

FOLKWAYS RECORDS FH5502

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THE SIT-IN STORY

Mr. EDWIN RANDALL, narrator
including:

Dr. Martin Luther King
Ralph McGill
Greenfield Pitts
Peggy Alexander
Kelly Miller Smith
Philip Howerton
Dr. John R. Cunningham

REV. RALPH ABERNATHY

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The Story of the Lunch-Room Sit-Ins



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Mr. EDWIN RANDALL, narrator

Irwin Rosenhouse

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Descriptive notes are inside pocket.

THE SIT-IN STORY

PART ONE

FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTING

PRESENTS

The Story of the Lunch-Room Sit-Ins Mr. Edwin Randall, narrator

INCLUDING: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING KELLY MILLER SMITH
RALPH McGILL PHILIP HOWERTON
GREENFIELD PITTS DR. JOHN R. CUNNINGHAM
PEGGY ALEXANDER

During August of 1960 I travelled with my son, Edwin M. Randall, of Denver, Colo., a radio technician as well as teacher in the Denver schools and a member of the Rocky Mountain Conference of the Methodist Church, and John Marion, of Nashville, field director in race relations of the United Presbyterian Church, seeking the people who could give us the clearest picture of the Sit-In situation. We spent a week in Nashville, another week in Atlanta, and shorter periods in Charlotte, N.C., Raleigh, Greenboro, Duram, and a number of other places. At Atlanta we met with representatives from eight other states.

This was done to create a radio program for our Friendly World Broadcasting series, but we found it extremely popular not only with radio stations in the south as well as the rest of the country, but for the use of groups of all kinds interested in various aspects of the race situation.

It was our objective to provide as objective a picture as possible of exactly what is going on. We were moved, of course, in the choice of material, by the fact that a great deal of information was already in the hands of the general public. What we wanted was for every listener, whatever his previous convictions, to have a better understanding of exactly what is going on and why.

Friendly World Broadcasting is an enterprise which has been operated and largely financed by myself and, until her sudden death a year ago, my wife for the last six years. We distributed about 10,000 programs annually to more than 350 stations, including 56 fifty kw stations.

I have been in professional radio for twenty years, with programs on WCCO, KSTP, WRFD, WCAU, and WCAU-TV. I have also been an officer of the Juvenile Court of Cook County (Chicago), one of the secretaries of the Methodist Board of Education, Radio Director for the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP), Editorial Director of the David C. Cook Co., and an editorial writer for the Chicago Daily News.

My wife was Ethel May Rush, of Kansas City, Phi Beta Kappa, University of Kansas, who managed FWB. Since her death I have had the assistance of our two daughters as well as our son. We have eight grandchildren, in Denver, Kalamazoo, Mich., and Columbus, Ohio.

The recordings were made in homes, offices, Fisk University campus, and wherever we could locate people. I used a Nagra recorder until it broke down and then a Wollensak. There was absolutely no rehearsal of any material or even much discus-

sion before recording began. We came back to Wallingford with between ten and eleven hours of tapes.

- Edwin T. Randall

SIDE I

NARRATOR: (Mr. Edwin Randall)

There is, I am sure, a great deal more good will of Negroes for whites and of white people for Negroes throughout the south than almost anybody realizes. If this statement startles you, as I hope it does, maybe we'd better take a look together at the peculiar happenings which have been going on called Lunchroom Sit-Ins. By the middle of August, 28 cities had, because of these sit-ins, desegregated at least some lunch counters. And at that time it was announced from Washington that upon executive order of the heads of several chain variety stores, lunch counters in at least 69 more cities would be integrated. And that isn't the end. How did all this happen? It began with 4 unhappy college students in Greensborough, North Carolina. But Nashville, Tennessee, was I think the first large city to be struck with trouble and violence and to work out of it a solution which has the business people and other citizens really quite happy and rather proud of themselves. But for the real picture of what happened, let's go to Mr. Greenfield Pitts, Vice-President of Nashville's most important department-store, who certainly took a leading part in bringing peace out of chaos. Mr. Pitts, I wish you'd tell me about what happened:

MR. PITTS:

Well our sit-ins in Nashville started in February. In all fairness to the Negroes we must say that they approached the two large department stores in Nashville last year, asking for integrated facilities in the restaurants. At that time they were refused. After the sit-ins started in February, and we were subjected to quite a bit of violence in downtown Nashville, the mayor appointed a bi-racial committee. Well after the bi-racial committee report was refused, then, we had more sit-ins and we could see that they were becoming progressively worse as far as violence was concerned, as a matter of fact, the last sit-in we had I think a Negro boy came, just missed by 15 seconds of being thrown off an arcade balcony right across from one of the variety stores. So after that

NARRATOR

The violence wasn't what was created by, the Negroes were not violent themselves.

