

ROBERT PENN WARREN BOX 1 - MRS. HARVEY February 9, 1964

Warren: May we talk about that for a few minutes? Or shall we start with something more general?

Mrs. Harvey: We can start at that point.

Warren: We can come back to that point too.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, and I think we probably will be coming back to it, because I really don't know the answer to my immediate involvement in the Civil Rights Drive, except to say this that my background from student days has been in one of concern for the larger community. This started with student Y work, and attendance at the World Conference of Christian Youth in ^{Amsterdam,} Holland, back in 1939. At that- how personal do you want a person to be in this?

Warren: Well, as personal as you can.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, all right. Well, at that time I was engaged to a person who was not interested, outside of business, and business was to be my background heritage, and when I came back with the experience of the Amsterdam Conference, we terminated our engagement, because I saw that the dollar was not going to be the thing that must determine my whole life pattern, but people must be that. And, I felt that life with him would mean that the dollar would be the motivating factor and the primary thing, rather than involvement and concern about people. So that I grew so much in just that one summer of experience from my exposure, that I felt that the sort

of person that I would choose to spend my life with must be a person who had this other quality, rather than the business perhaps, unless I could find one that combined both. So that's my first part of my answer to your question of my interest in the Civil Rights drive. My own growth out of college, where I was concerned with people ~~and people~~ and how they developed and how they would become mature, and how they get the get price on things.

Warren: Where had you gone to college?

Mrs. Harvey: At Baldwin College, in Atlanta, Georgia

Warren: Yes, yes. Where ~~that~~ ~~Clarke~~ ~~College~~ is -

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that's right. And I became President of the student Y there, and went to student conferences, you know, in North Carolina, but the crowning thing was the overseas experience.

Warren: Yes.

Mrs. Harvey: And we studied with Sherwood Eddy that summer. Remember?

Warren: Yes, I remember.

Mrs. Harvey: And we attached ourselves as a student youth group to his economic seminars that he took abroad for many years, and we got to know Dr. David Lloyd George and - oh, any number of persons and - of national and international stature.

Warren: Where were you raised?

Mrs. Harvey: I was born in Louisa, Mississippi, which is ninety miles from Jackson, where -

Warren: Yes, I know where that is.

Mrs. Harvey: Whereare now, and we came to Jackson here when I was very young, and seven years old, and my family has been in the funeral business, and my immediate family - my mother's father has been in the funeral business since 1950, but this particular business which we associated with, started back in 1903, and my dad came here to take over - to buy this particular business in the 1920's and that's when we moved to Jackson, Mississippi, so that I grew up here in Jackson, Mississippi.

Warren: Well, after returning from Amsterdam - that was in what year?

Mrs. Harvey: 1939.

Warren: Just before the war, then.

Mrs. Harvey: Just before the war. In fact, the war started and I know some persons were trying to get back some of the persons in our group were on the Athenia when it went down, and were out in the water for many hours.

Warren: Yes, I remember that. Yes.

Mrs. Harvey: Of course, I think to the Y and its impact on my life, was the church, because we've been fairly strict Methodists. My father had national responsibilities as a lay

Robert Penn Warren 2/9/64 - Mrs. Harvey

4.

person in the Methodist church, and I had traveled extensively with him to various Methodist meetings, and so forth. So, again, this is an exposure which made me interested in people

Warren: ~~Now, may I interrupt just to check that these - that nothing has gone wrong here, so as - little on the low side.~~

When did you and Dean Harley get married?

Mrs. Harvey: Well, we were married in 1923. And we met on this experience that I told you about. X W

Warren: In Amsterdam?

Mrs. Harvey: We married in Berlin, prior to Amsterdam. He was traveling with the Methodist group, and he was one of the leaders of the ^{World} Conference, of Christian Youth. By the time I met him he had studied youth groups in thirty countries of the world and was quite an authority on youth movements and he had a background as president of the New York Youth Council, and the first Negro president of the United Christian Youth Movement of North America.

Warren: When was that?

Mrs. Harvey: When was he president?

Warren: Yes.

Mrs. Harvey: I don't know the year. That was prior to my meeting him.

Warren: Oh, oh, I see, before that.

Mrs. Harvey: It was prior to 1939.

Warren: I see. How much do you think the religious background is of any importance in this movement?

Mrs. Harvey: The movement as a whole?

Warren: ~~Um, hum.~~ This is ^a ~~the right of the~~ controversial point, you know.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I would say this. That religion per se has not been active in the movement, as I know the Movement, but many of the people who have been involved, have been involved because of their religious orientation and their religious background. I don't think it has been the initiative of the church itself.

