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Interviewer: Bayor, Ronald H.

Interviewee: Paschall, Eliza

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ELIZA PASCHALL: Tell me about yourself.

RONALD BAYOR: Well, let's see. I'm a history professor at Georgia Tech, and I've been working on this study of race relations in Atlanta for about two or three years now. I'm originally from New York. I've been here for about 10 years.

PASCHALL: Oh, that's good. Jane?

JANE: Yes?

PASCHALL: He brought up those things that were left. This is Jane (inaudible). What's your first name?

BAYOR: Ron.

PASCHALL: Ron Bayor. He brought up the things that had been left downstairs for you.

JANE: Oh, how nice! Thank you.

PASCHALL: (laughter) Let me try --

BAYOR: Well, I thought I'd start by asking how effective your organization was in changing segregationist policies.

Would it be the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations?

PASCHALL: I'm thinking.

BAYOR: Well, let's see. [01:00] Was the government willing to -- was the city government willing to listen to what you had to say?

PASCHALL: No, I think they were. That was why -- my title, what I did. Everybody knew, you know, what was going on, and everybody knew what was going to happen sooner or later. And there were -- the Southern Regional Council, of which the Atlanta Council was a [sort of endeavor?], but had far more prestige. It had -- the Southern Regional Council had a lot of established people, like Ralph McGill and his family, and the power structure of Atlanta didn't really pay much attention to groups or organizations of citizens. People would say, "Let's do this because it's right," [02:00] and to that extent -- it's an interesting question. I've never wondered that before. I think we were instrumental in providing information and bothering people. They never did anything because we said, "Do it."

JANE: Neither one of them are at home; [they're not answering the phone?]. That must be a work number.

PASCHALL: That's all right, thank you. (laughter) That's OK.

BAYOR: I was just wondering whether Ivan Allen or somebody --

PASCHALL: No.

BAYOR: Was Mayor Allen receptive at all to --

PASCHALL: Well, actually the person -- Sam Massell was the mayor who has been the most active and -- well, he was the only one who ever did anything for the organization. People like Ivan Allen [03:00] dealt with the power structure. They were all up here. Sam Massell wasn't a member of the Council, but he would come to meetings, and he would do things, like when Ralph Bunche came to Atlanta. Sam was willing to introduce him. He came and we went to (inaudible) as vice mayor. And then when he was elected mayor -- anyway, he was largely instrumental in passing the ordinance that extends the Community Relations Commission.

BAYOR: (multiple conversations; inaudible) I have a quote from December of '63, and I was curious what you'd think about it. He said, "In the absence of legal, political, economic and moral pressure, not even a city as enlightened as Atlanta [04:00] is likely to grant the Negro his constitutional rights." Number one -- how enlightened was Atlanta for its time?

PASCHALL: Atlanta is strange. Looking back, we -- well, I started saying we all knew what was happening. We didn't really all know what was happening. For instance, I never knew until I was working kind of day-to-day in the Council of Human Relations that the funeral services were segregated; that the Grady House -- you call Grady to

report an emergency. They want to know the race of the victim, because they didn't have very many ambulances to Grady, so they would call the funeral homes to send the ambulances. The funeral homes were segregated. Therefore, they had to know if the man was black or white.

BAYOR: Which meant that some people were denied [05:00] immediate service.

PASCHALL: Oh, yes, and things like the hospitals, you see. I had never had any occasion to wonder what kind of hospital services blacks had in the '60s, and I don't know what the vote is -- well, just the fact that when you were in the situation, when you met black people and professional people and somebody of means, you became individual friends with them. Just from casual conversation, you'd learn things like the fact that the only private hospital in Atlanta -- the only paying hospital which a black person could go to for service was what was called Hughes Spalding Pavilion. I remember saying to a woman who taught at [Lawrence?] Mountain College, "What do you do when [06:00] you get sick?" It was a very serious question. She laughed, and she said, "We just -- we've come all this way. I figure, either Baltimore or Rochester." (laughter)

BAYOR: So, there really wasn't much thought among the white community about the high mortality rate among blacks.

