

ROBERT PENN WARREN BOX 2 MRS. HARVEY February 9, 1964.

Warren: Where were we?

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I was about to ask you.

Warren: I've lost track.

Mrs. Harvey: Um, huh. Oh, we were talking about the mystic in the Negro, which -

Warren: Oh, yes, expressed - expressed -

Mrs. Harvey: In DuBoise. Yes, now what was your question on that?

Warren: Well, what do you feel about that?

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I think the two experiences of my husband and I might be illustrative of the type of thing that DuBoise was talking about. Now, my feeling in Africa was one of complete identification, a feeling of going home, you know, being at home, and that I really had found my roots, you know, and all that. Well, now, my husband had none of that at all. Africa was just like going to South America, or India, or some other place to him - Europe. So, now, right here within my own family is maybe an illustration of the sort of thing you're talking about.

Warren: Well, how would that feeling - your feeling for Africa, this sense of home, relate to your activity toward integrated, free society here, which possibly means a loss of identity as a Negro? How do those feelings square?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, all right. We'll come back to that.

Warren: All right.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I can say this - it's being a feeling of home did not mean that I wanted to return there to remain -

Warren: Yes?

Mrs. Harvey: It just felt - it made me feel that I had finally touched base, and that I had, you know, put my feet down solid on what my roots were. But, it's from this point I would want to move - move forward, and this would mean integration. This would mean working, even if I were in Africa for the abundant life for all men, and all people - and it certainly would mean this in American life. You see, I see - my feeling about mankind is that we all - no matter what race we are - are children of God and that He wants us all to have abundant life, whatever it means - whatever the abundant life means for you, whatever it means for me, based on what our individual personalities are - our backgrounds, our roots and so forth. I want to work for that wherever I am, and it's not a matter of feeling that because Africa gave me a sense of belonging and a sense of kinship, and a sense of being at home and a sense of finding my roots that I just want to sit down on those laurels.

Warren: You wouldn't interpret it then as a movement toward Negro exclusiveness - approximating the Muslim -

Mrs. Harvey: No, no. Oh, no. Or the Zarviacs.

Warren: Or the Zarviacs, or anything like that.

Mrs. Harvey: No, not at all.

Warren: You find in terms of Christian religion then? Is that

right?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I do. The way I interpret it, yes. And even in more than that because, I mean, this could be - let's say the Judo - the Judaist - pronounce it for me - Judaio-Christian tradition, because many persons that I work with are Jewish. And then, I've worked with people who are non-believers, for that matter. Certainly in the Peace Movement, many people are non-believers, some of them agnostics, and some are atheists. But, I see it from a framework of God's relationship to all of his children.

Warren: Speaking of Jews, several Jews have said to me about this question of the split in the - or possible split in the Negro psyche, that they have the same thing. On the one hand, your identity as a Jew. On the other hand, the impulse to move into the main stream of American life and lose that exclusiveness, even lose the Jewish heritage perhaps.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, you see I feel that you may in the natural process of moving in, lose alot of it, but I think if you are aware of what your background is, and you have respect and admiration for it; I think the split in the psyche comes when a person wants to move away from what his past was, and does not have respect for it and doesn't admire it - and therefore, he's trying to be absorbed by another thing. It's not that with me. It's recognizing what my past is, as a member of a Negro minority, with

relationship and roots in Africa, but it's also working with all of the races, so that everybody gets their place in the sun.

Warren: Do you see a parallelism between this problem for those Negroes for whom it is a problem, and the problem of the Mississippians, or other Southerners - who on one hand feel the impulse to enter the mainstream of American life and who are committed to that in a way, yet who stand back defending some exclusiveness - some presumably necessary Southern heritage - split of that sort, that Mirdahl talks about - that many others talk about.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I guess there is.

Warren: A division of loyalty is there.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I guess there is a parallel. But, you see, I don't think - I mean, although Mirdahl is saying this and DuBoise said it, and it does happen with people, I don't think it necessarily has to happen. I don't think one - you have to exclude one or the other.

Warren: Yes, I understand your point of view.

Mrs. Harvey: That's what I'm suggesting.

Warren: Many Southerners are in the position, I should think, of the Negro who can't reconcile these two impulses.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes.

Warren: He also is in a split position.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right, that's right, absolutely. Because

he said then, like black and white - was it Dykeman that studied black and white, anyway, that it was like spitting on the grave. You see, he really didn't believe all of this, but it was like spitting on the grave of his grandfather if he didn't act as though he believed into it and lived up to the Southern traditions and so forth. So this - yes this was the -

Warren: Not an uncommon thing to find.

Mrs. Harvey: Why - why is this - why - well, of course Southerners in modern are just diehards, though, anyway. I was about to ask, why do you - they feel this tremendous tug of tradition on them, because part of it, I guess, is the whole isolationism of the people living in the South anyway, because they are isolated on issues of peace - they are isolated in economics, they are isolated in race - and this is a whole reflection, isn't it - on?

