk to him. When I went back to the headquarters, and I told my leaders in my headquarter cadre and what I was going to do, half of them thought I was crazy. The other half said they have always seen that spiritual part in me as a leader. That was the point that I still was in the party, but I made a shift to eventually go fulltime into the ministry. Once I graduated from the University of North Texas, I was able to talk with a few people and was put in contact with a brother named Dr. Zan [Wesley] Holmes, [Jr.] at the United Methodist Church in Dallas; who was teaching at the seminary. And I was able to get a full scholarship to SMU [Southern Methodist University]. I started off in the church and made the circle and came right back to the church [*laughing*]. But when I look upon that journey I understand that all the time that God's grace and protection was with me because those were some dangerous times. I could have been killed in prison and all of those things could have happened. I realize in retrospect that he was guiding me on that journey all the time, as he guided Saul on the Damascus Road. Opportunity and other things began to open up, and I still ended up teaching at colleges, pastoring, and community activist. It was a life-changing experience, life-changing experience.

The niche that helped me a lot is, I would say: how am I going to integrate all of this and put it together into ministry? The organizing skill of being a community advocate to ministry and everything else, so that was already there. The philosophy and the theology, and then at that same time, while I was in seminary, James [H.] Cone had come out with his book *A Black Theology of Liberation* about all the movement and his systematic theology. When I became president of the Black seminaries, [I had the opportunity] to bring him down to the school. That gave me a way of synthesizing, and, of course, it brought me

to another level. That gave me a way of being able to put the theology and philosophy together—seeing Jesus as a liberator from the bonds of social sin as well as personal sin. So from being able to synthesize that into a theological—in fact, for my master thesis I did it on liberation theology.

JD: And so it sounds like some of that maybe wasn't taught at the seminary. Those were pieces that you were finding and bringing to it, or kind of studying on your own?

HAYNES: No *way* that was taught [*both laughing*]! I was doing a lot of individual research and cultural research. And, in fact, I had an Old Testament professor, and she ended up at Notre Dame for a while, the name of Dr. Phyllis Bird, and I had done a paper on Old Testament and African influences on the Old Testament. That was—*boom*—she said, "No they didn't." So we got back and forth in battle, and she said, "I'm not going to accept this." And she had me to do a new paper, and so I went on and did the new paper for the grade. But it's interesting, the same material that I was doing at that time came out new now, and shows the African influences [*laughing*]. It was a journey there too.

JD: You were ahead of the curve. So I'm a little inclined to end for today, just because I think we're going to start off on a whole new topic and not really be able to conclude it in the amount of time we have; if that is okay with you?

HAYNES: I would agree with that.

JD: Okay, great. Thank you so much.

HAYNES: Okay, yes.

[End of Session 1]

Session 2

2018 October 29

JD: Today is October 29, 2018, and this is the second interview with the Reverend Dr. LeRoy Haynes, Jr. in Northeast Portland and this is part of the Oregon Historical Society Oral History project. Wonderful to be with you again.

HAYNES: Glad to see you again.

JD: So last time we were talking you had just started to recount a few stories from your time at the seminary.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: And some of the challenges you were working through and the type of theology that spoke to you, as well as, getting your degree in theology. So perhaps if you could you just talk a little bit more—I know you had mentioned bringing Dr. James Cone to campus—and maybe just talk a little more about influences on your kind of developing theology and the way that you wanted to minister.

HAYNES: Well, with the background of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement and being a leader in the Black Panther Party and making that transition into ministry. After graduating from the University of North Texas—going directly into seminary, and I would say, the transition of having that calling on my life and in ministry. I sought out the chaplain, which led me eventually to a Black pastor and professor there; Zan Holmes was the reverend there. He was teaching a course there, too. I met him at a civic event, and he helped encourage me and led me to apply to Perkins [School of Theology at SMU, Dallas.]

Surprisingly, at that time, I received a full scholarship, academic scholarship, and paid for tuition, housing and those things. So it was a great help to me. But that first year I

had to adjust to moving from the political language to the language of theology and Bible. And many of the students had the background coming from the Bible undergraduate school colleges, but I didn't. It took me about a year to adjust, and once I learned the language and the lingo and everything, I began to move at a progressive rate and really enjoyed the coursework, as well as the fellowship among the students.

We had, maybe, about I would say, probably fifteen to twenty Black students. Perkins, which is the seminary at Southern Methodist University, was integrated in 1955. They brought five African Americans from the AME Zion Church and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church [the AME Church, United Methodist Central Jurisdiction] to integrate, even though the founder of Perkins, financially—Mr. Perkins had a covenant contract that no African Americans should attend the seminary. So once they worked out the logistics of being able to navigate the legal part of that and integrate the seminary, they brought those students in, but of course they had to stay in separate dormitories in that process.

But from there, they began to develop a very strong academic sense in terms of professor of the Bible and also sociology of religion, [theology] and other areas. Some of my professors were leading professors at Yale; before they went to Yale they were at Perkins. The president of Notre Dame was one of my New Testament scholars, so you had this array of strong academic scholarship that was there. At the same time, we continued to struggle to diversify the faculty there, and that was one of the main goals. I was one of the leaders of the Black Seminary in there that was always pushing for more Black faculty, which we eventually did get.

As well as the course work. I think, as I said previously, the coming of Dr. James H. Cone to Perkins from Union in New York to lecture, that was a critical key to opening up even more at the college because he was a strong Barthian scholar. [Karl] Barth was one of the great theologians of the twentieth century. [Cone brought a] Black perspective, a Black experience, the theology of liberation, and it shook up the university, [*laughing*] okay, at that time. But it helped me find my niche, my interconnectedness to the area that I was

in, and I say, you know, I found a place where I can use the skills and some of the knowledge that I have and integrate it into my future career as a pastor.

The degree I got was a Master of Theology. It is about ninety-two hours, four years of study, okay? So it's actually equivalent to a Doctor of Ministry; it's a teaching degree. But I had great professors. One of them allowed me to teach his class—Dr. [Klaus] Penzel, the historian. He was a youth during Hitler's reign in Germany and was in the Army. The Nazis recruited him in the army at the age of 16 during the last days of Hitler. But he was impressed by my academic abilities and so we became friends. There were other professors that I had developed relationships with in Sociology and also in Ethics. In fact, I graduated with Honors in Social Ethics from Perkins at that time. So, it began to be actually a tremendous experience.

I think there was also a pulling on me because when I would watch the news and demonstrations were still going on in different places, and I kept saying: I need to be there rather than here in this academic setting. But the spirit kept telling me, this is your time for preparation. And so I consistently stayed in the academic setting until I graduated from there, yeah. It was a tremendous, just gifted experience. And really, the knowledge, the skill level of breaking down the Old Testament and the New Testament, the theology—and it gave me a broader view of ministry beyond pastoring, you know.

All my colleagues and friends thought I was going to end up being a professor teaching. And it kind of shifted. I've always taught at colleges and pastored at the same time. I love the academic setting as well.

JD: You raise several interesting points, and I think in my research in preparing to talk with you, you know, there's certainly some comments have been made that there's not perhaps as much difference between the goals of the Black Panther Party and some of the goals of the Black church as far as freedom and self-help. And so I guess as you're also listening to someone like Dr. James H. Cone and all the studies that you're doing, kind of, how you saw that.

HAYNES: Well, the movement, what we call the Freedom Movement for Justice, has a history to it. Even back in slavery, where many of our freedom fighters for the abolition of slavery: the Reverend Nat Turner, Reverend Denmark Vesey—when in Charleston, where the shooting took place, in the church, this very church was where he led the biggest slave revolt in America as a deacon in the AME church. And because of that, that church was burned down, and it was rebuilt following that, later, and that was the church that Dylan Roof killed the pastor who was in the House of Representatives on the state level. But there's a history because the only institution the African American population had was the church; it was the church. And it was the invisible institution during slavery because sometimes the slaves would, late at night, even after hard work, slip into the woods and have a service, and put pots over their heads so when they shout the master could not hear it. And wake up early in the morning and back on the plantation field. That gave them hope of a new day.

Even in the settings where they allowed them to go to church, it was either in the balcony that they sat or they brought in white preachers, sometimes, to talk to them. But it was the indigenous fusion of what they understood as their indigenous African religion that was synthesized to what they learned of Christianity. There was always a screening. They never accepted fully what the master said about Jesus or what the white preacher said, but they would take parts of it—and particularly the prophets of the Old Testament as well as the teaching of the Gospel. But religion also was used to pacify the slaves, to tell them that they would have better days; don't worry about *this* life but wait till they get to heaven. So it was used both to pacify them, and it was used for liberation.

But the norm within the independent Black church, first with the AME reaching out to [Richard Allen and] Absalom Jones, that were in Philadelphia at St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church were praying and decided to go the altar and pray. And from the altar the white ushers came and got them and threw them out the church. They decided at that point to form the first independent Black church in the denomination. But the movement, the protest movement, the Freedom Fighters like Fredrick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman were AME Zion. They were a Freedom Fighter, okay? And they would have

conventions and organize conventions. And then Fredrick Douglass, of course, within time also created his own newspaper.

And so that rich history of abolition—and that even as slaves they were able to organize and use that spirituality. And when emancipation came the first named institution they had was the church. So the church became the place where you organized for community. It became the place where you set civil and behavioral codes; a place of teaching. You've got to remember that nearly ninety percent of the slaves could not read and write after emancipation, but between, less than seventy years that figure was totally changed. And that was basically because we had schools *in* the churches. Elementary schools, and mixed grades, and sometimes it was just one class. But one of the things that they knew quickly, they had to develop an economic base so businesses would organized in the church. Schools were operated and organized in the church and facility wise. And so all of this took place and then, in terms of the NAACP—its whole base has been in the church and of course when the modern day Civil Rights Movement came in, with Rosa Parks, it was organized in a church.

