

THIS IS TAPE TWO, REVEREND KELLY SMITH, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Q: You were going to say something about negotiations with Nashville businessmen.

x~~xx~~ A: Yes, there are one or two things about this that are particularly interesting to me, and well, it was, it was particularly startling ~~xxx~~, sort of. We found out that the southern owners of businesses were, in the final analysis, more easily convinced than the northern owners of businesses.

Q: You mean, the northern owners in ~~xxxxxx~~ Nashville.

A: In Nashville, that's right. In the first, well, our first, in the first crack, as you called it, we had six businesses that were opening up. Well, the first to agree, to ~~xxx~~ desegregate were Southern owned and operated businesses. We were held up for a full day, waiting for New York, to agree to open up too, because it was kind of a package thing, we agreed that all six would open at the same time. The same thing happened in the case of the theatres. Most of the theatres are ~~xxx~~ owned by a chain in Columbus, Georgia. Martin chain. But we had one that was owned by somebody in New York; ~~xxx~~ where we were able to get the Martin chain to agree, before we were able to get the New York people to agree.

Q: How do you interpret this?

A: I really don't know, I really don't know, I think being absent ~~xxx~~ has something to do with it. Being absentee owners, the fact that they aren't on the scene, and the other men are. Also, I think ~~perhaps~~ perhaps they have some false notions about ~~xxxx~~ things, I don't know.
~~xxxx~~ I don't know

Q: You mean, they are misinformed about the southern temper, is that it?

A: This is very possible.

Q: If the absentee ownership is in Georgia, for one thing, that's the deep south, and they agreed, is that right?

A: Oh yes, in fact, the president of the chain, chartered a plane, and came for a conference which was held right here, in this office.

In the first session he actually agreed to desegregate, the only thing we had to do was to work out how we were going to do ~~it~~ it, and include the other theaters. And what would be the best way to do and so forth. Yes, they came through first and then they offered their assistance and made kind of a ~~joke~~ joke out of it, they said, here we are Georgia white people trying to convince New Yorkers that they ought to integrate. Which is what they did. And of course, the others came through.

Q: ~~Let me shift, no, one more question please.~~ What about the hotel situation here? In Nashville, now.

A: Yes, ~~well~~ well, most of the hotels in Nashville ~~are~~ are open to all people here.

Q: Which ones are not, at the moment.

A: Let me see, they ~~have-a~~ are the ~~small~~ small hotel, ~~and I forget what~~ ^{and I forget what} ~~what~~ ^{which ones} they are.

Q: You mean the big ones are open.

A: The big ones are open. The main ~~hotels~~ ^{hotels and} motels.

Q: Are there any restrictions in the hotel situation.

A: Not since we got them open. This was just a year ago.

One of the most recent things, we were able to accomplish. And the hotels were ~~now~~ open largely through the Human Relations Committee, appointed by the Mayor. Now we did have some sleep-in demonstrations there, ahead of this.

Q: How were they organized?

A: The sleep-ins?

Q: What did they actually do?

A: They went in, they weren't really sleep-ins, they went in, and

xxx had lobby sitx-ins, that kind of thikng, sit inthe ~~xxx~~ lobbies, there, and sometimes get arrested, sometimes not get arrested, but just ~~keep~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ being there, stay^{ing} there as long as they could.

Q: But once the Mayor's committee took action, there was no problem.

A: That's right, part of it is the fact that a significant chunk of your economic power structure is onthe committee. A number of bankers, and this is~~xxxx~~ very important, I think, a very wise move on the part ofthe Mayor. And so these ~~xxx~~ fellows agree to go after something, then there's a great deal behind what they ~~x~~ say, which the ~~xxxxxx~~ business operators respect. x

~~xxxxxx~~ Q: It's not a lecture from the "liberals", it's a lecture from the pocket book.

A: I think this is what happens, yes.

Q: Let me ask you a more genral question, which , I ~~xxx~~ encountered first years ago in an ~~interview-with-Du---~~reading Dubois. I'll read a brief quote -- "The Negro group has long been internally divided by dilemma as to whether striving upward should be a ~~strengtheningits--~~ strengthening itsinnercultural and group bond, and identity, for intrinsice progress and for offensive power against _____, or whether it should ~~xxxx~~ lean toward the surrounding Amrican culture." _____ in the ~~same-form~~ extreme form, But the Black Muslims represents one pole/ and the other people who pass, ~~-and-disapperar-~~ Negroes who pass, and disappear. But _____ encounter sometimes the loss of all cultural and nonidentity if you move toward a cultural acceptance. _____ How does this present itself to you and the people whom you are acquaintedwith?