Warren: They feel themselves a deprived minority, many of them do. Have the psychology of a deprived minority. Same psychology that can be found in any minority. This is complicated by defeated nationalism, I suppose.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes. And it puts them on a defensive position.

Warren: Now my next thought - question, stemming from that would be this: Do you see any chance for Southerners you know to keep their Southernness, their sense of loyalty to a personal heritage, and lose the Negro prejudice - or is the Negro

prejudice a necessary part of the Southern heritage, or is it an accidental part of the Southern heritage. Do you see what I'm getting at? I'm not saying it well, but I -

Mrs. Harvey: I think - I -

Warren: I'm blunting at something, anyway.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I think I understand what you are saying. You're saying if they are going to hold on to what they believe is their Southern tradition and so forth, isn't the matter of prejudice and race a natural part of that?

Warren: Yes, do they have to hang on to it, or can they say Thomas Jefferson was a Southerner too. Or Robert E. Lee was a Southerner too.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes. Well, let's say this. I would feel that there are good and bad things about any traditions, Southern or what have you, and why not hang on to whatever the rich, best positive things are of one's traditions and let go of the negative things, and I think that this race thing is one of the negative things. Then, the other thing I would say is that it hasn't always been race prejudice as a part of the Southern tradition. It's just been a failure to recognize that this servant, this slave who has become a servant, is a part of a people and not a part of a thing - and is not a thing which they own individually and which they love like they do their dog, or their cat, or their horse. But, that he is a part of a race that has history and tradition and so forth and, therefore, he

is to be respected as an individual. And, I think this is a growth process that a person has to go through. Oh, I would say that I don't think it has to be a part - something that one holds up.

Warren: Here's something related to that on the side of the Negro situation. Sometimes I hear it said, or read it, that the Negro has a great liability not merely imposed on the outside, but a self-imposed liability in using the deprivations imposed on him by history and by present society as a kind of constant alibi and a constant excuse for self-pity. Of course, I don't mean everyone does it - it's a human trait, anyway - but how would you assess that? Do you see that actually working around you?

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, yes. I think a lot of people, you know, excuse things on the basis of - I think, as you say, it's a human trait to try and find - to find excuses. This is a good one - good a thing as any. Poor me. The way I've been treated, and so forth, but I think we are getting away from it.

Warren: Do you think there's a real change on that basis.

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, yes. Definitely.

Warren: Do you associate that change with the Civil Rights Movement?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I do. Yes, I do. I don't think your young people would do any of that at all. They would recognize the fact that they have been deprived and neglected, and so forth,

but they got to make this jump, just like the African nations, Ghana for example making a two-hundred year jump in twenty years - they hope to do.

Warren: This puts us at Freedom Now, then.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that's right.

Warren: The content of the words - of the phrase - Freedom Now - let's come at that for a moment. Let me read something - may I first - quotation - this is from Dr. Hancock, written some several years ago now - the Negro sociologist-historian. The quotation is this. "The color question is a social problem and as such as not different from any other social problem, and by reason of this fact, it responds to the same processes of adjustment or maladjustment. Social problems, by their very nature, do not lend themselves to instantaneous and absolute solution." You see this is a - one pole of a discussion. But this is one end of the discussion and Freedom Now is the other end. Where would we come out?

Mrs. Harvey: Well, it seems to me that Freedom Now means that you must have a box in a way, a frame, that indicates Freedom Now for all people like the Civil Rights legislation. And, you'll find that people move into that frame and take their picture, places in the picture, pretty easily - once the frame is set. When I first started traveling out of Jackson, Mississippi, the only way I could get a Pullman reservation is that an attorney -

Negro - doctor, or an attorney friend of ours, called the station master here and said, "My friend's daughter has to go such and such a place, and it's too long for her to sit up. Let her have a berth." Then I would get what they call Lower 13, the whole parlor car - I mean the whole bedroom with - for the price of a lower - you know, so forth. And had to have all my meals. Well, they've changed the decision that now people can eat in the diner, and then you got into that, but you ate behind the curtains, you see, and then later the curtains were removed, and you didn't find many people starving and not eating because they had to eat at a table with Negroes there. But you see, the frame was set. The box was put there, and they moved into it - very well and very easily.

Warren: You mean - excuse me - please, please.

Mrs. Harvey: Go ahead.

Warren: No, I'm sorry.

Mrs. Harvey: No, because I'm not explaining it clearly. Go ahead. Ask me.

Warren: I think I'm following it. I was going to try to paraphrase it to you, see, be sure that I did, and if I haven't got it right, please tell me. That you would recognize time process either short or long, process, but in terms of clearly formulated objectives and a clear movement toward those objectives - is that it?

Mrs. Harvey: That's it. That there must be action immediately and positively, and that has teeth in it.

Warren: But - that's it. The effects are clearly taking a long or short time, is that right?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes.

Warren: It can be - there's no absolute solution.

Mrs. Harvey: No, no. And the time - and I want to say this - that I said before, that I don't think time is the issue. People are always saying, "Oh, but it takes time."

Warren: Please develop that.