And so the movement, the liberation movement, even during Reconstruction, many of the first Black representatives, there was something around eleven of them I believe, the larger portion came out of the church as preachers. Because they're the first at the church that learned how to read and write and many of them had education in that particular manner. And so the backbone of what scholars C. Eric Lincoln and E. Franklin Frazier talks about the Black church was that invisible/visible institution—because you didn't have any other organized institution to what speak for Black people. When the lynchings between post-Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement—it was normally the Black preacher went and negotiated for the bodies to be taken down and given to the family. So it has always provided that institution, you know, and that's a forgotten history. But that was the core foundation of the Freedom Movement from the Abolitionist Movement to the Civil Rights Movement and onward.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: It was only later that we began to develop those civil rights organizations like NAACP, Urban League. SCLC, of course, was formed in a church. Many of those institutions did not come until the 1900s that they began to form and develop. But even today, which is different between the predominate white church and the predominate Black church is that Black people still look for their church to be involved in improving the social life of their community, and for the pastor to be involved in improving the social life of the community.

JD: So from that rich history and your recent academic studies, maybe you could just kind of lay out a little bit of where your next steps went as you started your professional life as a minister.

HAYNES: Well I was torn between, as I said previously, between academics and the church. So once I graduated from Perkins I ended up being the Dean of Chapel at Huston Tillotson College, which was a historical Black College that was supported by the United Methodists and the United Church of Christ. And so that was my first academic setting where I was actually a professor and Dean of Chapel there. I enjoyed that very much, but I had a desire to pastor. And I got that desire, I got a call to come and pastor in Dallas, Texas. I was able to achieve that, and in Dallas, you know, I had already had a background with the Party and SNCC and all of that. So, I was, even as pastor, I began to become engaged and active in the community as well as doing the pastoral things in the church of preaching and pastoring, and those kinds of things—the teaching and counseling and so on, as well as involved in the community. At the same time I was doing that, I moved from pasturing, for a while to, executive director of Urban Ministry for the Dallas Community of Churches, which is like the Council of Churches. They couldn't call it council there because they were very conservative in Dallas, okay [*laughing*]—Council of Churches was like a communistic name. [*both laughing*]

So I spent several years there in Dallas as the community church directing the urban ministry. And one of the great programs I had is bringing together what we call Black partnership of taking members in a white suburban church and matching them with either a predominately Black church or a neighborhood group to work on target goals in a community or a neighborhood. Then I created what was called kind of a family partnership where we would identify welfare mothers and get a circle of about seven people from a white suburban church and began to partner them in a covenant relationship with welfare mothers to help them achieve a better quality of life—go to college, get jobs, and stuff like that. So that ended up using a lot of my same skills [*laughing*] of organizing but it was another umbrella. So I was very, very thankful for that.

But while I was doing all of this I was recruited by the Senior Bishop of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. He saw my work and wanted me on his staff. He was over the National Church as well as the State of Texas. And so I ended up moving from United Methodist to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church through Bishop Caesar David Coleman, you know, in that process. I really had a combination of being his administrative assistant and, at the same time, teaching at Texas College, another Black historical college, and Dean of Chapel down there at the same time. So it was the combination of stuff.

And slowly as we were going, we began to organize a couple of my clergy friends, a Black clergy organization in Dallas to deal with social issues. And we were engaged in several different major cases in Dallas on issues of justice and everything. We closed a thirty-billion-dollar lead plant down working with the neighborhood in West Dallas and so we—it was a combination of doing all of those issues of the social justice issues coming forth, mm hmm.

JD: You mentioned that you got a call to go to a particular situation. Maybe just expand on that for people who might not know what that term means and what that involves.

HAYNES: Well, one the preachers that I organized was the son of the bishop, Darrell H. Coleman, he was a pastor in Dallas. And we were able to put together an organization

called Concerned Black Clergy and Laity of Dallas. And so he was a very, very bright and sharp and engaged brother. Pastor Coleman would see me in Dallas, Texas, and he was impressed very much with my organizing skills and my abilities to pull people together. And he shared that with his father, and his father invited me over for dinner sometime. But there were a few years that passed before he eventually invited me. They had never had an administrative staff person before, secretary, an administrative secretary, but he invited me to join his staff, and so I decided to do it, and it was a wonderful journey. We did quite a lot of different things. We were able to pull together the first Black Church Conference on HIV and AIDS. It was in 1988, okay, okay.

JD: That's early.

HAYNES: He was that kind of progressive to still do that and do quite of a few different things. And it was a job because what you had to do, we had five conferences that you would have to cover in the whole State of Texas, and plus he was over the National Church so I lived out of a suitcase a lot [*laughing*].

JD: And you said this was like the mid-'80s.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: That you were there, and you're also talking about an interesting tension, I guess might be the word, between this progressive person that you were working for, your own progressive ideas and that Dallas was a rather conservative place. Can you talk a little about sort of how you were finding that balance and still being able to make progress and move what you thought was important forward?

HAYNES: You learn over a period of time to navigate waters with different people, with different political viewpoints, different ideologies. And so you learn how to do person-to-

person relationship skills of being able to hear people that have different political views but at the same time hold fast to what you believe and also be able to share that. And so those are the skills that you learn. I always had the concept that one of the founders of Methodism, John Wesley, would say that: let us agree on the essentials and debate the non-essentials. So I've always believed that if you can find some common agreement with people on some of the essentials and then you can continue the debate on the non-essentials. But you pull people together in coalition to be able to achieve the goal and the purpose. And that is one of the things Dr. King was so great at, pulling broad coalitions of people together.

And so in Dallas we had at the very, very conservative ministry alliance in Dallas—they were deeply conservative. We had the white political economic establishment. It was a very controlled city, and you didn't get into leadership unless you were invited, we called it "sitting in the chair." They would put you on certain boards for a while and see whether you act right or do right before they move you to a higher position.

In Dallas you had to join Hunt, [John M.] Stemmons, R.L. Thornton, they had the big oil barons—H.L. Hunt. They had what was called the White Citizen Council, and the White Citizen Council controlled the city and everything that went on in the city. If you want to run for office you get their approval, whatever needed to be done. But there were other cities that had similar White Citizen Councils, in Birmingham and other places, yeah. But you learned to navigate the waters and to bring people together for change.

People ask me sometimes: what's the difference between Dallas and Portland? I say, in Dallas you had to knock the door down to get to the table to negotiate. [*laughing*] In Portland they invite you to the table, and then hear you out and then put it in File 13. So there's a difference of how they do things. But we were able to get single-member districts to get in through a lawsuit in Dallas, and they elected African-American representatives, and so that was a big change. The city right now—you've had Black mayors, Black district attorneys, county chairs, and so it's a big difference. But the foundation was laid during that period of time.

JD: So you've talked about both sort of learning strategies as well as perhaps using the courts—

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: —at times, which is something that you're still involved in and maybe you could just talk a little about the role of using the courts in getting changes in place.

HAYNES: Well, I think over the years, because I had the experience of the Civil Rights Movement with SCLC, the movement of SNCC, and then the Black Panther Party, I engaged a variety of different strategies of what is the best way. And many instances you have to look at the context of the situation for that time and that place and develop a strategy of the best way of achieving your goals of pushing for a better quality of life for African Americans and others. Also, in terms for putting people in positions of power and those kind of things, but mostly in terms of improving the quality of life for the masses of people.

So I was able to digest those experiences and learn how to use strategies and tactics based upon circumstances. All tactics and strategies are not useful, okay, just because you say you did it in the past; you did it before. And so the broad range. I've always seen in the movement like a major army—everybody is not going to play the same role. Some people are going to pursue the legal part of it, some people are going to pursue the grassroots organizing of it; some are going to pursue the educational part; some people are going to pursue the building of coalition. But all of them are vital parts of the comprehensive that make changes in a city, in a nation.

And you have to put that under the umbrella of a broad vision of inclusiveness in the equality and justice. And so when you do that, when you approach it not with a narrow ideology, you approach it with that comprehensive way of looking at what your goals can be. The same with other groups, but of having that inclusive world that we want to be on,

that Beloved Community that you're able to adjust quicker, able to respond quicker, and make adjustments.

So, I guess that has, over the years, become a part of me here. Because one of the first things that I did was with the AMA—Dr. [T. Allen] Bethel as president and I as vice president—began to talk to them about we need a broader coalition to deal with the police abuse and deadly force. So with that I began to say, you know you have to acknowledge that you are a small part of the population you're six percent of the population. So you've got to make coalitions with other people. And so we began to make coalition with the Latino Network, we began to make coalition with the progressive groups, ACLU, League of Women Voters, and bringing the white churches and pastors and activists, bringing them together in a coalition. When that takes place you leverage power in a greater way in order to make the changes that are needed. But if you stay in your own little enclave, the battle—I'm not saying you can't achieve it—but the battle is harder. But, with a coalition, you bring everybody along.

But one of the things that I do believe, and SNCC is very important, one of the points—when I was in SNCC, when you're dealing with issues in the Black community, it is very important that Black leadership lead because we went through a whole cultural identity struggle with that, of self-esteem and culture. And so that is critically important.

JD: So why don't we just continue on talking about the Albina Ministerial Alliance.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: Which had been in existence maybe about—

HAYNES: 70 years.

JD: So about 20-30 years almost by the time you arrived in Portland in 1997. Maybe just talk a little about how you became involved with the AMA and then a little bit more about your work through them or with them.