A: Well I think most of the ~~xxxx~~ people with whom I'm associated ~~xxx~~ and this also represents my own pointof view, belive in becoming a part of America. And not a nation within a nation, not a little cultural island of some kind here, but we want to get into what is called

the melting pot, America is called a ~~maxi~~ melting pot. And this is what integration is ~~max~~ all about. There are some things, I believe, that have been contribution s to our culture which have come from Negroes and which would not have come, had it not been the practice of segregation and all this. I think there are some risks that are involved with integration, in otherwo rds, but I think that the rewards of integration are worth the risk.

Q: I was ~~x-think-ab~~ thinking about the sense of regret ~~xxxxx~~ of the possible loss of identity. Now some southerners feel that, that they have a loyalty to a southernism, ~~xxxx whatever that leads to~~. A resistance to Americanism. And _____, in the same way, has viewed _____ torn the same way. Become Americans and enter into a totally integrated society, seems the death of some part of the soul. And so do.

A: Of course, the situaiton ~~xxx~~ involving the Jew is very different from ours in that there is a religious matter, ~~of~~, which is there, but I really don't see any merit to the argument that we ought to retain anything. I simply think whatever we have to offer, we ought to become a part of the whole, let it be melted and let the identity be lost, so far as this, this, -- in fact, I think this has already ~~x~~ happened to a great extent. I think it's a little late to stop if anybody wanted to.

Q: Let me tell you ~~xxxx~~ briefly one thing. At Howard University, in early November, at the Nonviolent Conference, one of the main speakers, was a young girl who _____ a re a lot like mine, Phi Beta Kappa, said she'd been in all the jails. And she rose on the platform, and said, " I have a great joy, I have a discovery. I am black. ~~xxxx~~ Now your faces are so and so and so, but your hearts are white, and your minds are white. I am black. You are white. And this brought down the house. The black mystique _____ like a brush

fire.

A: Yes, this is interesting, I was supposed to attend that conference, and I couldn't make it.

Q: Well, I was surprised by this, the, by the wild ~~xxx~~ ^{xxx} quality of this ~~positive~~ response, ~~really~~ really. I thought there would be more variety. I went through the university of course. The next day is different. Let me ask you another question. As a talking point. This is a quotation from Dr. Kenneth Clarke, on Dr. King, ~~and the ---~~ as opposed to the Muslim philosophy.

"On the surface King's philosophy appears to effect health and stability, ~~like~~ white black nationalisms displays pathology and instability. A deeper ~~analysis~~ analysis, however, might reveal that there is also an unrealistic if not pathological basis to King's doctrine. The natural reaction to injustice is ~~xxx~~ _____ resentment. The form which such bitterness takes, need not be overtly violent, but the corrosion of the ~~human~~ human spirit is inevitable. It would seem, therefore, that in the demand that the victims of oppression be required to love those who oppress them, places an intolerable psychological burden among them."

A: Well, of ~~xxxxxx~~ courses, it seems to me that Dr. K Clarke, is and the last part of that quotation, confusing the actual philosophy which King represents, with an ^{inadequate} adequate expression of that philosophy. I think that perhaps there is something pathological in ~~xxx~~ some of the expressions of this, on the part of some of the individuals who are adherents to it. But now, as far as placing an intolerable psychological ~~burden~~ burden upon people to love his enemies, well, this, I don't know, I'm not a psychologist,

Q: _____

A: Yes, this is what I'm saying. This is not ~~xxxxxx~~ new at all.

Jesus Christ ^{says}

In the sermon on the Mount, ~~in that it says, / started it,~~ well I don't know

~~that he started it, but it at least was part of his preachings.~~

~~xxx "Love xxxxxxxx your enemies, let them _____ pray for them." It is not~~

pray for them that despitefully use you; bless them that curse you!

impossible, and I frankly think that it is, (now this is from a layman's point of view,) ~~psychology, I think it is~~ psychologically healthy. For an individual to do this, difficult, yes. But I think it is highly healthy. I think the absence of this, the inability to do this, may be a grater psychological burden. Certainly feel it would be a grater spiritual burden.

Q: They can't really be separated, can they?

A: I don't see how you really can.

Q: The psychological and the spiritual.

A: Right.

Q: We know a good deal about the white man's stereotype of the Negro, it's been _____ many times. What about the Negro's stereotype of the white ~~anixxxx~~ man?

A: Yes.