Mrs. Harvey: To do such and such - that's not the issue. The issue is whatever the particular thing is that we're talking about. And then, we see what happens as to time. But I think that there's much too much emphasis put on the fact that it takes time to do this - takes time to do this. I don't have time to do this - you know. And, this, is perfectly irrelevant, it seems to me. The thing is - does this need changing? Let's change it. Now, how do we go about changing it and so forth, and then you may find that it will take some time afterwards for people to accept it. It was just today, for example, talking about the fact that now the people can register to vote, but they're not doing it, you see. Well, now, it shouldn't have been - they have put the emphasis into the right place. They've gotten it so that people can do it. Now, you work to move

people faster, into the particular thing, you see. And, the concern wasn't all in the fact that it takes time, and therefore we want to move fast because it takes time. And, we will slow it down because it takes time. You see, you forget that. Leave that out, and let time fall in where it should. I mean, where it does. Does that make sense?

Warren: It certainly does. To me, it does indeed. And I have seen people sit in the same room and one say "Freedom Now means now!" and the other person say, "Well, it's all this talk of process. Let's just ^{with} draw from the effort." These two poles of the book - it's utterly nonsense.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that's right.

Warren: But people - intelligent people hold them.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. You see, I guess you're seeing in the things that I say that I'm a sort of a blender, but I don't feel that it is a thing so mutually exclusive, you know, as people try to make them - that you've got to be at either pole, but there are all ways of reconciling the elements and each - of pulling them together, so that you move forward and that you - your major concern should be the forward move.

Warren: I see, I see. Let us - that's a purely practical view of the matter, then. Use what you can and do what you can.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, and know where you're going.

Warren: And, know where you're going.

Mrs. Harvey: And take the steps that get you there.

Warren: Let me ask you two questions about Negro relations to the Civil Rights Movement, or to the whole question of the betterment of the Negro situation. Some time ago I read a Dr. Mays, Benjamin Mays on this matter, and I'm going to mention that I've read other things like the Pittsburgh Courier, Mr. Prentice in that, on the same subject - the fact that there's Negro philanthropy, or Negro contributions to the causes of Negro life, runs behind the actual assets.

Mrs. Harvey: I was going to -

Warren: This is a - and I have asked most recent, say, people in New Orleans and they would say, "Well, most of our financing comes from whites." This is a strange situation, isn't it, on the face of it. There tended to be good, natural reasons for it. Now, how would you explain that? What are those reasons?

Mrs. Harvey: Well, let's see now. Of course, there's several reasons. I think one, perhaps, major reason is that the struggle has been so hard for so many Negroes, that when they personally, indivi - back how to say it; the first reason is characteristic of people anywhere - purely selfish reasons, why they are not contributing in large amounts. When they individually have gotten over the hump of education, and been able to get into a financial, economic secure place, then they want to save themselves, and the results of their efforts - or the

efforts of theirselves. And, this means the split-level house, the Cadillac car - and I have a Cadillac car, but I have it because we have a funeral business and the public demands it - this means the fur stole. This means all the status symbols and all the things that I couldn't have - all the things I saw the white lady wearing when I was a maid in her home. All the things that Mr. Bob gave his wife when I was portering or gardening in his yard, and I said, whenever I was able to do it, I was going to do it for my wife, too, you see. So it's getting this, you see, this taste of something, when they've had nothing. It's a short term thing, because it means that they lose sight of the fact that when they individually have arrived in quote - "arrived" in quote - according to American materialistic standards, that they still have not arrived, unless all the other people have arrived - white and Negro too, who are deprived. And that the only way that you help all of them is by sharing what you have, rather than pouring it on yourself.

Warren: A comparison sometime is made between the Negro communities on this basis and Jewish communities. That's the common comparison.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes, and the Jewish do it differently, don't they?

Warren: Well, the statistics would indicate that.

Mrs. Harvey: They do differently. They help themselves more. Is that it?

Warren: That's the idea - give more. Not only to Jewish philanthropies, but to general philanthropies in relation to their income. One point, I suppose, is this. See what you think of it. That - humanly, these are very similar, but the Jew has never felt the kind of deprivation, at least not in our historical time. He's had terrible things happen to him, say, in Russia and Germany and elsewhere, but the sense of having - at least looking back on grandeurs - looking back on the Temple of Jerusalem - is there to look back on, and so the modern fortunes is not as new as the modern fortunes to the Negro, who doesn't look back on the Temple at Jerusalem. There's some image there behind the Jew's mind that is not there in the ordinary Negro's mind.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. And also he's working from a base of not the kind of nose-to-the-grind - well, yes, he works -

Warren: Some do, of course.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, but I think, by large wouldn't this be true in the Jewish group - that economic average as a Jewish group is higher than the economic average in the Negro group?

Warren: Yes, he does not feel as excluded as a Negro. Even if he was poor on the day of arrival at Ellis Island, he had more hope -

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. He had more opportunity.