HAYNES: Well, first when I came to Portland, my first priority was to stabilize my church—to get involved in my church and to do training there. And so I brought many of my ministry program-wise that I had. I had created a model drug abuse program called Resurrection where in terms of using a twelve-step, but they are Christian-centric steps. So I created a network of churches in Texas and about seven different cities with this program. Then I also was working with HIV and AIDS, okay, and trying to get into churches saying, this is not just a white male issue. This is an issue that will impact Black people and all people. And, so that program; and then the homeless program.

And so the church here had done ministry, when I first came here, they had a closet pantry next to the church, but I told them I had developed, already, a program in Texas, where I had what I called an emergency aid center for food, clothing, and personal hygiene, and baby formula and everything like that. So we moved that pantry in a closet to a full operation of impacting having people there on a regular basis, four times a week, in a house, giving out food and clothing to impact more people. And so these programs began to become more effective. Once I got that done I began to train leaders to help operate. I think one of the beautiful things of my career in ministry I have over twenty-five pastors that have come up under me pastoring their own churches now.

JD: Okay.

HAYNES: So I thank God for that gift of being able to develop leadership and to produce this. But I was always a program person, a ministry person, and those kinds of things you know just flow out of me [*both chuckling*] as gifts going back as an organizer. And so once I got my church stabilized and became involved in maybe three different groups in communities, I chose the Portland Organizing Committee, the EMO—Ecumenical

Ministry of Oregon because I used to be a staff person in the Community of Churches in Dallas, and AMA, so those were the three groups.

I was very highly involved in the beginning of the Portland Organizing Committee that was mainly supported by the Roman Catholic Church here as a grass root. They were doing some great things. But I always have a heart for improving the life of the African-American community and communities of color and the poor and so the work that AMA was doing eventually drew me to help develop the organization. You had a great leader at that time doing it that was [Rev.] A.W. Wells at Emmanuel Temple, and so I came and worked with him. And Dr. Bethel was the vice president at that time.

Because when he left office at the AMA and Dr. Bethel became, we just almost automatically kind of instinctively became a glue to each other. We were able to affirm each other's gifts and graces, and had a similar view of the world, and an improvement of life and how to do things and just had a burning connection like King and Abernathy had within that process. So, that relationship developed and eventually, of course, the broadening of the AMA within a coalition for justice and police reform.

JD: Well that's an important piece that you've been very involved with that coalition so maybe you could just move into that piece.

HAYNES: But I want to also mention as part of the AMA, they recruited me also to be their first clergy in a Cascade AIDS project here. Cascade AIDS [*building door bell*] project is the biggest advocate group and program group for HIV and AIDS victims here in Portland. So I ended up working with them because of my work with the HIV and AIDS in Texas. And the Balm and Gilead Program, which is a national program, that's another program I brought to Portland. Balm and Gilead had folks specifically penetrating Black churches and educating them on HIV and AIDS. And so that was a program that the AMA incorporated as part of their program through here. But at the same time I was doing that, I was working with Cascade AIDS. And the Cascade AIDS, at that time, they were the main major organization in the city of Portland in the fight against HIV and AIDS, and they

recruited me. The former director of Cascade AIDS became the director of the Red Cross. He heard of my work in Fort Worth; he was from Fort Worth, Texas. So I enjoyed that. I spent about three to five years with them advocating for them to kind of do more of a connection with the African-American community and other communities of colors, and they began to broaden and support some work there.

JD: And—

HAYNES: I think the highlight of that was that when the AMA incorporated Balm and Gilead. We had twelve pastors take the HIV/AIDS test. This had never been done in Portland, Oregon—African American head pastors took the HIV/AIDS test as a way of sending word to the African-American community that it was all right, and that this is an important issue.

JD: I did not know about that.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: That's a very interesting approach.

HAYNES: Yes, and we got a big poster, a banner of the pastors. That was a great accomplishment because during the '80s there was so much fear about AIDS and HIV and particular in communities of colors. And so penetrating churches with the right education was so critically important in getting the message to others, because you have the larger proportion of the African American population still that assembles on Sunday at churches, and if you can reach them you can pass the word to others.

JD: You mentioned the Resurrection program for—

HAYNES: Drug abuse.

JD: —drug abuse, and I think you had been involved in that also in Texas or really kind of at the founding of that program.

HAYNES: Yeah, yeah. My wife, the first one that died, Reverend Helen, she was a former recovering addict. And I will never forget, her mother came to me, I was the pastor of Carter Metropolitan Church. She said, "Pastor we need to do something about this crack in the community. We have so many children in our community and the church affected by that." And it is out of that, Reverend Helen, because she was an ordained minister too. We got together and designed the Resurrection Program.

I never forget, we started out with sometimes with just two or three people. And then all of a sudden it began to blossom because this was, you know, AA and NA, they [seldom had] meetings at churches [in Fort Worth]. But this was the first time an actual model program that is congregational-based began to happen. And people were seeking a bridge back to the church, and Resurrection became that bridge. And the Resurrection basically dealt with the thing that the addict is a seeker; what they're doing is trying to seek what God actually deals. They're trying to seek that nirvana, to have that quality of life and internal feeling of excitement and passion, and all of that. And those are the things that we were seeing at Resurrection; that it comes from God. Bill W. said the alcoholic seeks God from the bottom of a bottle. He seeks those things that what God willed with them.

So our program, a support group with twelve steps and just like NA except they were with scriptures. We were a Christian center so we had three components: intercessory prayer, we had, in turns we would read a text and apply it to one or more of the twelve steps, and then we would have group therapy. But the difference in our program—also we brought in some elders, some Big Mamas, some Papas and they were in the group as the wisdom of the group. And elders as well as co-dependents, we allowed those mothers or spouses and partners to come in, and it made for a dynamic mix. The

program just blossomed, and so we had so many the churches that wanted to we begin to set up a team to go out and help other churches organize themselves.

JD: And when you're doing these ministries and creating these program are you doing that kind of, clearly within the church, but within the sort of hierarchy of the church, and was there any questioning about your focus on HIV/AIDS education for example.

HAYNES: There was no question when I was at Texas. I remembered that the senior bishop of the church who I [served under], he's the one that first projected the idea and actually organized the first Black church and HIV and AIDS conference in the State of Texas. So with his leadership and his position and everything, the door was opened. Then, of course, over a period of time, the church embraced it too. But he was the pioneer. None of the other bishops were doing it at that time, but he kind of pioneered that. And I was his administrator that actually put it together and implemented it. Okay?

JD: Okay.

HAYNES: So that was that. Initially, you know you got a few flurries from the congregation at Carter CME. You know, some of the people said, "Well I guess pastor bringing all these addicts in the church I've got to hold onto my purse." Even though we never had any theft because people look out for each other and even the addicts that came wanted to work. They were looking for help and wanted to work and so there was no incident. And eventually the church embraced it because their children that were on drugs began to come to the meetings. And then we connected with other programs that had residential—and those that wanted a faith-based program, they would have the option of bringing in their members over to our program. So we began setting up stuff in Dallas and Houston and Galveston and other places across the state. But it made an impact on the lives of people. One of the things we say is if you can succeed in bringing sobriety to

an addict, you win a whole family because it impacts not one person, it impacts a whole family.

JD: So you're doing this really rich variety of pastoring and advocacy and—

HAYNES: Eventually I was recruited to be a president of the Bible College here, okay? [*laughing*] So I went back to the academics setting. First I was teaching at the North Portland Bible College here. I was teaching, and then eventually, when Dr. Brown came down he asked me to be the dean, and then I went from the dean to the president. And it was basically the Bible College actually started here at Maranantha as a way to become a kind of community-oriented bible college. And they were able to get one of the former drug houses that they had at that time—the city took from the owners and turned it into a bible college.

JD: And this is where it's still sits up on North Vancouver, correct?

HAYNES: Yes, that's it. That's the North Portland Bible College.

JD: And maybe just talk a little bit more about what the purpose of the North Portland Bible School was and what you were teaching there.

HAYNES: Well, I started out teaching Christian history not only in terms of—I've always been a great student of history. And so Christian history, I started out early Christian history, medieval history, and contemporary modern Christian history. So when I was a professor of course, when you move from professor to president, you focus on raising money, [*laughing*] okay—meeting people, and getting donors, and something like that. But I enjoyed the teaching. And I loved the original mission, that because many of the pastors and ministers in the African-American community didn't have opportunity to go to a seminary like I went to, but North Portland Bible College provided a reasonable tuition. At

one time it was seventy-five dollars for tuition per hour for students to go, and it provided that opportunity, because we would have professors from Warner Pacific, professors from George Fox and they come in and teach the same course for seventy-five dollars an hour! Seventy-five dollars an hour and here you can get this education, boy, that you'd be paying three hundred dollars an hour. And so it worked that way. It gave ministers and evangelists and Sunday school teachers an opportunity to get formal education at a very community-oriented and reasonable price.

Then the other part of it they offered seminars and symposiums. Like for youth ministry, you want to help increase your skills in being a better youth minister, counseling, and all of those regular coursework of a regular college. They only provided an Associate Degree, though, but we were able to have feeder schools like Multnomah [Biblical Seminary] and Warner and George Fox that we could send students to. But I've always enjoyed teaching. I think next to the ministry and the movement it's just a way to impact lives of people. I think a lot of my family would say, boy you're not gonna ever finish school you gonna be in school the rest of your life. [*laughing*]

JD: Well, and I think while we're talking about kind of teaching, continuing to go to school, you did go back and get your PhD in ministry, do I have that correct?

HAYNES: Doctor of Ministry.

JD: Doctor of Ministry.