MR. PITTS:

No, no in all fairness to the Negroes, they conducted themselves admirably as far as that was concerned.

NARRATOR:

That must've surprised a lot of people.

MR. PITTS:

Oh, I'm sure it did, uh, they had very good training and they handled themselves well. Then we entered negotiations directly with the Negroes. Then we had a series I think of about 4 meetings and we came to an understanding. Actually it started with Diane Nash who was one of the student Negro leaders, who came up to see me and I approached the merchants and she approached her group and we got a meeting started.

NARRATOR:

Just the two of you first got together?

MR. PITTS:

Right.

NARRATOR:

That is, that was the first approach independently, of a Negro and white man in the situation.

MR. PITTS:

Right, the Negroes were only represented by Negroes, no whites were representing them. The only people that represented the merchants were the merchants themselves, no outside parties involved. They know what they want, they know where they will give, and what they will do. We know what we can do and as a result there's no need to have a 3rd party in it.

NARRATOR:

May I ask you, Mr. Pitts, many southern people have said to me, "Well, we know what our Negroes want."

MR. PITTS:

Well, I question that they know what the Negroes want, I think the best way to determine what the Negroes want would be to put yourself in their position and figure out what you would want, I think that'll answer most of those questions.

NARRATOR:

And you obviously thought it was a good thing since you couldn't completely put yourself in their position, to ask them what they want?

MR. PITTS:

Oh yes.

NARRATOR:

Well now how have you come out Mr. Pitts:

MR. PITTS:

Well, we are delighted that we have it behind us. If it was inevitable, why not integrate and get it over with. So we did choose the course of integration and I think everyone's satisfied now it's the accepted thing in the community and I think it's worked satisfactorily. I might add one thing, unfortunately I think that we had to go through the period of violence and in the community in that we had no white leadership to help us on this problem, before we could get the acceptance in the community for integration. Now we had to be in the position of, where it was acceptable to the white community. Now unfortunately you get that two ways, you either get it through strong leadership of whites and Negroes together, which we didn't have; or you get it through the public being subjected or seeing violence and as a result they say, "Well, it should be done." But I think we have done the right thing and it has proven successful. Now once we in-

tegrated in this community, we have had no violence whatsoever.

MR. PITTS:

Then the sit-ins, as I understand you Mr. Pitts, are the price that has to be paid when there are no channels of communication, when there's been no preparation by the moral leaders. And to understand what happens when there is violence, maybe we ought to talk to Peggy Alexander, who was one of the people who was willing to risk danger in order as you put it Mr. Pitts, to educate the community. Wasn't it at the bus station?

PEGGY ALEXANDER:

Well, the night before we went down, we had learned that the Greyhound Bus station was serving Negroes at its lunch counter. So 4 of us, Diane Nash, Stanley Hempfield, Mathew Walker and I, went down that day to eat. And when we went down we weren't expecting any trouble. We were so optimistic that we thought we would just eat, be served politely and be treated in a respectful manner and then be allowed to leave. When we got there, um we were served and a reporter came in to take a picture. And when he took the picture, a waitress came out. She was running and screaming at him and told him to leave she didn't want him in there. And she had a knife about 7 inches long. We didn't know in which direction the waitress was going. We thought perhaps she would be coming toward us but we just sat there and tried to remain at least tried to appear calm.

NARRATOR:

With this knife being paraded....

PEGGY ALEXANDER:

Yes, so we continued eating and tried not to look at her.

NARRATOR:

Could you swallow?

