RACE AMITY: A PRIMER ON AMERICA'S OTHER TRADITION

RACE AMITY

America's Other Tradition

A PRIMER

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FRONTISPIECE: Sculpture Rendition of *Two Men Meet* (Daniel O'Connell and Frederick Douglass) by Andrew Edwards. Commissioned in 2015 by Hope Initiatives International and the National Center for Race Amity. Photograph by Jack Rummel.

Dedication

We dedicate this effort to the vision presented by Abdul Baha* in His visit to the United States of America in 1912 and later in His call for the creation of America's first National Race Amity Convention in 1921. One of the enduring aspects of the 1912 visit is an invocation He offered which syncs with the hopes of the Great Seal of America, "E Pluribus Unum"— Of Many, One.

"Confirm this revered nation to upraise the standard of the oneness of humanity, to promulgate the Most Great Peace, to become thereby the most glorious and praiseworthy among the nations of the world."[1]

*Abdul Baha, Son of Baha'u'llah,
Founder of the Bahá'í Faith

With loving gratitude for
The combined ninety years of
affection and management to our lives by
Marcia Jean Smith and June Manning Thomas.
And with special appreciation to our friend
Lance Hidy for his graphic expertise
in preparing this book.

Smitty & Richard

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2019

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prim.er (**prim'er**) n. 1. An elementary textbook.
2. A book that covers the basic elements of any subject.

ABOUT THIS PRIMER

Introduction and Purpose

This primer is written to provide an introduction to an unexplored perspective for study, to be followed by taking action around the concept of the "other tradition," to address our country's most vital and challenging issue, racial and cultural prejudice. The writers fervently wish that those taking the time to read, study, and discuss these pages will be moved to continue their journey in moral service towards *E Pluribus Unum*, with assurance from that simple "Right is might" axiom.

The thesis of "The Other Tradition" is based on historical observation and moral truths that are the framework of this primer. The original thesis of "The Other Tradition" was put forth in *Understanding Interracial Unity—A Study of U.S. Race Relations*, published in 1996 by primer co-author Richard W. Thomas.

The Other Tradition is those actions that have taken place during the course of our national history that are based on the moral principle of the organic oneness and unity of humankind. The Other Tradition has been a constant parallel to the social construction of racism in America. A key element of The Other Tradition and the propellant for its success is amity. Amity is one of the hallmarks of The Other Tradition. In the context of human relationships, it is easily understood why amity or, more familiarly, friendship, is a central ingredient to the conduct of progressive action for racial equity and justice. This is because there are two primary affinity relationships in human affairs. The first is love and caring for family. The second is love and caring for friends. To the extent that amity exists among people, there

is a genuine commitment and support that includes willingness to take risks and engage in personal sacrifice.

This primer offers details on this dynamic in historic occurrences. Along the way, we offer the reader the opportunity to reflect on these events and instruction they offer to the conduct of contemporary work to promote access, equity, and social justice. We are well aware that we must be cautious in advancing this historical theory of American race relations. Our purpose is simply to share historical examples of interracial and multiracial cooperation, harmony, and amity as lessons for fostering racial amity in contemporary America. The primer's intent is that the reader will be reinforced in resolve to take ongoing action to insure the continuation of this dynamic, which is critical to overcoming racial and cultural prejudice.

A Brief Introduction to the Authors

My Mentor and Friend Richard W. Thomas, Ph.D.

A familiar observation among African Americans is if you are black and over 50, you were likely "the first" at something. And so more than 45 years ago, my younger brother of 13 years, Richard, would be one of the black children in the first wave to integrate the Greenville County, South Carolina public schools in the fall of 1964. The Greenville desegregation plan called for a long-term gradual program of public school integration, starting in first grade and enrolling a new first grade class each successive year. The black community prepared for this ill-conceived, federally approved plan by selecting young children, some only five-years-old, to assault the monstrous cancer of race prejudice. Rickey and others were precious little Davids, thrown into battle against the Goliaths of a warped social pathology. The black community mustered its resources to move forward in the fight for access and equity.

Springfield Baptist Church served as a staging site for preparing the miniature heroes for their roles in integrating the all-white schools. The Greenville Bahá'í community, in which I would later enroll, sensing an opportunity to further put their beliefs in social justice and equity to work, requested that one of the many summer youth service projects that are a tradition in the Bahá'í community take place in Greenville. A part of the work-service for the small corps of local and visiting Bahá'í teenagers and young adults would be to tutor my brother and his fellow mini-freedom fighters. The tutors would work with the tiny torchbearers to fine-tune their reading and math skills to insure their academic success in the new and expected hostile school environment. The daily three-hour tutoring sessions were held in the basement of the church.

True to the Bahá'í modus operandi, a racially diverse group of six teenagers and young adults, ages 18 to 25, arrived in Greenville. They would join as tutors with high school and college youth from Springfield Baptist Church, me among them. Two of the visitors would become lifelong friends—Douglas F. Ruhe, a smart, brash, white college student from Kansas who had an incredible intensity for promoting social justice; and my mentor in blackness, Richard W. Thomas, a slight 25-year-old Marine veteran, whose thick Coke-bottle bottom glasses and erudite manner announced his incredible grasp of African History, but belied his street smarts and pugilistic skills.

It was from Richard Thomas that I first heard the phrase "Black History." He enthralled a small group of my Greenville friends and me with stories of the ancient African civilizations in Mali and Timbuktu. His natural ease and mesmerizing storytelling drew my admiration and youthful allegiance. His bold articulation of the beauty and greatness of being of African descent, integrated with a genuine embrace of his white fellow youth in the service project, presented the reality of the nobility inherent in human beings.

Since our first meeting more than 50 years ago and during his outstanding life-long commitment to racial unity through his professorship at Michigan State University, Richard has continued to educate about and inspire amity and unity. He has written numerous books on race relations in the United States and received national recognition as a historian and for his service and mentorship to scores of young people. Throughout our friendship I have enjoyed Richard's support, encouragement, and mentorship. Perhaps the sweetest rewards for Richard's unwavering commitment and service to the principle of the oneness of humanity are his four grandchildren Mobin, Adib, Marzia, and Amil, who are of African American, Persian, Native and Euro backgrounds. I am honored to co-author this primer with and introduce this visionary champion whose life work has helped move us towards "*E Pluribus Unum*."

William H. "Smitty" Smith, Ed. D.
As the project creator for the documentary for public television, An American Story: Race Amity and The Other Tradition, *Smitty was Co-Executive Producer, Senior Writer, and a Segment Producer for production.*

My Spiritual Brother and Friend, William H. "Smitty" Smith, Ed.D.

In the summer of 1964, I was part of an interracial Bahá'í youth group from various parts of the country who spent that summer tutoring African American children in Greenville, South Carolina. That was the summer that I met a dynamic, just-graduated-high-school African American named Smitty, who was destined to transcend the brutal segregation of a city that housed Bob Jones University and unabashedly nurtured soul-killing racism. He played a vital role in national desegregation through being, along with two teammates, the first to integrate Division

I football in the Old Confederate South at Wake Forest College (now University) as featured in a *Sports Illustrated* cover story.[1]

Smitty and I kept in contact over a 50-plus-year friendship, during which I had the opportunity to observe with a "big-brotherly pride" his many impressive achievements, from being an unarmed decorated platoon medic during the Vietnam War, when some of his close friends went to Canada and jail, to earning a doctorate in education, to career paths in education and media, which included becoming an inner-city school principal at 26, a television station president, and a nationally acknowledged producer of educational programs for children and widely respected documentary filmmaker on African Americans in World War II.

Running through all these achievements, like a golden thread, is Smitty's constant devotion to the promotion of racial amity. For well over five decades, he has, via numerous venues and projects, brought people of diverse racial, religious, cultural, and social backgrounds together to partake of the feast of their common humanity. As Founder and Executive Director of the National Center for Racial Amity, he has rekindled in the national consciousness America's first National Race Amity Conference, held in 1921, by restarting it in Boston in 2011. He cast a wide net over a diverse spectrum of eager and willing agents of social change and brought them together in conferences to share their thoughts and visions of how best to promote amity, unity, and love among all peoples.

Richard W. Thomas, Ph.D.

Dr. Thomas initiated the historical field of study and thesis of "The Other Tradition" in the seminal work referenced above, Understanding Interracial Unity—A Study of US Race Relations, *as part of the* Sage Series on Race and Ethnic Relations. *He also served as Senior Historian to the documentary film project* An American Story Race Amity and The Other Tradition.

Premise and Overview of The Other Tradition

We have long since reached the point in the history of race relations in the United States where we realize that race relations will not substantially improve unless a critical mass of concerned people from all racial and cultural backgrounds decides to place race amity and equity as a priority moral value in their everyday lives, not one that is invoked only in periodic racial crises. This means we must position amity as key to building a multiracial society based on justice, interracial unity, harmony, and love. To propel our collective movement towards *E Pluribus Unum*, our nation's original motto, nothing less will suffice. As the reader absorbs these words, millions of people from a wide mix of racial, religious, cultural, and economic backgrounds are busy lighting their candles to dispel the darkness of racial hatred, conflict, and tension. A small stream of interracial workers has kept the torches burning to light the way through the twisting corridors of America's racial history. Unfortunately, the persistence and resilience of American racism have effectively kept these workers from influencing the masses of Americans.

For example, few Americans are familiar with the history of the interracial struggle for racial justice and the role it has played in shaping American race relations. Understandably, the history of racial oppression is better known, as racial minorities and progressive whites have had to study this aspect to better equip themselves to combat racism. Meanwhile, The Other Tradition has not been emphasized as a key element in affecting lasting change in race relations. Few are aware of this parallel side of American race relations—the interracial struggle for racial justice and the early cooperative efforts among blacks and whites for the social and economic advancement of African Americans.

This pattern of amity and collaboration was similarly engaged within the struggle by other minority groups in their relationships with white allies. Both have included the development of

friendship, love, harmony, and fellowship within various religious communities. The Other Tradition of American race relations has the greatest potential to inspire and promote access, equity, and social justice in our nation. We must give time to understanding this rarely mentioned, yet critically valuable, *Other* Tradition and apply its lessons to help us break out of the recurring cycles of racial polarization and conflicts. The study and reflection on The Other Tradition by individuals and organizations will help us move race dialogues from what we call the blame/grievance/rejection cycle, which centers on blaming whites for the racial status and grievances that must be addressed, which is then rejected by whites, to one of amity, conciliation, access, and equity.