HAYNES: Doctor of Ministry at TCU [Texas Christian University], I was pastoring in Fort Worth. I had an opportunity to take courses on the side while I was pastoring. And so it eventually evolved into going for the D.Min program. The D.Min program is not as long as the PhD program, which is like 3 years. You can get a Doctor of Ministry, which is a professional degree, in one year; a combination of classwork and paperwork. So I was able to take that route because of pastoring and active in the community at the same time and

going to school too. So it was helpful. It was a lot easier than my Master's of Theology because it had so much coursework, with ninety-two hours. The D.Min was quite light to me.

JD: But it seems like that's an interesting dynamic for a minister who's giving of themselves to their congregation, to their community, but at some point you as a person, or you as a professional needs some nurturing and perhaps recharging and new knowledge.

HAYNES: Yeah. I think you hit on something—that's one of the points of academic work and knowledge. You have other colleagues, like in the D.Min program and others that you can talk with on theological issues that your average member may be not interested in, but you're able to broaden your knowledge and development of systematic theology. And I get excited about new archeological discoveries of ancient sites in the Bible and excited about new eschatological work—that's the way we break down the scripture and the historical context, literary context, and the ancient language. And the way new developments of developing pastoral leadership and counseling and that type of thing. I did my CPE at Parkland Hospital where [John F.] Kennedy got assassinated, well not assassinated, but went to after the assassination [for medical treatment].

But I've always been a knowledge seeker. I get excited about—I read books I maybe read two or three books at one time. Everywhere I go I bring a book. I get excited about teaching other people what I've learned. And that's a personal fulfillment for me to want to learn, I get a fulfillment, and I get a fulfillment out of teaching what I learn.

[Also], I got a chance to go and do some work, post-doctoral, at Boston University, Martin Luther King's old school. And that was, oh my, oh my! We had gotten a grant, you had to apply, by one of the major drug companies in Minneapolis, to go to Boston. And that was very exciting because here's where some of my great people that influenced me: Dr. King attended, and Howard Thurman, the great Howard Thurman, who was on *Time* magazine as one of the greatest thinkers in the twentieth century. He was Dean of Chapel

at Boston, the first African American being a chaplain. And I've still got his works in *Jesus and the Disinherited* and *The Search for a Common Ground*. These are some of the great minds. And he was actually, as I say in my book, when Dr. King used to carry his book, *Jesus and the Disinherited*, around with him. And then we had colloquies and seminars, group papers that you do together and everything. But it was rich and exciting. Then we got a stipend for it [*laughs*]! So, oh my! That was an enjoyable time to be in Boston. It lasted about nine months; I believe it was about nine months of the year. And we had to go up there at least three times for sessions. The other work was research and paperwork.

JD: Am I understanding correctly that this was sort of focused on urban ministry?

HAYNES: Yes, developing more pastoral excellence skills in urban ministry. So it was urban ministry coursework.

JD: Can you expand a little on what the geographic reach of other participants were? And you talked about research.

HAYNES: All over, from Chicago, New York, Birmingham, Atlanta, California, they were from all across the country. And, of course, when you are in these colloquies and other sessions you get different points of view. And you're able to, in the discourse and the collective paper writing, to really synthesize our deals together. Because on that level, the doctorate level, D.Min, it's actually group stuff, group research type of stuff, and to put the pieces together for the final paper and all of that. I think what excited me was the fellowship of bringing minds of pastors across the country in different regions, different cultures, and it was just exciting; it was just exciting. And it was a stimulus for me. Because one of the things that has been in urban ministry, one of the big things we learned is that you can get burned out. A lot of people leave the ministry sometimes because they just get burned out. They get burned out, yeah.

JD: And just watching you this clearly was a renewal.

HAYNES: [*Laughing*] Oh yeah! It was an exciting, exciting time. And some of those relationships, we still call each other every now and then. I have a heart for education, as I say, even going back in middle school when I talked about the teacher that simulated me to read Alexander the Great. It's just like something opened up in my mind, and from then on it was a race to learn. And that's why teachers are so important. Yeah, teachers are so important, even though they're not paid that much, but they are very important.

JD: So you're doing okay to go for a little bit more?

HAYNES: Yes, we can go a little more.

JD: Okay, so we've moved around a bit but for the most part all of your professional career had been in the south, in Texas, maybe a little in Louisiana?

HAYNES: A little bit in Louisiana. Dean of Chapel at Southern University at New Orleans; that was where I built a chaplainship program from scratch at SUNO. I like New Orleans, New Orleans is an interesting place [*laughs*].

JD: A little bit different than Dallas, Texas.

HAYNES: Yes, quite a difference. I describe it sometimes like being in a foreign country [*laughs*]. With the different blending of Caribbean and Irish and French [and Spanish]; just a variety of different cultures.

JD: And so after this life mostly in the south the bishop appoints you—

HAYNES: Well, I was recruited. I tell the story—people ask me all the time: how did you get up here? [*both laugh*]

JD: Because in you pre-interview you said this was the furthest north you'd ever been.

HAYNES: Bishop E. Lynn Brown, who was over the Ninth Episcopal District, that's his region, he recruited me to come work for him. In Methodism, you can actually move from Episcopal district to Episcopal district on your own calling if a bishop receives you.

JD: Okay.

HAYNES: Okay, okay. So he recruited me. He wanted us to develop some leadership up here in the conference up here. This is called the Alaska Pacific Regional Conference, and the pastor at Allen Temple, where I pastor, now was moving to be able to go into the military chaplaincy. And so I was doing a transitional job to try and pull a church together in Oklahoma, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and had done a fairly good job there and the people had come together and the church had stabilized.

So I got this call and it said, "Dr. Haynes I want you to look at going to Portland."

I said, "Where is Portland?"

He said [*laughing*], "Aww, you know the Blazers—that basketball team." [*both chuckle*]

I said, "I thought I was going to Los Angeles."

"Well, you know, I need somebody up here."

I said, "Bishop, I'm going to have to pray on that one."

Bishops don't like you to tell them [*laughing*] you've got to pray. They think they have already prayed before they asked.

So, I prayed on that. I said, "That's really going far from home because all my family is still in Texas, and everything like that."

And when you invest so much into a city, which I had did in Dallas and Fort Worth and in that region in Texas, you've given it your blood, sweat, and tears. And to pick up and to go that far is something that you—. So I prayed about it and talked to my best friend is Dr. Lynn Mims in seminary. And so I called him, and he prayed for me. Then he popped up one day. He came all the way from St. Louis where he pastored to have special prayer with me on that because he noticed it was really bothering me—trying to make a decision on whether to leave the legacy I have in Texas and to come North.

I prayed. I prayed deeply, and the Lord answered my prayer. I noticed one night about two or three in the morning he woke me up and brought me to a scripture. It said, "Do you want to be the priest of one house or a priest of many houses?" And so I got up that morning and felt confirmed and called the bishop and told him that I was willing to go.

He asked me, he said, "If I would have sent you would you have went?"

I said, "I don't know about that." [*laughs*] Bishops don't like you to tell them that.

I said, "That's a hard decision."

But, when I got off the plane here, I said, this is God's country. It's so beautiful. And coming from East Texas where everything is flat, you know?

The region and the city grew on me. And I eventually, of course, ended up not only the pastor at Allen Temple, but the supervisor of three states here: Alaska, Washington and Oregon and the churches in their states. So what was spiritually affirmed came out to be true. [*background* voices] But I have really enjoyed the work, the ministry, the colleagues like Dr. Bethel and [Rev. Mark] Knutson and others that I've met. Just have an impact on this city and state and region. It's been truly a humbling experience and experience of just improving the quality of life for people.

JD: So aside from the physical beauty of Portland and Oregon when you first arrived do you remember some of your first impressions about the community, and the city, and culture?

HAYNES: Oh! [*laughing*] Yeah. I moved first, and then my wife moved up. We'll never forget one of the first things we were doing, we were in Fred Meyer in southeast, there, off Glisan [and 102nd]. And she was shopping for some things. And there was a white child, and he turned around and said, "Mommy is that a nigger there?"

I said, oh my! We came this far along [*laughing*]—" But it was a reality. It was also different culturally, you know, because coming from the South, has a strong African-American culture, historical culture and in a variety of different areas. Culture is just a part of the life and blood of the South and of Black culture. So that was a missing element.

And then also, I could for weeks sometimes and not see another Black person except in my church. So that was an adjustment, but it was a good adjustment, because it pushed me [*phone rings*] to minister to white people, and it pushed me to broaden my area of ministry. And because I believe that the gospel of Jesus Christ, if properly proclaimed can reach anybody of any race or ethnic group or culture that you're in. So I became excited about that, and so in terms of helping transition my ministry—because in the South, most of the churches are still pretty much fully Black or white. You very seldom have any—it's changing a little bit now, but not that much. But this was a new excitement, a new transition for me, and I was excited about it. And then, the same thing at the bible college, where ninety percent of the classes were white, ten percent Black. [*laughs*]

But those are some of the idiosyncrasies. And the other thing was in terms—we had gotten a lot more sophisticated movement-wise in the South and everything, in terms of the conscious development, and the political development of civil rights. Then to come here and not see more representatives—[in a time when], we were electing people—mayor, state senators, a variety of different things. So that was also a distinct difference that existed. Mm-hmm.

JD: Mm-hmm.

HAYNES: So, those kind of things. But I just enjoy the region, the natural beauty, and the people and the ministry I have has a multi-racial following now [*laughs*]. I get a lot of

invitations to speak from a variety of different cultural groups all the time, and a lot of great respect in other communities in this city.

JD: And maybe talk a little about what the congregation was like at Allen Temple CME when you first arrived, and how you started to develop your ministry there.

HAYNES: It was a traditional Methodist, Black Methodist, congregation. Meaning that they were still doing a kind of traditional Order of Worship, except for the music; they were strong in gospel music and everything like that. I did a lot of teaching on the structure and the polity, the beliefs of the Methodist church. And many of them had, some but not many, had not received that on how the church. You know, when I go into something, I always think organizational-wise—what the structure is and how it's working, how effective is it.

