A LEGACY OF FEAR
by Gary Richard Schoener

During the twelve years following the assassination of President
John F. Kennedy governmental and independent investigators have tracked
down witnesses in order to interview them only to find them reluctant
or unwilling to speak freely due to fear. Some mention personal threats
they have received, warnings from officials to "keep their mouths shut,"
or knowledge of beatings or deaths of other witnesses. Evidence of
attempts to reassure such witnesses is sadly lacking in the declassified
records of the FBI, Secret Service, and Warren Commission. Needless to
say, the publication of the Warren Report did little to reassure witnesses
whose eyewitness accounts were at variance with Commission conclusions
and who had been pressured to change their stories. Some in fact had
told the prestigious members of the Warren Commission itself of such
threats and had received no reassurance or promises of protection. To
their credit many of these frightened people came forward anyway to
tell their stories, often only to face hostile cross-examination by
federal investigators or Commission attorneys who seemed to reserve
such behavior for witnesses whose testimony did not conform to the pre-
conceived view of the assassination the Commission had received from
the FBI and so quickly accepted as its own.

Reporters and Warren Commission critics seeking to learn more
about the assassination have spent long hours tracking down witnesses
only to find them deceased as the result of illness, accident, suicide,
or murder. These independent investigators themselves, in some cases,
were the subject of pressure or threats and two of the reporters are
known to have been murdered. One Warren Report critic, Penn Jones Jr.,
published over seventy accounts of deaths of persons alleged to be in
some way connected to the death of the President in his small town
newspaper The Midlothian Mirror as well as in a series of four books. Jones' work has stirred considerable controversy including several rebuttals which argued that some of the deaths are not mysterious and that some of the people have at best tenuous connections to the assassination.

The Numbers Game:

I cannot remember one instance among my hundreds of public appearances to discuss the assassination of President Kennedy where a member of the audience or a commentator failed to mention that he or she had heard that many witnesses to the assassination had met strange deaths. The public seems fascinated by the thought of a systematic conspiracy to murder witnesses. Numbers alone seem to impress people.

In an attempt to provide "a more exact perspective" on the incidence of assassination-related deaths, The Sunday Times of London "asked an actuary to compute the life expectancy of 15 of the dead" and published his results on Feb. 26, 1967. While the story cautioned the reader that "The statistics are not proof of anything," the text was overshadowed by the bold print title: Billions to one odds in the Kennedy deaths. After correctly pointing out that the odds would have been the same for any group of randomly selected Americans, the article incorrectly claimed that this group of people "beat some very heavy odds," namely one hundred thousand trillion to one. To construct accurate odds it would have been necessary to followup on all of the many thousands of witnesses and compare their death rate with that of a similar group of Americans who had no connection to the assassination. This would be a monumental task to say the least. Perhaps more relevant would be a study of the percentage of key witnesses who have died unnatural or suspicious deaths, assuming that people could agree on who are key witnesses and what constitutes an unnatural or suspicious death.
Such numbers seem to have very limited usefulness and to take us away from the real issues. If a single death of a witness could be connected to the assassination or its subsequent investigation there would be cause for alarm. If threats to witnesses can be documented, then similar concern is warranted. After all, the Warren Commission's lone assassin Lee Harvey Oswald was safely tucked in his grave within days of the assassination, making his role in any mischief to follow a bit unlikely.

Some Threats:

My own interest in the killing of the President grew out of reading the testimony of witnesses in the 26 volumes of Testimony and Hearings who claimed that they had been pressured or threatened. When my very first attempt at interviewing a witness brought me in contact with an average American housewife who claimed she had been pressured by the FBI to change her story, something confirmed by the FBI's own reports on the incident, I decided to look further. I soon learned that other researchers had encountered the same type of story, and in fact had found persons who had claimed direct threats of harm.

