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Interviewee: Pauley, Frances

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RONALD BAYOR: Seven, eight, nine, ten.

(break in audio)

FRANCES PAULEY: You have a [strength?]. Now tell me about you.

BAYOR: Well, I'm a history professor at Georgia Tech, and I started doing this about two years ago. It's a study of race relations in twentieth-century Atlanta, and I'm really trying to look at the impact of racism and race relations on the development of the city, of its institutions, on its physical development. So I've been interviewing various people who were active during that time who have something to say. So let me get into some of my questions. First of all, I was curious how effective your organization was in changing segregationist policies. This is a very general question, of course, but --

PAULEY: I think at that time, that [01:00] the Council on Human Relations -- I would say that we did nothing as far as making a change. I think what we did was to back up and bolster the people that were out on the front line. For instance, I never, as director -- I never even felt that I

should say to SNCC or to SCLC or everybody else, this is the way something might be done and might make change faster. Something like that. I can't imagine doing it, but what I would -- what the part we played was, what can we do to help you? You're [brave?]. And then they would tell us what they could do. And with me there were lots of times when there was something a white person -- that they need a white person to do.

BAYOR: So you had a pretty good coordination with the black organizations.

PAULEY: Oh, yes, yes. I mean -- well, [02:00] some more than others. In Atlanta itself, I never worked very much. I worked early in Atlanta, but the Georgia Council -- there were two councils. There was Atlanta Council and Georgia Council, and the Georgia Council -- the Atlanta Council had a director, and they worked in Atlanta, see, and you couldn't do it -- you couldn't even begin to do it all anyway. What my -- I did outside of Atlanta. And that didn't mean I didn't participate with a lot of different things in Atlanta too, but it meant that I didn't know, for instance, the SNCC people in Atlanta. I didn't know them like I knew the SNCC people in Albany.

BAYOR: I always got the impression that [miraculous?] was neglected in a lot of ways, that all the protests were

taking else -- taking place elsewhere and Atlanta was sort of -- almost considered an oasis by a lot of the civil right organizations.

PAULEY: Well, a lot went on here [03:00] because of the students living here, and I think that was about biggest thing. The Council on Human Relations during that time was here to there by -- I guess most of that time, most of the '60s it was headed up by Eliza Paschall, and I don't know exactly what all they did to her, actually, 'cause I just -- we were so busy -- what two hands were doing. But the kinds of things we did were to try to be a help to Albany, between whites and the blacks. And, for instance, in the first Black Albany -- they tried and then as -- get set up and in the Relation Committee [04:00] that would hear the [blues?] or recommendations -- a solution like that -- of the immediate problem. And things like that that we could do, where we could go on both sides of the street. And I could. I mean, I could go on the white side and -- well, truthfully, I could on the black side easier than I could go on the white side, because the family on the black side twice, a lot of those if I tell you the truth were [sore?]. In fact, I remember going out to a man who later ran for mayor in Albany, and I had great-grandchildren with him and his wife when they lived here, and I went to see

them, and they came to the door and told me that man (inaudible) and people drop by (inaudible) the latest issue. But nevertheless [05:00] we did, and we thought we kept [thinking we were different?] but was trying to it at the [end of the sun?] to send out communications between blacks and whites. We set up charity groups. We set up businessmen. The businessmen said -- 'cause they were upset about business being messed up. So they say, "All right, we'll meet with some of the black leaders, but don't bring a whole bunch in here." And they'll either say, "Five of us will meet with five of them." I said, "OK. I'll see if five want to meet with you." And I said, "[Ma'am?] just the five of you want to go?" They say, "We'll meet with five."

BAYOR: So just little steps --

PAULEY: And those things like that, see. Businessmen, churches, preachers got preachers together, and then we organized the council.

BAYOR: Did you ever have much relationship with all of the state government or people who would talk to you there?

PAULEY: Yes, yes. I had met Sanders before he was [06:00] governor, and some race problems in [the dust?]. There's a white guy that went down into the black area of the city with a mask on. The blacks stopped and the said -- and

shot her and killed. I forget who got killed, whether it was white got killed -- anyway, there's some -- in this town there's a big culture line. I know people and Sanders were in Augusta, and I went down to see what I could do in this occasion, and we organized a council. And [07:00] trying again, trying -- always trying to get the two sides together. And I knew them there, see, and they respected what I had done there. Not that it was all that much, but they did. And it also always helps if they just -- I think one thing I have built up over a long period of years in the state, by organizing the (inaudible).

BAYOR: So you think somebody like Sam who's most cooperative around --

PAULEY: Yeah. That's a -- so when he was governor, and he -- I went to see him, and I said, "Now look, this is the job I'm doing. And I'm doing it over the state, and I may need your help sometimes." And he told me -- he said, "Now, I'm not going to help you. But what I promise you this is to listen, and I admire what you're trying to do." [08:00] And he said, "When you plow the earth, I will be the [hurricane?]."