PASCHALL: Well, we didn't know. We didn't have -- your association with the black community was mostly in terms of servants. The blacks were called in the white world -- but in that sense -- I remember riding in the car with the white and the black [doctor?]. The black would not (inaudible) down O'Connor Street as long as you could drive, and I'd come in on the (inaudible) of the road, and she said, "The road is terrible. Why don't you all get [07:00] something done to that?" And she said, "Well, why aren't all the roads in Atlanta like this? All of the streets aren't like this." We stopped the car on her (inaudible) and Horizon. We looked at each other, and I said, "This is the first time I have ever ridden through this area." She said she'd never been east of (multiple conversations; inaudible).

BAYOR: So, they really were two separate cities.

PASCHALL: It was two separate cities. It really was.

BAYOR: In other words, there were other reports going through the years or there had been reports about conditions at the Grady School. Was the white community aware of that at all?

PASCHALL: Well, they were aware of the schools, because the Supreme Court decision saw that changing rather forcibly, but the other -- the things like hospitals and banks and

credit cards, housing -- it just [08:00] was something that, unless it impinged on your own personal life, you were so accustomed to it that it was one of those things that you never thought of. The only black women that I knew were the few maids I had, and I didn't know any whites of that economic and social status, so I didn't have any comparison. To me, the pressing question is the problem she had with childcare represented her economically. It's not that she was black.

BAYOR: Did you have no contact with the college-educated, upper middle-class whites at all?

PASCHALL: None. The Unitarian Church, and we had Whitney Young, who was in the church, and a few others [09:00] and some more successful businessmen, but through the Unitarian Church, my daughter -- one of my children -- got to be friends with the girl her own age. She went and spent a day at school with this black girl who went to Washington High. She wanted to go to Washington and transfer because they wore high heels. (laughter) We were both struck by the fact that she could go and visit the black girl's school, and she was welcomed by everybody. In fact, she was quite a celebrity. They made a big thing. But, there was no inviting the black girl to come to (inaudible) Hill.

BAYOR: That was because of [10:00] some form of protest --

PASCHALL: Nobody would -- it was just beyond -- it would have been (inaudible).

BAYOR: So, it was really a divided city.

PASCHALL: It was a divided city, and it was everywhere you went.

BAYOR: How about the traditional compromise and communication between the black and white communities that were in Atlanta? So, being in the forefront of this city, how true was that? Was there some communication?

PASCHALL: Well, I think the people in charge of the city had to know what was happening, and this thing that I used to wonder about after it was all over really, there weren't any -- if there were any civic or city ordinances against segregation of restaurants, for example, there were -- I mean, there were lots of other ordinances that nobody paid any attention to. We just wondered [11:00] sometimes why didn't Ivan Allen just call up Dr. [Naves?], who was president, and say, "Let's go to lunch and (inaudible)."

That's finally what happened.

BAYOR: So, it would have been an issue they always had.

PASCHALL: Yeah, that's what happened. Fine, after all the sit-ins and everything, they made an arrangement that on a certain day, some blacks, well-chosen blacks, well-dressed blacks, well-behaved, would come to Rich's, too, for lunch. But they wouldn't come until two o'clock, and I was one of

the whites who went along to kind of monitor what was happening. You had to be there at two o'clock in the waiting area, and there were a couple of porters there. They said, "Something is going on in there." So, we were all trying to be very casual, and then the elevator opened [12:00] and here was [Q.B.?] Williams. He was the first black orderly, and he [opened for Sam Lynn?] (multiple conversations; inaudible) and all for lunch. Everybody acted like it just happened every day. Rich's attitude was we would have been glad to have them come any time.

BAYOR: This was '64, after the law had been passed?

PASCHALL: I think this was probably before the law passed.

BAYOR: You're saying this --

PASCHALL: I'm saying we could have done it any time we wanted to.

BAYOR: But that was a student protest?

PASCHALL: Yes.

BAYOR: So, why -- was Allen not going to the -- he wasn't getting along with him?