This primer is based on the belief that the more we know about the history of cross-racial and cross-cultural amity and cooperation, the better equipped we will be to improve race relations, now and in the future. We hope that learning about and acting upon the lessons of this history will contribute to changing some of the firmly-held racial attitudes and behavior of those souls who have lost faith in the possibility of improving race relations in America. Our wish is that study of The Other Tradition will serve as an affirmation to those dedicated to pursuing equity and access for all.

Among the valuable historical lessons for racial minorities in this primer is that throughout the history of white racial oppression there were always white allies who stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the struggle for equity and racial justice. These interracial friendships and struggles created countless bonds of genuine love and affection and transcended the racist actions that constantly bore down upon them. We pray that young African Americans and other minorities, whether on college campuses or inner-city streets, who are unfamiliar with or have lost faith in Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream of the "Beloved Community" of blacks and whites struggling together against racial oppression, will find in this primer convincing and inspiring

examples of the power of racial amity. This primer also offers whites a chance to lay claim to their greatest historical legacy in the area of race relations. They will discover that, as pervasive as white racial oppression has been, there were always bands, however small, of bold and courageous whites who chose to stand with their black brothers and sisters, and later with other racial and culturally oppressed groups, in the struggle for racial justice. Many of these whites understood the historical connection between their participation in the early interracial struggles and the spiritual transformation of American society. In early American history, they could see that racial oppression prevented African Americans from joining in the "great American dream." Throughout the history of the struggle for racial justice and the advancement of African Americans—from the anti-slavery movement to the present day coalitions—progressive whites have made decisive moral choices that have placed them on the side of justice and moral decency. Whites in today's generation and coming generations need to know this history, so they will be motivated not by guilt, but by a firm knowledge that they can claim their birthright and join the contemporary struggle for racial justice through amity, harmony, and fellowship.

One of the things we find troubling is best illustrated in an experience encountered during a presentation at a private Jewish school. When the students were asked to name heroes and heroines of the Civil Right Movement, only the names of blacks were called out. Even with coaxing, it took time to get someone (an adult) to shout out the name Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel. More coaxing brought out the names Schewner and Goodman. This lack of awareness of white moral heroes and heroines is repeated and is not unusual. For example, when grade school student are asked about heroes of the Underground Railroad, they all say Harriet Tubman, but have no clue of who Thomas Garrett, her close white friend and collaborator, was. This represents a sad state of young whites not having moral legacies as

a point of reference in the struggle for access and equity.

One of the visions that drives this primer is our experience with young people who have learned the lesson of racial amity. Over the years, Richard taught courses that focused on the history of racism and the history of interracial cooperation and unity, to prepare students for life in an increasingly racially and culturally diverse global community. Many of these students have gone on to dedicate their lives to the struggle for racial justice and racial amity. We envision a realistic opportunity for a greater transference of these moral precepts as the cross-racial/cross-cultural association of youth is accelerated through technology and social media.

The United States, as one of the first multiracial democracies in the modern world, has a major role to play in demonstrating to the world how a very diverse population can live, work, and play together, and, by doing, can lift the entire society to new heights of human interaction. The world has been watching race relations in the United States for centuries. They have seen the worst side of our racial history. The other, less-known side—the struggles of The Other Tradition—has gone largely unnoticed. We think it is vital that this aspect of who we are as an American nation be shared as well.

A few scholars and social commentators, recent among them, Anna Lisa Cox, author of the wonderful historical narrative *A Stronger Kinship: One's Town's Extraordinary Story of Hope and Faith*, have changed the traditional focus on race relations to The Other Tradition. We have harvested many of their examples in this primer. Their lessons are vital to assisting the embrace of cross-racial and cross-cultural amity, particularly as they were carried out by everyday people.

These positive interactions hold the greatest promise, not just for better race relations in the United States, but for better human relations worldwide. The United States is a human laboratory that has been engaged in one of the greatest experiments in mul-

tiracial interaction in history. As the world continues to shrink into a neighborhood of increasing interdependency, where the quality of interaction will determine the quality of our lives, we must learn the lessons of amity, harmony, love, fellowship, and unity, or we will perish. The history of interracial amity in the United States can provide some valuable lessons to the world.

Accepting a positive approach to the present state of race relations will not be easy. Given the challenging state of race relations in the United States, the reader would be justified in dismissing the history of interracial harmony as irrelevant. The heart of the issue is racism, racial polarization and fragmentation. How will it address the issues of poverty, crime, and hopelessness? How will it confront the still formidable barrier of white racism, which all too often blocks the path of racial minorities struggling to pull themselves out of poverty and misery? How will The Other Tradition bridge the widening gap between predominantly minority central cities and white suburbs, these two "alien nations," that, for at least a generation, have lost touch with their common humanity?

Given some of the views of experienced scholars of contemporary race relations, it is hardly surprising that the average American of any color would have faith in cross-racial and cross-cultural amity and harmony. Most contemporary scholars and commentators agree that racism continues to be a formidable problem in American society, yet there is little consensus as to what should be done. Although they all agree that racism is still a major problem threatening to dog our tracks into the future, they do not refer to that part of our past that might offer us some answers. It is almost as if they believe that all the past and present can show us are the failures of policies, the lack of political will, or both. How do we develop political will to address residential segregation in a racially polarized and fragmented society? We are taking a different path. We are asking if there are lessons we can learn from countless examples of cross-cultural

collaboration in working out these problems in various settings at various times.

The darkest periods of brutality and racial intolerance in our history were overcome through the power unleashed by The Other Tradition. It is because of this reality we focus on amity as an agent of change. If there has ever been a need for understanding the best of our interracial and multiracial history, it is now, when we are so sorely lacking bold and courageous examples of interracial unity and harmony in pursuit of racial justice. We see no other way out of the present racial crisis but to tap into this tradition and, armed with a belief in the organic unity of the human race, to go forth and fashion a movement for cross-racial and cross-cultural amity. Without such a firm belief and a movement to carry it forth to millions of people of all racial backgrounds, crime and hopelessness will increase the gap between minority-populated central cities and white suburbs. Another generation of Americans will move even farther away from their common humanity. We must learn from and build on our common history of amity, collaboration, and cooperation.

The thesis of "The Other Tradition" is based on historical observation and moral truths which are the framework of this primer. It provides a general overview of cross-racial amity and cooperation in the United States. The original thesis of "The Other Tradition" was put forth in *Understanding Interracial Unity—A Study of U.S. Race Relations*, book published in 1996 by primer co-author Richard W. Thomas.

Cornerstones of the Primer

The primer is organized into four chapters, or cornerstones. These cornerstones share events in United States history that give The Other Tradition form and substance. While we use historical periods as a frame of reference, this primer is not intended to be a comprehensive historical study of interracial unity and

cooperation. Rather, it is designed as a primary reference to encourage readers to more carefully examine the valuable lessons to be learned from nearly 400 years of cross-racial collaboration in America and become committed to make their contributions in ways that are meaningful to them.

The Cornerstones

Cornerstone One, *The Other Tradition, From Colonial Times to the Revolutionary Period*, gives the reader detailed examples of close collaboration and amity and their outcomes in various early American historical settings that were seminal in establishing The Other Tradition.

Cornerstone Two, *19th Century Profiles in The Other Tradition* examines the role of whites in the interracial struggle for racial justice and the advancement of African Americans in the 19th Century.

Cornerstone Three, 20th Century Profiles in The Other Tradition, looks at cross-racial collaboration among African Americans, Euro Americans, Latino Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. This segment further explores white role models from the 20th Century, whose impact to advance access, equity, and social justice in still felt in the 21st Century. White readers can reflect on and make choices to perpetuate racial injustice by ignoring these examples or to emulate them in some personal manner through engaging The Other Tradition.

Cornerstone Three also can be helpful to non-Euro Americans who have neglected to fully appreciate the proven contributions of white allies and feel no reason to invite or be receptive to whites in the interracial struggle for racial equity and justice.

Cornerstone Four discusses the work before us in the 21st Century as we continue towards *E Pluribus Unum*. It shares initiatives that model The Other Tradition and includes resources the reader can use in working to bridge the race divide.

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CORNERSTONE TWO

19th-Century Profiles in The Other Tradition

Anti-Slavery Societies

The anti-slavery movement provided the first large-scale opportunity for the development of black-white cooperation and anti-racism. For all of its failures, flaws, and shortcomings in relation to many of its grand ideals, the anti-slavery movement was the seedbed that produced some of the first examples of blacks and whites working together.

The early abolitionist movement between the colonial period and the founding of the first meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in December 1833 in Philadelphia failed on two basic counts: It was moderate and conciliatory, and no blacks or women held membership in its organizations.[22] As Quarles points out, however, "the early abolitionist movement was by no means barren of accomplishment. It had rescued hundreds of Negroes illegally held in bondage...[and] showed an interest in the free Negro, particularly in his education."[23]

One such abolitionist society, the New York Anti-Slavery Society, focused its primary attention on supporting and maintaining schools for free African Americans. The African Free School was among the society's greatest work, and New York abolitionists took great pride in it. This school produced the most celebrated African American artist of the 19th Century, Ira Aldridge, "who played Othello at the Royal Theatre in London before he reached thirty and was the rage of Europe for a quarter of a century."[24]

The abolitionists in Pennsylvania also contributed to the educational development of African Americans when the state failed to do so. In 1802, the state provided public schools for whites. Yet no public school existed for blacks until 1820, when abolitionists donated a building in response to state officials who claimed that they could not educate blacks because they lacked funds for a facility.

These early abolitionists contributed to the social and economic well-being of free blacks in their communities. And, no doubt, there were many cases of genuine interracial cooperation in the educational projects these abolitionists established on behalf of free blacks—a type of interracial relationship we will explore in a later chapter. It was not these early white abolitionists who laid the foundation for the genuine black-white cooperation that would come to characterize The Other Tradition of race relations, however.