BAYOR: So he was there as a support, but privacy as a whole --

PAULEY: And I called him not many times, and every time they helped.

BAYOR: So he was there -- I mean, he was the only governor here in the time that it was then -- I suppose everybody else was opposition.

PAULEY: Yeah -- I can't remember anybody else that ever helped me [would be?] him. But he sent the estate of (inaudible) the day that they -- they say they said they were going to [tell me?]. And I talked with him, because (inaudible) -- us more for the state. Out in the state, I was terrified, out of the state, sure. [09:00]

BAYOR: He thought you were doing it wrong.

PAULEY: Yeah. And I remember one time in Albany I couldn't find the Holiday Inn. We were at (inaudible) and they -- and the newspapermen were all staying [the night?] and I wanted -- and that's where I usually stayed, and it's the one place I could get in was the same hotel where the state attorney's staying. And I was scared to death. And so I came back and the newspapermen said, "Where you been?" And I said, "Well, I couldn't get in," and they said, "Well, you need (inaudible)." I said, "Well, then, let me in." And -- 'cause that's where they always were, and they said, "Well, we'll see about it." And I said, "Don't go back down there except to get your things." So that was what I was saying. And so they called headquarters -- the newspapermen called about me. [10:00] They ended up with

some of them on one side of my room and some of them on the other side. [Kyle?] sitting (inaudible). I [spoke to a?] man stayed here with that -- in that bathroom area. I've never seen him.

BAYOR: Yeah. So he really did back you up, though. He was there when you needed him to -- yeah.

PAULEY: He was. But I don't -- and the FBI was kind of the same way. I mean, I knew you had [watching the person?] but one thing was you didn't know that you had a watching (inaudible).

BAYOR: I'll have to get the (inaudible). There's a lot of people who have that problem.

PAULEY: So I'll just leave this. Somebody wants me to come somewhere at night, when I'm trying to get the (inaudible).

BAYOR: Sure. Right. I was curious about a King [11:00] statement that he made in 1963. He said that "in the absence of legal, political, economic, and moral pressure, not even a city as enlightened as Atlanta is likely to grant Negroes constitutional rights." Two things there: how much pressure was really needed to bring about some change in Atlanta and Georgia in general?

PAULEY: Well, it depended a lot on the leadership in the time. In some places, the leadership was dyed-in-the-wool segregationist, and they would rather go broke than

[legal?]. Well, I remember back when (inaudible). He would rather go broke in his bank fail than to give in on the segregation. [12:00] He was that adamant. Now, the business leaders in Savannah were much more progressive, and they did not want -- well, all leaders were, and the man that was head of the [stark?] was deciding he didn't want to see the (inaudible). And what the -- a lot of ruffians, they weren't really attached to any of the best-organized groups, but just ruffians were setting fire. And leaving. Setting fire and trying to give false alarms and turning on the [loans?] and it was -- tell you what, it was -- you -- in Savannah, you -- it was touch-and-go, but that city was going to burn. And they gave in.

BAYOR: How about here? How about (inaudible)?

PAULEY: In Atlanta, [13:00] I can't -- that's why I can't tell you. Now, they did have some leadership that was good, of course. And I think the businessmen here were -- anytime [here the men?] before (inaudible). I think they'd do anything to save their jobs, and one -- but it would take something else. Another thing about the -- it just came down here deep with their committee for segregation, and some of them were -- in Albany, the businessmen weren't as bad.

BAYOR: Were they good versus just how committed they were to

business and --

PAULEY: And how committed they were to segregation.

BAYOR: And to the image of the city. I mean, the lessons of Little Rock must have been clear, and Birmingham, in terms of what --

PAULEY: Well, it was Birmingham -- [could be?] Birmingham, but what year?

BAYOR: Sixty-three, I guess it was.

PAULEY: Yeah, see, Albany was about '61.

BAYOR: But Little Rock [14:00] was clear to everybody by that time, what they (inaudible).

PAULEY: That's right. Well, Tampa [sure was here?] (inaudible) because [Tim and I?] was telling me in '53 they passed the -- the legislature passed the voting -- the school -- the private school. The legislature did, and of course it was wrong -- it wasn't rolled out by the public till '54, but the town got that through 'cause he saw the schools weren't being desegregated. So a lot of the people saw it coming, and so that -- so they put -- they changed the constitution so that [15:00] Georgia could support private schools.

BAYOR: So that was the beginning of the resistance, then, [really?].

PAULEY: That was the beginning of the big resistance, because we fought them, see. And it came right on the heels of

(inaudible) which was also turned into a segregation
[town?].