Q: How do you think, how would you describe that stereotype,

A: I think part of it is expressed in ~~some of the -----, that is, ---~~ ~~that is,~~ the feeling that all white people are bad, as far as the racial problem is concerned. And there are people who definitely believe that. ~~They are~~ They have had some kinds of experiences, they have observed something, and they use these experiences, to represent everything. They have generalized on something that is a particularly ~~of~~ specific experience. I don't know, I don't think for the moment, how this idea of stereotyping further expresses itself. I know that there are people who think that the ~~ttitud---~~ attitudes of all white people are alike. There are some who are frank about it, and some who ~~are so~~ disguise it. Of course, I think this is a very false and wrong kind of thing. I used to have a similar feeling. Of course, I grew up in an isolated kind of community,

Q: Mount Bayou

A; Yes. And I didn't know very much ~~xxxx~~ about white people. So whatever I saw of them, I thought that more or less ~~xxxx~~ represented all of them. I ~~had~~ had this kind of fallacious point of view, too. I remember once, when

a mob came to our town. This was the first time I had ever seen that many whitepeople. On any occasion at all. And

q; What was the occasion?

A: Well, a Negro farmhand had been shot in the foot by a ~~this~~ ~~xxx~~ I started to say ~~hard-to-say~~, a slavemaster, that's about what it amounted to, by the plantation owner, or boss, or somebody, and he returned fire. And while ^{white} the man only shot him in the foot, ^{The Negro shot and} ~~he~~ killed him, and he left, and Mound Bayou being all Negro, was considered, the logical place ~~xxx~~ where a person like that could come. And that had happened, this fellow had been there. He was gone, however. ~~xxx~~ I think he was outside the town, where ~~was~~ but a mob ~~xxx~~ came into town, with, many of them were hunting ~~lethese--~~clothese, they had guns, they had rope, about this high off the back of a truck, real large ~~xxx~~ rope, and a barrel of gasolene. All of this, you know, looking for a Negro. It was a kind of sport to them, apparently. Well, word reached us at school, I guess I was maybe 12, 13 years old, or something, and so coming back through to town, I saw these people there, and they had one of our ~~doctor~~ the only doctor there, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~surrounded~~; they were surrounding him, ^{and were} they were asking him questions, and he was, answering the way ~~xxx~~ he wanted to, not the way ~~xxx~~ they ~~xxx~~ wanted to, ^{him} and if he would give a wrong answer, they would raise their guns like this, and you would just know that they ~~were~~ ^{they were going to} fire on him. They never did, in fact, he's still living. ~~He~~ had treated this man, and somebody had told them that the man had been treated by him, and the doctor would ~~xxx~~ not give the facts to the mob, and I don't blame him. He was morally justified ~~xxx~~ in that situation. Well, these were white ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ people to me, the first time I'd seen this many white people. So I developed a rather distorted notion, ~~xxx~~ it was some years before I came to know white persons ~~xxx~~ on a different kind of basis, and to realize how wrong that I was, and this kind of stereotyping does happen, and I think it's bad in either case.

Q: I have been told in Mississippi by ~~xxxxxx~~ several people, that there had been very strong resentment on the part of Negro students and other Negroes who ~~went-in-the---~~work into the ~~xxxxxx~~ Civil Rights movement, voter registration and so on, against whites, and also against northern Negroes who came in, to work in this too. This had been a real problem in Mississippi. Three different people brought this up, and told me, this is _____ same episodes. But primarily against the younger white people who came in, students, and ~~were-just-~~either just out of college, or just of school, who came, real friction had developed. And real problems had occurred. And ~~xxxxxx~~ real possibilities of a little bit of violence there. Have you seen any of that herein Nashville?

~~xxxx~~ a; Not very ~~xxx~~ much of it. We welcome people who come in from other communities. I ~~think---~~can conceive of problems developing, but I cannot conceive of a problem ~~xxx~~ being so acute that it would mean that we need only ourselves, we don't need meddling outsiders, ^{you see, I think} this is just so much brainwashing, I think we ~~are~~ ^{have fallen} victims of some of ~~this~~ ~~ain g.~~ ~~Some of this~~ ^{the} propaganda of the bigots. The meddling outsiders, you know. I was accused of being a northern outsider, until I told them that I was from northern Mississippi. This changed. But ~~I just don't,~~ ~~haven't led to the feeling that it isn't all northerners coming in~~ ~~and w---~~ and who have a very distorted and false notion of what the ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ real problem is, and maybe of their own importance, to the solution, and to come in, and to assume a role that would be harmful, I'm sure that this can happen, and probably has happened.

Q: Some of it has happened. In some cases I was told, this is because well trained people, who move quietly in, in what you might call command posts, not through any will of their ~~own~~ own, but because of the need. And this created friction, human nature _____ itself.

A: Yes, yes, can happen.

Q: But also involved in this, there was something of the white stereotype, that

a; Yes

Q: Got ~~xxxx~~ mixed up with this. _____

A: ~~xxx~~ Yes, and I'm sure this must hve been involved.