The anti-slavery movement that emerged in the early 1830s became the seedbed for the type of interracial unity and cooperation that would characterize The Other Tradition of race relations. As Quarles argues, "Thus, did abolitionism take on a new character, a direct confrontation, not a flank-attack on slavery. Impelled by a sense of urgency hitherto missing, these new spokesmen [and women] insisted that the nation face up to the question. Believing that they best served their countrymen by rebuking them for their faults, they were determined to rivet public attention on an issue most people would have preferred to ignore."[25]

This more radical anti-slavery movement produced more radical white allies, such as William L. Garrison, the Grimke sisters, and John Brown. These and other white abolitionists did not just work on behalf of blacks but worked with them, drew support from them, and interacted with them as friends and allies, not simply as wards. There were still problems at this stage of black-white cooperation, but the problems were a developmental phase

of a new and more balanced interracial relationship rather than the unbalanced, paternalistic interracial relationship that characterized the earlier abolitionists' relationship to free blacks.

The establishment of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 paved the way for this new development in interracial cooperation. But the radically changing racial climate that forged this new stage included the publication in 1829 of Walker's appeal to slaves to rise and the 1831 Nat Turner Rebellion. Black-white cooperation during this time was tested to the limit, but it survived.

William Lloyd Garrison

William Lloyd Garrison was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts 1805 and died May 23, 1879. Being as an apprentice compositor for *Newburyport Herald* newspaper Garrison and later became the co-founder and editor of *The Liberator* which was the most vocal paper voicing anti-slavery sentiment during the Abolitionist era and was one of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison was considered a radical in his time as he called for slavery to be abolished immediately.

No sooner had William Lloyd Garrison "launched his anti-slavery offensive" in 1831 than "Negro abolitionists responded with warm enthusiasm."[26] Writing to Garrison in March 1831, James Forten, a rising black star in the abolitionist movement, commended his white comrade for the effect his radical stand on slavery was exerting on black youth. It "has roused up a Spirit in our young people that had been slumbering for years."[27] In the early years of this new, more radical phase of the anti-slavery movement and blackwhite cooperation in that movement, Garrison personified the new, more radical role of whites.

The first indication of this more balanced role in interracial cooperation occurred when Garrison reversed his stand on African colonization, which many blacks opposed. Garrison soon

William Lloyd Garrison (December 10, 1805–May 24, 1879) abolitionist and close friend of Fredrick Douglass and other black abolitionists, and publisher of *The Liberator* abolitionist newspaper

James Forten (September 2, 1766–March 4, 1842) a wealthy businessman whose innovative design of ship sails made him prosperous, was a founding financial underwriter for *The Liberator* published by William Lloyd Garrrison. This collaboration advanced the message of liberation and equity.

became one of the most beloved white abolitionists with in the black community. J. McCune Smith, a black doctor and abolitionist, reflecting on the love affair between Garrison and blacks, commented that it was "hard to tell which loved the other the most, Mr. Garrison the colored people, or the colored people Mr. Garrison.'."[28] As he traveled from city to city, Garrison's talks on anti-slavery were geared to the concerns of his black listeners. Sensitive to many free blacks' opposition to colonization, he relentlessly attacked this project, "doing much to dislodge it from the abolitionist movement."[29] Garrison's ardent support for the anti-slavery cause, particularly his attacks on African colonization, provided early impetus for some of the strongest bonds

of interracial cooperation. As Quarles points out, "The Negro response to this 'Daniel come to judgment' was immediate and full."[30] This response was demonstrated in the manner in which blacks supported Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator.* It was in this reciprocal relationship that one sees the development of the first fruits of The Other Tradition expressed as interracial cooperation.

From the very beginning, blacks supported Garrison's newspaper. Even before the first edition appeared, black abolitionist James Forten sent payment for 27 subscriptions, which "enabled Garrison and his publishing associate, Isaac Knapp, to buy the necessary ream of paper."[31] Garrison later mentioned that he doubted whether *The Liberator* would have come into being had Forten not provided assistance at that crucial time. Several weeks later, Forten sent $20 for more subscriptions. Black support made the crucial difference for *The Liberator* during its first three formative years. In 1834 whites represented only one fourth of the 2,300 subscribers.[32] Black agents for *The Liberator* made up another vital link in the interracial cooperative chain between Garrison and the black community.

Another product of the interracial cooperation between Garrison and the black community was his trip abroad in spring 1833. The purpose of the trip was to spread the new gospel of freedom, raise money for a black manual labor college, and attack the fund-raising drive of Elliot Cresson of the American Colonization Society. These efforts could not have been undertaken without interracial cooperation, because Garrison had no money and few among his black supporters at the time had the clout and influence of a white radical abolitionist such as Garrison. Black individuals and organizations took up a collection to send Garrison on this mission. The Colored Female Religious and Moral Society of Salem sent presents and a group of black youth, the Juvenile Garrison Independent Society, presented Garrison with a silver medal just before he set sail.

The black support within this cooperative relationship extended to England. After four months in England, Garrison had no money to return to the United States. He was rescued by Nathaniel Paul, a black Baptist clergyman on a fund-raising trip in the British Isles on behalf of the Wilberforce settlement in Canada. Paul lent Garrison $200 to return home. In a letter to fellow abolitionist Lewis Tappan, Garrison told how Paul's assistance kept him from begging to obtain funds to return home. After his return to Boston, his black friends held a public reception for Garrison at Marlboro Chapel.[33]

As a radical white abolitionist, Garrison often put his life on the line for the anti-slavery cause. This role bonded him to blacks. In turn, blacks not only supported his projects, such as his newspaper and his trip abroad, but they also provided him with protection while at home. "Negroes sought to protect Garrison from bodily harm." Quarles writes, "Fearing that he might be waylaid by enemies, they followed him late at night whenever he walked the three miles from his office to his Roxbury home, Freedom Cottage."[34] Garrison, who believed in nonresistance, was unaware of these unsolicited protectors "armed with their cudgels to protect him."[35]

During this early period, Garrison was to many blacks the premier white ally and friend in the struggle against slavery and racial prejudice. He and his black coworkers contributed to the development of a new stage of interracial cooperation. As his work in the anti-slavery movement continued, blacks showered him with appreciation. Some blacks named their sons after him; for example, David Walker's son was christened Edward Garrison Walker. Black organizations in Boston and New York "bore the name of Garrison in their titles" and the famous black painter, Robert Douglas, Jr., "completed a lithographic portrait of Garrison, copies of which sold for 50 cents to further the cause."[36]

Garrison was not the perfect ally. He had many shortcomings

and would, like many white abolitionists of his time, run afoul of major black leaders of the time. But "whatever the catalogue of his shortcomings, his unswerving championship of human rights marked him a providential figure in an age when the force of slavery and anti-slavery met head-on in America."[37]

Garrison could be considered one of the main pillars of the other tradition of race relations during this phase of the anti-slavery period. Upon hearing the eloquent speaking of Frederick Douglass regarding slavery Garrison reached out and invited Douglass to be a regular feature speaker and writer on the abolition of slavery. During that period they worked together as black and white brothers and coworkers under the banner of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, traveling together, sharing platforms, breaking bread, and sharing the burdens of wear, tear, and physical abuse and verbal ridicule. The relationship of these two men was one of the most impressive examples of interracial cooperation during the anti-slavery movement. Even after their split in 1851 over differences, including Douglass' starting his own newspaper, *The North Star*, their earlier years of working together continued to contribute to the creation of bonds of interracial cooperation.

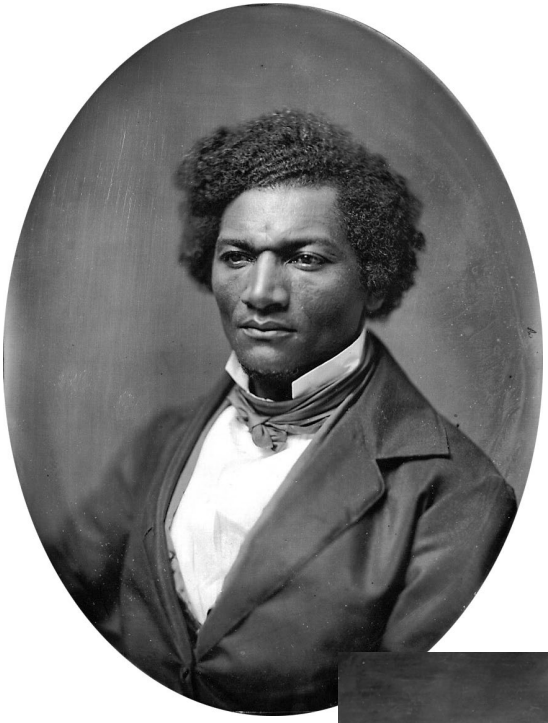
Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass was the architect of his own destiny. He emancipated himself by escaping while disguised as a sailor which was a common avocation of blacks in that era. Not knowing the exact date of his birth he chose February 14, 1818. Douglass became a powerful leader as well as one of the chief architects of interracial cooperation within the anti-slavery movement. By the early 1840s, he had become the "prize exhibit" of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, presenting public lectures on his experiences as a slave. The society hired him as a lecturer, and in

that role he contributed to its credibility not only as an anti-slavery organization but also to its credibility as an organization in which blacks could participate.[38]

Douglass came on the anti-slavery scene at a time when the movement was in the process of being transformed from one dominated by wellmeaning but paternalistic whites who believed in moral suasion, gradualism, and segregation within their organizations, to one in which blacks were not only accepted but played a key role. This "new spirit of abolitionism" found "its widest expression in the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia on December 4, 1833."[39] According to Quarles, "No public gathering of abolitionists was more memorable than this three-day organizational meeting at Adelphi Hall."[40] Blacks played major roles at this organizational meeting and in the organizational meetings of the affiliates of this new parent society. The new national anti-slavery organization provided a vehicle for increased interracial cooperation between blacks and whites. Several weeks after the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Female Anti-Slavery Society was born. Lucretia Mott was its guiding spirit. Four African American women were among those who signed the society's charter. Of these women, Sarah M. Douglass was the most widely known. The others were Harriet Purvis, Sarah Forten, and Margaretta Forten. Sarah M. Douglass and two white abolitionist sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, also contributed to the establishment of The Other Tradition by the genuineness and quality of their interracial friendship and cooperation.[41] This was the state of interracial cooperation within the circles in which Douglass found himself by the 1840s. He was fortunate to join the movement at this stage of its interracial development, because it provided him with an unprecedented opportunity to contribute to this evolving tradition and to carry on its legacy.

In his role as the society's prize exhibit, Douglass joined an interracial band of abolitionists who traveled and lectured



Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), African-American former slave, social reformer, abolitionist, orator, writer, and statesman

Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), Irish politician, known as The Liberator because of his leadership for emancipation of Irish Catholics.

together, presenting one of the few examples of interracial cooperation seen by most Americans.