Warren: And more opportunity, that's right. Both.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. Than the Negro. But the Negro has been right down there, you see, right down there in the dirt, and working in the dirt and sweating in it. So that when he gets his nose above it, he thinks of himself first, and I don't - I'm not defending - because I have very little patience with my friends who - I couldn't - they wanted me to be part of the Links, which is a - they have a charter group started here, in Jackson. And, I met with them for a while, and it got right up so that I - and I couldn't go on with it. Because here it meant that the Links in the Negro groups is synonymous with minks, you know, links-minks, you know. And here is a matter of going to somebody's house, and I spent forty, sixty and hundred dollars' fees, and they time, and you do that, and then we say that - well, they have something of a program. But, to me this is just wasted time, energy and money, you know, and all the rest of it. And, I'm very critical of my friends, who can think only of themselves and pushing themselves, far as - because I think this thing has got to be broad based, you know, if we are to get far. So that I'm not defending at all.

Warren: Oh, I understand. What about the other factor that is sometimes mentioned, that the Jew, however depressed, deprived, was aware of an organized, cultural community behind him - an

organized tradition behind him.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I think that - and an organized traditional rivalry which we don't have in the Negroes - which we haven't had - only the little thing we've had has been the N. A. C. P.

Warren: And the church organization.

Mrs. Harvey: And the church. Yes, and the church has gotten weaker and weaker from the standpoint of helping, you know, I mean I think back as a child that the Burial Societies and the churches were very strong. And, now you don't have them very much, because there isn't a need for it now because the Negroes can buy insurance and take care of their needs, but the church did something. But, you see, again, they didn't have as much of a pile of economic resources out of which to work as the Jewish group do, do you see? I think that this is - I think that is where you started from.

Warren: Yes, there were no Rothchilds among the Negroes at the same time.

Mrs. Harvey: No, no, no. And you don't even know - your wealthy Negroes. You - down at the bottom of the heap, compared to a lot of your Jewish people.

Warren: That brings in two more questions sometimes discussed. What is this? How much lack of communication - lack of rapport and sense of responsibility on the part of the educated, middle upper class of Negroes as compared with the masses of Negroes,

as compared to the masses of Negroes - the bottom of the heap, how much of a split is there? Talk about how important is that split?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. Well, I think the gap is closing there.

Warren: You do?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I think you're getting more intelligent, middle class Negroes who are interested in the total American economy and in the total struggle of the Negro, than you had, say, ten years ago, five years ago. I think your most courageous people though, are the people that are down on the bottom of the heap, in the Negro group. The ones that you saw today, at the meeting.

Warren: Yes, yes.

Mrs. Harvey: Because the hardest group to move are the teachers who have economic security. They skirt, you know - go around. And in Woman Power Unlimited, we have a few that come and work, but they don't know whether they're going to have their jobs next year. But they are at the point now where they don't care. You see, they believe enough in what's happening, to do it. So I think the gap is closing. The gap is closing. But, again, if you want to go back to time, it's not closing fast enough for me. But I hope - our hope is in our masses and that man that you saw today, who couldn't speak the English at all. One of the real

Warren: That was very touching, very touching.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, it was. But if you could have sat in that meeting all day today, you really would have gotten some moving things. And, if you can go to some of these Civil Rights hearings you really will get down to what they say - the nitty-gritty.

Warren: Yes, yes. A correlary of the question that I just asked ^{there's} -/the one - well, I'll read a quotation from Roy Otley.]

"Many a Negro - "

Mrs. Harvey: Is this part of his book?

Warren: This is one of his books, yes.

Mrs. Harvey: Which book?

Warren: Oh, I - New World Acoming

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, yes.

Warren: "Many of them look with alarm," - this is many Negroes - "on a world where they must compete with whites and thus lose their unique situation, or status. They prefer, as one Negro observer remarks, the over valuation of their achievements and its position behind the walls of segregation, to a democratic order that would result in economic and social devaluation for themselves at that time." Now, the other - he follows though by saying this. "Nevertheless, this group, whatever its shortcomings, has provided a great economic and cultural progress, and constitutes the leavening group in the general population."

Mrs. Harvey: I'd agree with that.

Warren: To the both things?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes.

Warren: Is that changing in your observation?

Mrs. Harvey: I hope it's changing. I think the younger Negroes are more ready to ~~go peek~~ ^{compete} across lines with anybody anywhere, and I think the very fact that my friend's children are going to prep school in the East indicates that they are preparing their children for the total society, where they must compete anywhere.

Warren: There's a protection in segregation that's no longer important to the "privileged Negro"? He doesn't want to be protected - have his benefits only inside the walls of segregation, or his status. He wants to - he's ready to compete. ~~Willing to compete.~~

Mrs. Harvey: A large percentage of them are.

Warren: Well, it would not be universal - anytime and anyplace?

Mrs. Harvey: No, no. Well, I don't want to indicate that this is a black and white thing - that they have changed completely over this way, but I think the move is in that direction - to compete, be able to compete with anyone anywhere, on any level, and get from behind the wall. It's something to give up segregation. I mean there are advantages to it, definite. There's a definite advantage - well, take my business - the funeral business,

for example. One of the reasons that we have been able to do as well as we have in the funeral business is because we can only serve Negroes. And, the Negroes weren't going to the white funeral homes, so that didn't siphon off people to the other community, but with this thing coming, who knows, maybe you can just choose your funeral home, you know.