Q: ~~xx~~ As much as I hear, I gather, _____ had been.

a; We have had, ^{much} we of course, as anybody might suspect, ^{money} people ^{to come in} who appear to have ^{genuine intent}, ^{but who try} have come in, you know, to take advantage of this situation, ^{we} we've tried to be alert ~~to~~ to this, as ~~early as possible~~ as possible, because we know ^{very} a little something about the people, who come in, and we have not always judged them correctly. But this hasn't really worried us too much, because we think that the authorities, federal ^{understand} authorities, under the situation.

Q: Of course, it could be used, in some communities, it could be used as a very ~~x~~ useful weapon for segregationists.

a; We had ~~a~~ one situation here, that surprised us that it never hit the press, ~~never really~~ never really reverberated against us. That was a couple of boys who came in here, a couple of white boys, who came here from some place, and got arrested by the police, and the police found communist literature on them. In their possession. And they had participated in some demonstrations, since they had been here. That never really hurt us, to my ~~x~~ knowledge. I don't quite know why. ^{For} I know one thing, I think that the ^{were} federal authorities, and I underscore federal authorities, ~~are~~ ^{were} aware of what what we were doing, and were aware of some of the problems, ~~and th--~~ in this kind of thing, and therefore no ~~doubt~~ ^{were} doubt ~~are~~ ^{were} not too much worried about kids like that.

Q: ~~xx~~ Of course, it was exploited even with no basis for it, in Mississippi.

A: Oh yes.

Q: It was distorted practically the newspapers were turned over to this

notion.

A: Yes. Anybody who is for integration is a communist, some people think.

Q: ~~I remember,~~ I ~~remember~~ remember, ^{that however} ~~who~~ ^{the appointment} was the foreman in Judge John Parker's Supreme ~~Court~~ Court, was opposed by Negroes, and I've ~~read~~ read, ^{that} this ~~is~~ ^{Parker} the first successful organized political protest on the part of the Negro, was not confirmed in the senate, ^{He was opposed as} ~~the~~ ^{the opposition} as a southerner. ~~Now,~~ ^{an} an account of this is in Walter White's ~~The Man Called White.~~ In 1930, where ~~it~~ ^{Parker} appeared later that he was a quite impartial judge, ~~he had been~~ ~~for investigation,~~ and the ~~same thing~~ ^{the case of} ~~with Judge Black,~~ ^{later developed to} later on.

a; Yes, I remember that case.

Q: Do you think that kind of stereotyping of a southern white would occur now in Negro policy.

a; Not as emotionally, ~~but~~, I think the question would be raised, ^{Yes,} ~~it~~ it would be considered an issue, and something to be concerned about. But I don't think it would be quite as, I don't think the reactions would be quite as emotional as they were then, because we've learned a good deal about southern whites; one thing is that they are individuals, rather than everybody being of the same disposition and set of values.

Q: Let me switch to another topic just for a moment. ~~It seems that the~~ ~~White Citizens Council people~~ ~~are now running ads with quotes from~~ ~~Lincoln~~ ~~are now running ads with quotes from~~ ~~Lincoln~~

A: I saw it yesterday.

Q: Well, long before that, many people have remembered what Lincoln's views were. ~~him~~ ~~as a racist.~~ Now, this fact, of his racist attitudes, what does that mean to the Negro now today. Why go to Lincoln's monument if he is a racist? The march on Washington. What problems are inherent in this simple fact, and what solutions are there for the problems. Emotional problems, you see.

A: I think there's a good deal ~~xxxx~~ of ambivalence, in our attitude toward Lincoln. Of course, when you consider Lincoln against his setting, you might find a different kind of thing, ~~xxx~~ than what you would find if he's twisted against the setting of the present.

Q: That's the question I'm really raising. How much ~~&~~ certain judgments are historical, ~~you see,~~ ^{or} and merely place some ~~absent~~ ^{abstract} notion outside of history. If you ask, say, a not too informed Negro student, the question, you see, well, Lee was an emancipationist, and willingly emancipated long before. If they, you know, are older, and an older student knows his history, you get one whole body of feeling, from the younger person who's never known about this _____, another kind of _____ unhistorical answers, ~~about-~~ ~~a-let-of-xxx~~ you get a violent confusion, _____.

I don't know what, there's no price tag on this question, I don't know what you'd say about this question.

~~xxxx~~ a; Yes. Well, that's something that I would try to take into account. The facts of the setting, and of course, the whole setting, against ~~xxxx~~ which Lincoln lived, and then the particular ~~xxxx~~ context of specific statements which he made, Just a quotation from Lincoln, would not present

Q: ~~xxxx~~ No, a single quotation is not fair.