This circle included John Collins, the general agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society (who convinced the organization to hire Douglass as lecturer), William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, the famous black abolitionist, Charles Lenoz Remond, born free and the first black lecturer against slavery, Parker Pillsbury, a former Congregational pastor who had left his church for the anti-slavery cause, and Wendell Phillips.[42]

Notwithstanding his later differences with the Garrisonians, triggered in part by his decision to start his own newspaper against the advice of Garrison, Douglass' work as an abolitionist helped weave the fabric of interracial cooperation within the movement. He continued to work within interracial circles even when tensions between some black and white abolitionists were increasing over blacks' "more frequent demands for ideological and political independence."[43]

Douglass was a devoted supporter of the women's movement which expanded and strengthened the networks of interracial cooperation. Because of the great unpopularity of the women's movement in certain circles, many feminists linked their struggle to the anti-slavery movement "in order to get before a reform-conscious abolitionist gathering and present a public airing of women's grievances."[44] Black leaders, on the other hand, aware of the benefit of allying themselves with these militant women, some of whom, like the Grimke sisters, ranked with the best of the male anti-slavery workers and far surpassed them in certain areas of anti-slavery activities. This alliance, which at times had its problems, nonetheless increased and enhanced interracial cooperation. Douglass was exposed to women's active involvement in the anti-slavery movement early in his career as an abolitionist, which influenced his pioneering linkages with the women's movement. Shortly after his trip to Ireland and meeting with Daniel O'Connell, the Emancipator of Ireland, which

is discussed shortly, Douglass went to the first convention for equal rights for women, held in Seneca Falls, New York. He was the only man among thirty-seven present who supported the then very radical suffrage resolution. He spoke at the first national women's rights convention held in Worcester, Massachusetts in October 1850. The motto of the convention reflected the growing relationship between the anti-slavery and women's rights movements: "Equality before the law without distinction of sex or color." In addition, one of the convention's resolutions "expressed concerns over the plight of the slave woman."[45]

Douglass continued to weave a fabric of cooperation between the two reform movements that nurtured interracial cooperation. He attended women's state and national conventions and published announcements of women's rights meetings in his newspaper. In fact, on one occasion, that may reflect a common practice, Susan B. Anthony told a friend to refer to Douglass' paper for such announcements. Douglass also persuaded the Negro conventions he attended to place themselves on record as "opposing discrimination on account of sex."[46] At a Philadelphia convention of blacks in 1848, which Douglass helped organize, an invitation was extended to black and white women to join in the deliberations.[47]

As important as Douglass's role was in developing the network of interracial cooperation by forging linkages between the anti-slavery and women's movements, the black and white women in these movements contributed as much or more to this enterprise. These women played a major role in confronting a primary barrier between black and white abolitionists' racial prejudice within the anti-slavery movement. As Gerda Lerner points out,

> "By and large, the anti-slavery women showed a greater awareness of the implications of prejudice than their contemporaries: their meetings were integrated; they braved

mobs frequently and developed the tactic of 'non violent resistance' by walking out of a mob, arm-in-arm, one Negro woman and one white; they gave their Negro members a chance to take leadership positions."[48]

The Venerable Statesman and the Young Lion: Daniel O'Connell and Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass' relationships in The Other Tradition included international friendships in England and Ireland. One of the most impactful was his encounter and subsequent friendship with Daniel O'Connell the famed "Liberator and Defender of Ireland,"[49] whom Douglass met on a trip to Ireland in 1845. At the time of their meeting, O'Connell was 70, Douglass 28. Douglass traveled to Dublin at the invitation of the Quaker Community there and was hosted by members of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, one of whom was the publisher of the Irish edition of *A Slave's Narrative,* Richard D. Webb. Douglass chose Webb to print copies of the *Narrative* and to organize a series of anti-slavery lectures across Ireland to raise funds for the abolitionist movement in the United States.

O'Connell was a revered leader in the Catholic Emancipation from the Church of England in 1829, known in Ireland, England, and the United States as one of the staunchest abolitionists of that time.[50] Considered radical even by many abolitionists, O'Connell was outspoken in his opposition and rhetoric. "In a 1929 anti-slavery meeting in London, he declared 'of all men living, an American citizen who is the owner of slaves is despicable,' and praised Simon Bolivar [founding president of Bolivia] for his anti-slavery policies. He contrasted Bolivar with his counterpart in North America, George Washington, who owned slaves: 'America, it is a foul stain upon your character!'"[51]

A large man, over six feet four, with a booming, eloquent

voice, he was also referred to as the world's greatest orator. Douglass had heard of O'Connell's reputation when he was in slavery, when he heard his master curse the name of the Irishman. Douglass later wrote "that my master hated him so, I knew I would love him." These qualities drew Douglass to a talk given by O'Connell during his visit to Dublin. "A great orator himself, Douglass was certain that the stories of O'Connell's ability were exaggerated, and he did not 'see how a man could speak to twenty or thirty thousand people at one time, and be heard by any considerable number of them.'" Historian Patrick M. Geoghegan writes, "as soon as he saw O'Connell in action, 'and heard his musical voice', he thought 'the mystery solved'"[52]

Douglass was overwhelmed by O'Connell's oratory, which he

> "never heard surpassed, if equaled, at home or abroad… His eloquence came down on the vast assembly like a summer thunder-shower upon a dusty road…I have heard many speakers within the last four years—speakers of the first order; but I confess, I have never heard one by whom I was more completely captivated than by Mr. O'Connell…It seems to me that the voice of O'Connell is enough to calm the most violent passion…There is a sweet persuasiveness in it, beyond any voice I ever heard. His power over an audience is perfect."[53]

As the crowd began thinning at the end of the speech, Douglass was introduced to O'Connell. O'Connell, having heard of Douglass's reputation, immediately invited him to the stage to speak, introducing him, according to Douglass, as the Black O'Connell.[54]

Shortly after leaving Ireland, Douglass wrote to Garrison, revealing that, as a result of this visit, he had come to see the crusade for abolition as part of a much wider struggle for social justice and had embraced the concept of universal suffrage elo-

quently expressed and practiced by his new friend, O'Connell.[55]

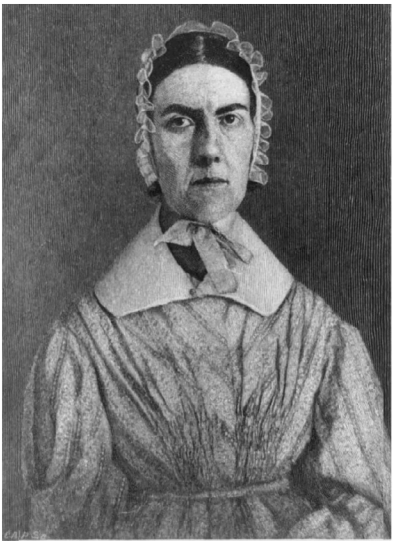
"I see much here to remind me of my former condition, and I confess I should be ashamed to lift up my voice against American slavery, but that I know the cause of humanity is one the world over. He who really and truly feels for the American slave, cannot steel his heart to the woes of others; and he who thinks himself an abolitionist, yet cannot enter into the wrongs of others, has yet to find a true foundation for his anti-slavery."[56]

Angelina and Three Sarahs: Angelina Grimke, Sarah Grimke, Sarah Forten, and Sarah Douglass

Sarah and Angelina Grimke could have easily become a part of the racially oppressive culture of the plantation South. Like other sensitive young white children on the plantation, they found themselves questioning and wondering about the treatment of black slave. As a young girl, Sarah was a constant witness to the inhumanity that whites imposed on slaves. On one such occasion, she saw the head of a slave "stuck high on a pole." It was the head of a slave who had attempted to run away from one of the plantations "and whose punishment was to serve as a deterrent to other slaves."[57] Sarah also recounted other less severe but no less dehumanizing punishments devised by members of the first families of Charleston. One particularly horrible punishment (invented by an acquaintance who was quite proud of her own ingenuity), "dreaded more by the slave than whipping, unless it [was] unusually severe, [was] standing on one foot and holding the other in the hand." As if this were not sufficiently painful for the slave, other "improvements" were introduced:

> "…strap was contrived to fasten around the ankle and pass around the neck, so that the least weight of the foot resting on the strap would choke the person. The pain occasioned by this unnatural position was great; and when continued, as it sometimes was, for an hour or more, produced intense agony."[58]

The same woman who invented this macabre torture told Sarah that "she had the ears of her waiting maid slit for some petty theft. This she told me in the presence of the girl."[59] According to some slave owners, these harsh forms of punishment were necessary because of "the peculiar characteristics of the negro

Sarah (November 26, 1792–December 23, 1873) and Angelina (February 20, 1805–October 26, 1879) rejected the immorality of slavery and their roots on a planation in Charleston, South Carolina and became two of the most outstanding advocates of human equality while teaming up with close friends like African American women abolitionist Sara Mapps Douglass.

which made him lazy, unwilling, deceitful and slovenly."[60]

Sarah and her younger sister, Angelina, repeatedly witnessed the inhumanity of slavery and its effect on blacks. Both sisters soon realized the terrible contradictions inherent in the slave culture. One such contradiction was the behavior of a pious member of Sarah's church, well known for her charitable work, who presented daily readings from the Bible. Yet this same Christian woman had no problem sending a female slave who repeatedly ran away to the workhouse to be whipped. Even worse, the slave woman then had "a heavy iron collar, with three long prongs projecting from it...placed around [her neck], and one of her sound front teeth was extracted to serve a mark to describe her in case of escape."[61] Sarah described this woman's condition:

> "She could lie in no position but on her back, which was sore from scourging, as I can testify from personal inspection, and her only place of rest was the floor, on a blanket. This slave, who was the seamstress of the family was continually in her mistress' presence, sitting in her chamber to sew, or engaged in other household work, with her lacerated and bleeding back, her mutilated mouth, and heavy iron collar, without, so far as appeared, exciting any feeling of compassion."[62]

Sarah could not protect her younger sister from similar horrors of slavery. Angelina came face to face with such a horror when a slave boy was called into her classroom to open a window. As he turned his back to the class to open the window, Angelina could see the recent whip marks on his legs and back "still encrusted with blood and scabs."[63] Angelina cried as she told her story to her older sister. At this stage of her life, however, Sarah could give little comfort to her younger sister, who "asked for moral judgment, a clear-cut condemnation of slavery as an evil, the same moral judgment Sarah, as a child, had expected from those she loved."[64]