The Warren Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald murdered police officer Jefferson Davis Tippit without hearing the testimony of a number of key witnesses. Among them was Mrs. Acquilla Clemons who was located by independent investigators who did the sort of routine canvassing of the neighborhood one would have expected the FBI and Dallas Police to have done. Mrs. Clemons told investigators that she had seen two men at the scene of the crime and the physical description of each did not match that of Lee Harvey Oswald. Two days after the Tippit killing a man with a gun came to see Mrs. Clemons and told her that it would be best if she didn't say anything to anyone or she "might get hurt."
Threats were also reported by witnesses who appeared before the Warren Commission. Mrs. Wilma Tice, who swore to both the FBI and the Warren Commission that she had seen Jack Ruby at the Parkland Hospital where President Kennedy was being treated just after the assassination, complained to both the FBI and Commission about threats and harassment from unknown parties. She contacted the police after an anonymous male caller told her to keep her mouth shut. They arrived at the scene and found evidence of harassment including a 12 foot ladder wedged against her back door. This all occurred between July 19, 1964 when she received her subpoena to appear and her actual testimony to the Warren Commission on July 24. Instead of attempting to reassure Mrs. Tice the Commission attorney who questioned her emphasized that she did not have to testify, that he would not subpoena her, and almost succeeded where anonymous callers had failed. She persisted in placing Jack Ruby at the Parkland Hospital as did reporter Seth Kantor, but to no avail since the Commission chose to disagree.

Amos L. Euins, a young assassination witness, told a newsmen at the scene that he had definitely seen a man with a rifle leaning out of a window in the Texas School Book Depository Building, and that the man was definitely "a colored man." Since Lee Harvey Oswald was a white man, this was in conflict with the official version. Mr. Euins' mother reported that prior to his testimony before the Warren Commission the family received telephone threats.

There were also witnesses who told independent investigators of threats and harassment which allegedly occurred long after their testimony. These were usually witnesses who were quite vocal and public about what they had seen in Dallas. For example, Richard Randolph Carr told independent investigators of pressure and harassment from the FBI and police as well as threatening phone calls and indicated that
these had played a role in his decision to move from Dallas to Montana. On the day of the assassination Mr. Carr swore that he observed a man near the alleged assassin's window who was not Lee Harvey Oswald. His description dovetailed perfectly with the description of one of the two armed men observed minutes later in the alleged assassin's window by Mrs. Carolyn Walther who also signed an affidavit following the assassination. After the shots Carr noticed a man walking away from the Book Depository Building who he thought was the same man he had seen in the window and actually followed him for several blocks! The man got into a light colored Rambler station wagon with a luggage rack on the roof with Texas license plates and was driven away by a swarthy skinned man. Minutes later a similar man and car were observed by two witnesses as they made a quick pickup of a man running from the general area of the Book Depository Building. A deputy sheriff, Roger Craig, identified the man who was picked up as either Lee Harvey Oswald or someone who looked a lot like him. (The Commission places Oswald in another part of town at that moment.) Craig, who allegedly complained to Warren Report critics of threats and attempts on his life, committed suicide in May of this year.

A Brush With Death:

Mr. Warren Reynolds, who was employed in a car lot one block from the scene of the shooting of police officer Tippit, told the FBI on January 21, 1964 that he had seen a man carrying a pistol fleeing from the scene of the killing. He also told them that he could not identify the man as Oswald, despite the fact that he had followed the man for a block and seen him at close range. Two days after this FBI interview he was shot through the head in the basement of his office. Since nothing was stolen there was no obvious motive.

Reynolds was hospitalized and miraculously recovered from his head
wound. He had been out of the hospital for about three weeks when, late in February of 1964, an attempt was allegedly made to kidnap his ten year old daughter. He and his family received telephone threats. Reynolds' growing fear brought about major changes in his everyday life including continuous worry, the end to night walks, and the presence of a friend at the car lot after dark. He owned a watchdog and surrounded his house with floodlights which could be instantly turned on.

In July 1964 he told Warren Commission counsel what had happened since the FBI interviewed him and indicated that he felt these events were connected to his having witnessed the aftermath of the Tippit killing. After almost six months of terror Reynolds decided that he could now identify the man he had seen as Oswald. Readers of the Warren Report, unless they made it all the way to the Speculations and Rumors Appendix, learned nothing of the pressures on Reynolds, for in the main body of the report they read only:

Reynolds did not make a positive identification when interviewed by the FBI, but he subsequently testified before a Commission staff member and, when shown two photographs of Oswald, stated that they were photographs of the man he saw.