Warren: Not institutional you mean.

Mrs. Harvey: Institutional - within the Movement, but it has been religiously orientated people who have taken the leadership, like Martin Luther King, for example, but I don't know how many people in his church would even follow him in the Movement, you see.

Warren: Yes, yes. But you find a great deal of bitterness here and there from responsible people, responsible Negro leaders, who say, "I am sick of Christianity. It's been a trap."

Mrs. Harvey: Yes.

Warren: You know this argument, of course.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes.

Warren: On the one hand that, on the other hand the attitude typified by you and by Dr. Abernathy and Dr. King, ~~and it's a very~~

~~subtle question, isn't it? It's a - there's~~ all sorts of shadings.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, you see I think this is because you have to differentiate between what Christianity has become, and the way it has been lived and practiced, and the way it has become institutionalized, and what Christianity really is - as Jesus - He didn't outline it. As we have it based on His teachings and His practices. And, I think this is where the problem comes - for example, going up again, back to the Amsterdam experience. Those of us from America thought that European Christians were great sinners because they sat in sidewalk cafes and sipped beer and drank champagne. And yet, when we went to take communion, they felt we were the worst Christians because we wore lipstick, you see. Well, there are many things that have become accretions to Christians - and we have said these are things that determine whether a person is a Christian, or whether they aren't, that have no basis at all in the fact. And, I think that's where the problem lies.

Warren: Well, the accretions are personal and institutional and -

Mrs. Harvey: That's right.

Warren: Generally social.

Mrs. Harvey; That's right. That's right.

Warren: May I read you -

Mrs. Harvey: And get away from the life of Christianity.

Warren: May I read you a quotation here about Dr. King's philosophy?

This is by Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor of psychology at C.C.N.Y. now. You know. "On the surface King's philosophy appears to reflect health and stability, while black naturalism" - he's been talking about the Black Muslims before, "betrayed pathology and instability, but a deeper analysis might reveal that there is also an unrealistic or pathological basis in King's doctrine. The natural reaction to injustice, oppression and humiliation are bitterness and resentment. The forms which such bitterness take need not be overtly violent, the corrosion of the spirit seemed inevitable. It would seem, therefore, that any demand that the victims of oppression be required to love those who oppress them, puts an additional and intolerable burden upon them psychologically!" It makes for - well, what he says. To continue in the same thought - "It has been argued that the proper interpretation of King's philosophy of love, must take into account its Christian, philosophical and strategic significance. This argument may be perfectly correct for a small minority of educated and philosophically sophisticated individuals, but it is unlikely that it can be accepted with full understanding by the masses of Negroes. Their attempt to cope with this type of philosophical abstraction in the face of injustice, can only lead to a deep and disturbing conflict and inner guilt."

Mrs. Harvey: Of course, I wouldn't be qualified to evaluate that because I don't know enough about psychology -

Warren: But, you know people.

Mrs. Harvey: But my personal reactions would be these. The matter of non-violent action, I think, toward the dominant groups in American life has been the pattern of the Negroes generally, through the years. There wasn't - he ^{didn't} ~~didn't~~ take the razor to himself to get his frustrations off, or to - within his own racial group on Saturday nights. That's why you have these cuttings, or he'd beat his wife, but he never would take - I wouldn't say he never would, but very rarely - you didn't have this overt thing against the dominant group. You have an identification, a feeling and a concern for them, a sense of humor about them, laughing at them - their weaknesses and foibles and also a sort of out trying to outsmart them idea, which, I think, the Negro pattern of reaction in American life has been one toward this pattern of non-violence toward the other group, rather than away from it. Now, whether this has created within him additional frustrations, as Kenneth says that it would do, if - you know - the way it's used now, I don't know, but it seems to me that this is following a continuous pattern in the life of the Negro.

Warren: This would deny the Christian premise entirely, wouldn't it - the Christian vein entirely - to give -

Mrs. Harvey: What would give?

Warren: Dr. Clark's statement. ^{According to him,} to forgive means to accept

greater conflict, which is unhealthy.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that's right. That's true. Then the other thing is I think it doesn't reckon with the three kinds of love that Dr. King talks about, you know. That he's talking about when you love, must love a certain person, the type, where you love him as the person of worth, and you love him because in him too is the same spirit that is a divine spirit that is in you. You don't love him as a brother, you don't love him sexually, you don't love him because of any of his physical attributes, and you don't love the things that he does to you - or against himself - but you love him because he's a child of God, just as you are a child of God. And this is the type of love that he's talking about - and I think it's very important that you must recognize it.