PEGGY ALEXANDER:

Oh yes, I could eat, I could even realize that my hamburger didn't have enough salt on it. Then, then it got worse and I didn't even know what happened to my hamburger and everything. So people started milling around and getting closer to see exactly what was happening. And we continued eating. And 5 white fellows ranging from the ages of about 18 to 22 came down and stood behind us and told us to leave and said that they had sent for a monkey cage to put the monkeys in, and we just continued eating. So when we finished eating our hamburgers we got up to leave and I was walking behind Mathew, we were going to get our coats from the coat rack and I heard something fall and then I heard some dishes and I looked back and Stanley Hempfield had been knocked down. Then the white fellow who had hit Stanley and Diane put her arm over her face, she had on her eye-glasses.

NARRATOR:

Do you think he was going to hit her?

PEGGY ALEXANDER:

It really appeared as if he would because he had turned around and his arm was raised and his fist was up and she was the only person in his area. So then the fellow turned back around to Stanley and Stanley got up and he didn't do anything or say anything, he just walked on over to the coat rack. Then Mathew put my coat on me and when I looked up, this white fellow was standing up and I thought well this is the moment and he, Mathew put his arm around my waist and moved me back and the fellow lunged forward and when he hit Mathew, Mathew fell, he was out for about 3 minutes. And when he got up, he had a cut on the side of his face and the bottom half of his two front teeth were

knocked out. So Diane and I held the fellows, helped to hold them up and I had Mathew and the only first response we could have, we didn't run or scream or anything, we just stood there and helped the fellows up, and we asked where do you go to pay the cashier.

NARRATOR:

You must've grown up in an awful hurry, Peggy.

PEGGY ALEXANDER:

Oh, I guess you could call it growing up but really it's the only method that we can use to change, because all of the experience that I have as far as segregation is concerned--that's 19 years of being a Negro in the south, all of that adds up when I go down to Sit In and it says that you have to be a mature person for the sake of knowing it myself and in my heart, that well, I really do love these people and I really do want to help to make our world and anything else become better, and then it's easy, it's not difficult and it's the only way.

NARRATOR:

You have to be pretty tough to be that way though don't you?

PEGGY ALEXANDER:

No, I'm not tough at all. I was afraid through the whole situation but I think I surprised my mother because usually I'm very much afraid of being hurt. I had to decide that I was a Negro and an American, a Christian, a human being who wanted to be considered as a human being and who wanted to be thought of as a person who gave respect and demanded respect and in this way I saw the need for maturity.

NARRATOR:

Peggy Alexander and her friends are, it would seem, quite typical of thousands of young people who have defied all that's been said about the aimlessness of the younger generation, who have risked the danger of being beaten up, or even killed and not once raised their hand in self-defense or retaliation. I have wondered, as many others must have wondered, what could cause such recklessness. Well, I asked Kelly Miller Smith, the President of the Christian Leadership Council of Nashville:

SMITH:

This is something that is very difficult to communicate. I'm not sure that it's possible for anybody who has not been subjected to the sort of thing that we have met, and this is one of the things we said to the merchants in the process of negotiation, we can understand that you can't quite understand fully what we feel, you see. Well take a person like myself coming out of the state of Mississippi, when I was I guess maybe in my lower teens when I was a student there: I had the experience of seeing a mob that came to our town looking for a Negro. Men wearing hunting clothes with guns, a barrel of gasoline, with a huge rope. A whole mob of men looking for one man who had already been wounded by a gunshot from a white man. This kind of thing, you see. Now this is something that digs deep trenches in your memory, you don't forget this kind of thing easily. I was not the person who was being sought but I was somehow involved, I think every Negro feels this way. His offense was being born black, it was being done to warn us all that we're to stay in our place, you know, this kind of thing. It's hard to single out anything in particular, it's just life. Well let's take something recent and there are just scores and scores of things, you travel along--I would probably take my family down to Mississippi tomorrow--where are you going to stop, you know?...for a rest---even in west Tennessee or Mississippi you can't even find places for restrooms. Well, you know you have little kids, I have four little kids--we get hungry along the road, what are you going to do, you've got to find a Negro restaurant somewhere,

and this isn't always easy to find. It's just a matter of living, just almost anything you try to do, almost anything you try to do, the thing stares you in the face. And somewhere along the line, something has to be done about it.