A: That's right, no. ~~xxxx~~ ^{what} he was getting at, you know.

Q: As one eminent historian said to me, some time back, it would be ~~xxxx~~ almost impossible to find a man in Europe or in America, in 1860, who was nota racist.

A: Well, this is what I mean.

Q: You might have found one, but it would ~~xxxx-ve-a-very~~ be a very long _____ getting at him.

a; Yes, a rare find.

Q: This question of time, ~~ch~~ history, is what I'm coming at now. I'll read you a quote, if I may. This is from Gordon B. Hancock, Dr. Hancock, you remember: "The color question is a social problem, and as

such ~~xxxxxx~~ is not essentially different from any other social problem, and by leave of this fact, can respond to the same _____ of adjustment or maladjustment, Social problems, by their very nature, do not lend themselves to instantaneous and absolute solution." This over and against the slogan, "Freedom now," at two poles of the problem of the Negro movement, the civil rights movement, the Negro _____. The two poles, you know of ~~xxxx~~ feeling and discussion. How can freedom now, be interpreted in this -----A+-----context.

A: Well, freedom now, I think has to be the goal of anybody who is sincere, in the struggle. I think it has ~~xxxx~~ to be, for, I suppose for strategic reasons, you can't ask for less. Let me give you just one example here. Our ministerial association, ~~which is now at its peak,~~ ^{was on} in the interracial group. I ~~xxx~~ talked with the President and we got them to agree to ask for complete desegregation of the schools, immediately. He says, well I don't think this is practical, because the people aren't educated up to this, and we'll have all kinds of problems. Well, I said, whether this is practical or not, this is what we ~~want~~ want. Now what we will get, will perhaps be as close to this, ^{as} the circumstances would seem to warrant, and this to me, seems to be the same kind of thing.

Q: _____

A: Now you aim ~~at~~ at the maximum, ~~and~~ you aim at the moon, and try to get it, ^{come} as close to it as one possibly can.

Q: To say back, in other words, if I still ~~xxx~~ get what you mean, that the freedom now represents a concept of ideals and justice.

A: Right.

Q: Which, to implement in the imperfect world, the implementation is subject to the pressures of the occasion.

a; Right, this is exactly right.

~~Rxxx~~ This is what I mean. But now the Negroes for the most part, are not

satisfied with less. This is something that's been very difficult for whites to understand in communities where we have made some progress. I have had occasion to ~~preach~~ ^{Speak} on progress in civil rights, or something, and my statement has always ~~fallen~~ fallen on very unsympathetic ears, when I say that no amount of progress is satisfactory, because progress suggests process, ~~this-is-it~~ suggests a piecemeal kind of thing. And none of that is really satisfactory. What we want is not progress, we want complete freedom. Now, progress is something that fits into the picture, in order to get towards it, but we want everything right now.

~~WT-used~~ ^{When w^e} ~~we~~ would go down and talk to ~~these~~ ^{business} people, ~~and always,~~ I would ^{always} start. ~~I would start~~ the conference, by saying, "we would like, to have your business desegregated by 9 o'clock tomorrow, since you're closing within a few minutes today. In the morning when you open up, we'd like to have this ~~-----~~ ^{business desegregated} ~~well, of course, this-is-impractical.~~ And they say, "well, of course, this is ~~impractical~~ impractical, you know we can't do this, and maybe some time in a distant future it will happen in the south. "

Well, then we try to come to some point between his distant future and my ~~tomorrow~~ tomorrow morning.

Q: Yes. Well, negotiating in those terms is one thing. The philosophical view would be quite different, ~~relationships~~ relationships, wouldn't it.

A: Yes, I would say so.

Q: They're not quite the same thing.

A: I would say they're quite different, yes. But I'd, I don't think that any ambition for anything less than ~~everything~~ everything is adequate.

XX Q: No ambition for that desire.

A: That's right. Now of course, ~~xxxxxxx realization~~ ^{of} you will realize that all things can happen ~~if~~ ^{if} you want them to.

Q: As one young man said to me, ~~he said, of this~~ ^{in respect to} general topic, he said -- I know about all the processes of social change, from my courses. But I hate to say it.

A: ^{Yes,} ~~Yeah,~~ this is what I mean, ~~yeah, this is going,~~ _____

But you just don't like it, this is just gradualism, this is less than the ultimate.

Q: Words ^{yet} ~~are~~ symbolically ~~are~~ charged, don't they, so they are not really used for this _____

A: That's true, true.