PASCHALL: I don't know. I don't know. I never knew him that well. There was Ralph McGill. (inaudible) so Ralph has been, both in his life and since his death. [13:00] He would write editorials that got him hate mail from some of the whites. But if Ralph McGill had taken (inaudible) to

make sense, nobody was going to -- Rich was not going to ask if he could. And it's just -- it's this thing of what -- the whole thing came back to me. I had an aunt doing travels in Africa. She went to Cape Town, and you know how they (inaudible) the woman who is -- a good amount of them are sent there to be born. Well, in the '60s, she was in Atlanta on a State Department trip and stayed in her our house for a week. So, we [saw?] when we were in Cape Town. But she [14:00] has this technique down. She makes all of these speeches and poems. You have to put it in wrapping. And then it becomes -- then you've got to make sense of it all. Well, she was defending all of the differences between the services available to whites and blacks in the Soweto area. And she was talking about the postal service and that there were [five?] workers (inaudible) blacks, and 100 workers for 1,000 whites; you know, that kind of thing. Jane and I were there together, and I said to her, "This is -- I feel as if I'm back in the Georgia Legislature 20 years ago, sitting in the balcony, listening to these same kind of statistics and the same explanations. And you just -- I just want to get up and say, 'Just do it! Just hold your hands and jump in and do it!'" [15:00] And you find the will to stop.

BAYOR: I guess that's what will have to happen with them.

How about the role of the Community Relations Commission?

I know you were the first executive director with that.

How effective was that agreement for the change for
(inaudible)?

PASCHALL: Well, the Community Relations Commission really -- the City Council would just as soon not have it, and Allen would have just as soon not had it. They did not look upon it as that, too; as something that they could use. They never referred to anything, I think, because they thought it would stir things up, but I think the purpose of the Community Relations Commission they did say was to hold these things -- we called them (inaudible) caring [16:00] in the name of this. Some of those things just couldn't be ignored.

BAYOR: But the mayor was afraid of you stirring - going too fast and stirring things up on the --

PASCHALL: Well, he just ignored us. He didn't really make noise at all. It was funny. I was helping, working on a contract, and we certainly didn't have a choice. Many of it was hard because black members of the Council of Human Relations and the black (inaudible) didn't like that, and wanted me to have a go; someone that they could trust. It was kind of funny that they could trust me, because I

didn't have very much trust, (laughter) because I never (inaudible). [17:00] He took care of every single one of the things here, but during the course of that year, I think among the things we were working on -- but I'd go see a black man who was a professor at ITC in (inaudible). He wanted to take his little girl to the (inaudible). Of course, that was strictly segregated. There were no blacks at all. I said, "I will go with you." He said, "Yeah." I didn't ask anybody about if I could, because they didn't allow us (inaudible). Someone -- I did not call, but I think he called one of the television stations, and goes to tell the county, and he opened the door there. This white woman (laughter) said [18:00] she didn't care. And he said, "Well, some girl will likely come in. (inaudible) And she said, "Well, I'm sorry. We can't let you in. You can't do that." He didn't ask why. She just said we couldn't go in. Somebody said, "Well, could she just -- could we sit on the porch on the swing?", and she said, "Oh, yes." She couldn't run us off, you know. Well, that was on the television news, and it turned out that the wife of Milton [Ferris?], who was the head of the (inaudible) Finance Committee -- Council, was very active in that. Nobody ever reprimanded me for it, but when the time came,

when the first year was over and my contract dispute not (inaudible), I was told that was [19:00]--

BAYOR: You were told that was the incident that --

PASCHALL: Yes, and that was really sort of the end of the Commission. It never really got going, but what was so funny was that later -- now Lorraine Smith is included in the student council with a photograph and all that, so the sad thing is that everything that we objected to, and everything that took such a great toll on everybody are things which have come about now, and everybody just looks splendid. What in the world could anybody (inaudible) --

BAYOR: It almost broke those issues (inaudible), but you don't think the CRC was effective in changing city hiring practices, for example, or police brutality?

PASCHALL: Well, I think we were effective in communication, providing an area of communication. I think that what we did with hearings, [20:00] that we did -- so-called hearings but essentially just [funded?] forums -- and the fact that we had that many more blacks and whites working together -- the press covered the things that we did. And I think that that was our biggest contribution. The majority were the middle class white people going along, going from Druid Hills or Tucker or (inaudible) that way into town every day, attending to the job and family. It

didn't bother them. In those cases where some of them were asked to sign petitions or to change policies and positions, I know the man who was administrator of Egleston Hospital, who was a very good friend of mine. And it upset him that they didn't take black children, [21:00] but he said, "If I (inaudible) them, I'd lose my job." And he probably would have. So - and you had to respect that, but the average person was going to do my job and they just didn't know.