NARRATOR:

You don't think the good Lord intended it that way when he made us?

SMITH: (LAUGH)

No, I think this is a result of the freedom which God gives us -- a man's withholding of freedom from others of us is the result of the freedom which God gave him.

NARRATOR:

Many people have had the fixed idea that the Negro is a quarrelsome person, quick to violence with fist or club, with knife or gun. And yet thousands of young Negroes with such terrific emotional compulsions as these in their hearts, have participated in Sit-Ins and other demonstrations and so far as I was able to learn, not one single one of them, boy or girl, man or woman, has returned violence for violence. Or even returned hot words for insult and assault. Now, this to my way of thinking, is a major miracle of the human spirit which all of us will do well to try to understand better than any of us do at present. It was injected into racial affairs according to report by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King in the court of the bus controversy in Montgomery. Now, Dr. King, I am sure that you can throw light on this important factor for us. How did you get this idea?

KING:

Because I went with a deep concern about the social situation and finding some method that could help us grapple with the great problem of racial injustice which I was so familiar with, having been raised in the south and in a segregated society. And I never will forget about the end of my seminary career, Dr. Mordecai Johnson who at that time was President of Howard University, had just returned from India and was speaking in Philadelphia for the Fellowship Fund. I think on the whole, people have revolted against non-violence because they thought that non-violence meant quietly accepting evil and being a coward but I think it can be accepted by people who have been violent. Once they come to see that they have a weapon that is more powerful than violence, and it can restore the broken community that has developed for various reasons....

NARRATOR:

By broken community do you mean that Negroes and whites are not talking to each other about their problems?

KING:

Yes, I think that and plus the fact that segregation itself represents broken community, it represents divisions set up on the basis of race or color. And men are not able to meet each other on the level of brotherhood and on the level of true inter-group and inter-personal living. And I think that non-violence has greater power in restoring the harmony that society needs to survive.

NARRATOR:

It's very clear Dr. King, from the amazing success practically everywhere that this method of non-violence which you describe is powerful in achieving its goals. But it's also powerful in its influence upon people who practice it. For example, a seminary professor found himself participating, somewhat reluctantly to tell the truth, in a demonstration concerned with the lunch-room Sit-Downs, in which he was asked to read from the Bible, standing with a group of Negro ministers and surrounded by people who had come to the court house to buy auto licenses. But let him tell it:

PROFESSOR:

One fellow who was sort of hanging around the court

house was a little drunk, came reeling up and says, "What are you doing here?" I said, "Well, I have a little meeting." "What kind of meeting?" And I said, "Well, why don't you stay and see?" "Well I don't know what you're doin' down here..." and so on and stumbling and went away and then it sorta dawned on him that here I was a white man and here I was standing with these Negroes and he came back and says, "What're you doin' here with these..." and he used the traditional term "niggers" you know. And I said again, "Why don't you stay and see?" Well, he reeled away again. And standing next to me was a Negro boy who was a sophomore at A. and I. State University, I never did get his name, I don't know who he is to this day, but he was a little fellow and he just looked like a high school boy but he identified himself as a sophomore and I said, "What do you do?" you know. Here I am, I'm 36, I'm an ordained minister, I'm a professor at a University, I'm President of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, I'm a guy who should know these things and I turned to this sophomore in college and I said, "What do we do?" And he says, "If he hits ya, don't hit him back." (Laughter) Now here was one of these boys who had been disciplined, he'd been to the workshops, he'd learned non-violence, he'd had this ground into him, so he knew what to do and here this boy told me what to do! Then as I stood there and started to read these words, I started reading, "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven" and this half-drunk fellow who had been around came and stood about 18 inches behind me and as I read these words out of the Bible he says, "What 're ya doin' out here with these niggers, why don'tcha go back where ya belong?" "Nigger-lover" and so on. I just never read words from the Scripture with that kind of antiphonal accompaniment before. And then as soon as the Scripture was over, the minister who was presiding said "Now let us pray," and I closed my eyes and bowed my head and all I could think of was this fella 18 inches behind me and where was he going to hit me, on the head or in the back and I was really scared until all I can say is I really started to pray and then I didn't care....

NARRATOR:

You mean you weren't scared any more?