Q: Have you had much acquaintance first hand with the matter and advantages of well, protection of / _____ in the segregation pattern? of Negroes ~~that they'll~~ that they' hve a privileged positon inside segregation, and therefore resist it in one way or another. The supreme case I know is an editorial I know written by the _____ this isn't the title, but the Negro Business Association of St. ~~xxxx~~ Louis -- integration would set the Negro business back 25 years.

A: Yes. Here, we have had a little, very little in fact, we've had people who had advantages because of segregation, ^{Negroes} There are all Negro wards and this type of thing, and ^{get} elected ~~because of~~ segregated housing, and you probably won't if you don't have it, ~~our~~ ~~xxxxix~~ We elect our councilmen ~~nt~~ by districts rather than x by ward. Nobody is elected at large, except the councilman ^{we didn't have} at large. ~~Others~~ Others come from district. So if ~~you have~~ segregation, you wouldn't have Negro councilmen. ~~but,~~ and we have ~~some,~~ I understand that one hotel man, ~~was~~ a Negro, ~~we was some~~ was somewhat critical of our interest in desegregating the hotels: ^{However,} We isolated him, we have very little of that.

Q: I know that one of my friends in New Orleans, tell me that the Negro caterers in New Orleans, have protested, he did not, he is a caterer, have protested because, they desegregate ~~the~~ facilities at the Hilton.

a; I see.

Q: This has come to a real showdown between the caterers association and the Negro civil rights groups.

A: Of course, the Negro businessman ought to be able to compete with any other businessman. ~~He should~~ ~~also, it seems to me, that~~ integration has been seen much too much, as ~~xxxx~~ Negroes want^{ing} to get in something ~~x~~ which white people ~~xxxxx~~ own.

^{More of it.} There's much ~~else~~ ~~too~~. This is one of the efforts we have here, ~~trying to~~, trying to lead the people into a real integration effort at our church here. Sure, I think that the ~~churches downtown~~, the other churches downtown ought to be open to all people, but I think ~~they not only have to be open,~~ ^{we have an obligation here} we have to ~~set~~ do something aggressive and overt, to make known the fact that persons of other ethnic identities would be welcome here.

Q: It works both ways.

A: That's right, it works both ways. I suspect our emphasis has been a little one sided, in that regard. This may be part of the reason why some people are rather disenchanted about the progress that's being made.

Q: Is that true of the teachers at southern colleges, I mean, the southern Negro college.

A: I think so.

Q: The segregated college, that's the other possibility, what you just

A: I think for some, yes, ~~xxxx~~ but ~~xxxx~~ for those that are trying to measure up, ~~college~~, I think ~~now~~ this is ^{The} very different, difficult, ^{ideal} thing. ~~where~~ ^{is} a college where young people will want to come, regardless of their race. Some will be weeded out.

Q: Just not good enough.

A: Not good enough to stand the competition, that they will have to face. colleges

Q: It's rather parallel to the old church ~~conflict~~ ~~-~~ _____, church schools, isn't it?

A: Yes, ~~W~~ I suppose it is.

Q: I mean, many colleges, with church schools, and withered away because they couldn't meet the competition. Some, well all the church schools literally, except _____. Maintained their _____.

A: That's quite true. The ~~xx~~ weaker ones will pass. ~~Will pass.~~
There are calculated risks. They are risks and we've

q; It's very hard to know what will happen to some of the southern states ~~x~~ financed Negro schools.

A: V~~E~~ry hard. ^{negro university integrated} In West Virginia, the state ~~school~~ ^{and now} became the Negro school, it was a ~~xxx~~ Negro school, ~~I think-think~~ there are more whites than ~~Negroes~~ Negroes ~~in~~ there.

Q: So I understand, they've had two or three departments that were better than anything around. Attract the white students in. At least partly.

A: So far, this has been the exception, rather than the rule.

Q: Have you noticed any antisemitism among Negroes here? It's very strong in some patches, you know, around the country.

A: I think you have more stereotypes here than ~~x~~ genuine antisemitism. I think you have more actual stereotypes, ~~than you have~~. You know, he's a Jew and ~~ehis-th--~~ he's thus and so, and thus and so. I don't think it's overt. Really. In any large measure at all.

q; There's been no problem about it anyway.

A: No, no, we've had to ~~xxxx~~ ^{meet} with some Jewish merchants and so forth ~~xxxx~~ in connection with the same thing.

q; And they have been as cooperative

A: ~~xxx~~ Yes. Yes.

Q: Of course, we all know how this prejudice arose, in the Jewish ownership of housing, and the corner grocery and living in big cities. He's the local credit guy. Local landlord.

a; Yes.