Warren: You have known people, undoubtedly, who have been caught in violent situations in recent years - negroes who have been caught in violent situations. Undoubtedly you know some who on grounds, not of fear, or of tactics, have refused to be violent, but have done so because of some theological or Christian or philosophical attitude. Do you see any corrosion of spirit in them, any extra burden of guilt, and any conflict - intolerable conflict in those people afterward?

Mrs. Harvey: No, I personally have not. I would think that they grow from this, rather than get depleted by it. Now, with our young people, much of the non-violence that they practice is

they practice it, it seems to me, as a technique, rather than as a way of life, or as - well, they have had it explained to them as a philosophy, but it's not growing out of a deep theological rooting, or a Christian background. They have found it as a good technique, and of course many people have said that the non-violence that Martin Luther King advocates and practices is really not true non-violence, according to the way Ghandi had it. It's become a mixed thing, I should say; it has many factors; there are many aspects there.

Warren: Dr. Clark, Kenneth Clark, says again that the reason that Dr. King has been applauded is because he comforts the white man. He continues to stereotype the Negro as, you know, non-resistant, passive.

Mrs. Harvey: Applauded by whom?

Warren: By white people. ~~But~~ ^{It's} he's been - you know, gets degrees and is advertised because he is comforting to the white man to think about. ~~Is that notion - excuse me.~~

Mrs. Harvey: I don't know. That may be true. I don't know.

Warren: ~~Is that an idea, though? He has one~~ ^{It's} that you encounter elsewhere among negroes?

Mrs. Harvey: About King?

Warren: That the reason King is popular and is applauded by white people is because he flatters their preconception.

Mrs. Harvey: No. I haven't ever heard that. Of course - not

among Negroes - I've heard that Black Muslims - I read that they say this about King.

Warren: Yes, they say that.

Mrs. Harvey: But, I've never run into any individual. But, I have run into individual Negroes who react negatively to Dr. King, because they feel that he was agitating too much, and that -

Warren: Too much?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that he was agitating too much. How confidential is this?

Warren: Listen, I'll put it this way. It'll be totally confidential. We will make it - cut out - of this is - I will send a -

Mrs. Harvey: Well, you see one is - getting back to the original subject of - about my getting involved in civil rights. Again, in my family it goes back to the sort of family background that is mine. On my father's side of the family there were this eighty-five year old aunt who died right in this room here about three years ago, and had lived with us ten years ago. Father, who was my grandfather, tells that he and his brothers would not be beaten during slavery time, when they had some infraction, the master was angry with them, they would go hide out in the woods and stay until his temper cooled. And, then, they would come back. But, they were such good workers on the

place, that he would give them some minor punishment - but this is sort of root background that I - this was right here in Mississippi. The family property is still down the - but they still keep it in the family. Now, on my mother's side of the family, my people were independent merchants, dating back to my great-great-grandfather, who evidently must have been a slave. And, then, after slavery had set up a little business where he was a peanut vendor, and would sell peanuts at the trains as they came into the station there.

Warren: After the Civil War. After the Emancipation.

Mrs. Harvey: After the Emancipation, in Meridian, Mississippi. Then his son, who was my great-grandfather, through hard work - my mother tells of him working so that when he would come in from the fields, you could hear the sweat sloshing in his boots - he worked so hard the perspiration, you know - that he got enough land in Lauderdale County to have a plantation and to have many people working for him on the plantation and living as share-croppers on the plantation. And, then, his daughter, who was my grandmother, married an Alabama man, and they were set up - instead of taking their share of the family property, acreage, they were given money to set up a business in Meridian, Mississippi. And I have in my files downstairs their contract for going into the grocery business, which was signed back in 1800, or something, where my great-grandfather, my grandfather and my grand-

uncle all go in this grocery business - how much they put in and so forth - and the books of the business for years. Now this business was operated for about forty years, until my grandfather got too old and he retired and came and lived here. Then shifting back to my father's family again, my father was one of founders of the N.A. C.P. here in Jackson, Mississippi. He and a Mr. Noel and Mr. Dixon, Hadley started it. And, Miss Cox who spoke at the meeting today is an insurance agent that has been with us thirty years, and she tells that when my dad started the N.A.C.P. here that for two or three years, that only three people would meet - would be those three men. And then, finally when they were just able to get more people interested and working with it, and they started a youth council.