Warren: Mr. Augustine told me yesterday, when I was having lunch with him, he said that the fact that the Hilton that has opened up in New Orleans means that many Negro caterers are being very badly hit - that they have actually organized and made protest to a Negro community for patronizing the non-segregated restaurant facilities. And he said there's some comedy in this.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, there is. There definitely is - but these are the things of which you must be aware when you fight to open these doors. You've got to realize you've got to pay the price for them being opened you know, and it means a loss of somethings to you that you've enjoyed. And, This is the thing that our mayor hammers on quite^a bit. He tells the Negro teachers - "You see, if you get these integrated schools, look at all the jobs that you have now. All the money that you get and you won't be getting this any more." But, you see, the thing that we're working for is the step beyond that where everybody will have a place, not all of the Negro teachers who

are working now, because all of them don't need to be working now. They - so many of them are teaching now because there was nothing else for them to do, and they would be much better qualified doing something else. But, we're looking for the time where there will be integrated schools at every level, students and faculty, in the high schools and the junior high schools all across town, you see, and not that just Negroes would be knocked out of jobs and just white people employed.

Warren: The president of the Negro Business Association - the Association in St. Louis, a few years ago, wrote an article in the St. Louis paper, saying that ^{to} encourage integration would be the death of Negro business. Do you find that attitude around here?

Mrs. Harvey: Well, no. No, not exactly, not yet, because we're too far away from that. St. Louis is a border-line and that would be more true there. But I see the - I mean I face that fact, and it will happen for some businesses, but the thing that I say to our staff here is that we want to be so qualified that we can serve anybody who comes, at any time, so then you don't fear that.

Warren: You accept the competition.

Mrs. Harvey: No, no. Because we don't want to operate a Negro business. We want to operate a business that will serve anybody that wants to come, and if you do that sort of thing, some

of them are going to be knocked out, and some are going to flourish, because then they will attract more than just one segment of the community. Yes, some people are going to be lost in the shuffle, individually and business-wise. It's just natural. And you've got to face up to this as a reality. If you've got the stuff, you know, to offer and the stuff is in you, you'll make the grade

Warren: It's the same problem of reaching out, unafraid of competition.

Mrs. Harvey: That's right.

Warren: We all know a lot about the white man's stereotype of the Negro. What about the Negro's stereotype of the white man?

Mrs. Harvey: You mean what is it? Or is there -

Warren: What is it - well, is there - and if so, what is it.

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, yes. Oh, there definitely is a stereotype, I mean prejudices, didn't just find itself into one race. It's universal, among all people. I think in the Negro group it takes the form of feeling that the white man is dishonest and that he is two-faced. Is this the sort of thing that you mean?

Warren: Yes, what his picture of the white man is. Even his contradictory elements, of course, is a contradictory element of the white man's view of the Negro.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes, that's right. Well, I mean, these are

parts of the facets of it, and he feels uncomfortable. I mean, one of the contributions I have tried to make to the community, a couple of contributions I have tried to make in my avocational interests - well, as well as in my business interests too, is to develop leadership. I try to do it in business just from the standpoint that I can move in and out, and yet we are offering the same service whether I am here or I am not, because people are so trained to do that. In the community I try to do it within the framework of the women's movement, in that other women learn to accept leadership roles and carry them out and perform them well, and do it - because this is the way I feel that a community grows - not with just one person doing everything, but many people being trained and learned to do things. I've said so much, I've lost your question. I said so much of my background. What was the question?

Warren: It was about the Negro stereotype of the white man, white person.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. Now, in helping develop these leadership roles, another thing that I've tried to do is to establish communication across racial lines, and this is the way our inter-racial prayer fellowship got started two years ago, which continues, here in Jackson, through Womanpower Unlimited, United Church Women, and A. M. E. Prayer Band, African Methodist Episcopal Church Prayer Band. And, the Negro women will say to me - again, communication. In these workshops that we've had these past

three Sundays - these have been inter-racial workshops, where we had Milthrop faculty people and white people from the community and Negro people, sitting down and discussing these issues and raising questions about it. And the negro women will come to me, "Do you think so and so is, you know, really sincere?" "Do you think they're really honest, you know - do they really mean it, or are just grinning in our face?" You see, so that this is very real, and I think that the only way that they can overcome it - white or Negro - is by some face-to-face contact and getting to know people better. A good example of it is Mrs. James Skut, whom you should really talk to. She's white - whom I've gotten to know in the last two years, and Mrs. Hawtin, who is Negro. Mrs. Tilley, you know Mrs. Tilley in Atlanta - was to Mississippi.

Warren: Oh, yes, yes.