But the story is not over. Darrell Wayne Garner, the "prime suspect" arrested after the shooting of Reynolds, was released on the strength of an alibi provided by his girlfriend, Nancy Jane Mooney, alias Betty McDonald. Ms. Mooney had worked as a stripper at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club. Eight days after providing an alibi for Garner, Ms. Mooney was herself arrested. The charge was "disturbing the peace." She had allegedly been fighting with her roommate on a street corner, although the roommate was not arrested. Two hours later she was dead, allegedly having hung herself in her jail cell. Several years later Mr. Garner was located by independent investigators and denied shooting Reynolds.
but admitted knowing a number of the principal figures in the case and gave a good deal of information to independent investigators. He was buried in Dallas on January 24, 1970, allegedly the victim of a heroin overdose, his role in this whole affair still pretty unclear.

Some Deaths:

I know of no incontrovertible evidence that any witness connected to the assassination of President Kennedy was murdered in connection with that crime, nor is it possible of course to rule out such a possibility. Without clearcut proof of foul play and the establishment of a clearcut motive we are left to speculate. The only thing clear about the deaths of witnesses is that, as with other groups of people, there are some which occur each year and as time passes there are fewer of them left. If the many unanswered questions concerning the assassination are to be answered it is essential that the case be reopened before the key witnesses have all passed on. Perhaps some examples will serve to illustrate the sorts of loose ends which result from the deaths of witnesses.

Rose Cherami: On November 20, 1963 Rose Cherami (born Melba Christine Marcadesi) was thrown from a vehicle on highway 190 near Eunice, Louisiana. She was taken to the local hospital and then to jail, but moved to the East Louisiana State Hospital in Jackson when it appeared that she was having narcotic withdrawals. She told Dr. Victor J. Weiss Jr., a psychiatrist, that the President and other public officials were going to be killed on their visit to Dallas. After the President and Texas Governor John Connally were shot in Dallas on November 22, Dr. Weiss told at least one friend, Mr. A H. Magruder about the incident.

Rose Cherami, who had a long criminal record and 19 known aliases, told Lt. Francis Fruge of the Louisiana State Police that she had been
part of a narcotics ring working between Louisiana and Houston. On November 26, four days after the assassination, she was released from the hospital in the custody of Lt. Fruge and Capt. Ben Morgan of the Louisiana State Police plus Anne Diechler of the Revenue Division. They flew to Houston to investigate the narcotics ring and on the flight Rose allegedly picked up a newspaper which had a story about Jack Ruby's murder of Lee Harvey Oswald in which Ruby was quoted as denying he had ever known Oswald. According to Lt. Fruge Rose laughed and stated that Ruby and Oswald were very good friends, had been in Ruby's club together, and were even "bed partners." Upon arrival in Houston she repeated this claim to Capt. Morgan but refused to talk to federal authorities saying she's didn't want to get involved in this mess. According to Lt. Fruge, the information Rose Cherami supplied about the narcotics ring was "true and good information."

When an investigator working for New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison attempted to locate Rose Cherami in early 1967, he learned that she had been killed on Sept. 4, 1965, when a car ran over part of her head near Big Sandy, Texas. The driver of the car, who reported the accident to the Texas Highway Patrol after taking Rose to the hospital, claimed that the accident had been unavoidable because the victim had been lying on the roadway with her head and the upper part of her body resting on the traffic lane. Due to the unusual circumstances and the lack of prominent physical evidence, Officer J. A. Andrews attempted to determine whether the driver and Rose had any relationship. He found no evidence of such and although he was allegedly not completely satisfied that he had all the facts, he closed the case since the victim's relatives did not pursue the matter. Left unanswered where how Rose Cherami ended up lying on the highway, especially Texas highway 155, a "farm to market road." Had she been hitchhiking at 2 AM when the
accident occurred, one would have expected her to have been on either of the two larger U. S. highways, 80 and 271, which parallel Texas highway 155. And, last but not least, was Rose Cherami's alleged prediction a lucky guess and were her statements about the Ruby-Oswald connection fabrications, or did she really know something of importance?

J. Garrett (Gary) Underhill: Gary Underhill was a writer and researcher in the area of military affairs who is alleged to have had high level Pentagon connections. Friends say that he did assignments for the CIA. A close friend was shocked when he barged into her home the day after the assassination in a highly agitated state. He had just come from Washington, D.C.