It was a learning experience there, because my emphasis was on Wesley's revival spirit. And so I taught them about Wesley, which they hadn't been taught about before. It's been mentioned, but I was kind of deeply intense and let them understand the history of how the movement of revival started and the working of God and the Holy Spirit. And the beauty of Wesley, and his brother Charles was the hymnologist, but he was the sort of like the organizer. He was a genius in organizing stuff and also a great writer and theologian. I brought that in training as an educator, of course, I emphasized training by training officers and members on the job, not just putting them in a job, and then they train for the job.

So the church began to embrace, over the period of several years, the emphasis on going back to the original teaching or the emphasis on the Holy Spirit as well as the word of God and the dynamic social witness of the Methodist movement. See, a lot of them didn't understand that the abolitionist movement was in England between people like John Newton. And one of the great legends [John] Newton has, author of "Amazing Grace," was a former slave ship captain and was one of the major leaders of the abolitionist movement. And later they joined [William] Booth, and that the Salvation Army came out of the Methodist movement.

JD: Sure.

HAYNES: And I'm trying to think of the great British parliamentarian the lawyer that introduced the law to anti-slave—I can't think of his name right now. [William Wilberforce ?] The Methodist movement was anti-slavery and Wesley wrote a letter to the Methodist movement in America that you cannot be a Methodist and own a slave—even though those in the South did anyway. And of course, by 1844, the church split like many other churches, when a bishop brought a slave girl to the general conference. But it had been building up way before that in the Methodist South and Methodist North. So there's a rich history there in how the circuit rider, the preacher, went from one church to church and how the revival movement, and along with the Baptist Methodists, were able to evangelize very great during the period of slavery.

So that teaching led them to embrace the revival spirit and also the outreach ministry. Because that's something I pushed from the heart: you're not expressing God's love unless you were ministering to people. And the church embraced it. Some people thought the change was too quick. It produced growth in the church, and you had more white members coming in, and the church became an engaged church in the city. And we were known throughout the city for our ministries, outreach ministries; and are still known by that.

One of the great tragedies, when we had our fire and the building burned about two and a half years ago, and we were in the process of restoring the church that was over 100 years old. The building was a German Evangelical and we bought it from them in 1960 and tried to preserve as much of the history of the structure of the building as possible.

There was actually two fires. One was a small electrical fire that started in the fellowship hall the basement, and they quickly put that out. And then I got home, I was writing on my sermon, the finishing touches, and got another call.

They said, "Pastor I know you're not going to want to hear this, but the church is on fire again." [*laughs*]

JD: This was like in the span of twenty-four hours.

HAYNES: Yeah, yeah.

JD: I didn't know that.

HAYNES: So we had a second fire. And that was the one that started—it was kind of a big windstorm, and a transformer burst, and the wires electrified the roof, and so the roof started burning; the inside of the roof downward. It was about a five-engine alarm fire; they had fire engines everywhere on that. Dr. Bethel was with me that night, and he invited me to have worship at his church. And so since then we've been worshiping here as we continue the building and restoration of the church.

JD: And your two churches are what about virtually three or four blocks apart.

HAYNES: [*laughing*] About four blocks apart, yes.

JD: Well, I did talk with Dr. Bethel before, at your suggestion, and he just talked about how difficult it would be to not have your physical space. Clearly religion is much more than the physical space but it plays a role.

HAYNES: Oh yes.

JD: So I guess I was interested to hear you maybe talk a little bit more about the importance of that.

HAYNES: Well, physical space is very important because in terms of whether it's in your home or your rental place—it's identity. Even though we have received a tremendous welcome over here, and the church has really gone out of the way, the congregation still

wants to get back home. And I understand that and I totally agree with that vision too. Even though, one thing, it's harder to keep all of the ministries at the level that we are on because they all also have three other churches here at Maranantha that use the space.

JD: I had no idea.

HAYNES: They have a Haitian church and two Latino churches that are here, okay. So the expansion of ministries, the ministries are still going on with some outreach and everything, but they are limited as far as expansion is concerned. It's sort of a psychological thing, where it was traumatic for people stand and watch their church to burn. It's traumatic in terms of time wise, and it of course affects the membership because we have to do a late service.

We had two other services; one was at 8:00 in the morning, which was more of traditional Methodist service. Some churches strategy-wise just eliminate tradition and contemporary, but I provided that option for the people: traditional Methodist and a contemporary service. And so we were able to pull larger numbers of people. Now, Portland is rough when it comes to institutional churches. It's hard enough to just keep people going in institutional churches in the North. A big difference than the Bible-belt South because everybody, even if they don't go to church regularly, say they've got a home church [*chuckling*] okay? Because religion is so key as part of the culture down there.

Here we have, because of the time and everything, we've lost some membership on that. And that's why we certainly want to get back into the building. But the Spirit, God uses everything, whether he has grown a lot of the core membership and their faith during this experience. So there's a tremendous personal faith growth in the people and the core group of the church and the officers, as far as in terms of a strengthening and revitalization of their faith.

JD: So you've been talking for almost an hour and three-quarters.

HAYNES: Okay.

JD: Would you like to take a break or do you want to go a little more, it's totally up to you?

HAYNES: How long are you talking about?

JD: Another fifteen minutes.

HAYNES: Okay, let's go another fifteen minutes.

JD: Okay. So you started talking about when you first came to town and you fairly quickly hooked up with the Albina Ministerial Alliance.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: And some of the work that you've done through them. And you touched a little on the Coalition for Justice and Police Reform, and I know it's been an important piece of Portland history.

HAYNES: Yes, yes.

JD: As well as work that you've done with some of the people that you've mentioned—Dr. Bethel and Reverend Mark Knutson. And could you kind of just set-up what the history was and what the coalition is about and has worked on?

HAYNES: We started off in 2003 with the Kendra James case. There was a couple other cases I worked with before that. Byron Nelson case; there was a shooting of him by the police in a hotel, and then there was a case of a young adult that was stabbed and

killed by a Skinhead downtown. So I kind of was the organizer in that case. But the Kendra James case was the case that created such a heartfelt touch of the young Black woman being killed by the—and I mean, it rippled all, even across the river, to the southwest. And so one of the things that I already had organizing skills of how to pull people together in a movement. The organization was already there with the clergy organization.

I just used my skill in development—how to organize a march: how to promote it and how to just advocate and push for policy and changes to take place. This march was key. It drew about 5,000 people. It was, I think, way beyond our expectations of the number. And then from the Kendra James case we had a rapid set of cases. I think we realized, after the Kendra James case, that it's hard to get pastors to stay with their other work on this day-to-day—that we needed a broader section of this city. And then we were able to bring in the Latino Network and the Cop Watch. They had, the ACLU brought in their ecumenical groups to churches. And so the coalition evolved really, really. And so by the time of the [James] Chasse case, and also [Aaron] Campbell—but the Campbell case really blossomed the coalition.

Once those two cases, I think were pivotal cases, one being a white male homeless person that was beaten to death by the Portland Police and not given proper service, even after going to the county. And the other one was Campbell, Aaron Campbell being shot in the back. Now, even in Texas where we are called "boys," but we don't believe in shooting people in the back, [*chuckling*] okay? So those cases were key and instrumental. And so this is where also in terms of strategy and tactics, we began to put pressure on City Hall and the mayor to make the necessary changes.

But one of those things was to broaden the strategy to look in terms of the legal arena of bringing in the Department of Justice. And so we were able to— there's always been an investigation; the FBI does an investigation about the shooting, but they never reported back to the public. But we realized, through our research, if we call for an audit, a federal audit—a federal audit is just like an audit—you come in and look at all the aspects of the whole institution, you know.

And so we were able to do that and we were able to build up a portfolio and got the two senators to support it, the mayor [Sam Adams], [City Commissioner Dan] Salzman, and from where DOJ—Department of Justice—came down. The Civil Rights Division did some research and investigation, and we really had brought them down on the thing of racial disparity in the shootings. But I think they took the easy route; they were able to find more evidence with the mental illness cases because, if you remember, we had a series of mental illness shootings. In fact, Bernie [Foster] and his newspaper, *The Skanner* had written, "Should you call the police if you have a mentally ill son or daughter?"

And so those kinds of thematic approaches, I think, touched the heart of the people especially, I'd say, the Campbell and Chasse cases. The DOJ rendered a decision that the Portland Police Bureau was using unnecessary force against the mentally-ill person, perceived to be mentally ill. That particular aspect led to the DOJ coming in and filing a lawsuit against the city to correct the problem. Well, while in the court, federal Judge Michael Simon, was hearing that and hearing our testimony, decided that he was going to do a new legal precedent. So he gave us something he created, which would be in the law books forever now, you know. It's called enhanced *amicus curiae*. And so usually a committee group, like the NAACP, can file a brief with the other briefs on a case, but that's about it. But he gave us enhanced *amicus curiae* which allowed us to help redesign, to design, the actual strategies and programs for a change in the Portland Police Bureau.

And so that meant that we had opportunities to be in all of the meetings between the city government and DOJ and the bureau. And, to make recommendations and to be a part of the decision making, and those changes. So that opened up a whole flourish of, you know—this is before Black Lives Matter and all that, Ferguson, and all that took place. And it kind of put the Coalition on the map. The Coalition grew bigger and bigger. There were other shootings that would take place, but we began to impact the Civilian Review Committee, the IPR [Independent Police Review], and all of those groups. We began to help design those kind of things [to reform the bureau]. And we are still in the court and that process of reforming. We still have a long way to go for changes but it definitely was an institutional beginning and historically and legal precedent too.