The children of slave owners had to be taught to overcome their sensitivity towards slaves. Such sensitivity was considered out of place, an immature sentiment that white children would soon outgrow. Sarah often prayed that slaves about to be punished would be spared. "Sometimes her prayers were answered in unexpected ways, but she recalled later in life that she often cried over the chastisement of slaves."[65] Her feelings for the humanity of slaves caused her and her parents much concern. Given a slave girl as her "constant companion, to wait on her, to serve her needs," Sarah saw her as a little friend, a playmate, and "treated her as an equal." A few years later, this playmate died after being sick. Sarah was heartbroken, which puzzled her parents, who, in their learned insensitivity to the humanity of slaves, considered

the loss merely a temporary inconvenience. From their perspective, slave girls were easily replaceable. Sarah could simply select another "companion" from among the group of idle slave children in the Grimke household. Sarah, however, refused to pick another slave girl to replace her dead companion.[66]

The sisters taught Bible classes every Sunday afternoon to slave children. This situation posed a problem for Sarah, because she tended to ask too many questions and refused to accept the traditional answers. For example, because the slave children had such hunger for the message of the Gospel, why not just teach them to read the Bible for themselves? Sarah was dutifully told that reading was bad for slaves because it made them "restless and rebellious." The minds of slaves were not suited for learning to read. Reading would "make them unfit for the labor they must do. Besides, it was against the law."[67] Sarah found these answers unacceptable.

Not only did she reject these answers, she went so far as to violate a cardinal law of the slaveholding South. As she explained,

> "My great desire in this matter would not be totally suppressed, and I took an almost malicious satisfaction in teaching my little waiting-maid at night, when she was supposed to be occupied in combing and brushing my long locks. The light was put out, the keyhole screened, and flat on our stomachs, before the fire, with the spelling book under our eyes, we defied the laws of South Carolina."[68]

The conspirators were caught, and Sarah's act of defiance almost earned the slave girl a whipping. Sarah's father gave her a serious lecture on the gravity of her "offense." The sense of sisterhood with black women, which later characterized both sisters' relationships with free black women in the anti-slavery movement, was first expressed in this act.

Returning home from the North where she had accompanied

her father in 1819, Sarah met a group of Quakers from Philadelphia who gave her a copy of John Woolman's works. This meeting and Woolman's work would change her life. She read and thought deeply on many passages in his works, including the following passage from "Some Consideration on the Keeping of Negroes," written in 1762:

> "Suppose that our ancestors and we had been exposed to constant servitude, in the more servile and inferior employments of life; that we had been destitute of the help of reading and good company; that amongst ourselves we had few wise and pious instructions;...that while others, in ease, have plentifully heaped up the fruit of our labour, we had received barely enough to relieve nature; and being wholly at the command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant part of mankind; should we, in that case, be less abject than they now are?"[69]

As Sarah read Woolman's experiences of how uneasy he felt drinking and lodging "free-cost with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves"[70] she was deeply moved, because he reflected her own experiences of how slavery dehumanized slaves and desensitized white slave owners. After much soul searching and some difficult discussions with family members, Sarah took the plunge. She not only became a Quaker but soon left the South. She returned for brief visits, but by 1821 Sarah Grimke's destiny as a champion of the slave was beginning to unfold.

Angelina would soon follow her older sister. But before she left the South, she stirred up much trouble within her family and her community by her insistent attacks on slavery. She started daily prayer meetings with the family slaves, a practice that her mother first disapproved of but later accepted. The meetings became the first religious instruction that these slaves had; years

later, they wrote moving letters of thanks to Angelina. But she could not be content with conducting prayer meetings with slaves while professing Christians held slaves. Angelina felt so strongly about the inherent contradiction of professing Christianity while holding slaves that she "appeared at a meeting of the elders of the Presbyterian church, all slaveholders, offering them the fantastic suggestion that they, as a body, should speak out against slavery." They gave her a polite ear but dismissed her concerns without condemnation or threat. Disappointed, she appealed to individual church members, to no avail. Although some church members privately agreed with her, "they would not act on her suggestion."[71]

The horrors of slavery continually filled Angelina's mind as she went about her daily activities. She was particularly shocked by the torturous punishments applied to slaves at the workhouse, where masters "too dainty to perform the office themselves" sent slaves for punishment. "Whippings were administered in orderly fashion upon the naked bodies of women as well as men." The most horrendous of the punishments administered in the workhouse was the treadmill:

> "The most dreaded punishment was the treadmill, a drum with broad steps which revolved rapidly. The slaves' arms were fastened to a handrail above it. Only the strongest and most agile could move their feet in time with the movement of the drum, the others were soon helplessly suspended by their arms, the edge of the steps hitting their legs, knees, and bodies at every turn. Several 'drivers' attempted to make the prisoners move by flogging them with a 'cat o' nine tails.' Fifteen minutes on this instrument of torture would cripple a slave for days afterwards."[72]

Angelina's compassionate nature revolted at such treatment. The workhouse left a powerful impression on her. She could not

bear to walk down the street where the workhouse was located:

> "These are not things I have heard; no, my own eyes have looked upon them and wept over them no one can imagine my feelings walking down that street. It seemed as though I was walking on the very confines of hell...I suffered so much that l could not get over it for days and wondered how any real Christian could live near such a place."[73]

No wonder Angelina felt guilty when a slave being dragged to the horrible workhouse cried out for help. But Angelina could not do anything to help. In her diary, she cried out feelings: "How long, oh Lord, wilt thou suffer the foot of the oppressor to stand on the neck of the slaves!" Unlike many whites of her time, including members of her family, who numbed themselves to all the cruelty and unkindness heaped on slaves, Angelina chose to sensitize herself to the pain of slaves:

> "It seemed to me that all the cruelty and unkindness which I had from infancy seen practiced toward them came back to my mind. Night and day they were before me and yet my hands were bound as with chains of iron. If only I could be the means of exposing the cruelty and injustice of bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, of revealing the secrets of iniquity and abolishing it present regulations."[74]

Angelina set out on a course to do just that: to be "the means of exposing the cruelty and injustice...[of slavery], of bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, of revealing the secrets of iniquity and abolishing its present regulations." Once she determined that she could and would be the means of "exposing the cruelty and injustice" of slavery, she spared no one, neither family members nor friends of the family. To a group of visitors in her home engaged in their favorite subject of the "depravity of their

servants" Angelina retorted that the depravity of slaves was the fault of whites and proceeded to give them a lecture. Each day became the occasion for a struggle over the issue of the oppression of slaves. Why was it necessary, she asked her mother, to call on the slaves to do such things as move a chair or open a window? Why must slaves wait for hours in a cold hallway just in case they might be needed or sleep "on the bare floor with only a blanket and be awakened at any time their mistress wanted a service performed? Why must they eat their meals at irregular hours?"[75] Here again, Angelina saw and felt deeply the blatant contradiction between the treatment of slaves and Christian principles.

For more than a year, Angelina fought a valiant but vain struggle against slavery among family and friends to little avail. She became a Quaker like her sister Sarah and went North where she would leave her indelible mark on the anti-slavery movement. But she would do much more: She would bring to the anti-slavery movement a deep and profound understanding of the nature and complexity of white racism and a longing for genuine interracial unity, love, and fellowship.

Angelina was soon disappointed as she saw the shortcomings of the North in the area of race relations. Anti-black riots in New York and Philadelphia shocked her. In her dismay, she wrote an inspiring letter to William L. Garrison:

> "I can hardly express to thee the deep and solemn interest with which I have viewed the violent proceedings of the last few weeks. Although I expected opposition, I was not prepared for it so soon, and I greatly feared abolitionists would be driven back in the first outset, and thrown into confusion."[76]

Angelina told Garrison that "the ground upon which you stand is holy ground: never, never surrender it. If you surren-

der it, the hope of the slave is extinguished."[77] Without getting her permission, Garrison published her letter in *The Liberator*, which greatly upset both Angelina's Quaker friends, who viewed Garrison as a raving fanatic, and her sister Sarah.

This was only the beginning of Angelina's tremendous influence on race relations in the North. Her genuine love and concern for blacks as fellow human beings increased as she and her sister became close friends with black women in the anti-slavery movement. Their bonds of friendship with such women as Sarah Douglass would last a lifetime and increase Angelina's and Sarah's sensitivity to racial prejudice.[78] The more sensitive they became to Northern racism, the more they attacked it. They were particularly sensitive to the effect of racial prejudice on blacks in the free states. "Northern prejudice against color is grinding the colored man to the dust in our free states, and this is strengthening the hands of the oppressor continually."[79] As Lerner points out, "The sisters' Southern life experience had brought them in close personal contact with Negroes; their sensitivity to manifestations of race prejudice was unusually keen."[80]

The sisters' commitment to anti-slavery and interracial fellowship was strengthened by their association with, and Angelina's eventual marriage to, Theodore Weld, the well-known abolitionist. Weld had been involved in the anti-slavery movement for years before meeting the sisters. He had that rare quality, often missing among white abolitionists, of seeing blacks as fellow human beings, not just as objects in a struggle. He worked on their behalf, and he socialized with them. It was this fellowship with blacks that placed Weld above so many other white abolitionists. Weld had conducted a study of blacks in Cincinnati and discovered much about their struggles to survive. He made it a habit to socialize with blacks at every opportunity:

"If I ate in the city, it was at their tables. If I slept in the city, it was in their homes. If I attended parties, it was theirs, weddings theirs, funerals theirs, Sabbath schools Bible classes theirs, I was

with the colored people in their meetings by day and by night."[81]

When Theodore and Angelina were married on May 14, 1838, it was a bold and courageous statement of their belief in racial unity and harmony. They insisted "on making their wedding an interracial affair"[82] even if it ruffled the feathers of some family members, such as the Grimke's sister Ann in whose house the wedding was to take place. Few white abolitionists would have been willing to go so far in breaching family social values. But Angelina Grimke and Theodore Weld were uncompromising on the issue of racial equality and fellowship. They were prepared to find an alternative place had sister Ann balked at the idea of an interracial wedding celebration. In the end, Ann consented.[83]

Sarah Mapps Douglass (September 9, 1806–September 8, 1882)

The blacks at this interracial wedding celebration included Sarah Douglass and her mother, longtime friends of the Grimke sisters; Betty Dawson and her daughter, former slaves of the sisters' father, freed by sister Ann; six black groomsmen and bridesmaids, joined by six white groomsmen and bridesmaids; and a black minister who prayed and was followed by a white minister who also prayed. A black confectioner, using only 'free sugar' in the baking, supplied the wedding cake."[84] An honor roll of well-known white abolitionists attended the wedding, including Garrison, the Chapmans, the Westons, the Tappans, and Gerrit Smith. There were people from all classes. There could be no question that this interracial wedding celebration "was a deliberate demonstration on the part of the hosts."[85] As Angelina

explained it, "They were our invited guests, and we thus had an opportunity to bear our testimony against the horrible prejudice which prevails against colored persons, and equally awful prejudice against the poor."