Warren: What year was that - when it was founded, roughly?

Mrs. Harvey: It was in the twenties. Because you see my father came here in '24 - so this was '26, '27, '28, something like that.

Warren: Pretty early then.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. And, then along probably in the '30's they started the first Youth Council and I was a member of the first Youth Council, along with the daughters of the other two men, and the daughter of one of the men became Gladys Noel Bates, as an adult, and filed the first suit for the equalization of teachers' salaries in the State of Mississippi. So here again is

an explanation of why I'm interested, involved in the Civil Rights - it's family background, tradition, the type of stock from which I come, that makes me interested in this sort of thing.

Warren: And the special energy that's got, I should say, too, is clearly, clearly indicated by the history.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes, partly. Yes. Now, you were - we were talking about Mr. King and I would want you to say this, when I asked you how personal - how private this was - one of my daily burdens is my own immediate staff in the office. My secretary, whom I inherited from my mother - you see, my father's been dead since '39 - and my mother has carried the businesses on since, and it's just in recent years that I've had to start commuting, because her health had - the growth of the business has meant that she wasn't able to function as she had - and so that the secretary we have has been with us twenty-five years this year, and she is one of the ones - one of the sort of people that believes that everything white is right; and is definitely not for the movement at all. And then, also, in the office is my husband's sister, who comes from an entirely different background - the Northern background that he comes from - and all of that. And, yet, she falls right in the same pattern of this secretary who grew up here in Mississippi and worked for whites, and learned to feel that they were superior to Negroes and all the rest of it.

Warren: Let me cut in on that point. You have raised a question I wanted to ask a little about. Some psychologists I know in New Haven told me thatⁱⁿ the New New Haven Rebuilding program that is going on in the City, they have taken certain psychological tests with different groups, to get their image of themselves. And among these are the Negro groups. There's a test called the rumor test, where they take a picture, same picture or roughly the same picture always, several people are - we'll say a white man is in the foreground, a Negro here and a Negro there and they're just grouped around at random in the picture. There's no necessary relation among them. They're not involved in the same action. A white man, a white man in the foreground will have a knife, or a razor, with - making no threatening gestures - but is just holding it. Say ten or fifteen people are asked to look at the - one person looks at the picture. He then is supposed to tell the next person about it. The next person tells the next one. Then the description is taken at the end, what is in the picture, and you see, the nature of the test, of course, it's an image that puts the knife out the hand of the white man into the hand of the Negro in the picture. This, he said, is almost infallible. Extraordinary. Now, there's a question, of course, what motives are secretly operating to make that transfer. One motive they attribute to it is the self-image - white man's image of Negro as potentially violent, or

the associations, but is that all? Could there be other motives operating, you see, secretly in this transfer? When it's taken - when it occurs among Negroes in this series.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes.

Warren: Could you think of any other motive that might be operating there, besides the self-image of the violent person?

Mrs. Harvey: You mean in the relationship to the people?

Warren: Yes, when the Negro takes the picture - this is the picture and takes the knife out of the white man's hand and puts it in his own - in the course of it, of telling it somebody slipped, you see. Somebody transfers it.

Mrs. Harvey: Not at the moment. Because I was still on another track of thought.

Warren: I'm sorry. I'm sorry.

Mrs. Harvey: That's all right. I'll come back to it later.

Maybe I'll have a reaction to it. What I was trying to finish -

Warren: Please, please, I'm sorry.

Mrs. Harvey: When I was talking about these two persons in the office was merely to bring out the fact that here are two people who react negatively to Martin Luther King, and against what we are trying to do in the Movement, and I say this is a daily burden that I have to bear because I don't feel like I can communicate - that here's the employer-employee relationship, you see, which makes it very difficult for me to communicate with them.

I try to keep posted on the bulletin board constantly all the things that are going on in the Movement, and whenever there's an opportunity we do discuss these things, but they are two people who feel that Dr. King isn't doing too much. I wish Martin Luther King would just go on home and tend to his business. But they feel that he's in it more for personal gain or merit, and so forth, rather than for the thing that Kenneth Clark was indicating.

Warren: Yes, you encountered that notion here and there. How widespread do you think that notion is?

Mrs. Harvey: I don't think it's very widespread, but I think it's unfortunate that you have people who have a great influence on other people holding that point of view, and not really realizing what the Movement is about, and what is happening, and I just wanted to finish that.

Warren: Please, please.