Q: And have the stereotype around him. One more question, if I may,

I won't keep you forever. I've read and seen figures on it, and from very sources, the ratio of -- two things, one, Negro philanthropy to the Negro has been less than ~~that~~ ^{re} in relation to the/sources, than ~~that~~ are due to Jews, or any other single ethnic group. Less giving to their own race, in ~~ter-me-of~~ ratio resources. The second thing, in terms of support ~~ing~~ financially the civil rights movement, their ratio has been less than, say, the ratio of Jews, on anti-defamation, not a question of absolute figures, but a question of ratio of figures.

A: I would suppose tht this is true.

Q: Do you think that this is true here, or don't you have any figures on that.

A: I don't have any figures, I've heard many statements ~~xxx~~ about it from ~~xxx~~ people in various walks of life.

Q: How would you account for this.

a; I don't know, _____ I suppose I find myself becoming a kind of an apologist at times. It's a rather easy thing to say -- well, the circumstances to which Negroes have been subjected, would make them cautious and maybe not always even wise, not liberal, with their funds. There are no Negroes for ~~whom~~ whom money has been in the family for generations, you know, handed down, no Negroes like that.

Q: There's been no Negro Rothschild.

a; This is right, you see, so this generation just got it. ^{The} one who has it, you can be sure, ~~that~~ struggled from the bottom up, to get it, and this kind of thing. ^{Well,} this is part of what I would say, I think I'm assuming the role of apologist, ^{there is} because ~~it's~~ probably ~~not~~ more to it than that.

Q: Well, it isn't an apology, that's a question of fact, on the fact of records.

a; Oh, this is what has happened, yes. Whether or not this is the ^{only}

reason , I don't know, ~~that~~. I think it's related, I think it's part

Q: Some sociologist said, this is "the psychology of poverty,"
conspicuous
~~the~~ yet _____ sociologist said, "yet you have to ~~stick-his~~ consumption."

A: Yeah, you do.

QAX: The self-indulgence, ~~nowhere~~ in our presenttime, which means
That means two impulses in effect,
not the psychology of ~~xxxxx~~ poverty. ~~New-de-you-see-in-an-any-sense~~, that
both can be said at just the same time. Do they have a common
psychological ground, or common # _____ ground.

A: I think so. That's what I mean. _____ ## poverty and conspicuous
consumption. Come out of the same soil., naturally, and they are in a
sense, trying to do the same thing, ~~in the reactions, trying to~~ _____
~~somewhat the same thing.~~ ^{alt} Shows that there is ~~no~~ limit in what we have
had and where we go and all, that we have tried to take what was
accessible, and ~~ixx~~ make it ~~x~~ do for what wasn't accessible. ~~and~~
~~sometimes it could really be done.~~ Like, riding a ~~x~~ Cadillac, cannot
substitute for first class citizenship, but sometimes you want to do
something, which actually may not be wise, but ~~yet it seems to be action,~~
~~and~~ you do it. And ~~xxxx~~ churches, the church may be the means of _____

Q: Yes, and just to get back to something else, I won't ~~talk~~ torture
you any further with this interview. One other question, how much of
nonviolence is secular tactic, and how much do you feel in the range
of your _____ is grounded on ~~xxxxx~~ philosophical or theological basis.

A: I fear very little on the latter.

q; Tactic

A: I t's a tactic, it's a technique. I t's expedient tactic too.
This is very unfortunate, I was talking with some British newsman, they
weren't really newsmen, _____ in this ~~xxxxx~~ area yesterday. I was saying
~~xxix~~ as I say now, that I feel a personal guilt for this, in this community,
because I ~~don't-th--~~ don't think that we did the wisest thing in our
~~moving---~~ movement here. In our workshops. WE ~~xxxxxx~~ should have included

theological³¹ basis for our methods and goals

a little more of the ~~let me really really explain this on tape.~~

~~Let's see, what was I getting at.~~

q; The newssan, the British newsman, your guilt.

QX A: ACTually I was saying yesterday to them, that now, that I feel, you ~~xxx~~ know, ~~xxxxxx~~ that in our workshop# sessions, we should have done more than we did. We should have kept the things that were happening ~~itain-some--~~ within some kind of a theolgoical frame of reference, which we did not do. I suggested it, but I was not insistent, and I was the leader, so I feel, I think some of the things that we did outside the church, should have been ~~done~~ done from within the church. Of course, I'm using the church in the ordinary sense of the term. ~~The~~ ~~could mean something very diferent.~~ But we have not, ~~we have not seen,~~ ~~et-on--~~ not ~~only~~ only nonviolence, but the struggle itself. ~~Not~~ from a theological vantage point, ~~really.~~

Q: You know, well he said, of course, that the church has missed a big opportunity.

A: Yes, I think he is exactly right. I think he is exactly right.