The Grimke sisters never wavered in their constant struggle against slavery and racial prejudice. They did not allow their anti-slavery associates to rest on their laurels. For the Grimke sisters, to be against slavery was not sufficient. One had to be against racial prejudice. At the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, held in Philadelphia in the fall of 1838, one of several resolutions presented by Sarah and "one of the few not adopted unanimously at the convention"[86] dealt with the sensitive issue of racial prejudice that Sarah saw as the essence of slavery. Sarah held firm to the belief that

> "…[it was] the duty of abolitionists to identify themselves with these oppressed Americans by sitting with them in places of worship, by appearing with them in our streets, by giving them our countenance in steamboats and stages, by visiting them and encouraging them to visit us, receiving them as we do our white fellow citizens."[87]

Lerner explains the significance of the Grimke sisters' contribution to the struggle against racism:

> "The anti-slavery women showed generally greater awareness of race prejudice and all its implications than did their contemporaries. Their meetings were integrated, and their Negro members were given a chance to take leadership positions. Still, this call for a conscious policy of demonstrations against segregation in public places was considered controversial even by abolitionists. In advocating it year after year, and personally carrying it into practice, Sarah and Angelina made one of their most significant

> contributions to the ideology of the anti-slavery cause. It was an issue on which they consistently were in advance of most white abolitionists."[88]

The sisters did not let their concerns for family unity prevent them from constantly pleading with their mother to free her slaves. When their mother died and left her slaves to the sisters, they freed the slaves and took care of those they invited to come North. The sisters, as well as Weld, also extended their love and care to their black nephews, the sons of Henry Grimke by a slave woman. In 1868, Angelina saw a notice in the *Anti-Slavery Standard* about an event at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, a school for black men, where a young black man named Archibald Grimke had given an excellent talk. She wrote and introduced herself. The young man and his brother, Francis, were indeed her nephews. She expressed in letters how she regretted that during the Civil War no Grimkes had fought on the side of freedom:

> "You my young friends now bear this once-honored name, I charge you most solemnly by your upright conduct, and your life-long devotion to the eternal principles of justice and humanity and religion, to lift this name out of the dust, where it now lies, and set it once more among the princes of our land."[89]

What could have been merely a brief and kind acknowledgment of a kinship born out of the horrors of slavery was transformed in the hands and hearts of the Grimke sisters into the highest expression of interracial love and fellowship. Lerner says it best:

> "Thus began an extended relationship, which is certainly remarkable and probably unique among the complexities of race relations in this country. The discovery of these

> young colored men was the acid test of the sisters' convictions. Many a good abolitionist would, in a similar situation, have been satisfied to engage in a friendly exchange of letters and let the matter rest at that. But Sarah and Angelina accepted these newly discovered nephews as members of the family and offered more than dutiful recognition and support, they offered their love."[90]

The love that the Grimke sisters offered was expressed through countless deeds of sacrifice on behalf of their nephews. No sooner had they discovered them than they began regular contributions to their expenses. The sisters and Weld also contributed to the education of their nephews' younger brother. The young men visited the sisters' home. Enduring much sacrifice, the sisters and Weld "supported the nephews throughout their years of college. At times Angelina turned all her earnings over to them, whereas Sarah, now retired, deprived herself of all kinds of small pleasure in order to help them."[91] In one of her last letters, Sarah expressed the profound love, respect, and admiration she had for her black nephews, comparing their talents to her white nephews:

> "ls it not remarkable that these young men should far exceed in talent any of the Grimke nephews, even their half-brothers bear no comparison with them and my brother Thomas' sons, distinguished as he was, are far inferior to them in intellectual power."[92]

Both Francis James Grimke and Archibald Henry Grimke would become great black leaders; they became two of the greatest monuments to their aunts and uncle.

Amity in the Underground Railroad: Harriet Tubman, Thomas Garrett and William Still

The Underground Railroad—the network of people and places through which escaped slaves traveled on their long, arduous, and dangerous treks northward—was another key example of interracial cooperation during the pre-Civil War period. The real Underground Railroad differed from the myth in which fugitive slaves tended to be passive victims waiting to be rescued by benevolent Quakers, a legend that reflected a paternalistic interracial cooperation. The real Underground Railroad involved a form of interracial cooperation in which blacks played a major role. Free black leaders, such as William Still, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Purvis, and Samuel Burris, partnered with white abolitionists on vigilance committees to help fugitive slaves move north.

As a member of an unparalleled collaborative triad assisting runaway slaves, William Still of Philadelphia was one of the most famous black leaders to direct an interracial vigilance committee in this work.[93] Still's follow-up to recently-arrived freed slaves, who were guided, sheltered, and nurtured during harrowing journeys by Harriet Tubman, with the assistance of perhaps her closest "brother in the spirit" a title we use to describe Thomas Garrett, a white man. William Still provided critical support to the recently-liberated slaves' adjustment into their new lives of freedom. Because of his attention to detail in administering support through funds, clothing, food, references for employment, seeking of kin, and gathering details of the escapes of newly-freed slaves in his extraordinary chronicle, *The Underground Railroad*, published in 1886, we add to his other historic designations, Chief Administrator of the Underground Railroad.

Still's routine accounting and documentation of events include details of Harriet Tubman, the most famous fugitive slave woman, and Thomas Garrett. They were one of, if not the

most impressive examples of interracial friendship and cooperation in the history of the Underground Railroad.

The Tubman-Garrett association was also mirrored by the close friendship between Garrett and Still. Although Tubman received help from many whites, Garrett probably played the most important role. Garrett's home was the most important station on Tubman's route. According to Conrad, "Garrett was the outstanding champion of the Negro in the state of Delaware," and, in the course of his career, he aided about 2,700 fugitives in their flight northward. He admired nobody more than Harriet Tubman, whose caravans he constantly sheltered.[94] The two held common beliefs about their calling to do the work of liberating slaves.

Garrett initially felt the impact of bondage when, as a young man, a close friend who was black and worked for his family, was grabbed by slave catchers who sought to take her south even though she was a free person. Garrett was able to track her kidnappers through the snow with a wagon wheel imperfection that made a distinct mark. Garrett caught up with the abductors and secured the release of his friend.[95]

This experience, along with his family's ongoing support for and harboring of runaway slaves was an early influence of Garrett's commitment to combat slavery. An important perspective of Tubman's and Garrett's work together was that each felt their work was a personal calling by God. Garrett recalls that on the road into Philadelphia from Drexel Hills, he had an epiphany "in which he said that 'feelings of humanity were implanted in his breast to help this poor and despised race.'"[96]

> "From all of Garrett's statements, this experience, and the command that accompanied it, happened only once in his life. But he perceived it as his duty, and he remained faithful to it for the rest of his life. His dear and revered friend Harriet Tubman had an accounting for the role of God in

William Still (1821–1902), abolitionist in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, conductor on the Underground Railroad, writer, historian and civil rights activist

Harriet Tubman (1822–1913), former slave, abolitionist, humanitarian, and fighter for women's suffrage.

Thomas Garrett (1789–1871), businessman, Abolitionist, and conductor in the Underground Railroad.

her fearless commitment to guiding those in slavery to freedom. Often Harriett would reply to those who marveled at her miraculous escapes from danger in her work 'Don't I tell you…'twan't me, twas de Lord.'"[97]

Thomas Garrett admired his friend's claim to divine guidance. In a letter to Tubman's friend and biographer, Sarah Bradford, he wrote:

"I have never met with any person, of any color, who has more confidence in the voice of God, as spoken direct to her soul. She has frequently told me that she talked with God, and that he talked with her everyday of her life, and she has declared to me that she felt no more fear of being arrested by her former master or any other person…"[98]

"In a letter...he gives an account of a rescue by Harriett of a woman and three children, a trip which he characterized as remarkable in which Harriett manifested great shrewdness to avoid being arrested. He asked her if she was not frightened when she was about to be arrested. She replied, 'not a bit…' she knew she would get off safe. 'But the strangest thing about this woman,' Garrett wrote, 'is [that] she does not know, nor appears to know that she has done anything worth notice.'"[99]

While the two shared a belief in divine assistance to their work, they were different in their personal approach and interactions with others. James McGowan feels,

"…it may be argued that their differences complimented each other, Garrett's outspoken manner, coupled with his feeling of invulnerability, seems to have kept kidnappers and slave catchers away. Harriett on the other hand, though necessarily reticent and secretive, achieved the same results. Runaways whom she guided to freedom felt

safe with her. They called her 'Moses,' believing that she would eventually lead them to freedom."[100]

Given the in-common spiritual experiences, and moral passion to free those in bondage, it is not surprising that these two people shared close personal friendship. According to McGowan, "Garrett writes of having tea and casual conversation with Harriet Tubman, even at times joking with her and teasing her. He did this during the time of her dangerous UGRR missions—a time when Harriet was not in the mood for joking and teasing." McGowan continued, "'Yet, in his letters, Thomas Garrett often speaks of Harriet Tubman. She is a noble woman… Remarkable, shrewd, courageous,' are some of the adjectives he used in describing her character."[101]

The depth of caring and friendship Garrett held for Tubman is clearly expressed in this letter from Garrett to their mutual friend William Still:

> Wilmington, 3rd mo., 27th, 1857
> Esteemed Friend: William Still;
> I have been very anxious for some time past, to hear what has become of Harriet Tubman. The last I heard of her, she was in the state of New York on her way to Canada with some friends, last fall. Hast thee seen or heard anything from her lately? It would be a sorrowful fact if such a hero as she should be lost from the Underground Railroad. I have just received a letter from Ireland making inquiry respecting her. If thee gets this in time, and knows anything respecting her, please drop me a line by mail tomorrow, and I will get it next morning if not sooner. I have heard nothing from the eighth man from Dover, but trust he is safe.
>
> THOMAS GARRETT[102]

Over the course of several years, Garrett, Tubman, and Still worked tirelessly in a triad of mutual friendship and support best personified by this letter from Garrett to Still.