BAYOR: Well -- or fearful of punishment or something like that. Why would they (inaudible) eliminate what you wanted? I think it was eliminated during the Young administration.

PASCHALL: Well, it should have been removed [on the bill?], because it really -- after that first year, when they made such a to-do when the commission voted not to renew the contract, and they never would say why. I figured that it was because Mr. Ferris said, "If you want any money from the city, (laughter) you get rid of that woman who took that little girl to the (inaudible) dance and there is my wife." But they appointed [22:00] a white man named Welch -- Ned Welch, but the black members of the commission and the black community would not accept him, and so it would have been if they did --

BAYOR: So Samuel Williams took over (inaudible) --

PASCHALL: Oh, Sam -- well, he was not a paid executive. He was the chairman. He was a little bit strange. (inaudible) He -- let's see -- there was a white man named [Irvin?] Taylor, who was the chairman of the commission, and then it turned out (inaudible), and so he was out. Sam Williams would have been the vice chairman, but he became the chairman. Sam as chairman never had to vote on my reappointment, but he [23:00] -- we had some discussion about it, and [all I'll say?] is Sam was told by Lucy Ferris or somebody that if you've got to [re-angle?] the power structure, you've got to [protect?] the power structure. And so -- and then he died not too long after that.

BAYOR: So, do you think the thrust of all of this was that the CRC was designed to calm the black community, to give them the impression that somebody was listening, but not to always bring the clout to make the changes?

PASCHALL: Oh, it was standard in response to a lot of pressure from the black community and the Council on Human Relations. We had really put that as sort of our goal, because we felt that it was time for the city to have something official and something [24:00] funded and something accountable that could say, "We're doing this in

the name of the city." That was long overdue in Atlanta. It was such a reasonable offer that you couldn't really be opposed to it, so I think they couldn't say, "Hold this," any longer. It wasn't worth fighting.

BAYOR: Was Sam more accepting then?

PASCHALL: Sam was -- yes, yes, he was. He called on the commission and told them to hold certain hearings and to listen, but -- and I don't think Sam has always gotten the recognition that he deserves in the city's progress in racial relations. Personally, I think he -- [25:00] I won't say he really could, because he could have invited (inaudible), too (laughter), but he didn't go with Dr. [Blindsen?], and he made appearances at places where it was important to be. I don't know. I don't know how. You wonder so. We all knew that certain things were going to happen, but it was who was going to be the first one.

BAYOR: Everybody waited for somebody else?

PASCHALL: Yeah, so then (inaudible).

BAYOR: I was curious also about school desegregation in that situation. I know you were involved with that, and I was curious on the [Hill?] event from integration or minor integration and desegregation of that (inaudible). [26:00] Could the school board (inaudible) the lesson that they could have been really better, or could they have moved

faster? Why has it been progressive? Do you see any differences in policies (inaudible) that would have prevented desegregation by (inaudible)?

PASCHALL: No, I don't think it did. At the time, of course, I think often (inaudible) school situation would be better for the community. I think there was much more of a (inaudible) that this is inevitable and that it's going to happen, and the sooner the better and we can get on with it. The worst is this myth that the school -- it's going to shut the schools down if it's going to happen. [27:00] It seems to me that we could have done it with a little less to-do than -- we had those nine students, and it took two years to get everything (inaudible) paved.

BAYOR: I thought it was the upper grades, too.

PASCHALL: Yes, yes, and the students who wanted to transfer had to go down to the city hall to fill out forms.

BAYOR: So, it was difficult on the freedom of choice for black students?

PASCHALL: Very intimidating, and that, I think, they could have done better. That was one thing in which the council, I think, was very helpful and effective. When we first read the regulations that were being set up and the plan about certain days the student would have to go to this Board of Education, (inaudible). So, we had white volunteers

[28:00] who would drive the children to get the forms and stay with them and help fill them out. Then, we were able to get white families close to each of these students to act as sort of a sponsor or safe house.