PROFESSOR:

Not really. This was a curious thing. I felt what I think many of those who have Sat In feel. That you doing, again I'd not wanted to do this, I'd really hoped I could get out of it, I didn't know what I was going to do when I got there, I was really scared but in it I just knew when I got there, this was good, this was it, this was right.

NARRATOR:

On the other hand, some of the finest people in the areas affected have some reservations about the methods being used. In Charlotte, North Carolina is Phillip Howerton, one of the most successful Insurance Agents in the U.S., formerly moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., one of the members of the Mayor's Committee which successfully met the problems of the Sit-Ins in Charlotte:

HOWERTON:

My personal feeling is this: And I think it goes back to possibly 25 years ago, when as an elder in the 1st Presbyterian Church, we on the session voted at that time to instruct our ushers, that if a Negro presented himself for that service, that he was to be seated wherever he wanted in the congregation. So my first reaction when these Sit-Down strikes came along was that if the merchants had at that time immediately served the Negroes, the whole thing would've gone up in smoke and in 2 or 3 days it would've all ben settled and forgotten. I personally Mr. Randall, do not go along with this idea of demonstrations such as we are seeing whether they be peaceful or otherwise. Now I can see a good deal of argument in the Negroes position and if I were one of them I might say that I might be right along with them but personally I am opposed to the whole pattern of demonstrations that we are seeing all over this world of ours.

NARRATOR:

Well now what happened here in Charlotte as the thing was worked out, it was settled here.

HOWERTON:

Very peacefully. One more point that I wanted to make and that is this. That I feel Mr. Randall that we have fallen down in our job in reminding the Negro that along with these rights which they certainly ought to have, that responsibilities go with those rights. Certainly he has been discriminated against, but you can't say to a man that a Welfare check is a substitute for an honest day's work. And that's the place I think that our church and our social agencies have fallen down.

NARRATOR:

Do you feel then that the movement which seems to be taking place in some places for better employment opportunities for Negroes is a step in the right direction?

HOWERTON:

I certainly do. Certainly do.

NARRATOR:

The very fact that there are sharp differences of opinion, even among those who look with satisfaction upon the changes that are being made calls for special action in a democracy which I think is perhaps best illustrated by the example for at least the last 25 years of the Atlanta Constitution and its famous publisher, Ralph McGill:

McGILL:

Well I think one thing that we try to do here on the Atlanta Constitution, is to provide for the people of the state, either a debate or a dialogue, whichever you wish to call it. It pays off. Here in our community, which is certainly a deep-south state in a hostile political climate, this city has managed, a good many years ago, to desegregate all of its municipal golf courses, its trolleys, its libraries and we've had Negro police doing very creditable jobs for around 20 years.

NARRATOR:

Right here in the middle of the deep south!

McGILL:

I think this is possible if you do have a public dialogue and let people know what's going on. In too many of the deep south states there isn't what I would call an argument, there's simple a denunciation. Any opposition voice which would say let's keep our schools open is not given an audience, it's coerced into silence. Now one thing these Sit-Ins have done, they've accomplished a great deal in a short time by using the economic and moral strength of their positions which would've taken a slow court process a good many years--they've accomplished this in less than a year.

NARRATOR:

Very remarkable.

McGILL:

Quite remarkable.

NARRATOR:

Speaking of what may lie ahead, Mrs. Martin Luther King, also has a clear idea of what she considers the ultimate goal of the present movement:

MRS. KING:

It seems to me what we are really working for is a society in which the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man becomes a reality.

NARRATOR:

Dr. John R. Cunningham, recently retired President of Davidson College was the very successful chairman of the Mayor's committee in Charlotte, N. Carolina which solved the problems created by the Sit-Ins there. Dr. Cunningham, what can you say to help us understand the future?

DR. CUNNINGHAM:

I would like to say two things: one is that I would not minimize, in fact I would magnify the place of Christian citizenship in this matter. While these people were not chosen because of their church relationships by any means, it was plain to be seen throughout the entire experience that here was the conviction of church people.

NARRATOR:

In spite of the fact that the church itself has been so segregated.

DR. CUNNINGHAM:

Yes the church has been segregated in fact but in its opinion and in its voice and in its teaching, it is strongly favorable to action.