BAYOR: Right, right. I was just kind of curious to see how
enlightened leaders, for example in the black [world?] -- I
always got this image that they were part of a tradition of
compromise and communication between the black and white
communities.

PAULEY: It weren't all that good. And let me tell you what -- I
never let alone that chief of police.

BAYOR: Jacobs?

PAULEY: Jacobs.

BAYOR: Oh, what was the [compliment?]?

PAULEY: Well, I remember one. He looked so pretty. One of them
(inaudible)[16:00] had been accused of -- police killed a -
- course, this happened all the time around there --
honestly, that's awful, the things that happened, so much
more than (inaudible), but, yeah, I think it was [Terry?].
It was one -- in one of the projects, the police killed a
black man and injured a child, and we were taking care of
the child. Child's (inaudible) going to be someone -- only
one who's going to be well. And we were racing to the
(inaudible) to take care of the child. And I can't
remember what year this was. And this was [baby glory?].
Maybe this was the (inaudible). I can't remember. And so

we had at that time at [longhorn restaurant?] when we had some [17:00] people out there. We had somebody who saw this happen. We did not -- when [this was staying?]. When the people were in the shop. And we went to Jacobs and we said, "Now, what're you going to do about this? You going to let those creatures shooting like that?" And in one instance, some worse than that, there were a lot of shots that day. We felt they'd been blanks, or they -- so we went to see him, and he said, "Yeah, that's right. We're not [impressed that?]. I'll always take the (inaudible). I'll" -- he said he hasn't seen what happened. "But you don't think I'm going to say it, do you?" And sat down, [18:00] and now once you say that, going to believe me. We're not have the papers until (inaudible).

BAYOR: And he didn't care about the police brutality issue.

PAULEY: No. He said, "You go tell your story to the paper, and I'll tell my story to the paper, and we'll see who gets printed." And we did, and he was right. And so that -- and I laughed that day he said, "Miss Pauley, you ought to be more careful about what you do." Oh, so then he tells us that they all were shot and killed. All of us went white. I tell you. Because we'd been out there when they -- when the shooting going on, and then he said, "We want to also tell you that we shoot to kill."

BAYOR: Whites as well as blacks or just blacks?

PAULEY: And so then we said, "Well, maybe it's time for us to go." And we stood up, and he said, "Miss Pauley, [19:00] I have to tell you, you better be real careful about what you do." And I said, "Well, what you mean? Do you mean for me to take any [threats?]?" He said, "Take it any way you want."

BAYOR: He was nobody [return?], huh?

PAULEY: That was my personal experience. I -- and let me tell, you don't forget things like that. If somebody threatens to kill you, you don't exactly -- and him being the chief of police! He known exactly [for days?].

BAYOR: You don't see him as being any --

PAULEY: Any friendly. You don't think he's going to protect you if the Ku Klux is outside with a gun.

BAYOR: Though he was. I mean, you were there. The police just stuck a guy from a very good press.

PAULEY: That's right! Beautiful -- just like [printing?] did down there in Albany.

BAYOR: Yeah. We don't think it was the truth.

PAULEY: No! [20:00] Now, they were smart, and they were smooth, both of them.

BAYOR: In what way?

PAULEY: They had -- they were kind of like if you were just

[getting ready to pay?]. I don't think they were really committed as much. They weren't like the sheriff, though. The [deep seat?] you [went down?] and then the CB coming at you -- I was coming for some red -- some of the people that were going to be in the demonstration. I expected -- was going some red poster plate. So I was sitting, getting ready to -- 'cause, see here, then -- this is kind of funny. But I was [ready?], very [grateful?] to go downtown. And anyway, they were having a [ball cup?]. And so I'd go down and find red poster. [21:00] I was in downtown [Huntington?] very close to [Peyton?] and CB came out of the sheriff's office, and I looked up there and all I saw was red, and I thought, "My gosh, he's got a red poster already." And I realized he was coming for --

BAYOR: So CB came? This is the Atlanta police department.

PAULEY: No, this was in in Albany.

BAYOR: Got that. How about --

PAULEY: [The preacher?] would have done that too.

BAYOR: Yeah. How about the fact that you were already blacks in the police force? Doesn't that make any difference at all?

PAULEY: There were blacks in the [severities?] post, but the reason it didn't make any difference was, they weren't allowed to arrest a white person. One time, I got called in a -- something happened and they realized [22:00] you

can't [hear?] if you don't have no [hang no hat?] in a crisis. But I was staying with a [corner?] named (inaudible) and waiting for somebody to pick me up, and there's this one place where -- this was in Savannah. And I was staying there, and -- [cat comes across the license?]. They hadn't desegregated. And I think this was after some of the major places had desegregated, or some eating places had. And after the (inaudible) five. And so they've been [picking?] since March, and so something happened over there, and what had happened was, a white man kicked -- [23:00] not man, [a black?] kicked him. And then another one kicked him, and the black policeman came, and they couldn't arrest the white man. They didn't. They could stand by him and call somebody else, but they couldn't arrest him.