BAYOR: They needed that.

PASCHALL: They did, yes, and it was not all that easy to find -- we did do it, but, in some cases, they were not in the school neighborhood, but they were close enough so that they could go on there alone. There was a sad little story, but I think it sort of illustrates the whole situation and an embarrassing (inaudible). To try to prepare these black students for them and to prepare the schools [29:00] for them, the school and Dr. Stevens, who was the deputy (inaudible) arranged to take the transfer students, as they were called, (inaudible) (laughter) to visit their new school and meet their teachers. I don't know. Did I write about this -- whether they should call the teachers' names or --

BAYOR: I don't remember anything -- these are the original nine students?

PASCHALL: Yes, right. We had the half day (inaudible) supposed to start, and they took these children to school, and then we had a meeting. The Council of Human Relations sponsored a meeting at Quaker House. Most of them were Quakers in

the (inaudible). Dr. Stevens gave a report on [30:00] what had happened that day and what he thought the trouble spots might be and how the students were received and all of that. He was a very sincere, good man. He said he thought things went well. Then, you could tell there was something bothering him. He was very much embarrassed by something, but he felt he had to say it. So, he said to this interracial audience that the only problem that he saw and a very real problem was that the black students did not say "ma'am" and "sir" to their teachers. The white students did, and the white teachers expect to be called "ma'am" and "sir." So, Sam Williams was on the committee, and he said, "Well, we teach our people not to say 'ma'am' and 'sir' -- not to say it, because it's subservient, [31:00] and we teach them to be courteous to everybody, but to have self-respect and not calling a man 'sir.'" And Dr. Stevens said, "Well, I've been a high school principal for umpteen years, and if any student in my school did not say 'sir' to me, I would look upon this as disrespectful and a discipline problem." (laughter) So, there we were! When you solve all the problems that you anticipate -- and everybody was right, you see. Why should our children be the ones that have to change? The whites said, "Well, why should we have to change?" So, like it's our school, after

all. I think upon what Stevens said that may not be said, [32:00] but if you want those students together, they have got to say "ma'am" and "sir," because if they are permitted not to say "ma'am" and "sir," then some of the whites are going to stop saying it, and they are going to not (inaudible), and then you're going to have a whole different problem on your hands. It's just one of the crosses they have to bear.

BAYOR: For the change?

PASCHALL: Well, I never -- so I guess they did change. Well, I just thought it was such a -- so real and something that you would never have anticipated.

BAYOR: Never saw that --

PASCHALL: Never. Either group that was going on were doing it their own way, and the other thinking they were doing it on purpose, just to be show-offs or whatever.

BAYOR: Only thinking that it was your own. Did you see any effort by lesson of the (inaudible) instead to keep whites out of transitional schools? [33:00] Do you recall --

PASCHALL: Oh, I'd say yes. I think that if everybody would say anything, it was education. In Atlanta or the state or the State of Georgia, as far as I can tell anywhere, schools ended up being a great (inaudible) of racial change. They had that as a goal and tried to use these magnet schools

and all that, but I think of what Dr. May has said when he, as chairman of the school board, presided over the (inaudible) and was opposed to busing. Dr. May said that he had never held an opinion that for a black child to learn you had to remove the white child. I think that's the [34:00] philosophy that's gone into (inaudible). I really don't see anything anyone can do about it -- keeping whites --

BAYOR: Just the whites who have left the city.

PASCHALL: Yeah, for lots of reasons, but as far as the schools go, it just seems to me that we have spent so much time since '64 trying to -- worrying about the racial conversation in the schools rather than what's being taught in the schools.

BAYOR: Well, I think those changes (inaudible). I think there's more emphasis on what's being put on (inaudible). I think a lot of black parents would agree easily (inaudible), but you don't see any particular effort to build a school where it could have appeal to both whites and blacks within the same --

PASCHALL: Well, I think the evidence has been made to build the schools (inaudible) now.

BAYOR: Now, but not in the '60s. [35:00]

PASCHALL: Well, I think when they first started -- when did they start those magnet schools so anyone could perform well at school and things like that?

BAYOR: The late '60s, I think, it should be.