NARRATOR:

Now you're just practicing what you've been preaching for a long while.

DR. CUNNINGHAM:

This has furnished the church a way to practice what it preached. Secondly I would feel that we have

discovered that we as white people are taking counsel or our fears. The public is far more ready I believe to do the thing that is wise and fair for our Negro citizens that we have thought they were. We have known how we've felt individually but we have been afraid of the public. When this expression took place in Charlotte, the opposing public somehow lost its voice, there was no voice to be heard. The same thing took place in Nashville. A week or two before they had people standing on the streets ready to go into a mob. When they integrated I am told there was no expression at all. The 3rd thing is that there is a much greater reservoir of good will among white southern people southern white people on this whole matter than we ourselves have realized. There is still opposition, there are still people who say, "Never, never, never!" but the public mind in Southeastern America I think is more and more inclined to realize not only that something is going to be done but that something ought to be done.

NARRATOR:

Well, this is where I came in. It's obvious now that there is a great deal more good will than almost anybody suspected. Enough to work out not only these problems but any others that may arise. If we have channels of communication open between the people who have differences, as Dr. Cunningham, Greenfield Pitts, Ralph McGill and a lot of other people have said. Lunch counters are being integrated in, according to good report more than a hundred cities already. And this isn't the end. All the violence has been before a common understanding on desegregation has been reached through conference together. Not a bit of violence afterwards up to now. Perhaps what we all need is to think more highly of one another. This is Edwin Randall of Friendly World Broadcasters.

PART TWO

SIDE II REV. RALPH ABERNATHY

(Applause) There is no armor, there is no force, there is no power, there is no militia that can give the Negroes their freedom unless they are willing to suffer for that freedom and as willing to stand up and to work and to fight for their freedom. You must be willing as a people to work for your own freedom. For no Congress, no legislation can give it to us unless we want to be free ourselves. There are 1 or 2 signs on this road to freedom which we must observe if we are truly to make this journey. And I wish to leave one or 2 of these signs with you as I go to my seat this evening. The first sign on the road to freedom says, "Where there is unity, there is strength." Unless we come together and bind ourselves together as one group, we will never be free in America. If the Negro would stand up 18 million strong along with the liberal white people of America today, we could win our freedom week after next. If we would decide that we are not going to pay to be segregated any longer, that we are not going to participate any longer in any forms of discrimination, I guarantee you we could win our freedom in America. If we would come together and decide that we are not going to just sit down at a lunch counter somewhere but we are going to sit down on America, we wouldn't have to sit down but a week and a half before some force and some power would come to our rescue. But do you know there are Negroes in Montgomery, I don't guess they're in Nashville, I believe some of 'em are tho', who are still paying their insurance and buying their insurance from white insurance agents who come in their houses without ringing the door bell, without removin' their hats and calling them by their first names -- "Susie, Molly, how much you gonna pay today." And the Negroes are keeping them in business. A few weeks ago I was in San Francisco and I walked a picket line and my heart was made to bleed as I saw Negroes crossing "No force in the world can free a people like this." unless they are determined to win their own freedom. In Pittsburgh, a young lady came up to me and she said to me, "Oh I'm so much concerned about the plight of you people down in the south and I hope that some day you will eventually get your rights, I'm very very much concerned." And I looked at her and her speech betrayed her because she had gotten a little proper brogue but there was still something Mississippian about her sound. And I said to her "How long have you been in Pittsburgh and she said "Well, uh, (began to swallow) well, I been here a year and a half." And I said "You think that you