JD: Absolutely, well perhaps we should stop there for the day. That's a good stopping point. This has been an absolutely fascinating session. So thank you so much.

HAYNES: Bless you, thank you so very much.

[End of Session 2]

Session 3

2018 December 5

JD: Today is December 5, 2018, and this is the final interview with Reverend Dr. LeRoy Haynes, Jr., and we are in his office in Northeast Portland. My name is Janice Dilg oral historian for the Oregon Historical Society project. It's nice to be back on this nice sunny day.

HAYNES: It's nice to see you again.

JD: So you had talked previously about your work teaching at the Portland Bible College, but at one point you held the post of president there.

HAYNES: I served as president there for about eight years. I first served as one of their professors there. It's a two-year evangelical bible college that we have matriculating agreements with George Fox, with Multnomah, and Western, and a few other schools. It was kind of a grass root bible college. Actually it started here at Maranantha Church in the early '60s, and there were a few drug houses that were given and made the campus at the bible college. And we had professors that donated their time to teach courses from the other colleges: from Western, from Warner Pacific and from George Fox that came and teach to provide a low tuition for that those that were interested in coursework—a two-year associate degree program. And that allowed them also to transfer to the institutions.

I started teaching Christian history as well as theology there, and then when the dean was getting ready to move out of the state he asked me about becoming a dean for a while. And then Dr. Brown was president of the college, and when he retired he asked me to become president. Him, and one of the able librarians named Beth [Elizabeth M.] Nance, a very influential community worker and Christian in the community here—spent time in China during WWII as a missionary—and was very pivotal in creating institutions.

With my eight years of administration we were able to expand the work of the college to also not only the regular coursework for the associate degree, but also give

certificates in specialized areas to those individuals that wanted a little more formal training than what they received at their local church as far as ministry, and Bible, and outreach to youth and children, and social justice type of things. And so I felt very good about the increase in the number and able to get more churches involved in the operation of the North Portland Bible College. But it was a great time; it was an exciting time, and the eight years, I felt very good about it.

I've always tried to mix pastoring, social activism, and academics together throughout my career, but this was the kind of height in terms of the academic. Because the other side of being president is that you spend half your time fundraising, okay. [*both chuckle*] So people think its administration, but the dean really does most of the academic part, and you spend time fundraising, getting donors, and benefactors and increasing the list. It was a new, expanded time of work for me. You know, doing fundraising—I've done it in my church because you've got to do, as a pastor, you've got to do fundraising. But on that level, it enhanced my skills of fundraising.

JD: I think fundraising comes into play in just about any organization anymore.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: You have also been quite active in Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: And I know in a couple of different capacities there, so maybe talk about the work they do, and the way you've engaged with that.

HAYNES: Well, my heart has always been, in terms of ecumenical ministries, of bringing churches together. I served as one of the associated directors of the Dallas Community of Churches. I had a staff position there for about seven or eight years and ran the urban

ministry component there. And so I had an opportunity to broaden my view of ecumenical ministry and eventually became their senior staff person there and connected with the National Council of Churches and World Council of Churches and met a lot of international leaders of different faith traditions across the country and the world. And I found the work to be very exciting and a blending of theology and social justice as well as the experience of worshiping and different faith traditions. And so I have a kind of inkling in my heart for that and bringing different faith traditions together, to work together on common issues and common cause.

And so when I came to Portland one of the first organizations I joined was the Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon (EMO) and was a board member there. I went from board member to secretary of the board and then, in 2012, became president of the Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon. Actually it's the state council of churches; it was a blending of two organizations that came together. Some exciting programs there. One of my goals was always to diversify the board—and I was able to bring some other community of color persons on the board as well as the administration—and also to enhance the outreach to the rural areas of Oregon, eastern part of Oregon and southern part of Oregon and to make them feel a part even though the headquarters was in the urban area of Portland. It had some great people and some great tremendous ministries that are going on in the rural areas of Oregon, and just kind tap into that. So that also one of my major goals that existed there.

JD: And that brings up an interesting point because I think in many aspects of Oregon life—.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: —there's discussions about the urban-rural divide, but you're more pointing to ways that maybe there's some similarities in rural areas. Or maybe some of the issues that they had were being dealt with in different ways than urban situations.

HAYNES: Well our common faith, of course, is a bond. But rural life is both common and unique as well as different from urban life. And so some of the issues are different of living in terms of the rural environment: farms and ranches and vineyards and a variety of different things. But people are people, and they have the common issues of love and birth and death; and the common issues of wanting better things for their family, and to keep generations going to continue on the farm. And then there are issues that come up like the water issues that came up back in the late 1990s and the 2000s between the rural and urban areas and the farm workers and everything. And the EMO, I'm glad to say, be able to participate in that, helping to leverage and bridge that gap and bring into a common resolution and recollection between both the First Nation People and the farmers and ranchers on the water issues, of being able to share the water. And the farm workers issues; allowing the farm workers to unionize and have representation and to have better quality of life and for the pickers in many instances.

If you don't demonize people and you can see difference over issues without demonizing people but bring people in common together and have those compassion issue and being able to work those issues out. That's one of the things we were able to do in EMO on both the water issues and the farm workers' issues. Those were key issues during 2000-2012 there, and so I just excited to be a part of that.

JD: Are you referencing the Klamath area when you're talking about the water issues?

HAYNES: Yes, certainly. We have churches down there that were part of EMO, and we were able to bridge the gap and at the same time hear the voices of the farm workers and the First Nation People on the water issues.

JD: It's such an interesting mix in that area and probably, that was—

HAYNES: But you have to have the ability to listen to people and to hear their plight on both sides of the issue and give them respect, as well as value on their parts of arguments. But try to always—what Dr. King taught us—to move to that bridge of reconciliation of how you can resolve issues. And sometimes both parties have to be able to give up something and come to a compromise.

JD: How did EMO become involved in the Klamath water crisis, or any issue? How does that work?

HAYNES: A lot of it started in terms of, because whether they are in the urban part or the rural part, there are churches, and the churches bring the issues. But they not only bring the issues; the First Nation People, with the issues of water, they bring the issues too, and the different representatives of the farm workers. So both sides want to get the support of major organizations, and so you've got to kind of hear both sides and see where you can bring them together into some common agreement on that without negating either side.

JD: And how has that organization evolved in the time that you've been here, I'm assuming it has changed?

HAYNES: Yeah. EMO continues to expand from my president span—the touching of churches in towns in rural eastern and southern Oregon. It actually has intensified a number of events and activities that it has out there in those areas. At the same time it also, in its development, continued to expand its urban program. I think we need to do a little more, to continue to intensify and do a little more with our outreach to communities of colors, like the Latino community, the Asian community, as well as the African-American community.

JD: You've talked pretty extensively in your earlier interviews about community activism and the central role that has played in your life and continues to play. And you've been involved in some fairly intense issues and situations. And you mentioned at one point off recording that there's been some intimidation tactics used at times as things get heated. And maybe talk a little about what that has been and how you've dealt with that?

HAYNES: In the movement, the struggle for civil rights and human rights, you always have a counter action or counter response to when you are pushing the envelope to expand the human rights of people, or the civil rights of people. And so I've encountered intimidation, but I encountered intimidation more in my earlier years with the Civil Rights Movement when our church was bombed by the Klan in Beaumont, Texas. And my pastor's parsonage was bombed. And there were times on demonstrations that the Klan came out with hatchets, hacksaws, and pieces of pipe, all kinds of stuff. And there were times people were injured. One of my friends in the integration of Lamar University in Beaumont, named Eskimo, and his head was cracked in a demonstration at Lamar University. That kind of physical intimidation has been par for the course.

You know, I've been one of the chief organizers of the Black Panther party in Texas. There was always the sign of intimidation that exists. When I came to move up to Portland as pastor, I got involved with a couple of cases of police shootings and everything like that. And my members of my church continue to know that there were more intensified police action around the church and everything. And then I would come out—little stuff like putting big nails in my tires on a constant basis and having to buy new tires. But I think after a while they began to realize that I would not be intimidated. My experience had kind of made a sharpened eye for those situations as and I was determined. But I had to also keep peace within the congregation, to let them know that everything was going to be all right because they always felt that their pastor would be in harm's way in response from the Portland Police Bureau, so I had to keep that in mind.

JD: So how do you keep going in the face of various levels of intimidation when there might be some fear there but the work that you're doing still needs to be done.

HAYNES: Dr. King taught us—and one of the things even more so than Stokely Carmichael and SNCC and Huey Newton and the Panther Party—taught us how to deal with fear, how to overcome the fear of intimidation. Because he understood that as the history of, in particular of Black people in America, but particularly in the South, that when intimidation was used on a constant basis—whether it was a lynching, a beating, a fire bombing— to keep us in our place and position.

And so he taught us spiritually, how to look down to that deeper, inner soul and to be able to spiritually pull that power up at times—even when you were in jail and even when you were facing fire hoses and dogs. He taught us how to be able to pull that up. And that's one of the reasons why the Civil Rights Movement was so successful in the South. After years of conditioning and physical and psychological intimidation, to get a group of people and to inspire them to be able to put their life on the line, and to put it on the line non-violently, it takes that type of spiritual connection. The inner soul gives you this strength of the spirit to continue to rise above your fear. Because everyone has fear, but what we were taught is that to not allow the fear to inhibit you. That in spite of the fear, the courage would come through.

JD: If we're talking about activism, it's not just one thing. It's sort of a range of things, from perhaps more overt protest or marches to ongoing negotiations with formal agencies or organizations. And maybe talk, because you've been involved in all of that.