Mrs. Harvey: Wanted, sought a Negro woman to come to the fellowship of the concern two years ago. This was October of '61, following our work with the freedom riders, and someone told Mrs. Skut to call me and invite me to come, and I couldn't accept. And, I told her I'd get one of our Womanpower ladies to go - so I got Mrs. Hawtin, who is the wife of the A.M.E. minister. Well, Mrs. Hawtin had had very little inter-racial contact, and very little leadership responsibility herself. She pushed her husband and he was, you know, in the forefront, but she never

had done much, but he agreed that she should go, and so forth, so she M. G. Hawtin and Jane Skut came back and started this inter-racial prayer fellowship, which continues, and this has been a tremendous growth experience for ^{these} two women, to get to know each other as sisters - and they love each other, you know. And, they - now they go to United Churchwomen meetings together and they share the room together - they have brought in other white women into the experience of knowing each other. This is, to me, this is the only way you can do it, you know - get them together and get them to see that one doesn't have hoers, and one doesn't lie, cheat and steal, and smell bad and all the rest as they say it is.

Warren: What is the economic-social background of Mrs. Skut? She is white, you say.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, she is white. Her husband is an engineer, and they are Episcopalian, and she would be middle-income. She's not in the top economic bracket, but she has been president of the advisory committee to the Civil Rights Commission, and her background growth has come, United Church Women work gave her her springboard - and then her other growth, and a great growth has come in her association with us in Women Power Unlimited - because I've seen her grow in these two years to a place where - where she used to be just debating, you know, whether this, that, or the other - and so forth, and now she has real convictions about

what she should do and how she should move.

Warren: I was about to talk myself- I don't want to now.

I'll do it later. Mirdahl has a little passage in his big book on what should have been done in the Reconstruction - what policy would have been effective to -

Mrs. Harvey: To have prevented all this -

Warren: To prevented the whole - what would have been the effective policy? So - four, five points. I'll summarize them very briefly, and ask you my question. One: there should have been compensation for Emancipation. Two: Land should have been expropriated from Southern - white landholders, but it should have been paid for at a reasonable rate. Three: The land should have been turned over to the ex-slaves - enough to - for the great amount, but it should not have been a gift. A sale at some very minimal rate, but had to be amortized over many years. Four: There should be supervision and education in the transitional period, to prevent exploitation - peoples buying land and selling land, stealing it away, and to develop techniques. Again, some transportation - that is to the free lands of the West and colonizing out of the South to open up and to relieve the pressures and re-distribute the Negro population to a degree. Does all that make sense to you?

Mrs. Harvey: Very good sense. Yes.

Warren: All right. There's no emotional resistance to any

one of those - any one of those?

Mrs. Harvey: No.

Warren: The reason I ask you is this - sometimes, as it was at that time, a Northerner, or a Negro would say, "Why compensate for Emancipation?" Or - "Why compensate for land from rebels?" You know, those arguments. Why - sometimes I find resistance now on those points.

Mrs. Harvey: No, I think that the Reconstruction period was just such a hit and miss thing, where anybody did whatever they wanted to and all of that - and nobody had any guidance or leadership, is one of the great tragedies, according to what we have now. I think if there had been some planning and some real thought, creative thought, put into what you do now that your decision is made, that we wouldn't have to be going through what we are going through now. There might have been other ideas to add to the ones of Mirdahl - has outlined - but I think that basically his thesis is absolutely correct.

Warren: It's strange how you have found resistances a hundred years later on some theoretical point, whether rebels should have their land paid for.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, you see - you start thinking, and you're not thinking of people, you see. You're thinking of a label, "rebel" you see, and this is the thing that you want to get away with. You're thinking of people - rebel slaves - you see, and

you say if you're talking in those terms, and you think that way, then of course, you build up your prejudices and your resistances. But, they were people, there were dispossessed people, there were dispossessed whites, there were dispossessed Negroes - there were dispossessed people - and how do you treat human beings who have gone through a serious, traumatic experience like a Civil War. What's the right, Christian thing to do for them - or the justice - the most just thing that you can do for them? Now, this is the way I think you should think.

Warren: The probability appears again, doesn't it, that the picture of what will come after, say, legislative battles, legal battles have been won, is the big problem is -

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. That's absolutely right. The fact that even now, after the waiting rooms are open, people are still going into the same waiting room, and they are still going to the back of the bus, as they have done so long, you see, they still do. And, you've got to have this leadership to help them see that you don't still continue to do it the way you used to do. You have to do it a different way, and that when the Civil Rights Bill is passed in Congress, you need to have good, concerted efforts to see that its implementation is done immediately, and that you don't get this lag that you got after the Supreme Court decision, because if you do, you're going to have the same types of problems that you had the following year.

Warren: There's another aspect to it, too. Suppose you have many Birminghams, what possibility of communication comes after that? How can you avoid the Birminghams?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that's the big thing.

Warren: So a society can be built afterwards.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, yes. And that what I hope in Jackson that we can avoid - avoid the Birmingham - and yet I don't know how.

Warren: The young lady, Lucy Foreman, I spoke of earlier, did we ^{that} put down on tape, or not?

Mrs. Harvey: No, we didn't.

Warren: Well, I - her remark, -

Mrs. Harvey: You told me she was a student.