BAYOR: This was where? This was --

PAULEY: In Savannah. And so they were calling for someone else, and in the meantime, the crowd gathered like they came out of the rocks. I don't know where, frankly. They hadn't been -- it'd been a little (inaudible) of people. All of a sudden there was a crowd. All of a sudden there was a crowd of whites. And then -- I don't ever remember deciding to move from where I was. The next time I came to my senses [24:00] the thing was over. I had gone to the

black side and the fire engine had come and sprayed right in the middle to separate them, and had separated with the fire hose -- not hurting, but you want the fire hose thing like Birmingham. But it's a good way to stop a mob, and it's just a mob, just roll this one like that. And they did it so quickly that nothing -- nobody was never hurt that day. And I found myself standing in the middle of a park, not knowing how I'd gotten there, what -- just like I'd been unconscious. It is strange, that mob feeling that you can get caught up in. It's good to have [25:00] -- to know that -- you think you have self-control.

BAYOR: Yeah. I would -- yeah. Did you ever get any feeling about Ivan Allen [counter cause?] -- you know.

PAULEY: Yeah, well, I always thought Ivan Allen was good, but I never did have any personal experience with it.

BAYOR: Yeah. How about the importance of racial factors in any decision-making in the places you were, said you have stayed? I have a quote from Maynard Jackson, 1975, in which he said, "Race is the underlying force in the area's politics, no matter what the rhetoric." How much was race the subtle, the underlying factor in a lot of cases, that you could see?

PAULEY: I'd say nine-tenths of the cases, and unfortunately I'm afraid it's still in -- I think it's not that -- I think in

a way maybe. Maybe it wasn't, and maybe it just seemed that way, [26:00] 'cause everything was so much more blatant, but it seemed to me it was simpler then. It was just -- everything was race, practically. And they'd do anything rather than have a -- well, in fact a lady said to me one time, she said, "I'm not like a lot of people," said, "How many do you think that niggers are human?" I think she was still saying "niggers." She was probably saying "Negro," 'cause that was polite, what polite people say. But, "The niggers are human," she said. Well, I remember being -- in my mind just going, "I didn't realize it was anybody that existed that didn't think like that, that black people were human." I just -- it just dawned on me that people could feel like -- [27:00] then she went on to explain. So I think -- well, I guess they have to protect themselves from the way they treated people. I don't know. But racism, I think it's kind of something today, because I think that there are a lot of elements that probably in English just [travel as?] racism, business and class. I felt like Anthony liked that name "conservative." I remember being -- [class was going to be in the hall?] next, more than [out daily?]. I had to work mostly long [10 hours?] that was paid out, and I worked five days going, and civil rights full-time [paid back?].

But aside from those 15 years where I've always just been [drawn to here?]. And if you volunteer out in -- you're working [28:00] close. You feel like it's important. And I'm nearly 54, deciding segregation's going to be the most important issue.

BAYOR: Do you think a lot of the public political decisions during that time were basically race-related decisions? Schooling, health care, recreation, development of the highway system -- do you think a lot of those had --

PAULEY: Yeah! Just for instance, the -- see now, they passed -- we never have had very much paid school. We never had much state loans for school. And so all of a sudden the [young day?] counties, they -- got to be kidding me [you?] so much now. Can't remember what that was called. Minimum something [29:00] standard school. I forget what it was called. But anyhow it was closing. And it was the first time in my state when we entered public schools.

BAYOR: [What would you have done?]?

PAULEY: It was about 50 children. Or I guess [something like that?]. And they -- when I knew he was [getting?], but it was wonderful because the first time I [lost negotiation?] I had nine months school. And a lot of whites support the blacks. They -- because it was still a remnant of the old plantation days, when the rich went to private schools and

the poor didn't get educated. It didn't matter -- particularly [the alarmists?]. And the men always to keep whites down, and they didn't work right, so the mayor -- they only worked whites, and believe you me they weren't going to see them educated [30:00] one inch. (inaudible).

BAYOR: Why 1952? If this was after plantations.

PAULEY: They saw the coming of a -- desegregation. I think that entered into all that, and so then immediately after '53 -- and I probably count the time they just had to [hand?] against the law, because then you see what they started to do is building black schools. They built black schools like crazy.

BAYOR: Up where the other ones that were already there also?

PAULEY: No, the black schools that were there -- they were in -- they made the blacks produce a building, and then they'd give them some teachers, is the way they ran the school for black people.