HAYNES: Well, a lot of people don't understand even in the historical Civil Rights Movement with Dr. King, the protests, the marches, and the arrests, were during the daytime. But at night a lot of people don't realize that Andrew Young and others would be having negotiation with the white city councils downtown at special places, and presenting the demands and trying to negotiate. And that's what happened in Montgomery, in the

Montgomery Bus Boycott there was always negotiation going on, even with a whole year of boycotting, of actually a community coming together and saying we would no longer sit in the back of the bus, and that negotiation. And then at the same time activism takes place not only on marches. You've got to think of it in terms of the army—and there may be an air force, and there may be an army, and there may be those that are supplying and everything like that, in the strategy.

And so there was always court action in Montgomery. At the same time they were not taking the bus, they were filing their motions in the court; that eventually the court ruled in their favor. But it was the combination of putting the economic boycott with the court action. And just the ability of those communities to organize a community, to come together and say, "We will not be moved."

That was the heart of the movement and once that inspiration took place because there were boycotts of buses in Baton Rouge. Dr. Jamison and the National Baptist Convention had successfully done a boycott in Baton Rouge prior to Montgomery [movement]. The Montgomery became pivotal with Rosa Parks, and received, at that time, more media coverage, but there were instances of other actions that were taking place.

But that comes down to the heart of community organizing, of knocking on doors, and bringing people together. And one of the beauties of Dr. King is that he knew the power of the church, in particular the African-American church, of assembling people together and organizing preachers—of having that infrastructure and to bring every Black church and [participant together]. And when the movement starts moving, people are like magnets when success happens, when a victory happens. They start moving in that direction too. But it always starts with a small group.

Like in Montgomery, it started with one Black woman, a seamstress that decided one day that she was tired and decided she would not be moved and went and sat on the bus. But a lot of people don't realize that Rosa Parks had been very active in the NAACP and had been trained. But that decision was a [catalyst]—what I talk about in my book that the Germans have a word called *zeitgeist* it means the movement of time. And different

from Baton Rouge, this was the right time in the movement—a time that exploded. And the movement began to take off on that.

But with that behind us, in learning those skills and having that broader picture, that protest is only used for political leveraging, leveraging to get people to the table to negotiate on the demands to take place. And when you understand that, it has to be put in a comprehensive strategy. You have to mobilize people—make them conscious, and then organize them and turn into a disciplined force that will be able to put the amount of pressure that needs for movement. Frederick Douglass said, and before the Civil War, that "power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will." That is very true even today.

JD: And would you say that you are still using some similar strategies and range of approaches here in Portland?

HAYNES: Certainly, certainly, those skills, those abilities even in a high-tech environment, as when I lecture to other activists I say, I wish we had the equipment that y'all have. We had to use these machines that roll off leaflets.

JD: The mimeograph.

HAYNES: Mimeograph machines. [*chuckles*] So the communication is there but you still have to do the one-on-one organizing. You need to bring people together, and develop a commitment in people, and to raise their consciousness of connecting the dots together. And bringing them together—the power of one is great, and then when it's organized into an organization a community force it's even greater—to bring about the change that is necessary. And it costs something, it costs sacrifice. And in the movement you have to be willing to make sacrifices, and sometimes it's giving up some things in your personal life in order to benefit the total community.

So when I came to Portland I was already well-organized, skilled and developed, and what we say in the movement battle-tested. [*laughs*] In connecting with the Albina Ministry Alliance, I was active with the Portland Organizing Committee that was primarily run by the Catholics, and EMO. So I would begin to make those connections. And so when issues came up, whether they were in terms of lobbying for money for the HIV/AIDs and whether they were in terms of housing issues, criminal justice issues, or police abuse and use of deadly force—those kinds of issues, I was able to, in terms use my gifts and graces and skills that I developed to help [make things happen]. And I also unite with other leadership as they engaged me because every city has its particularity and dynamics.

JD: Sure.

HAYNES: So what works in Dallas, what works in Texas may not always work—. You've got to indigenize it to the city that you're living in. And so you have to [study] and become familiar with the city—always looking at the overall strategy, at the end of the day, what do you want to benefit? To improve the quality of life; to move the city ahead.

And one of my big mottos is that even, especially here in Portland, is that we don't have to make the same mistakes that have already been made. If we have enough wisdom and enough strength and grace that we can learn from the mistakes that have been made in other cities.

JD: And how would you define Portland's particular style or context?

HAYNES: Well, being from the South and deep segregation, Portland has a lot of broad white progressive constituents. We didn't have that when I was organizing in the South. We had a few. It's like I grew up in an integrated church, one of the few churches in Texas that was integrated. My pastor was a white preacher, and so I was always around white people on a regular basis that would not try to oppress me. And so I grew up in a church environment even though in a segregated environment where I was able to discern

between what was positive and what was negative. What was good people and what were bad people that wanted to harm me and harm our people. And so being able to delineate that it was always helpful.

It's one of the reasons I could never, during the time that the Nation of Islam was saying that all white people were the devil, I could not accept that. Because the people that I engaged with, I knew how to distinguish the difference. And they were willing to put their bodies and their lives on the line with me and willing to go to jail with me. But also understand there was another group, the Ku Klux Klan—they wanted to destroy and keep us in bondage and oppression. So being able to distinguish that.

And just sit back and watching my pastor sometimes as he negotiated in those particular settings. Because he would have behind-the-scenes relationships with the former Congressman [Jack] Brooks in the early 60s that was over the House Government Operations Committee. And I never knew that, but they would have secret meetings [*chuckling*] that took place. And being able to know what you want, go on into a meeting, and negotiating and having a strategy to come out with results for the people in the community, it's critical. You may not get all you want but it's one of the things you have to learn. Sometimes, some things come in increments, and sometimes you have to take advantage of the opportunity and get as much as you can for the people.

JD: So you've been in Portland a bit over—

HAYNES: Twenty-two years.

JD: Twenty-two years. I was going to say a bit over twenty. What are your observations about how the discourse, and maybe the political and social context, have changed during that time on issues that you've been involved with. Or just as a pastor and a citizen in this city.

HAYNES: Let me say this, because sometimes there's this debate between southern states and northern states that racism is just in the South, and it's just white supremacy. Racism, as Malcolm X used to say, is north of the Canadian border. You know, it goes all the way up.

And so there are progressive, good people in Portland, but there are also people that want to keep the status quo and are still conditioned. We cannot live in America and not be somewhat influenced or conditioned by racism in America. And some see it with fear, the growth of the Latino community and growth of the African-American community, Asian community, communities of color. And so they want to preserve power and keep the power centered.

So you have a dynamic that forces—you to have people that are pushing for change, and then you have people that want to, in turn, keep the status quo. And then you have people that are just fearful of change taking place in this city. The majority of people, I do believe, want to create a consciousness in them, want to live with other people in a diversified community. And so it comes back, also to what is the vision we have for this city. And so some [city leaders] have been visionaries; some of them have been just practical.

To me you need both, you need a vision—and Dr. King was a visionary, but yet he was also a practical organizer. And he knew, in terms of the meetings that SCLC would have, just like a presidential cabinet, as you had different people working. They would debate strategy before they came out, but whatever came out of it, you came out with a consensus.

Portland has a liberal spirit, but sometimes liberalism will only go so far. We've learned that in the Civil Rights Movement. Sometimes liberals will want to define for the victims what they should do and what they shouldn't do, instead of developing the leadership, help nurturing the leadership, and let the people of various communities define that. But in essence how do we bring together all other communities, these diversity of communities. And I am one like Dr. King believed, that diversity adds to democracy, and it enhances democracy.

And I think you're going to always have challenges, you're going to always have difficulty, but with all of those struggles comes a greater enhanced community. And that's what the Civil Rights Movement was. It was struggle. Deep struggle. People lost their lives. I have friends in the SNCC that their bodies have not been found yet in Mississippi and Alabama.

JD: Wow.

HAYNES: Because in SNCC, we lost a lot of civil rights workers, but it costs something. Like [Dietrich] Bonheoffer says, *The Cost of Discipleship*—freedom costs something. It costs something to create a better society for all people and respect and humanity for all people. And some of us have been willing to pay the price for that. Throughout my years from the youth and as I grew and matured, we're willing to pay the price to enhance [democracy]. I believe in the dream of Dr. King. I believe that it is the American dream, but it's going to take action and faith to fulfill it. There are some of us that are called the Dream Keepers, in that we believe that the dream is up to us to preserve the dream and pass it on until it's completely fulfilled.

But in essence, Portland is a [growing] community. And just like America, we're becoming. We have never reached a point of where we ought to be; we're still becoming. And the beauty, as I said previously, of becoming, is that you can learn the lessons from history of not making the same mistakes that have been made before, made in my region of the country, the South. That lessons can be learned that will enhance our community [and make it a model].

Take for example, strategy-wise we knew that we are a small population, African-American population is six percent of the population. So we have to have allies and understanding. And developing a strategy, you've got to have allies with the white community here and the Latino and other communities of colors to be able to transform a city and open doors. And opportunities and equality and bring people forth as a community.

And it's not a matter in Portland just talking diversity because you get a lot of diversity, inclusion talk here. But when it comes to actually putting the word and deed together in action and becoming this community; that is slowly becoming as a model. One of my examples is that, I've always seen the Portland Police Bureau, I still think we can create a model for the nation of how to do community policing here.

There are reactionary forces that want to keep the status quo, and there are progressive folks that want to make the change. But it requires winning the hearts and the minds of people not only in North and Northeast and East, but we have to win some support in the Southwest, among that population too, across the river in order to build a constituency. And I think the small changes that have taken place is because we were able to build those coalitions and persuade the citizenry that we can actually create a different community and a different relationship between those who have been victims of police oppression and those who are within law enforcement, that we create a different relationship. And that's what we see in becoming.

And even in the midst of our nation turning back to the past, and the trends moving back to the past, I still believe that the dream will never be crushed, that it will emerge again.