Warren: She's a student at Howard University, second in the law class. She said to me, "I have some real hope about the adjustment, the solution in the South". And she told me she had been born on a farm and raised on a farm in Virginia, and under rather deprived circumstances of living, I believe, but she said, "I have great hope of a solution here, and a society that will be agreeable to live in afterward, and very soon," she said, "because the Southern white man and the Negro have both had a common history for a long time. We have some basis for comprehension, mutual comprehension," she said. "There's some."
"And, following that line of thought, we have, both on the land and in the history together." She said, "I'm afraid of Harlem."

I'm afraid of Detroit, because I don't see what can bind them together when the big bang comes." "Later."

Mrs. Harvey: That's right. I agree with her.

Warren: Does that make sense?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, and that's just what I was talking about a while ago when I said the South would point the way for these others, rather than the North giving the solution for the South. I think that we have more common bonds that will help us point the way, and we have the depth of the problem, and if we can solve it here and get the solution here, then I think it will be much easier for Harlem in the North. And then, we have a bond of affection among us that is very real. It's a personal thing, where maybe a white - the whites love a particular Negro, or the Negroes love a particular white man - but it's real. It's genuine.

Warren: Sometimes now, Negroes will say that it cannot be real, it cannot exist. It's only a fake.

Mrs. Harvey: No, that's not true. There's not, say, not the things, that -

Warren: You know that line of thought, though, it's always been effective. There's no possibility of any affection between, - you know that's being said very widely now. It's all a fake.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I don't feel that at all. I mean I know that - I know that there - there's some - I mean, I know that there wasn't universal love in all cases, as we just said

before, and that I know that a lot of times that a Negro in the home that whites think,--"they just love me to death!" The Negroes didn't just love them to death - yes, they did love them to death - and all of that. But, I also know that there has been a lot of love between white and Negroes in the South. And it hasn't always been on the Southern case - it has even existed in the man - male-female relationship. That wasn't all exploitation. It was that - that there was no law that would permit the marriage, and no - I know right in my own association - a girlfriend of mine - you would never know that she was a Negro. When we would go, as children, up town, well people would stare us sick, you know. Her father was a pastor of the Methodist church here, and her mother - and they both were fair. And, I didn't know until I was grown how the fairness came, but a British land overseer was in love with her grandmother, and out of this issue came these children. And, he - when he was going back to Britain he wanted to take this Negro woman, and child with him to England, but she felt that being Negro that they would not be accepted, so she chose to stay here. But, he would have honored it, if he could have, and this is true in many cases. Now, another thing that is - something that you don't see in a text book, which is just personal theory on my part - that all of it wasn't exploitation by the male white with the Negro female. And a lot of those gals just made it too-so

hard on the poor fellow that he couldn't do any better, you know. And a lot of times they did it out of resentment at the white woman. There was something she did, maybe, or said, and she said, "I'll fix her. I'll get him tonight". You know, so forth. So this was true. People were human, you know. I said this to a Negro group, in our Workshop the other day. I didn't say it in the Workshop, but a girl raised the question. A Negro girl raised the question. "How did southern white women feel when they knew that their husbands were going out and sleeping with someone in the quarters?", and so forth - and, "How much has this affected some of the problems and so forth?" And some white man in the Workshop deigned to answer it, white lady too, so I told her I had to. I said, "Now, you must remember," I said, "this wasn't always exploitation by the white male with the Negro female. The Negro female sometimes was guilty, too, you know." Just knowing people.

Warren: Yes, you can depend on that. Whatever the motive was.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, that's right too.

Warren: Here's Arnold Rose, the collaborator with Mirdahl, on the book.

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, yes. That's right.

Warren: "Negroes have too many problems to ever be happy. They are always seeking something. They use too many nostrums."

Join too many organizations. Fall under the spell of too many movements - they are, thus, among the extreme victims of modern mass society and its instability.

Mrs. Harvey: Well -

Warren: Big generalization, isn't it.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I think so.

Warren: Is there some sense to it, though? How much or what? If so. Or, is that more true of Northern society, Northern Negro society than Southern Negro society?

Mrs. Harvey: That's what I was thinking. I was thinking of the Negro cults in the North, which have posed as churches, but - and what have you, but have been able to suck up whole masses of people because of the frustration of the people there. And they have a convict society, and then I think of the Black Muslims movement, and so forth. I think it would be more true in the North, than in the South. And, because, you see the Negro, as you are aware, went North with such tremendous hopes - he thought that the kingdom had come on earth. And that he would find it there. And, then he got there and he was just -- he knew it wasn't here, you see. And, he didn't expect it here, but when he went there and didn't find it, and found that even a lot of times it was a lot worse than here - than he had experienced it here, from the standpoint of the fact that it required more money to operate and he

was having to live in an apartment, infested with rats and so forth. And here, at least, maybe he lived in a shack, but he could get out in the sunshine and have a little garden and have fresh vegetables and so forth. So therefore, it became much worse for him. The frustration was so much greater, you see. Then the pace was so great, see. He came from a slow-moving Southern society, you know, and then he had to jump, you know, everything, and so he would change. And, there is where it was difficult for them, a lot. But I think it's a great generalization, and whatever truth lies in it, I would say, would apply to the Northern Negro, rather than to the Southern.