Underhill allegedly said "that the Kennedy murder wasn't as cut and dried as it might appear." According to the friend, "Underhill said that he knew the people involved (and that they knew he knew) and he fled Washington for his life." He indicated that "A small clique in the C.I.A. were responsible" who "were conducting a lucrative business in the Far East" in "gun-running and other contraband, manipulating political intrigue to serve their ends." Underhill told his friend "Kennedy had gotten wind of something going on so he was killed before he could blow the whistle." The friends at first did not believe this fantastic story and assumed that "he had gone completely mad," despite their respect for his credentials and intelligence.

On May 8, 1964 Gary Underhill was discovered dead, shot through the head. The death was ruled a suicide by District of Columbia police. Some friends wondered if his death was really a suicide since two people who first examined the body indicated that he had been shot behind the left ear but was right-handed. Several friends began to wonder about the frightened claims he had made about the assassination less than six months earlier. Other friends however accepted the death as a suicide
indicating their belief that he had been troubled by personal problems and under the care of a psychiatrist. In any event he is dead, and without Gary Underhill to question it is impossible to know if his claims are pure fantasy or based in fact.

Jim Koethe: Jim Koethe was a reporter actively researching the assassination and collecting data, possibly in preparation for the writing of a book on the assassination. Shortly before the publication of the Warren Report, on September 11, 1964, he was found dead on the floor of his apartment. The cause of death was asphyxiation due to a broken neck bone, the result of strangulation or of a blow to the neck. The apparent motive was robbery, the apartment was ransacked, and a 22 year old ex-con named Larry Earl Reno was arrested within a week when he was caught selling Koethe's personal effects. Reno was not indicted, although shortly afterwards he was imprisoned for another offense. Koethe's notes never showed up and there is no way of knowing if they contained anything of substance.

Koethe was one of the few reporters to visit Jack Ruby's apartment the evening Ruby shot Oswald. Another reporter who was there that night, Bill Hunter, was later to be shot to death in a California police station. His death was ruled to be accidental, the result of a police officer who was just horsing around pointing a loaded gun at him and pulling the trigger. The officer was allegedly a friend of his.

Lee Bowers Jr.: Lee Bowers Jr. was in a unique position during the assassination of the President, sitting in the Union Terminal Company switchtower in the parking lot next to the Book Depository Building. In front of Bowers were the picket fence and the famed "grassy knoll" from which many witnesses felt some shots were fired. Bowers testified to the movement of three strange cars in the railroad yards during the half hour preceding the shots, to the presence of two
men near the fence who "were the only two strangers in the area," and to an unusual occurrence down on the grassy knoll at the time of the shots. This testimony is commonly cited in books critical of the Warren Report as supportive of the theory that some shots came from the grassy knoll area, indicating that the president was killed in a cross-fire (and therefore as the result of a conspiracy). But at least one associate of Bowers and several independent investigators claim that Bowers had seen more than he indicated in his relatively brief testimony to the Warren Commission. They claim that he saw things following the shots beyond those which he testified to. At this point there is no way of asking Lee Bowers Jr. if he has more to say, because he died on August 9, 1966.

The cause of death was a multitude of injuries suffered when his car suddenly left the road and crashed. No other cars were involved and it was a clear, sunny day. There was no obvious cause for the accident. Several Warren Report critics report that interviews with some of the attending physicians indicated that he was in an unusual state of shock which was atypical of accident victims and which they could not explain. A Warren Report defender, however, claims that one of the physicians told him that it appeared that Bowers had a coronary. In any event, Bowers is no longer with us.

David Ferrie: Shortly after the assassination the FBI evidenced considerable interest in David Ferrie, a New Orleans resident who was alleged to have been in the same Civil Air Patrol unit as Lee Harvey Oswald. Ferrie was well-known for his violent anti-Kennedy feelings and was heavily involved in paramilitary anti-Castro activities according to some sources. He has also been connected with the address 544 Camp Street in the French Quarter in New Orleans which is the address Lee Harvey Oswald stamped on some of his "Fair Play for Cuba" leaflets
as well as one of his books. Ferrie was found dead on February 22, 1967, at a time when his arrest by District Attorney Jim Garrison seemed imminent. The cause of death was an embolism in the brain, but inexplicably a suicide note was found in his apartment. The Warren Commission and FBI learned so little about Ferrie and his activities that some researchers felt that there were many questions he would have been asked in any reopening of the investigation into the assassination.