PASCHALL: I think that was an effort to have integrated classes and to prove then that race was not as important as certain other things, but we found, for whatever reason, the race was more important than we thought it was, or it was wonderful to (inaudible) those things, but they were important.

BAYOR: Did you see the time and money spent on resisting integration by the white schools -- was that taking away from the power of the schools in general in Atlanta?

PASCHALL: You mean the money spent (inaudible)?

BAYOR: A lot of lawsuits filed and time spent on [36:00] resisting.

PASCHALL: I think, in that respect, Atlanta has grown a lot more than other places. I don't think we spent too much money on lawsuits. We knew it was inevitable, and I think (inaudible) and on the Board of Education, [Deborah McLatchey?], who was the chairman of the board, I think, accepted it. Once they decided to do it, then they had enough integrity and really enough education interest to go on and try to make it work.

BAYOR: One of the things I'm thinking about is that it's pretty clear how segregation has (inaudible) and creates, in one sense, what it's doing in the healthcare in the city and the schools.

PASCHALL: You mean since we desegregated?

BAYOR: So, it's well before and during the segregation battles that in one sense the white community [37:00] as well as the black community [watched?] a desegregated system, through the school system, for example. That must have hurt. The healthcare was [white care?] also.

PASCHALL: Well, I don't really think the whites lost as much as the blacks --

BAYOR: No, probably not.

PASCHALL: -- but, in many respects, we had two separate school systems. It was like two separate cities. The black -- many of the black schools were very good schools. They had -- like [Washington?] -- they were taught Russian there.

BAYOR: Obviously, the old Grant (inaudible).

PASCHALL: Well, yes, the old Grant, but they were not all bad schools. I think, obviously, whatever [38:00] has been (inaudible) and all that, more of the in-town people got to. Desegregation has been costly to everybody, but I think the schools were done with some success and some

dreaming, too. I think, due to the fact that Dr. May was the chairman of the board --

BAYOR: What would that tell (inaudible), because I think actually the schools are probably (inaudible).

PASCHALL: (inaudible) would say, "Hell, no."

BAYOR: I guess I'm just thinking whether the whites were in any way aware of how segregation was hurting them or anything like that.

PASCHALL: I don't think we could really [39:00] have gotten through the points that the whole segregation system was hurting us, like hospitals. You know it sounds odd to say it, but it's a fact that it didn't hurt us, because we had good hospitals. The schools, the money -- if you put the total amount of money, if you combined the school budgets of the black and white schools, a lot of the white schools would have stayed that same --

BAYOR: How about something about crime? Obviously, there was crime in the black community that was developing out of the projects. Was there any sense of (inaudible)?

PASCHALL: No, I don't think so.

BAYOR: No sense that to deal with crime, you needed to improve the lifestyles of the black community?

PASCHALL: Well, you see, we didn't [40:00] -- crime among blacks was [connected?] to the crime, and that was something --

BAYOR: It probably stayed in their area.

PASCHALL: Well, my husband was (inaudible), and he used to tell a story about his first -- when he first started reporting, and generally he was on the police beat in the police station. There were three murders reported. He was all excited and [froze?] to the desk. And he said, "My goodness! Where were the people?" And they gave him the three addresses, and the man said, "No, it's all niggers. Go have a [ball?]." And he was pouring through the reports. 'Niggers killing niggers.' So then, he was conscious of it, but it wasn't part of the news. Now, it's one of those things. When we first started -- not first started -- when Martin Luther King came back to Atlanta, the Council of Human Relations [41:00] had a day-long meeting of some sort, and we discussed the schools and churches and hospitals. We talked. We had a section on communications, and this impressed me very much. Now, I had not heard it in all the talking and listening and meetings I'd been to, and then a man named Truman [Kaufman?], who is a sociologist and ended up president of the (inaudible) -- he said that one of the problems of segregation is that the blacks and whites don't share the -- you don't act on the basis of information; like when you read the daily paper,

when the black person read the *Atlanta Journal*, it didn't apply to him.

BAYOR: Well, there's nothing about [Bronson?]