BAYOR: So they began to build a lot of schools there.

PAULEY: To build them. They built new schools -- everything.

BAYOR: And those just to keep the blacks from going to the white schools.

PAULEY: Yeah, and it did. I mean, I thought [31:00] when desegregation came, they'll [want blacks any longer?].

BAYOR: Didn't want the schools --

PAULEY: Didn't want -- and particularly 'cause the teachers were desperate. Did not want it. They have the high standards (inaudible). They didn't want desegregation. They knew they wouldn't treated [valued and then?].

BAYOR: I'm sure some of the principals lost their jobs too and -
-

PAULEY: I remember one was when the vice-principal [let us on my life?] and it was -- gosh, I forget what -- (inaudible) and then she graduated from some [holler?] university, and almost every kid in her school -- black kid in her school went to college. The [principal's?] in a small area where there weren't as many blacks. Blacks had a little more chance there. And it was a real -- up around the Calhoun area.

BAYOR: But this was up in Atlanta, too, the building of new schools. So this was all -- I heard this expression before, "Supreme Court [32:00] schools." They were built to keep blacks from being interested in going to white schools. OK. Are you affiliated at all -- very much with the desegregation in Atlanta during this time?

PAULEY: Yes. Because we organized Hope.

BAYOR: Oh, right, that's right, yeah.

PAULEY: I will and Hope again -- I work on state-wide organizations because I had -- I was -- I had already had

experience on the state [present?] (inaudible). And a very crucial and wonderful time at the time that we had the biggest political fights, and that was over handling the system and open [scripts?]. And that was 'cause [33:00] -- now, at the time -- and so I worked real hard with that, and so constantly organized innumerable new leagues all over the state, because -- and some people want to tell you who were segregationists and why. That leaves stains on segregation. I made us lose members. We did. We lost some members. I remember one we lost, Maureen Flowers in Thomasville. I think that lady even folded 'cause she just quit pouring money into it like nothing else. But she was real segregationist. And so -- it's true. Some of the real segregationists did drop out. But for every one that dropped out, we had 10 that joined, because a lot of people wanted things to happen, and they believed in public schooling. And they didn't [34:00] want to see public schools go, and public schools had a fight in Georgia, because it hadn't been popular with a lot of people. The one period we knew all this had too much power in the state, and they didn't public education. They didn't open their own hands to get any money. So it -- public education was something that I wish that some more people working on that. But anyway, what was I going to say?

BAYOR: Well, I was just curious -- what I'm curious about, really, is how we move from --

PAULEY: Oh, in Atlanta, again, we organized Hope. But I was just giving as a background the reason that I was kind of the same. First, I was willing to hope, because hope is our right. And [35:00] I had decided 1954, the time of the Supreme Court decision, that I would not be associated with any group, socially or otherwise, that was not right. I mean, professionally. I don't mean that I would go and get [all that?].

BAYOR: I understand.

PAULEY: But, you know, church could (inaudible). And so -- but that was the personal association. And -- but -- so Hope is all white. And so they -- I had taught with the people that were organizing -- we had talked about how we could organize and this and that, but I said, "Let us all [want nothing to do?]." And so eventually one of them down the hall there talked to me, and he said, "Now, look, Frances. We think that Hope will be more effective if it's all white. [36:00] Please go on (inaudible)." Well, the blacks asked me to go on and work with them. I did. So, soon I threw in the towel and [Mira?] said -- [Mira Loberson?] didn't know about Hope, if you want to talk with her. And -- so we worked terribly hard, and I worked terribly hard

on Hope. And then out of Hope came the SOS, Save Our Schools, and all the other things that came out to help with these segregated schools in Atlanta. So I was supposed to come in to [group with?] and by that time then I went into the counseling job and the youth were all the same, they used the same materials that we had used in the -- in our work through the survey schools, and we worked with friends. [Servicing?] other people and [OCP?] and other folk around the state.

BAYOR: I guess one of the things I was curious about is how we move from [37:00] beginning desegregation in 1961 to, in a ten-year period, total resegregation of the Atlanta schools. What went wrong? Was it Superintendent [Lutson?]? Could he have moved faster?

PAULEY: I think the track -- the biggest tragedy of all was that we lost the metro suit. Now, when we put in metro suit, we could have won that.

BAYOR: And this is cross-county.

PAULEY: Yes. I don't think we had a chance of keeping a line of service (inaudible) if schools stayed in separate districts. Blacks was flocking to -- and it wasn't -- the white -- another was that a lot of the schools were getting inferior. I seen them with -- my [aunt's daughter?] teaches in an all-black school in Mobile, [38:00] Alabama,

and when I sat and looked at that class, seeing the quality of work that those children did, and I wouldn't let my white child stay there.