JD: You've talked regularly about Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his influence on you personally. And at some point you decided to write a book. Talk about why that was important to you, and what you hope readers will take from what you put together.

HAYNES: In graduate school I initially started thinking about writing a book on Dr. King. I wanted to express, first of all, that Dr. King, I believe, was the greatest prophet in America in the twentieth century. His influence, like the old prophets of the Old Testament, what Thomas Merton would call it as, he opened the door of opportunity to save the nation from a great tragedy. Just like Nelson Mandela, I believe, was an opportunity that came to save South Africa from a real bloody racial war that would have taken place. And so King was the best hope that emerged from a divine perspective of whatever we call God. And for

us, of course, in the Christian faith, it's Jesus Christ—that he came, emerged out of that, for this time and this age to stir the nation and to move the nation to becoming what it had said in its Declaration of Independence. And so I want the reader to grasp that. And I want them to see that it came from [the prophetic] faith tradition of the Black church, that was the instrument, even during slavery to—[*knock at the door. Recording stops, then resumes.*]

JD: Go ahead.

HAYNES: I lost my thought.

JD: You were expressing what you wanted readers to take from the book as far as King being kind of the right person for the time.

HAYNES: So I wanted [people to see] the religious part, because since the national holiday we have commercialized King and made him into this perfect martyr—even though he was never perfect—but he was like the prophets, although he was a human being. But he had this divine [*doorbell rings*] calling on his life, and this purpose and destiny that had set him to go forth and to bring this message to the nation. And to bring it with all of this spirit, soul, and body and what he believed to be the truth about America and what America could become.

I wanted to get the reader [to see] from the faith perspective. And then I wanted them understand it because even when I was in SNCC, in the Black Power, in the Black Panther, there was a kind of dampening of how effective non-violence was and how effective that it was in helping to bring about the changes in America. Because I struggled with that in my own struggle in SNCC and in the party. [*background voices*] And I wanted them to grasp of how, as we look back now, how this philosophy of Gandhi that Martin indigenized it. Because that is the only way it would be accepted to Black people in

America and to America—he indigenized it. If it was maintained in the root, it would have never been accepted in America, but it was indigenized.

And King put the Christian faith perspective to it and added the concept of agape love and other concepts, that behind this, what I call the most potent weapon for change and transformation—not only in our society, but in change throughout the world, whether it was South America, whether it is Africa, whether it's Asia, whether it's Europe, you know, this whole concept. And when we look at it, the broad effect, just imagine that, when the Berlin wall was falling, hearing the Eastern Berliners were up there singing, "We shall overcome," okay? You can image—in Poland, in Warsaw, and the Philippines, in China, when the students were before in Tiananmen Square—seeing the worldwide influence of King. And also in South Africa with Bishop Tutu and others—to reaffirm that the strategy was not only a very potent weapon, but it also was an effective weapon; but not only in America, but throughout the world.

So I wanted to kind of do this to look at that. And also to look at the criticism that is done by other scholars of the methodology and the concept of non-violence. Some could accept non-violence without the love, but King fought back on that and said it's a part of his non-violence strategy. And so I wanted to bring that faith perspective. Because even though King would have affirmed both non-religious and religious, many people he worked with were not religious people; they were just people who had the same goals. He would affirm them. But also for him, what drove him through those deep times and those deep depressions when he knew his life was on the line, or his family life and his children were on the line, it is that spirituality that drove him and what Bishop Tutu also talks about.

So the message that I want to get over is that non-violence is still, in 2018, the most effective weapon for social change in America. And King's concept, because he was developing even a more radical form of non-violence—before he got assassinated, it was [being implemented in the] Poor People's March, and they were talking about bringing the whole government to a halt non-violently until the changes were made to address the issues of poverty in America, as well as racism and militarism.

JD: So as you been talking over the course of these couple of interviews, it's clear that you have a very full life both as a minister and community activist. People talk about you always being available, being there for personal support, community support. How do you keep yourself going and not burnt out and replenished to do that for so many years?

HAYNES: Spirituality. I think knowing the great Christian mystics as well as Thomas Merton and Howard Thurman teaches us about the importance of having the inner spirit—willing to take time to address your inner spirit, that in terms manifests itself getting through the day. I do mediation daily before I start my day and do mediation at night when I end my day. I don't think you can do this kind of work without that kind of inner spiritual mediation. And then also in terms of, I confer with a group of good friends, a small group of friends, where we bounce off of each other. And one you just saw at the door, Dr. Bethel, and another great pastor friend in St. Louis, Dr. Lynn Mims, and some in Dallas. Where we wouldn't always see each other but call each other constantly and communicate with each other and share with each other and pray with each other. And so you've got to have that sense of fellowship, of likeminded believers, to make the difference; and then the laity that are praying for you.

God put people in your life as intercessors, and I have them here at Allen Temple, and I've got them at every church. They say I'm an intercessor for you, I'm praying you. But I think it also it has to do with a sense of purpose. I've had since my early years as a youth a sense of purpose that drove me to, not only in terms of my personal accomplishment, but to be a transforming agent in the world I live in. And I could remember one of my seminary friends, we were having coffee, and he told me once, he said, "Haynes," He say, "What you got to realize, everybody doesn't have that sense of purpose and destiny that you have. You think all of us in seminary have that." [*chuckles*] And he brought my attention to that because I kind of gloss over that everybody has that sense of purpose and density of where they're going. But that's why I think one of the most beautiful books that came out is Rick Warren and the *Purpose-Driven Life.* It captures that a great deal.

But even before he wrote the book the Bible captures it in the Old Testament. But that whole sense of purpose and density—that you're here for a reason. That you're here for a purpose, and you're not just put here to live seventy or eighty years or 100 years and don't do anything. But you're put in this world—that life is interconnected, and there were generations before you and generations that are yet to come. That's what I've had in my life. I've not always been able to articulate that as a youth [*sound of a doorbell*], but as I became more knowledgeable, theologically and biblically, and encounters with people in the movement—there are people that are important to your life—I began to understand conscientiously where that comes from.

JD: And I guess in part because you've been doing this a while but you've been doing your work well—

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: —that gets recognized at times.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: And I think you've mentioned in passing an award or two but it seems that recognition can serve multiple purposes. And maybe just talk about being the recipient of some awards and if you have a couple of awards that are particularly meaningful to you, you might want to talk about those.

HAYNES: I think awards are good as long as you don't think more of yourself than you are. And I always try to keep a sense of humility. The award is not about just my personal achievement but it's about the people that have poured into me. And the school teacher that told me I can make it in college. And the school teacher in the middle school that introduced me to a book called *Alexander the Great*, stimulating my thinking. And people

in the neighborhood. And God has a way of putting people into your lives, and sometimes it's just for a season, to help you. And the generations within my family lineage. My great grandmother was a great intercessor. Her husband was a Native Indian; he did the herbs, and she did the praying. Those kinds of people help make you understand that it's not about you, it's about those people that help make you and shape you. And even though you have your own individual personality, but I understand that I couldn't make it without those people that have shaped me and made me.

So when I receive awards, I think about all of those [*doorbell rings*] persons, in particular my family, that love me and care for me and nurture me to be able to make that leap and that jump. And there are some awards that were significant to me. I think receiving the award from the US Attorney General, that was significant in a sense that, here's a former SNCC leader, Black power leader, Black Panther, getting an award by the US Attorney General [*chuckles*].

JD: And what was the name of that award or the award for?

HAYNES: The award is Attorney Lynch—

JD: Oh okay.

HAYNES: —for community relations, the US Attorney General. Do you have that? [*sound of rustling papers*]

JD: Hang on. Oh, okay. [United States Department of Justice Attorney General, Loretta E. Lynch Award for National Leadership in Community Policing. (2016)]

HAYNES: So I'm thankful for that, and it shows how you can be a transforming agent in that. So that was a very significant award for me. And there's been awards throughout the life. Whether it's Martin Luther King award in Dallas, Texas, those kind of ecumenist awards

for me. But I've been blessed to be able to represent the people and represent the struggles of people.

JD: So you've been fighting the good fight and ministering for many years.

HAYNES: Yes.

JD: What's the future hold, what are you looking towards, or working towards, next?

HAYNES: I have this idea about creating a leadership institution for social change. That I want to, one day, be able to train and mentor other persons in the skills that I developed in organizing and leadership and strategy and all of those. And so that's my future goal.

JD: So we've covered a lot of ground and topics over these couple of interviews. Are there any topics that have come up for you that I haven't asked you about but that you want to make sure are included in your oral history?

HAYNES: I think probably the family line—along with my mother, my grandmother, that we called Big Mama, they were a very major personal influence on my life. In the Black family, the Big Mama is the one that holds the extended family together—the brothers, the sisters, the mothers, the fathers, the siblings. And she was the core that anchored, keeps people bridging when they fall out with each other in the family. She's also the moral value and the core value of the family. I give a lot to her values and teachings.

JD: I don't have any other questions for you unless you have any last sentiments you would like to share?

HAYNES: No, other than my life has been a journey. A journey—I never thought that an African American boy from Beaumont, Texas, running around in a segregated

neighborhood could impact the lives of people and impact cities and organizations and groups and make a difference. And I think that's one of the things that you always want to say whenever it comes to go that heavenly home you want to say that you've done God's will. And that you did the best you can.

JD: Thank you so much for taking time to share your history and your experiences for the OHS Oral Historic project; it's much appreciated.

HAYNES: Yes, it's been a blessing. It's been a journey; it caused me to do a lot of deep reflection.

JD: And I'm sure for everyone who comes to listen to it, they will appreciate that you took the time. So thank you.

HAYNES: Thank you so very much.

[End of Session 3]
[End of Interview]