PASCHALL: Yeah, right. I didn't even know that there was (inaudible) until then, and if I read that, [42:00] it certainly didn't apply to me. So, one of the problems has been this lack of a common culture or a common base, acting from the same set of facts. When we said 'hospitals,' we meant one thing. When they said, 'hospitals,' they met something else.

BAYOR: And if the crime stayed in the black community, it wasn't crime. I guess the police felt the same way. If it was a black crime, so what?

PASCHALL: Well, there were no black policemen at that time, and then we had the big question also if you had a black policeman, they couldn't arrest a white person. I remember a black professor who taught (inaudible). He was in Washington. I remember him saying, "The whites," he said, "You all tell -- you teach [43:00] your children the policeman is a friend. He's somebody to call when you need help." He said, "You don't think that's your [friend?]." So, everything was just (inaudible). Everything everywhere -- it was [different?].

BAYOR: There wasn't some sense of bringing the black maids in your homes and realizing that those people are not getting proper healthcare where they were living, and you weren't opening your own (inaudible), either; that there was racism in that.

PASCHALL: No, I mean, most of the maids had a Grady card, and they got whatever healthcare they needed at Grady, which has a great reputation as a charity hospital. So, in that sense, our association was with the lowest group --

BAYOR: Interesting that this is your position and -- was there was any retaliation against people working in the human rights cause for what they were [44:00] doing in terms of losing jobs --

PASCHALL: I don't remember anybody losing jobs. They were certainly threatened jobs, and they would speak to you. In my house, (inaudible) in 1959, and he had gotten a lot of criticism, because he had spoken for the -- if there was a black policeman and the way he reported news, but --

BAYOR: Was it (inaudible)?

PASCHALL: Well, a lot of people thought that was the way it really got started, but I don't really think it was. Then, another time we had a strange thing. Somebody came to us and threw something, a candle or something -- it was lighted -- at the house. We got phone calls later in the

'60s [45:00] when I was doing this full-time, you know; "nigger-lover" and these kinds of things. Actually, I'm thinking the children probably got more than I did, because I was in an environment where I was praised, and it was wonderful, because I was (inaudible), and they were in school and doing what else. I wasn't too keen on what they were doing. (laughter)

BAYOR: I get to pull this all together.

PASCHALL: Did you see the talk about it later in the *American* -- was it *Spectator* -- *American Spectator*? Was it this week or last week?

BAYOR: No, I didn't.

PASCHALL: It's something I heard.

BAYOR: On what -- on television?

PASCHALL: On Atlanta and the black -- well, it started with Andrew Young [46:00] and was on the campaign and the convention. I don't know who wrote it, but it's very good, I think, and a very true picture of what Atlanta is really like today. It feels good. It's sort of disappointing to wonder why we should (inaudible), but we did. Again, it's never-ending. The blacks in City Hall get jobs for their friends just like whites in City Hall get jobs for their friends.

BAYOR: Why should anything really be different?

PASCHALL: Right, and that's the model. They say that's what they saw.

BAYOR: How about relations in your organization and the black leadership in Atlanta? Was there an effort made to coordinate activities in any way?

PASCHALL: Oh, yes, we had very good relationships, and I think they appreciated what we did. Most of the -- [47:00] (inaudible) people, we worked together. We worked with the SCLC, SNCC, and on.

BAYOR: So, there was an effort to sort of look at issues that were pertinent enough at the time. So, you would discuss or coordinate activities (inaudible) segregation?

PASCHALL: Oh, yeah. Well, the (inaudible), although they had a local group called the Metropolitan Atlanta Southern Leadership Conference that came out. They drew up an agenda with the schools and the police and housing and all of those things. We worked with them on that. I think that was the way we coordinated all of the groups in town; the local student group, and the many students and everybody. I think the black community [48:00] appreciated the efforts of the council and all there was, but I think they realized the limits of our strength. (laughter) When you look at who was on the board and the white and the

black communities, they really liked us and almost every
(inaudible).

BAYOR: How about the importance of racial factors in
decision-making in the city? Maynard Jackson in 1975 said
that, "Race is the underlying force in the area's politics,
no matter what the rhetoric."

PASCHALL: I think he's right.

BAYOR: And everything that you think race was --

PASCHALL: And I think it still is.