Mrs. Harvey: That thought - there was another thought back there when we were talking about a - oh, yes, that I wanted to get into the hopper - when you were talking about this non-violence on the part of the Negroes. There is the feeling now, and the Cocoa people will verify this, perhaps. I got this from the Civil Rights hearings here recently and listening to people talk, that they feel that they have been patient too long, and that the Justice Department is not doing anything about this regress

on their grievances, and, therefore, they feel that they must take things in their own hands, and here you have the possibility of violence erupting from the Negro against the white group.

Warren: Is that - taking things in their own hands - what would that mean? What literally, concretely, specifically, would that mean?

Mrs. Harvey: Well -

Warren: Or might it mean, of course.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, it would mean, it would mean a fight - it would mean the mob violence, it would mean physical action with knives, guns and what have you. Now what this would solve - it would solve nothing - it will compound the problem, is the way I personally feel about it, but they just feel that they - this stuff is just so built up in them and all these frustrations that - the things we heard today about going down and then there are no exemption slips, or one of the patterns that came out in the Civil Rights hearing was that they go down to register and the Registrar disappears, you know. And so they stay there all day and nobody there, you know, and then somebody comes in - "Well, we got to close up now. You have to come back tomorrow." You see, all these harrassments and frustrations are just at the explosion point on a lot of people, and they think they'll just let it explode and spill all over, and the people who have been perpetrating it. So that - it's a very real thing now in

Mississippi, and may get entirely away from all the non-violent sects. Martin Luther King is calling it preaching.

Warren: Do you think this will spill over with selected targets, as it were - a white man, offends a Negro and -

Mrs. Harvey: No.

Warren: And gets violence, or it will spill over by just indiscriminate -

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, indiscriminate. It would be uncontrolled.

Warren: Just the explosion?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes.

Warren: Any man, white - any child, white - anyone gets it if he's passing.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes. It would be uncontrolled as I see it.

Warren: But before the break would come, it would reach the point of the indiscriminate.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. That's right. Well, this was a recurring thing - said over and over again at the last Civil Rights hearing here at the - United States Commission.

Warren: I attended a non-violence conference at Howard University last November, and there was some talk - well, I'll cut back. There was greater criticism of Dr. King's program -

Mrs. Harvey: I see.

Warren: A great deal - but you had a kind of scale, a spectrum going down to the fear of violence of this sort - but before that

a considered policy of brakesmanship of violence, or the violence short of the lethal - was discussed as actual policy, a coldly calculated policy. Not an explosion, you see, but a policy - say, not to kill, or to destroy property, or blow bridges, as a possibility, or - the matter of the - excuse me - or the matter of the threat played with constantly of violence.

Mrs. Harvey: I see. Yes. Yes - come in. All right. This is Mrs. Moore, Dr. Warren.

Warren: How're you, Mrs. Moore.

Mrs. Harvey: Warren, uh huh. Dr. Warren has written several books.

Warren: Well, you were telling me at the table about the freedom riders and your entering the Civil Rights Movement.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. I really was trying to get back to a direct answer to your initial question of my involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, and the immediate thing that projected me into it at this moment was the coming of the freedom riders, back in May of 1961. Of course, you know from my book that - Warren, Power, Limited issued and I sent you earlier, that we had been sent by the bishop of our area, the Methodist bishop of our area on my annual conference on the coast, to Jackson to see the persons who had been jailed, and to attend the first hearing, and it was out of this first hearing that I noticed that some of the girls did not have sweaters, and when we inquired, we found that

one needed a sweater - it was very cool, although it was mid-May - and our minister, Reverend E. A. Mays of the Central Methodist Church, was kind enough to take one of my sweaters back to the jail and give it to the young lady. This was on Friday. I can give you the exact date if you wish it.

Warren: If you have it handy.

Mrs. Harvey: Just hold it. This was on Friday, May 26th, 1961, and then on Saturday, May 27th, at night, I was talking with Attorney Jack Young's wife, and she was saying that since the young people were not taking bond and were staying in the community, they found that they had many, many needs, and she had sent pajamas up by her husband. So this planted a seed within me - the need that the people were going to have if they remained in our community for thirty-nine days, when they had not come prepared to stay. And, the other factor was that at the hearing it came out very clearly that these people had never intended to be arrested in the first place. You see, they were sort of captured in coming from Alabama to Mississippi, they were escorted by the police on the busses and they were not allowed rest rooms' facilities, or rest rooms - there was no rest room on the bus - and they made no stops so that they could use rest rooms. And, the testimony at the trial indicated that one minister had, Wyatt T. Walker, had asked the person in charge of the bus - the military person, police power in charge of the bus,