Warren: He said the mass society, as if it were something of the big city - I guess he had in mind, rather than even a Southern city. Let me tell you a little anecdote, back to Howard University. One of the speakers, one of the panelists - they have an enormous auditorium, like the auditorium this morning - big - fifteen hundred people, no standing room. It was packed. Three-quarters, at least, maybe four-fifths negroes in the audience. This young girl, her name is - I forget her first name - Wheeler, Phi Beta Kappa, Senior, been through the mill - through the jails. Her skin is pale as mine. She has great, vital appeal, real projection. She's a real orator - very, very attractive looking, with this intensity of - quivering intensity. She said,

her first words, "I have a great truth. A great discovery. I have a joy. I am black." This for a moment of - she held it for a moment. "Now, you and you and you, you see, every possible shade of complexion you see. You're all white - your skin may be this or that or that, but your heart is white. Your brain is white. You've been whitewashed. You don't know the joy." Brought down the house. This was the high point of the whole Conference, as far as popular response was concerned.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I agree with her.

Warren: What's the moral of that story.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I don't know.

Warren: That gets back to the question of Mother Africa, and the black mystique, doesn't it?

Mrs. Harvey: I don't know that I could comment on the moral of it, but I was thinking as you told this, about talking - oh, yes, I know who it was. It was one of our fellows - faculty wives. The other evening when you were there in Baton Rouge, we had to do some things together, and I was saying what a great joy it is to be a Negro and to be black, because at least I don't have to carry the burden of guilt for all the things that have happened in race relations, and she was telling about how her children, who are now eight and eleven, had grown up in an integrated community and they didn't understand anything about the race problem. And, they had said, one - her daughter had said, "Oh,

I don't want to be black. I want to be white." And the grandmother had heard this, you see, and the grandmother had died with this on her mind, that here she was rearing her grandchild not to respect her race and love it and so forth, and, of course, the child was very young and didn't have understanding, but the grandmother was wanting her to know what a joy it is to accept what you are.

Warren: That's a universal, human - accepting what you are is different from -

Mrs. Harvey: And, what your heritage is.

Warren: And that. That's different though. Is it-from exclusiveness?

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, yes.

Warren: We're back where we started. But this was - had an element -

Mrs. Harvey: She was not being exclusive - the one you told about. Was she?

Warren: I don't know. I think she was driving for sympathy acceptance, but feeling some of the response was intended exclusiveness in terms of Black Muslim attitude -

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, I'm sure it - oh, I think -

Warren: I'm sure some of it came that way. And, I was sitting - a person that I had just met a few minutes before was a young woman who is a professor of anthropology there. She's white.

And she said, "For the first time in my life, teaching," all the life that she's been teaching in a Negro university, "it was the first time, right now, that I feel lost. I feel that I haven't made contact."

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, I see. Yes.

Warren: She - she - it didn't effect on me so much. I didn't feel it this way, but she was really - she really had a real sense of of exclusiveness, of being cut off, and couldn't -

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, no I didn't - I didn't get it that way when you told me, but I was seeing it out of context.

Warren: It's hard to know what - look, clearly everybody didn't feel the same thing.

Mrs. Harvey: No - no.

Warren: But she brought down the house. Nothing I - had been like that. You know, you said you had to go at 4:30. And it's 4:30 now.

Mrs. Harvey: Now, if you don't have what you want, we could take it - go on tomorrow if you want.

Warren: Well, this has been wonderful. Just couldn't have been better. Couldn't have been better. I may write - if I had my way and had, you know, all the time in the world I would certainly take you up on tomorrow. It's a little hard. I - want to see Mr. Moses. I haven't yet got a date with him.

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, you haven't.

Warren: No. This is the first time I've seen him. I've written to him, but he didn't answer.

Mrs. Harvey: Oh, I see. I didn't know that. If I'd realized that I would have let you meet him.

Warren: Well, he was so - he was in control of the meeting.

Mrs. Harvey: Well, I know, but Mr. Henry, Dr. Henry was coming then and you could have cleared that. He would have -

Warren: I'm clear with -

Mrs. Harvey: No, but I mean Dr. Henry had come in to preside.

Warren: Oh, I see, I didn't get that.

Mrs. Harvey: Yes, you see.. Moses was just handling it until Henry got in - because you know when Henry got there he said - "This is typical for the chairman to be late for the meeting". Do you remember? Yes, so that you might have called him.

Warren: How would I get in touch with him? Do you know?

Mrs. Harvey: I don't know how you get in touch with him, today - except - but his office is on Lynch Street. 1017.

Warren: 1017. It's in the phone book?

Mrs. Harvey: Yes. I - Student Non-Violence Quarters Committee, is the committee proper, so that what I would suggest that you do is tomorrow morning when you move out that way, to - if you don't reach him -