are in the land of promise here in Pittsburgh?" She said "Oh yes we have our freedom here." I'm trying to say to you this evening my friends, as long as your face is black, I don't care whether you live in Boston, Mass. or Chittlingswitch, Alabama (laughter) you are just another Negro in America. (Applause) I don't care how much money you have in your pocket, how many degrees you have, where you live, what kind of job you occupy, you are nothing but another Negro in America, all over America and I'll venture to say as long as your skin is black, you are considered inferior all over the world. I said to Prime Minister Nkruma a few months ago "The real problem for the blacks peoples of the world today is to lift the stigma off black in the world" for it is felt all over the world as long as your skin is black that you cannot produce, that you are not capable of producing. I was in Chicago the other day and I took a non-stop jet-flight from O'Hara Field to San Francisco International Airport. I got on this plane and I had a First-Class ticket and my wife sees to it that I use the best aftershave Lotion and Cologne in the world, and I had it on. And I use Ivory soap and it lathers very well and I have one good suit, (I don't have it on tonight) but I have one good suit, and I had it on, and I got on there smellin' all right, and even the brethren in this audience must confess tonight that I look all right. I was smellin' all right and lookin' all right and I got on that plane in Chicago, you listen to me, Chicago, not Augusta, Georgia and I took my seat. And as the white passengers boarded that plane, they looked at it from center to circumference, they looked it from front to back and only after one passenger discovered that he couldn't find a seat anywhere else did he come and take one beside me. This was not in Mississippi or Georgia somewhere but this was in Chicago, Illinois and I only point that out for everywhere I go that is the case, I can have a whole seat by myself and as much comfort as I choose unless the plane is crowded. And the rest of you who travel, if you made a confession, would confess the very same thing. I don't care how many Ph. D's and LL. D's and no kind a' D's you got, and how much money you have in your pocket, you are just another Negro in America. And this mass of Negroes separated themselves from other Negroes, beating their way across the railroad tracks and feeling that

they are better than other Negroes and practicing segregation and discrimination in our own ranks is a sin before Almighty and Eternal God. And you are going to wake up one day and discover that you are no free'r as long as your skin is black than your brothers and sisters who are down in the allies of Nashville, Tennessee. We are together in this struggle. "Where there is unity, there is strength!" says the sign. We can't all be the leaders in this movement. We never would 've gotten off a base in Montgomery if we had not got behind a Martin Luther King and built the greatest religious leader in the world today. (Applause) And consequently men respect him all over the world and that is what we must do. There is too much jealousy in our ranks. Everybody wants to be the leader, unless he can be the leader he's gonna rock the boat and thwart the movement and the organization. The next sign on this road says "Leadership, leadership" For God's sake don't sell the race down the river for a pat on the back and for a mess of pottage. For too often our leaders have sold the people short, only for their own advantage in order that they might get ahead, in order that their picture might get in the paper somewhere, in order that they might be praised of man, in order that they might get somewhere, they have sold the race down the river. I by no means count myself as an example at this point, but if I had been lookin' for riches I wouldn't have to be a poor man, this evening. For they have come to me by day and by night to sell out my people. But I have said over and over again, "I would rather suffer the afflictions with the people of God than be enjoying the pleasures of sin for a season." We must have leadership in this struggle that is willing to suffer with the people. Some of you may have heard me say this, for I've told this over and over again, it was a true story, it happened to me in Montgomery: A cop drove up beside me and looked down in my car after having stopped me, at my physique, and he said to me "All right, get out Chubby" and I looked up at him and I said "My name isn't really Chubby" and then he proceeded to curse me out and said "I don't care what your name is" and I looked up at him again and said "Now I don't care what your name is either not as long as I can see that number on your badge." Then he said to me "Don't you get smart with me," and I said "Don't you get smart with me because the same law that says I must respect you as an officer of the law says that you must respect me as a citizen of the law and I helped to make that law because I'm one of the Registrars of the state of Alabama." He didn't know what I was talkin' about, I meant that I am a registered voter. And then he began to scratch his head and he looked down at me and he said to me, "Well sho' nuff tell me, who is you?" And once I had identified myself he said, "Oh Reverend I'm so sorry I'm so sorry I stopped you, you just go right on 'bout your business, I guess you're on your way to a prayer meetin'". Here he has stopped me, cursed me out, embarrassed me, called me out of my name and now he discovers that I'm a minister-leader in the movement in Montgomery and now he wants to extend me a special handout and tells me go on to my prayer meetin'. If I wasn't in this sophisticated Methodist Church I'd tell you what I said to him! (Laughter) I am nobody special and I am not looking for any special favors. I said to him, "I cannot go until I bless your soul for coming down this street behind me are the humble members of my congregation who can't speak for themselves, I must speak for them, my lessers are headed down the street behind me, the members of my choir are headed down the street behind me. You have cursed me out and then you going to curse them out and they will not have a title to their names and they will not receive the type of treatment, that now you discover that you think I'm on my way to a prayer meetin', that you wish to extend to me." For too long we have been invited down town, the big Baptist preacher, the Methodist Bishop, the Negro undertaker and one or 2 other Negroes. Down town, the Chamber of Commerce in a hotel somewhere and they serve us tea and cookies, and the Negroes have eaten all the cookies and drank up all the tea and the white men have said, "We wouldn't mind givin' you this integration! If all of the Negroes were like you! But you are different from the rest, they leave the meetin' with their chests stuck out sayin' to themselves, "You know we are different from the rest of those Negroes." The time has