to please stop and let them use the rest rooms, and he had been told to just go up to the back of the bus and use it. And he said, "Well, there are women there". He said, "So what." So when they got to Jackson, all of them had this tremendous physical urge, and they drove up to the Greyhound Bus Station - no, the Trailway Bus Station, and the door to the, what was the Negro waiting room, had Out of Order sign on it, so that they were funneled by this line of police who were standing there into the white rest room - the white waiting room - and they rushed onto the white rest room, and there, in the process of bladder evacuation they were arrested. Well, now they hadn't planned any of this - hadn't intended to do it, but they were forced into it - and to their arrest. So after it had been done, then they decided to make the most of it, and James Farmer was a part of that particular group. So, one of - so the next morning - this was Sunday morning, after talking with Mrs. Young on Sunday night right in this room, the idea came to me to call some of the churches and ask if they would make the contribution to help provide the - for the physical needs of the freedom riders who were going to be staying here, and to send me two women from each church. So, by Sunday afternoon we had twelve women and at least seventy-five dollars in hand. And, from that small beginning, we were able to get, oh, a hundred and

fifty, or two hundred women to work across the summer, providing for the needs of these persons. And, monies came to us from local groups and from individuals, as well as from people across the country. And we did - the sort of thing we did was to send them in clothes and toilet articles and writing paper and that sort of thing. We could not go ourselves as women. We had to send it by ministers, or by a lawyer - and we went on some occasions and we were constantly asked, "Well, are you a licensed minister?" "No." "Well, then you can't go in."

Warren: Only ministers could - or lawyers.

Mrs. Harvey: Only ministers, or a lawyer. And then, of course, they sent many of the freedom riders over to Parchman, after there was so many of them that came, and while they were at Parchman, we could do nothing for them. We sent things to them, but the things were not given them, and when they came back again, then we would meet them at the Jail and take them to our homes and churches and what have you to feed them and to get them cleaned up. And then, it was recorded in James Peck's book on the freedom ride, as well as in many articles - Ladies' Home Journal, Jet, Study, many of the national and local publications, negro and white, recorded that many of the freedom riders said that their sanity was maintained while they were under torturous conditions, in this tremendous heat, and with the brutal treatment they were receiving up in Parchman, because they knew that back in

Jackson, Mississippi, there were women who were concerned and interested and who represented something of the mind of the community. They felt that they weren't - that their efforts were not being wasted.

Warren: You think that many people here were waked up by that change there?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I think that the presence of the freedom riders did more for Jackson's Negro community than anything that I know has happened in my years of living here. Because we were very disunified. We had no sense of unity at all on social issues as Negroes, and I thought - I felt this way about it, that particularly for our young people who got in on the act and they got jailed with some of the freedom riders, that some of them heard of Yale University, for example, for the first time, because they were cell-mates with somebody who had studied at Yale, or who happened to mention Yale. They heard of universities and colleges that they had never heard of before. They heard of professions that were open that they had never even thought - they never even heard of before - and they found out that Negroes did go into them. It gave them an ideal, and a cause and a hope - and an exposure that they hadn't had, and it was one of the best things in the world. So that besides unifying the community, it did tremendous good for our young people in giving them goals - some motivation to goals.

Warren: I hadn't thought of that aspect of it.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. This was tremendous, and it also brought courage to them, which was another thing - that people felt - they began - we began to look at ourselves and say, "Well, you know, maybe we ought not to be just so satisfied living as we are. Maybe there is another way of life, that's possible right here. Maybe we don't have to send our children to Los Angeles and to New York and Chicago and Detroit for jobs when they get educated. Maybe they can get their jobs right here if we do certain things for ourselves within our community, as long as we have the people who are going to help open our eyes and make us opportunities that are right here, and who are willing to help us - well, why not stay here and do something about it?"

Warren: James Baldwin writes in his last book, as a matter of fact, -

Mrs. Harvey: Is this the Fire Next Time?

Warren: Yes. That the Southern mob does not represent the majority will of the South. He says that this is based on the testimony of those best qualified to observe - those people being the actual embattled fighters he says, on the Southern front. Would that seem to make sense to you?

Mrs. Harvey. Umm. I think that makes sense. I think, though, that it's the mob, of course, is the one that gets the publicity you see, and so forth, but I think that the real tragedy in the

South is the people of good will who remain silent - who let the mob take over and exert the pressures and get the publicity.