Others who may have known of Lee Harvey Oswald's crucial associates in New Orleans and of activities at 44 Camp Street have also left us. Ex-FBI agent Guy Banister, who had an office in the building, died of a heart attack in the summer of 1964. Hugh Ward, his partner, was killed on May 23, 1964 near Cuidad Victoria, Mexico, when the plane he was piloting crashed in the fog. The Warren Commission, ironically, neglected this critical period of Oswald's adult life which immediately preceded the assassination while at the same time doing an extensive study of his childhood.

Fear Itself:

A number of witnesses, especially those who remained in Dallas, were aware of untoward events which overtook other witnesses. Deaths and beatings of witnesses which were described in newspapers helped enlarge the circle of fear. Mark Lane, for example, writes in his bestseller *Rush to Judgment* (NY, Holt-Rinehart & Winston, 1966) of one witness, Oran Brown, who was reluctant to be interviewed. He was afraid to talk, he said, because of what had happened to one of his co-workers who was also a witness, Albert Guy Bogard. After his testimony Bogard had been beaten and spent some time in the hospital and then left Dallas. (Bogard had been a witness to an incident in which it appeared that someone was impersonating Oswald prior to the assassination.) At the time of his April 4, 1966 interview with Lane, Brown
indicated that he hadn't heard from or about Bogard for some time. He probably would not have been reassured if he knew that Bogard was at that moment dead, having been found dead in his car on Feb. 14, 1966 in the Hallsville Cemetery in Hallsville, Louisiana, an apparent suicide victim.

Perhaps the epitome of fear in this case is to be found in the testimony of Jack Ruby. In his sometimes wild testimony he repeatedly asks to be taken to a Washington jail or at least out of the Dallas jail so that he can tell what he knows:

Ruby: Gentlemen, my life is in danger here. Not with my guilty plea of execution. Do I sound sober enough to you as I say this?
Ruby: From the moment I started my testimony, have I sounded as though, with the exception of becoming emotional, have I sounded as though I made sense, what I was speaking about?
Warren: You have indeed. I understood everything you have said.
Ruby: Then I follow this up. I may not live tomorrow to give any further testimony. The reason why I add this to this, since you assure me that I have been speaking sense by then, I might be speaking sense by following what I have said, and the only thing I want to get out to the public, and I can't say it here, is with authenticity, with sincerity of the truth of everything and why my act was committed, but it can't be said here.

It can be said, it's got to be said amongst people of the highest authority that would give me the benefit of doubt. And following that, immediately give me the lie detector test after I do make the statement.

Chairman Warren, if you felt that your life was in danger at the moment, how would you feel? Wouldn't you be reluctant to go on speaking, even though you request me to do so?
Warren: I think I might have some reluctance if I was in your position, yes; I think I would. I think I would figure it out very carefully as to whether it would endanger me or not.
Ruby: What happens then? I didn't accomplish anything.
Warren: No; nothing has been accomplished.

(Testimony & Hearings Volume V, p.196)

Later Ruby says: "Maybe something can be saved, something can be done. What have you got to answer to that, Chief Justice Warren?"

Did Ruby really have something of substance to say? We won't ever know. Ruby died of cancer several years later with countless unanswered questions about his actions remaining. Neither Earl Warren or Gerald Ford, the two Commissioners present, felt moving him out of the Dallas
Conclusion:

In the wake of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the investigations conducted by federal agencies and the Warren Commission many of those who witnessed events connected to the assassination were frightened to tell the truth about what they had seen. Some reported threats and harassment which long outlived the alleged lone assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. There are too many stories of such threats to dismiss them lightly.

Without a complete followup on the many thousands of witnesses it is impossible to know if an undue number have died unnatural deaths. Unanswered questions remain about the deaths of some witnesses and it is not surprising that some people posit conspiracies to kill witnesses.