BAYOR: So do you think the black schools let's say in a place like Atlanta did get [drearier?]?

PAULEY: Yes.

BAYOR: And what happened? I mean, did they -- the school brought --

PAULEY: There's this girls' high school when I went to Agnes Scott, and I graduated in 1927, were the best-prepared girls that came to Agnes Scott came from this high school. And the schools did [sometimes?].

BAYOR: (inaudible) education. What happened? Did the school board give less money to the black schools?

PAULEY: There's no one attacking the black schools. The white schools got the old books. They didn't even get a new book. The quality of the education is so far below -- I didn't work in black schools in Atlanta, but I worked in black schools in [as long as?] (inaudible). [39:00] And -- but I worked in [try?] schools in the town.

BAYOR: After desegregation, supposedly the schools would be integrated, so --

PAULEY: Supposedly, yes, but in fact, no. I mean, the schools were run -- they weren't going to buy a whole ton of them

books and give them to the black schools.

BAYOR: So even after integration the black schools were still being treated as second-class citizens.

PAULEY: Well, they are now. You can't -- you nearly -- it's been proven in the [DeKalb?] case. But the metro case, if we could win it, might have saved Atlanta's -- and I think it's terribly bad for schools to be economically segregated as much as it is racially segregated. But when you get in a school, black in one where my daughter teaches, where every child deserves [40:00] [the freedom?]. And rarely does a child in the school that has two parents. I'm telling you got a rough road as far as those kids have any chance, 'cause they're not going to learn from their peers.

BAYOR: No. No, I think the peer pressure would be the other way.

PAULEY: The peer pressure is going to be in the other way. Now, the strange thing about it is, in her school and a lot of the schools in Mobile, they haven't gotten the drugs into it like we have in our schools in Atlanta.

BAYOR: Just getting back to the Atlanta schools, do you think something like the Freedom of Choice plan that was tried earlier, the Board of Education made it easy or difficult to black students trying to come in?

PAULEY: They made it terribly difficult. You had to go [41:00]

through all those tests, a million tests, had to go for it time after time after time after time.

BAYOR: So what do you think the first was? The first was to make it difficult to integrate and to make an attempt to build more black schools and blacks would be happy where they were. Is that it?

PAULEY: And they had a lot of people on their side, 'cause they had a lot of black leadership on the side to do it -- the black schooling. But now -- what was I -- when was -- [Jean Fanthos?] with the [Friend?] Service Committee? And she worked on schooling surveys. She [right here?] we used to do it, (inaudible) care a lot. And then after that she worked legal defense for [Henry R.?]. But she was positive that, given the chance, the black kids would flock to the school. She was positive. I wasn't. Well, I suppose she was a [42:00] well-educated professional black person, and my association with blacks until 1954 had been nothing except cooking [the yard?] and I had heard my cook say too many times, "I don't understand why these people are fussing about the schools. I fixed out of school."

BAYOR: How good a school is the question.

PAULEY: And she didn't understand it. She could write a little bit. Her husband couldn't read a letter. So if they had a school that was white -- and so it was -- and I remember

Jean Frederick so well, how disappointed she was and how sick at heart she was because it just took [43:00] -- she would just spend -- spent a lot of time down here in town after town just trying to persuade some people to go to the white school.

BAYOR: You don't think the black kids wanted to go to a white school?

PAULEY: No, they didn't want to go to a whites school. Well, sometimes parents wanted to 'cause they wanted -- they thought they'd get a better education, and a lot of times then the kids wouldn't want to go. And sometimes the kids would want to go and parents wouldn't want them.

BAYOR: So, basically, what they wanted was not created in the black school.

PAULEY: Yes. What they -- they didn't -- that was only on account of they leave people that [want to stay?]. It wasn't -- the common people didn't realize what they didn't have.

BAYOR: But the blacks were so self-[reliant?] they upgraded anyway. I caught a few cases, for example, where they were -- where there could have been an effort to maintain the transition. I just saw [labor?] as integrated one, for example the Cascade Heights area [44:00] at one point was maintaining its white population as the blacks came in, and

the school there -- the high school -- did also. But my [hero?] thinking was that the school was allowed to deteriorate slowly. The Board of Education did not want to support an integrated school.