Q: _____ missionaries in the Congo, _____

A: Yes. This is true. And of course, the church among the white people (this is a very bad thing to do, describe the church in this manner) has not done its part. And the leaders in the movement, have for the most part, been ministers, or people connected with the church, the church buildings have been the places where you meet and this kind of thing. This church ~~we~~ had to do a lot. The fire department required us to do a lot of things that cost this church, they usually, ~~never said this,~~ *said that the reasons had nothing* but ~~xxxx~~ we recognized what was happening. *to do with the struggle*

q; Putting pressure on you to fix it up .

a; Yes. yes, we recognized this, as pressure ~~several~~ *at the* times, spent ~~dollars~~ *we* for this purpose. But even the involvement of Negroes, ~~xxx~~ with

ministers in the churches, this involvement has been nontheological, for the most part. This is the thing where I feel guilt, because I didn't do my part in leading in this direction, I felt it, mentioned it a couple of times, but never ~~xxx~~ pursued it.

Q: Let me ask one more question, it's really to be defined. ON the matter of a great number of Negro leaders who have come out of the south, or in the south still, ~~there's~~--there's been a vast disproportion of the population in terms of education. The south has done much more than its share, of leaders in all levels, to the movement. It seems strange in the light of the, you might say, the more advanced situation, of northern Negroes in education _____.

a; This is recent,-- the reason, I think. I ~~think that's the reason,~~ I ~~think,~~ I've been wanting ~~xxx~~ somewhere to speak to the subject of "The dangers of progress." Because I think, for instance, people ~~whom~~ were more apathetic in Nashville, than they were in Montgomery, Alabama.

Q: They were?

A: ~~xxx-Yes~~--Yes. There were some things that we had in Nashville, we were not quite as segregated as they were in Montgomery, you see. And we weren't really as aware of the problems here, as they were there, ~~you really couldn't miss them.~~ Here your eyes were opened. But the people ~~xxx~~ here became involved once the problem was dramatized, ^{they} began to see what really happened. In the north, the concept of the problem, I think, is at fault. The concept of ~~the problem~~--what the problem really is.

Q: ~~Could you say~~ Could you say how you think that to be true?

A: Well, I spent a few months, in, well let me put it this way. This kind of illustration. ~~-During the-~~ During the heat of our battle, I was asked to go to many places in ^{the North} ~~Illinois~~ to speak, and the people wanted to sit there and sob and hear the horror stories of the south, the

things that are ~~xx~~ happening there, ~~and~~ I went to one community in Ohio, where there was a little lady sitting there, ~~xxx~~ there were ~~q~~about three Negroes in this audience, and one of the colored ladies wanted to speak on a problem which she had in that community. The chairman did not want to hear about this, yousee, because, "we came to hear Mr. Smith, and tell us about Nashville". Of course, this is when I told them I ~~would~~ ~~xxx~~ just ~~on~~, ^{and my part} right there; ~~and~~ let's see what can be done the local problem. But there is a kind of hypocrisy, I think, the kind of ~~xxx~~ false concept of the relationship between people of different races in the north, it is not as dramatic as it is in the south, you don't have signs up, ~~xxx~~ and so forth. Those people don't really recognize what the problems are. It takes something like what happened in Cleveland the other day, to sort of dramatize ~~xxx~~ in fact, that you have the same kind of problems.

Q: Are you referring to Negroes as well as whites in the North?

A: I'm really referring to both. ~~Yes. to both.~~ Now we went to ~~xxxx~~ Cleveland last year, spent a brief period ~~xxxxx~~ there, and our children were in segregated schools for the first time.

Q: Oh you had a church there, ~~x~~ didn't you.

A: Yes, that's right, and returned here. ~~That's right, came back here.~~ But there in Cleveland, our children were in segregated schools for the first time. Never been in segregated schools ~~xxx~~ in ~~xxxxx~~ Nashville.

Q: BEcause of their age, you mean?

A: Their ages. Their ages happen to be just right. You know, for the integration here. But there are many people who didn't ~~object-to-care~~ ~~ee-nt---~~ too ~~xxx~~ much for my saying that ~~xxxxxx~~, in the Cleveland community, in ~~the~~ "enlightened" ~~xxxx~~ Cleveland.

Q: This is defacto segregation.

A: Oh yes, yes, defacto segregation, ^{and} systematic, one of our real diseases, in human relations, ~~which is very.~~

Q: Well, everything's been fine, I really fine, I appreciate it
no end.

A: Well, it's alright, I'm

Q: And I'll be sending you

~~THIS~~ THIS IS THE END OF TAPE 2, AND THE END OF THE CONVERSATION
WITH REVEREND KELLY SMITH.