As time passes witnesses die—from illness, suicide, murder, etc. Each year more will die. Given the unasked and unanswered questions about so many facets of the assassination and related events, the longer we wait to reopen the investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy the fewer witnesses who will be around to answer questions. Year by year our ability to shed light on the subject grows less and less. Give the doubts raised by responsible citizens, forensic experts, and members of congress there is ample reason to ask for a re-evaluation of the findings of the Warren Commission, a commission whose own membership has been eroded by the deaths of many of its members. In fact, it was one of the now deceased members of the Commission, Senator Richard Russell, who several years ago indicated that he has always felt more than one person was involved at a press conference he called to set the record straight. He will call no more press conferences.
By contrast to some of the witnesses, independent investigators and Warren Report critics have fared quite well over the past twelve years. Despite many threats of harm, usually directed at critics who have become public figures, none to my knowledge has been murdered. With a few exceptions, these threats have seemed indistinguishable from the sort of threats other public figures receive. Frankly, most of my colleagues would be encouraged in their efforts by threats rather than frightened off. Harrassment by federal agencies (IRS, FBI, etc.), problems with mail delivery and phone service, and financial pressures have been far more costly to those of us who have devoted time to this work.

Several years ago one fine West Coast researcher took his own life, a tragic loss to those of us who knew him. William H. (Joe) Cooper, with whom I was not acquainted, who testified to a New Orleans grand jury about the results of the investigative work he had done, had a serious car accident five days after his testimony which nearly resulted in the death of he and his wife. On October 16, 1974 he allegedly shot himself to death in his Baton Rouge apartment.

More than seven years ago a death occurred which some of us still full wonder about. The man's name would serve no purpose here and is omitted in deference to his relatives, so I'll refer to him as Jim. In late 1967 he came to the psychiatric research unit in which I worked and asked to observe our research procedures. He told some of us that this was in preparation for some future work at the Veteran's Hospital and that he was in a work-study program. While his lack of knowledge of our field was obvious quickly, he soon became a volunteer helper and was later hired to help with the research when one of the regular staff left the project. Before long various staff members reported
that he had been making inquiries about me, asking for example for the details of a planned trip to New Orleans, and one staff member observed him going through file drawers in my desk. When another staff member expressed concerns about these activities, I decided to check up on Jim's background.

He was a Korean war veteran who had worked as an Intelligence Analyst at the Second Division Headquarters, Ft. Lewis, Washington with Secret security clearance (Top Secret clearance on an interim basis). His academic training, at four major universities, and his BA degree were in geology, and all of the jobs listed on his resume from 1955 on were in the field of engineering geology.

Near the end of May 1968 Jim and I met privately and I confronted him about what had been going on. He admitted that he had been investigating me and my work but would not further elaborate. We had both agreed that nobody was to know of our meeting. I showed him documents dealing with Army Intelligence agent James W. Powell who the Secret Service claimed to have caught inside the Book Depository after they "sealed it off." A subsequent FBI interview with Powell indicated that he had taken photos of the assassination, although those photos are not among those the FBI sent to the Commission. Jim told me that he had appreciated the friendship myself and others had extended to him over the past six months, told me that he had been a fan of President Kennedy and that this whole thing had shaken him up, and said that he wanted to send me some important information which he said I could not get elsewhere.

We arranged on an address to which he could mail it if necessary, although I anticipated seeing Jim regularly since his job with us extended into the summer.

On June 6, 1968 one of the project's secretaries told me that
Jim had gotten a long distance call on the preceding day telling him that reservations had been made for him to leave Minneapolis on June 7 and to fly to Anchorage, Alaska. I tried to reach him before he left but he was too busy clearing up his affairs. On June 19th I received a phone call and was told that he had been shot to death two days earlier and that mine was one of the two names found on his body. I was told that his boss had forced him to wear a gun and that he had taken it off when getting into a helicopter and that it had accidentally discharged. A newspaper story said that he "was shot when a gun accidentally discharged as he was getting out of an airplane in the back country near Anchorage." He bled to death before a doctor could reach him. Somewhat shaken I contacted the police chief in his home town in California who confirmed his death in Alaska and his burial in his home town. A student who was planning a trip to Alaska agreed to look into the matter when he got there, but never recontacted me. I have often wished I had the resources to look into this matter further if for no other reason than to lay some nagging doubts to rest. I have always wondered if Jim really had anything of substance to give me. Now that he is dead it is impossible to know.