PAULEY: Exactly. And it's so much just to put in -- everything depended on the school board. Well, the whole quality of the integration did, and I learned that so much there because I was [born?] in Mississippi for seven years when I worked at the [fine line?] (inaudible). And if you found a superintendent and a school board that was willing to integrate, it was OK, because then they would listen to you saying, "Oh, this works here, that works there. See what kind of a plan you can work out and [45:00] do the best -- you can try Perry. You can try this, you can try that. You know all the different ways." And I'd sit down and they would talk and [Big Andy?] would sit and talk and think and burn the midnight oil. And then it happened real smooth. It was the best way to do it, is get the football coach on your side, get the football team on your side, and have them come in and give them some training, and then have the black kids that would come in -- come preview and learn where the john is and all that and have the football -- white football boys take them and show them where -- and, you know, and all this kind of stuff. I mean, we just

had a bunch of critics that we knew were --

BAYOR: And because you were white.

PAULEY: Uh-huh. And so it had people that wanted to do it.

"Oh, you could do it." And lots of places did.

BAYOR: How about John Lutson in Atlanta? [46:00] Did you --

PAULEY: I don't know, 'cause I never worked with John Lutson, so

I can't say that. I mean, it's very tough, [somebody working?]. After I was talking about -- say thing I know.

I don't think that means more to you.

BAYOR: Do you think the -- [not close yet?] -- do you think the tremendous effort of the school boards to fight integration have an effect on the quality of everybody's schooling?

Was it money, the time going into planning it?

PAULEY: It used to worry me, and I think that was certainly right by Bob (inaudible) in his book. But we used to worry being what happened to the whites. I remember once they integrated buses. And -- a little -- and the kids were standing, waiting for the bus, and the white mama was worried about her little boy, and -- [47:00] catching an integrated bus. And the black mama was worried about her little boy [recording pauses] in the office, 'cause she said, "The little girl is stopped [caring for?] me." She said, "She called me a white son of a bitch." And -- (inaudible) say the ugly -- I can't remember all that she

had said. I'm sure that they're abused -- new [friendly?] words to use. And if she's like the kids that I've always been with -- and these [textbooks?] say to the teacher, "What did you say to her?" And she said, "I told her, [48:00] 'You little black nigger, sit down in that seat and shut up your mouth.'" And the principal said to the teacher, "Well, suppose after this, you call your students by their names."

BAYOR: Where was this now?

PAULEY: And that was in South Georgia. That was nice, wasn't it? So there's nice stories that came out of it. A lot of nice [spirit?].

BAYOR: So, basically, you think that the plan to start up the high school when it was integrated was done to --

PAULEY: I think it was done just to make it difficult. I think everything was done --

BAYOR: Yeah. These people -- the whole process was to slow down as much as possible.

PAULEY: And we never could have got anywhere with that court, 'cause it was all court cases.

BAYOR: Right. In other words, by the time the blacks were able to gain some control over the school system, at least in Atlanta [49:00], there was hardly any whites here anymore.

PAULEY: That's right. There are a few whites that stuck with

the black [guests?] in school. There should be (inaudible) to talk to. She's here about the corner, and she is working around, and she kept her kids in black school. In fact, I think the little boy might -- her youngest one, who's still in high school -- he's at [Bells?] High. But right now he's in Indian office. He's intelligent. He's a (inaudible). But the -- somebody asked him when he would have been -- they were giving (inaudible) orientation on his trip. They said, "Well, how do you think you can anything [into my knowledge?] [50:00] because you're going to be American Indian, not Jewish." And he said, "Well, I'm white, then." And now ever since then I stopped [scaring?].

BAYOR: Good background for him. Do you think whites were protected in other ways? I mean, the impact -- one of the things I'm looking at is the impact that segregationist practices on health care, crime, housing, and I was curious what the -- what did whites as well as blacks lose from the segregated system? How were whites affected by all this? It was clear blacks were affected.

PAULEY: Whites were affected just as many, 'cause it's just as great a disservice to your child to teach them that they're superior as it is to teach them that they're inferior.

BAYOR: OK, but [51:00] how about in things like health care? I

mean, blacks were losing out. They were not getting the health care they needed. Were whites also suffering in terms of what was denied blacks with the segregated system? Housing? Crime?

PAULEY: Well, certainly in here. I'm thinking of early days of health care when it was so poor in this county, and the poor whites I helped to find a clinic, in fact, in the '30s because it upset me so bad because so many people were so poor. And I had two babies, and we didn't have any money but we had enough money that we would overcome things, 'cause my husband, who's a professional man, a landscape architect, you can imagine that that work was zero in the Depression. And so what we had on [recording pauses] -- [52:00]

BAYOR: Well, we should be finished sooner or later.

PAULEY: That's all right.

BAYOR: I was saying the --

PAULEY: But we established a clinic and we didn't desegregate it, and this is way back in, see, the '30s or early '40s. And so they all came to me. Now, some things was only [for cigarettes?], but we had endless money for already segregated. For instance, they had black venereal day and white venereal day, when they had the syphilis. See, that was before they had all the fancy drugs. So some things

would be segregated by -- in the way the clinic was set up. And we had black dentists and black people at the black dentists, and white dentists and white people at the white one. But then the regular medical clinic -- we was all [53:00] desegregated, and they -- grand jury came along and said we were breaking the law, that we had to start -- so we -- nobody -- everybody -- all -- only idea anybody had was to take care of sick people.