> Wilmington, 12th mo., 1st, 1860
> Respected Friend: William Still;
> I write to let thee know that Harriet Tubman is again in these parts. She arrived last evening from one of her trips of mercy to God's poor, bringing two men with her as far as New Castle. I agreed to pay a man last evening to pilot them on their way to Chester county; the wife of one of the men, with two or was left some thirty miles below, and I gave Harriet ten dollars to hire a man with carriage, to take them to Chester county. She said a man had offered for that sum to bring them on. I shall be very uneasy about them till I hear they are safe. There is now much more risk on the road till they arrive here, than there has been for several months past, as we find that some poor worthless wretches are constantly on the lookout on two roads, that they cannot well avoid more especially with carriage, yet, as it is Harriet who seems to have a special angel to guard her on her journey of mercy, I have hope.
> Thy friend,
> THOMAS GARRETT
> N.B. We hope all will be in Chester County tomorrow.[103]

The friendship of Garrett and Still was constantly livened by nearly daily exchanges of letters that traveled the 20 miles or so between Philadelphia, where Still was headquartered, and Wilmington, where Garrett lived and ran his business. This entry from Still's *The Underground Railroad*, two days after receipt of a letter about the arrival of newly freed slaves, shows the men's mutual respect and admiration.

The following letter from the fearless friend of the slave,

Thomas Garrett, is a specimen of his manner of dispatching Underground Railroad business. He used Uncle Sam's mail, and his own name, with as much freedom as though he had been President of the Pennsylvania Central Rail Road, instead of only a conductor and stockholder on the Underground Railroad.

9 mo. 26th, 1856

Respected Friend: William Still;
I send on to thy care this evening by Rail Road, five able-bodied men, on their way North; receive them as the Good Samaritan of old and oblige thy friend,
THOMAS GARRETT

The following entry was made by Still:

September 28, 1856
Arrival of Five from the Eastern Shore of Maryland
Cyrus Mitchell, alias John Steel; Joshua Handy alias Hambelton Hamby; Charles Dulton alias William Robinson; Ephraim Hudson alias John Spry; Francis Molock alias Thomas Jackson; all in "good order" and full of hope.

The "able-bodied men" duly arrived, and were thus recorded on the Underground Railroad books as trophies of the success of the friends of humanity."[104]

And thus was the nature of The Other Tradition with Harriet Tubman, Thomas Garrett, and William Still.

prim.er (**prim'er**) n. 1. An elementary textbook.
2. A book that covers the basic elements of any subject.

CORNERSTONE THREE:

20th Century Profiles in The Other Tradition

Booker T. Washington and Julius Rosenwald: Building Schools

Booker T. Washington was one of the most widely known names of black Americans in both the black and white communities in America during the early 20th Century. He was born in the late 1850s, the exact year and date, as with many born into slavery, is not known. Booker and his family survived the degradation, poverty, and hunger of his early childhood which he described:

> "I cannot recall a single instance during my childhood or early boyhood when our entire family sat down to the table together, and God's blessing was asked, and the family ate a meal in a civilized manner. On the plantation in Virginia, and even later, meals were gotten to the children very much as dumb animals get theirs. It was a piece of bread here and a scrap of meat there. It was a cup of milk at one time and some potatoes at another."[133]

Aware that the Civil War was raging and anticipating the freedom that slaves hoped for and spoke of in whispered voices, Booker describes the period of liberation of his family and others:

> "As the great day drew nearer, there was more singing in

> the slave quarters than usual. It was bolder, had more ring, and lasted later into the night. Most of the verses of the plantation songs had some reference to freedom...Some man who seemed to be a stranger (a United States officer, I presume) made a little speech and then read a rather long paper—the *Emancipation Proclamation*, I think. After the reading we were told that we were all free, and could go when and where we pleased. My mother, who was standing by my side, leaned over and kissed her children, while tears of joy ran down her cheeks. She explained to us what it all meant, that this was the day for which she had been so long praying, but fearing that she would never live to see."[134]

The family moved from the farm owned by his former slave holders to an area near the town of Malden, West Virginia. There members of his family worked jobs for small wages. Off and on, Booker would attend a small school for black children and after being introduced to letters and phonics he began to teach himself to read. Through the good fortune of being hired to work by Viola Ruffner, the wife of a prominent white townsman, she assisted Booker in his quest. He excelled at reading and learning, so to further his learning was encouraged to go the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia.

Hampton Institute was founded four years after the Civil War by a former Union Army General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Armstrong was a graduate of Williams College in western Massachusetts who joined the Union Army immediately and became a General leading black troops.[135]

Booker T. Washington drew the attention of Armstrong when he excelled as a student at Hampton Institute. He was appointed a teaching position at Hampton Institute after his graduation. This was the beginning of Booker T. Washington's rise as one on the most impactful educators in the early 20th Century and one of the great Black leaders of thought in that period as well.

While teaching at Hampton Institute a momentous development took place regarding Washington and Armstrong as described by Stephanie Deustch:

In 1881, General Armstrong received a letter asking if he could recommend "a well-qualified white man" to become principal of a school being started by the state of Alabama for the training of Negro teachers. In response Armstrong wrote recommending Booker T. Washington, "a very competent, capable mulatto, clear headed, modest, sensible, polite and a thorough teacher and superior man. The best we ever had here…I know of no white man who could do better." The commissioners accepted the recommendation. "Booker T. Washington will suit us," they replied. "Send him at once."[136]

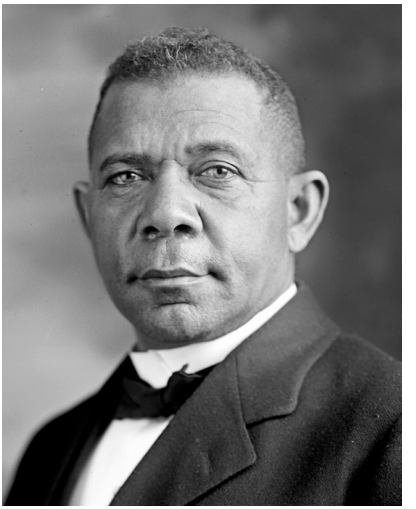
Tuskegee Institute opened on July 4, 1881 and rapidly became known as an outstanding educational institution. Washington's role as head of the school frequently saw him traveling to the north to raise funds for the school. On one of his trips he had an encounter with a fellow passenger that would lead to the introduction to an acquaintance of Washington's fellow traveler. Deutshe describes the encounter:

> "On one of his northern trips, Washington fell into a conversation with Wilber Messer, a white minister and the general secretary of Chicago's YMCA. He asked Messer if he could suggest a wealthy person who might have an interest in serving on the board of Tuskegee. Messer named Julius Rosenwald. He then invited them to both speak at the annual YMCA dinner in Chicago in Amy 1911."[137]

Julius Rosenwald, son of Jewish immigrants from Germany, grew up in Springfield, Illinois. Following the trade of his father and extended family members as peddlers, Julius at age sixteen was sent to New York City to apprentice in the clothier business with his uncles. He moved back to Illinois at age twenty-three

and used the background and experience to start a business with his brother and a cousin. Through a series of fortuitous developments and exercising shrewd judgments, Rosenwald became president and major stock holder in one of America's largest and most profitable mail order businesses, Sears, Roebuck and Company. Using the mail order success, Rosenwald soon began building retail stores that saw even more success and profitability. As his wealth proliferated and his standing as an innovative

Julius Rosenwald (August 12, 1862–January 6, 1932) a son of Jewish immigrants who became one of America's wealthiest men as President of Sears and Roebuck Company. He and Booker T. Washington shared the passion of using education of African Americans as a tool to overcome the cruel disadvantages slavery had imposed upon them. They developed a deep, loving friendship, including staying in each other's homes while collaborating which resulted in nearly 5,000 schools for black children in rural areas being built over two decades.



Booker T. Washington (c. 1856–November 14, 1915) former slave, leader and educator, was a stalwart advocate in advancing access and equity for African Americans. His association and friendship with wealthy businessman Julius Rosenwald resulted in the unparalelled private contribution to early 20th Century basic education and the resulting improvement in the quality of life for African Americans.

leader in the clothing and home products business rose, Rosenwald increasingly became sought after as a participant in and supporter of charities and community service organizations such as the YMCA. To these which he contributed large sums and urged others to band together and match his gifts, which they often did. This included significant contributions to the building of YMCA's for blacks.