passed for us to sell our people out for a cup of tea and a cookie! (Applause) What we really want is freedom in America. I get so sick and tired of traveling across the country and Negroes comin' up to me with their chests stuck out "I'm the only Negro in the City Council," "I'm the only somebody on a committee", "I'm the only Negro in this and the other." We don't want no only anything! (Applause) You don't have anything to boast of until you can get 5 or 6 Negroes on the City Council. Then let me hear you boast. Here we don't have but 4 Negro Congressmen in the U.S. of America and then we boast about the only this and the only other. There is nothing for us to do but to get on this road to freedom and observe these signs. The 3rd sign on the road to freedom says that if you will reach your destination, then you must be willing to suffer. You must be willing to suffer. I wish that I could assure you this evening that you won't lose your job, but you may lose it. I have no guarantee to offer. They lost their jobs in Montgomery, Alabama during the bus protest. These were maids, cooks and butlers who lost their jobs there. They lost their jobs when they closed the parks in Montgomery but now we're talking about integrating the schools and the student Sit-Ins have scared the life out of the teachers in Montgomery, Alabama. And now they come to us over and over again asking us to please slow down the movement. They don't want to lose their teaching jobs. Let me tell you something this evening and I know that I'm too hard on you tonight but there are some nights I have hard nights. But let me tell you something, I know I should have it sweeter with Jim Lawson here, I ought to have a little sweet speech but I can't do any better, it's a part of me. Let me tell you that it's no more for a school teacher to lose her \$500 a month job than it is for a butler to lose his \$15. a week job! (Applause) It all adds up the same, he has to live out of his and you have to live out of yours. You must be willing to suffer along the wayside. I stand here this evening, my home has been bombed, my wife and my daughter was almost killed in it, my church has been dynamited. And when Martin Luther King left Montgomery, Alabama, the other day, he wanted me to go to take over the directorship of the Southern Leadership Conference but it cost us \$50,000 to rebuild our church after the bombing and I couldn't go off and leave those struggling people who were still struggling with that load there in the heat of the day. My party has been attacked, like the Apostle Paul I bear in my body the bruises and the scars of the soldier of the Cross and a follower of the Lamb. I been locked up in jail as a criminal, I been called everything but a child of God. My head is bloody, but heaven knows, it's unbowed because I have a Saviour who told me to go one day and He said "If you go I'll go with you," and durin' the darkest hours of our movement He has been right there by my side. And I'm a living witness to the fact this evening that He will never leave you alone. If you would be free you must be willing to suffer for that freedom. My credit has been cut off. My deacons came the other day and said to me, (Yes I have two suits hanging over my head, a suit from the City Commissioners suing me for one-half million dollars and I counted my money before I came over here tonight and I have \$4.73! (Laughter) one-half million dollars. And then the Governor of the State of Alabama says that he is going to file suit against me now for 100 thousand dollars simply because my name appeared on an ad in the New York Times soliciting funds to defend Martin Luther King. But in the midst of all this I'm not tired and I'm not turning around. They indicted Martin Luther King in Montgomery for income tax evasion, but you heard the news Saturday afternoon, got through a white jury, not a Negro jury but a white jury, not a jury on which you had a single Negro but an all-white jury, not a jury in a Northern state but in Montgomery, Alabama, set Martin Luther King free! (Applause) What I'm really trying to say to you children is: to walk on in the faith knowing that you will never walk alone. Know that world opinion today is on your side. All over the world, men and women are looking to America and they see what America is doing here. And know that the Constitution of the United States is on your side. I say to you "Walk together children, don't you get weary for there's a great camping meeting in the Promise Land.