Warren: Baldwin goes on to say that the mob fills a moral vacuum - what you are saying, I guess.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, - about - yes.

Warren: The other forces can't find any way of expression.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. Yes, the other forces are not courageous enough to find a way of expression. I feel that they could, if they would.

Warren: Is it a problem of organization too? Fighting a focussed organization?

Mrs. Harvey: A lot of the problem is probably of leadership. Now, this leadership may take a form of getting people organized, or it may not, but I think the lack of leadership has been great in the white group, as well as the Negro group, because so many of our best people have been siphoned off - white and Negro to other areas, because they haven't been able to find the job opportunities and the economic security that they needed within the community. You have thousands moving away every year, white and Negro - some of your best minds.

Warren: Yes, Mississippi has been sort of the seed bag of man power for the country for a long time.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. In these people that have left, there have been many resources that would have given us the sort of leadership

that we needed to keep the mob in its proper place. Of course, they say this is why the Citizens' Council was organized - to prevent mob violence and to get moderate control, but it hasn't worked out this way.

Warren: I don't believe that myself.

Mrs. Harvey: No. Well, there may - maybe it was just a statement. I mean, maybe this isn't the reason why it was organized, but this is what many - I have talked with some people who are Citizens' Council^{people,} and they say this is why they came in - to give us moderates. But, if it is the reason, it's not the way it has worked out.

Warren: No. No. There's another notion associated with that - this -

Mrs. Harvey: May I interrupt you?

Warren: Yes, please do.

Mrs. Harvey: I'm still trying to - to not be a politician and go off on a tangent when answering your questions, but I think we ought to get into the hopper that thing that I was saying again - why I am interested.

Warren: Oh, please do.

Mrs. Harvey: This involvement with the Methodist church on a national level, as a member of General Board of Christian Social Concerns - was another springboard, you see, for me to get into the present Civil Rights struggle in the local community. For

me it was not enough to have a national responsibility, a national position with this Board, and do things nationally, and not get that same thing working within my own local community. So now, maybe, I have answered fully your initial question.

Warren: Well, we may have some more ideas later. The old question that we hear over and over again, in one form or another - can there be a solution for "the Negro problem", without a solution for "the poor white problem" in the South?

Mrs. Harvey: I would think not. I think the two have to go hand in hand, and I don't think you can help one without helping the other, and I don't think you should help one without helping the other. One of the major problems in the South that has affected both groups is economics, and it's reflected in poor education for whites, as well as poor education for negroes. And, if this problem of economics is helped, then it should spread across the board and this will mean a tremendous amount to our State. One of the things that I'm tremendously interested in, and if you have any contacts that would be helpful, is to get into Mississippi the small manufacturing businesses.

Warren: I have none.

Mrs. Harvey: That would - I mean, contacts with people, to - who could tell us how you go about it. Something that doesn't require a lot of capital, but would put thirty or forty people

to work, and give them economic security, because this is a tremendous need here, which reflects in this lack of economic security - and meeting basic economic needs reflects in all of the aspects of our culture, and our isolation, ideas on religion, our Bible synod thinking there, and in our race attitudes and mob violence and other things. I think it's really fundamental.

Warren: How is unemployment here?

Mrs. Harvey: How is unemployment?

Warren: Yes.

Mrs. Harvey: It's - I couldn't give you percentages, but it's - we have more than we should. And, you see, much of this displacement in Mississippi by automation, the cotton picking machine. And you could see it for yourself if you just travel from here to Memphis, Tennessee, the vacant hovels on the plantations - just empty, you see.

Warren: Yes. That was begun some years ago.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, it had begun several years ago, but it continues. And the migration into town, you see - they left the plantations and have come into towns.

Warren: What about the relief situation? Is there discrimination on that in Jackson? Or does anybody know how much there is?

Mrs. Harvey: I don't know how much there is.

Warren: I hadn't heard it said about Jackson, but it's said about other places.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes - I don't know. I wouldn't - Jackson is pretty typical of the other places, so if it's evident in other places, I'm certain it would be here too.

Warren: You said earlier that improvement would have to come through a number of forces operating at the same time.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I think I - I think that's it - that we were discussing this at dinner, and I thought you were saying that you had attended a conference where Martin Luther King and his approach was greatly criticized. And, that Mr. Clarence Mitchell indicated that he believed a great deal of it was a political approach, and other people at the conference felt that this was not good at all - and I was saying that it's my feeling that there's no one way to solve the problem, that's mutually exclusive of other ways. There must be many forces and different types of approaches to the problem, because you're working with different kinds of problems and you're working with different kinds of people in different situations. Therefore, what will be good in one place, may not necessarily be good in another. But, it doesn't mean that this is no good, because it doesn't work in a particular place. Therefore, I think there must be many approaches to the problem - many different fronts on which people work - and many different techniques used.