BAYOR: That was determined subtly or obviously in all
decisions.

PASCHALL: (inaudible), and even was that, in fact, or appeared
to be, so that it was taken [49:00] or [crossed?] out. I'm
not sure if this is a good example, but even at Tech, I was
amazed to read -- what's the new person's name?

BAYOR: [Crecine?].

PASCHALL: -- that what his goal for Tech is to make it
outstanding as a college for women and minorities. And I
thought that's not (laughter) what it's [called now?].

BAYOR: Well, I think he just wants something to give us a
little bit to (inaudible).

PASCHALL: Yeah, I know, but I think the whole thought was to
make it no matter, and maybe it's going to take a lot of
years, and maybe we'll never get to that point.

BAYOR: To sort of (inaudible). People still see things in this country as black and white. There's no getting away from it.

PASCHALL: That's true, but I think we did well in what we tried to do. I have some friends who think [50:00] we didn't really accomplish anything, but I don't think that's true.

BAYOR: No, I think you accomplished a lot, and Atlanta certainly was a city that experienced less violence than other cities. That's accomplishment, however they did that. Do you think there was any great change when Maynard Jackson came into office? Did that change the way blacks and whites looked at --

PASCHALL: Oh, I think everybody was very proud. We were very proud of ourselves. I mean, the fact that Maynard is not very black and he's (inaudible) --

BAYOR: Oh, not (inaudible) but black [in terms of a group?].

PASCHALL: No, I mean he's -- physically he's not very black. I mean, blacks could accept him and feel comfortable with him and he did come from an old Atlanta family that were [51:00] educators and all of that. His father's pedigree and training was probably at the top of the list of mayors we've had in a long time. (laughter) And so, I do think that people took pride in that.

BAYOR: Do you think they were -- Atlanta worked with him better because, in this city, the upper-crust whites have covered the blacks, to speak of; educated, articulate?

PASCHALL: Yes. One of the things was the first time I remember reading or hearing or saw him doing this full-time was that Atlanta had several institutions -- black institutions which were unique to Atlanta, and which are necessary for any community, too, (inaudible) a bank, a savings and loan, there was a college, [52:00] several colleges, and the newspapers, so that there could be a dialogue between the two communities.

BAYOR: Yeah, I've heard that from some other people I've talked to. If you're sitting down and you're looking for people, (inaudible).

PASCHALL: And I think there was a column by -- I think it's a black writer by the name of Fitzgerald -- who said that he didn't understand the complaints about the banks not giving loans to blacks who invest with the Citizens Trust all these years. He wanted to go and see if Citizens Trust was (inaudible) by his community. So many (inaudible) --

BAYOR: Well, of course, they had problems with everything compared to what the Trust Company of (inaudible).

PASCHALL: Right, but at least if it's done --

BAYOR: And they did, they did.

PASCHALL: But, you see, the Citizens Trust -- it's a little strange. Since the (inaudible) is black, [53:00], and the black institutions had a monopoly in the black community, and the Citizens Trust, in many respects, did not act like much of a bank in the old days. I remember (laughter) the Council on Human Relations -- we had a small bank account with Citizens Trust, and the treasurer of our council was a lady who had come to Atlanta years ago to be treasurer of Spelman College. She was a Rockefeller, and she was dedicated to the wealth of the blacks, but she finally said she thought we just had to change to another bank, because Citizens Trust -- they never got the statements on time, and they weren't accurate, and this and that. I noticed there was something when blacks would find themselves in certain [54:00] positions of influence or authority. In many instances, they tend to seem to think that it's a two-dimensional thing; you know, like if you're director and have a big desk and a (inaudible), but what you do as a director is not as [effective?].

BAYOR: Well, I guess the achievement is getting someplace, and then you worry about getting to use --

PASCHALL: Or the fact that there really is work to be done is something that they --

BAYOR: I think that's probably true of a lot of people who have spent so long on the trail to get someplace, and then they found -- here I am, and what do I do. It's probably true of a lot of presidents, I'm sure, who spent so many years just trying to get to be president. Well, that's all very interesting. Thanks very much.

PASCHALL: Well, I'll be interested in what you write. [55:00]

END OF AUDIO FILE