BAYOR: This was in Atlanta?

PAULEY: This was in the DeKalb County.

BAYOR: This seems to me the dual school system, dual hospital care -- I mean, that all had to affect whites too. There couldn't have been that much money because all --

PAULEY: And you see in Atlanta, the black Grady was better than white Grady, because black Grady was under Emory and was there teaching [unit?], and one of the reasons that they put that thing together was 'cause the black was better than the white.

BAYOR: Put what thing together?

PAULEY: Put -- integrated the Grady. [54:00]

BAYOR: Well, it took them a long time to do it. It wasn't till the '60s really hit.

PAULEY: They got integrated, but that's why they did it then.

BAYOR: I thought they did it also because so black doctors could

visit their patients -- the black patients -- on radios.
They weren't allowed to do it before.

PAULEY: Well, yeah. It -- we had some -- one of the little [wrap-ons?] here too, but the main, underlying thing was Emory had the black side and didn't have the white side, and the black side was better than the white side as far as their medical care, but all of the building and all of the -- you know, all the facilities were worse. And so -- and also Emory was expanding and they needed more patients, too.

BAYOR: So the black hospital quality was worse, but the medical care was better, is what you're saying.

PAULEY: Isn't that funny?

BAYOR: Yeah, very funny. One last thing: obviously you're working in [55:00] very controversial areas during this time. Was there any retaliation against those working in your organization, people fired from their jobs, harassed in any way? Did you get that at all?

PAULEY: Oh yes.

BAYOR: In what ways?

PAULEY: Oh, I just got threats all the time.

BAYOR: Anybody dismissed from positions, not hired --?

PAULEY: Well, I don't remember, but I remember a minister coming to -- my husband was Episcopalian and worshiped at the

Episcopal minister, his church. An Episcopal minister in another church came to our house, came into our house, sat down in our living room, told my husband he should stop me from going out (inaudible). My husband was so sweet. Very sweet person. He talked with. He says, (inaudible). Never got mad at me, never said anything ugly to me. They had this whole conversation [56:00] and then the man [bailed out?]. And probably Bill didn't get the opportunity to hear [in vain?], but he did get a few jobs because I did do, but -- I did do some of the things that I did, but he was a great person because he got [out there?]. He went out. [I said?] (inaudible). But I had -- but what I had phone calls. I had -- they were organized. I had bomb threats. Never had occasion for (inaudible) once. And you name it. You name it, you have it. And everybody did that worked in -- it got to be kind of a way of life. [57:00] You just couldn't -- well, I never did go as far as some of them did. There was -- they were greater than I, and I was always thinking that -- at home [but two?], but I don't think I ever stopped doing something 'cause I was scared. I didn't want to go to jail 'cause I knew it would upset my husband and my father, 'cause they don't like Negroes. I knew that they would be so upset. I didn't want to go to jail, so I always avoided jail the way a lot of

people *tried*. I don't think they tried to go to jail, but when they -- they go in like John Lewis goes and the number of times he went to jail. And the jail without bail was tried in Albany and Georgia. It didn't work. In this country, I don't think jail without bail is ever going to work, [58:00] no matter what. Not here. And I -- as far as me, personally, was concerned, I didn't care about going to jail. But, yeah, people lost their jobs. People -- preachers got put out of their churches.

BAYOR: Whites as well as blacks.

PAULEY: Just whites.

BAYOR: Whites, lost their jobs here. I would expect --

PAULEY: I know a white woman. I know a black family would put their kids in the white school and the white -- the mother and the father lost their jobs. The father never did come back home again. He left home then and she went on welfare. And this one family I know -- [not a father?]. They -- I've kept friends with them from then on. I still give them a (inaudible). [59:00] They have children and grandchildren. So -- and they said they're going to kill that [father?]. He was the first one that was black to graduate in his class, and that was fine. (inaudible). And he said he was very (inaudible). "But we got it. We got everything in the shining sun. We graduated." They

made him march last in the line and they sat him in an empty seat at graduation. I mean, I know the [Howard class?].

BAYOR: Certainly tense times, I'd say.

PAULEY: Sat with the [family?]. See, a lot of things we're thinking will take a lot of courage. For instance, I remember I sat with Dr. Nick [Balmer, Jr.?] been tried [in the house?]. [01:00:00] And that's when I (inaudible). See, a lot of times actually I went to sit with [a guy?] (inaudible). We had a big fight over sitting.

BAYOR: Well --

END OF AUDIO FILE