Warren: Well, with that in mind, I'll cut back to the question of relations of the Negroes to the poor whites, the dispossessed white, or the ignorant, uneducated white. Can you envisage a policy which would involve the amelioration of the white man's situation too? Is there any basis for cooperation, or comprehension at that level over policy that could involve both Negro and white?

Mrs. Harvey: I think that there would be, from the standpoint of a policy which would have to come from above down, but I don't know how much cooperation you would get on this particular level unless you had very strong leadership. Would you hold that there just a minute? Well, now, getting back to this question of the poor whites and the poor Negroes getting rapport and a working relationship - I think it can be done; I can't tell you how - because I don't really feel that they have great antipathy for each other. I think this is - they have been used by the power structure - pitted against each other, and that they really don't have deep-seated resentments against each other and could work together, given an opportunity to do so. And, certainly if they felt they were going to better themselves, each group better themselves by a cooperative working relationship. I had an experience the other day, sitting in the bus station in Hammond. I was sitting in what was formerly the white side of the station, and I was the only Negro

sitting in there. All the other Negroes were sitting where they had been accustomed to sitting before the law changed, and I had eaten breakfast and took a seat - one seat removed from a white lady sitting there. And, she leaned over to me and said, "Are you an insurance lady?" And I realized that I had one of my business briefcases and that's why she asked that - and we began to talk and she didn't ^{have} any - she was definitely poor white, and she didn't have any resentment because I was there - and she didn't mind the other people staring because we were talking. And, she was talking about some of her personal problems - why she had to go to Baton Rouge, and so forth, and I think this is pretty typical of a private person is. If she could get a job somewhere where other people were working, and they were all going to be benefitted by it, I think we'd -

Warren: To extend that - there's another statement that only the Negro situation tied to the poor white situation, with the other notion "the South cannot change until the North changes". This is said over and over again by Baldwin, by many sociologists - that the root lies - is a national root to the problem, not a sectional one.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes. Why I think the problem is an international problem, for that matter - the problem of race and the problem of minorities and the problem of using people is not, I think, colonialism is another facet on the same type of problem

so I think it's a world-wide problem. But, I don't think that you could say that the South won't change until the north changed. That would not be my feeling. I am hoping, and my reason for remaining in the South and working and struggling is because I am hoping the South will point the way, because the problem is so serious and intense here. I hope we can point the way for the whole nation, for that matter. And it's interesting, you know, noticing how peoples in other countries - Africa, particularly, are gaining respect for us in America because of the stand we are taking in the Civil Rights struggle. For example, when I was in Ghana in 1962; I was there for the World Without the Bomb Peace Conference, and Madame Jeggi, who is a judge in the Supreme Court there - a Ghanaian woman - said to me after taking Mrs. Wadsworth through the Y. W. C. A. in Ghana, "My dear, your American whites are so childish". And I said, "What do you mean, Madame Jeggi?" She said, "They lean over backwards, being nice to us here and yet we read about when they go home they kick you in the teeth." She said, "How do you think that the mother feels when they are nice to the mother, and they mistreat the child?" Well, now this was a different idea to me altogether, because the Africans that I had known who had come over here to study looked down on me, and other Negroes, because we have been slaves - our heritage is slave background and they said they'd never had - and they never seemed to want

to identify with us socially, or any way. But, now, here's this whole new respect for us, looking upon us as the children of the Mother Africa because we are now asserting ourselves and really reminding the people in America that there are certain rights under the Constitution that were guaranteed to us - and we just haven't got them - we're a little late getting.

Warren: Speaking of Mother Africa, that notion, years ago in reading DuBoise, I came across for the first time in my experience a discussion of what I think he calls the split in psyche of the American Negro. He says on one hand there's the pull towards a mystical view of blackness, toward the African heritage - toward the community feeling and loyalties based on that inheritance, and on the not extensive social situation of cramp and oppression and exploitation, but some mystic identification. This being one impulse - the other impulse is toward entering the Western European, American cultural tradition. And, in the process perhaps, eventually, losing all identity. This division of loyalty - and excuse me -

Mrs. Harvey: Yes?

I hate to disturb you, but I just wanted to say to Dr. Warren that I'm getting old - and -