An interesting commonality of approach between Booker T. Washington and Julius Rosenwald was that each man embraced and worked with those who fully embraced them or accepted them as equal beings. As a practical matter, each man considered the benefits of supporting the advancement of the down-trodden to be, by far, more important than any slights or indignities. Deutsch again observes,

> "…Roswenwald's willingness to overlook the YMCA's occasionally anti-Semitic practices was typical of his pragmatic approach, and perhaps an indication of the fact that he himself had personally experienced very little prejudice. When he moved beyond his own almost exclusively Jewish social world, his prominence in business gave him special entrée… But when he spoke about the ghastly conditions facing Jews in Russia, he made his point more clearly. "I belong to a race that in times gone by did not have a fair chance in life. I feel particular sympathy with a race that does not have a fair chance under the existing conditions of American life."[138]

Washington, who stood at the same YMCA fundraiser podium, had opportunity to spend more time with Rosenwald. He was invited to tour the Sears plant and headquarters and also participated in other YMCA speaking platforms. Washington used the occasion to ask Rosenwald if he would consider serving on the Tuskegee board of directors. Rosenwald suggested that he

visit Tuskegee before deciding. Rosenwald took family members and a number of friends on train trip to Tuskegee in October. He was immediately won over by the experience and impressed with the high quality of teachers and staff such as the brilliant agricultural scientist and inventor Dr. George Washington Carver. Rosenwald sent a glowing telegram to Booker T. Washington that moved a philanthropic interest toward a personal friendship. Deutsch writes:

> "At Tuskegee Rosenwald had found his own optimism and energy mirrored back to him by his new friend Booker T. Washington. 'Accept our sincerest gratitude and affection…Your personal fellowship and the revelation of all you have accomplished inspire us with higher ideals and an earnest desire for more practical brotherly services.'"[139]

Rosenwald's high praise was also enthusiastically made in an interview about his visit in the *Chicago Tribune*: "I was astonished at the progressiveness of the school. I don't believe there is a white industrial school in America or anywhere that compares with Mr. Washington's school at Tuskegee."[140]

Rosenwald became a Tuskegee board member and within three months of his first visit returned to the school. Their growing friendship included Washington being invited to stay at the Rosenwald home in Chicago during his next visit to Illinois. This was unusual even among progressive whites of that period. Washington and Rosenwald began to exchange letters regularly. Their friendship grew and Booker T. Washington and his wife made several visit to the Rosenwalds and stayed as guests in their mansion and summer homes in Chicago. During these visits, Rosenwald and Washington would have long talks about the societal blight of race prejudice. They agreed that more quality education for blacks was critical to change the status and conditions. To that end, they agreed on a proposal developed

by Washington and funded by Rosenwald to establish six small pilot schools for blacks in rural areas. The approach included getting blacks in the targeted communities to contribute to fund raising, mostly by bartering labor, food, and animals as well as the local county and state education boards making a contribution to complement the major contribution to each school by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The school development took on greater efficiency as they learned from the development of each school. Soon, a template included architectural drawings and directions on materials acquisition. The well-packaged idea and approach proved appealing to all impacted parties. Alabama, and soon other Southern states, saw the approach as a means of assisting the economic status of the black population at little cost. At the same time, state officials recognized, it gave them authoritative oversight. So local community people would have access to long-sought-after educational opportunities and have a feeling of ownership. This the community would receive in the process by contributing materially and through labor to the construction, and to the Rosenwald Fund through assisting with funds for a program that had serious community stakeholders.

The Rosenwald model initiation grew from the friendship and collaboration of two men dedicated to the idea of access, equity, and social justice for black people.

> "Black communities raised millions of dollars in the two decades that the schools were built. By 1928, one in every five black schools in the South had been constructed using aid from the Rosenwald Fund and by 1932, Rosenwald Fund schools accommodated a third of the Southern black school population across fifteen states. When the program ceased in 1932, over 5,300 schools, homes, and shops had been constructed. Some Rosenwald Fund schools still stand across the South today and remain in use as community centers and registered historic sites."[141]

Immediate Challenges to The Other Tradition in the 20th Century

As we progress in the orientation and understanding of the basic factors and events that shape The Other Tradition we look at the 20th Century filled, as it was, with a host of dynamic events and developments as well as brave individuals who carried the torch from their 19th Century predecessors. They added to the foundation and continued work toward access, amity, and social justice by embracing hope and inspiration through courageous action. They passed the torch so the next generation could stay the course towards *E Pluribus Unum*. This work was difficult but over the course of decades it reaped pivotal results.

Anti-black violence in the South and North during the early years of the 20th Century raised questions about the usefulness of Booker T. Washington's accommodationist mode of interracial cooperation. Antiblack rioting in the North was particularly disturbing to some whites who had supported Washington.[142] An August 1908 anti-black riot in Springfield, Illinois, in which a white mob lynched two blacks, destroyed some black businesses, drove blacks from their homes, and forced the governor to call out the militia, shocked many whites.[143] The writer William English Walling was among those whites who could not remain silent. Walling visited the scene of the riot and gathered material for an article titled "Race War in the North" that appeared in *The Independent*. Walling not only describes the atrocities of the riots but draws on the legacy of the abolitionist movement, particularly its antiracist elements:

> "Either the spirit of the abolitionists…must be revived and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or [racists]…will soon have transferred the Race War to the North."[144]

Then Walling throws out the challenge that gave birth to a more radical form of interracial cooperation on behalf of racial justice for black Americans: "'Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation and what large and powerful of citizens is ready to come to their aid?'"[145]

Walling's challenge was answered by several influential whites. Among them was Mary White Ovington, a wealthy New Yorker and social worker who had made a study of racial problems. After reading Walling's article, she discussed it with Walling and Henry Moskowitz, a Jewish social worker. Among these three, Ovington had by far the most experience and firsthand knowledge of the effect of racism on blacks. These three decided to schedule a conference for Lincoln's birthday in 1909 to move forward on Walling's challenge. The announcement was written by Oswald Garrison Villard, the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison: "We call upon all believers in democracy to join in a National conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."[146]

Mary White Ovington (April 11, 1865–July 15, 1951) was an American suffragist, journalist, and issued a call to civil rights activists in 1909 to merge their efforts. She and William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.) Du Bois were the two principal founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.

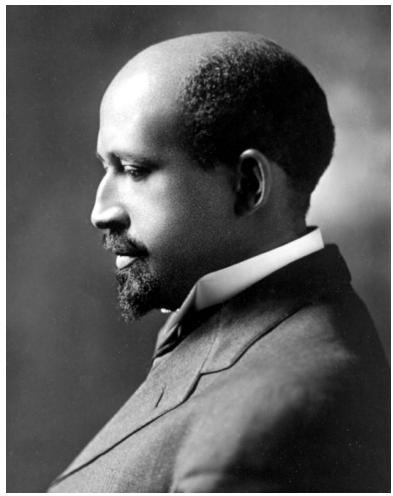
Diversity of Approach within The Other Tradition—The NAACP, the National Urban League, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE)

The NAACP

In the black intellectual community at the turn of the twentieth century there was much disagreement between young black radicals, such as William Smith Monroe Trotter, a Harvard Phi Betta Kappa graduate and founder of the *Boston Guardian*, in opposition to the "accommodationist" approach espoused by Booker T. Washington. Attendees of the conference organized by black radicals in the area of Niagara Falls and called the Niagara Movement Walling, as well as others, was most accepted. Yet some black radicals, such as Monroe Trotter, refused to attend. Trotter's refusal was based on his mistrust of white motives, which was understandable given the checkered history of interracial cooperation. The conference did attract an impressive array of blacks and whites, including judges, social workers, educators, publicists, professors, and bishops. They made plans for the establishment of a permanent organization that came to be known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A program of action was laid out and agreed on. The newly formed organization dedicated itself to the abolition of "all forced segregation, equal education for Negro and white children, the complete enfranchisement of the Negro, and the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."[147]

This radical mode of interracial cooperation was "denounced by most of the white philanthropists; and even some Negroes thought it unwise."[148] These two groups had grown used to the accommodationist mode of interracial cooperation insti-

tutionalized by Booker T. Washington, which was accepted as the only practical way in which blacks and whites could work for the benefit of each other. Unfortunately, this accommodationist mode had not been able to check the unrelenting wave of anti-black violence occurring in both the North and the South. Deepening racism had forced the need for a more radical mode of interracial cooperation devoted to combatting racism in the best tradition of antiracism.



W.E.B. Du Bois (February 23, 1868–August 27, 1963) sociologist, historian, civil rights activist, Pan-Africanist, author, writer and editor. Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Du Bois grew up in a relatively tolerant and integrated community. He was the first African American to earn a doctorate from Harvard University. A leading intellectual of the 20th Century, Du Bois was one of the collaborating founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

From the very beginning of the NAACP, one could see the important role that interracial cooperation would play in the long struggle for racial justice. When the formal organization was set up in 1910, however, W. E. B. Du Bois was the only black officer on the staff. The white officers were Moorfield Storey of Boston, president, and William E. Walling, chairman of the executive committee. One of the hardest-working and longest-serving whites on the NAACP staff was J.E. Spingarn, a distinguished professor of English at Columbia University. He was elected chairman of the board of directors in 1914 and remained with the NAACP until his death in 1939.[149]

The NAACP has come to represent the longest tradition of interracial cooperation and antiracism on behalf of the black community in American race relations. This mode of interracial

cooperation was not spared some of the problems inherent in all modes of interracial cooperation. A major problem has been white paternalism.

The National Urban League

Whereas the NAACP represented the radical legalistic protest mode of interracial cooperation in pursuit of black advancement, another interracial organization pursued a more social and economic approach, similar to certain aspects of Booker T. Washington's black self-help approach. This organization, the National Urban League, was formed in 1911 by merging other organizations whose focus was the plight of urban blacks. These were the Committee for Improving Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (NLPCW).[150]

The NLPCW, founded by social reformer Frances A. Kellor, a white woman described by Weiss[151] as "an archetypal reformer of the progressive tradition," already boasted an interracial[152] board. The other whites who belonged to this organization were philanthropist-reformer types "whose interest in racial problems stemmed from family and religious influence."[153] These included people such as Elizabeth Walton, who was "a staunch Quaker... [and] a daughter of abolitionists," and Ruth Standish Baldwin, the widow of William H. Baldwin, Jr., president of the Long Island Railroad and an official of the Tuskegee Institute.[154] There were two black members, Eugene P. Roberts, a physician from New York, and Fred R. Moore, the organizer of the National Negro Busines League who later assumed the role of editor of the black new paper, the *New York Age*.

Some of the same people who worked with the NLPCW were also active on the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes in New York (CIICN). This organization was particularly crucial in that it "prefigures the National Urban League both in the industrial support it attracted and in the

industrial program it promoted."[155] William H. Baldwin, Jr., had come up with the idea of establishing an industrial organization to assist New York blacks that reflected the influence of Booker T. Washington. Much like Washington, Baldwin's philosophy of interracial cooperation saw industrial education for blacks as benefitting both blacks and the economy; in addition, "he saw it as a vehicle for expanding a common ground of interracial cooperation and understanding."[156] According to this philosophy, "cooperation and common values...would hold out hope for peace between the races in America."[157] The founders of the National Urban League had great faith in this approach:

This faith in the power of interracial cooperation, in the importance of bringing together blacks and whites of good will in an effort beneficial to both races, would be cited time and time again by the leaders of the National Urban League as the distinctive fundamental principle of their organization.[158]

In many ways, this philosophy of race relations was little more than a retread of Washington's accommodationist mode of interracial cooperation. In fact, some of the blacks who served on the CIICN were friends and allies of Washington. After her husband's death, Ruth Standish Baldwin represented the strain of "an enlightened conservative philosophy of racial reform, strongly influenced by Booker T. Washington" within the National Urban League.[159]

Both the NAACP and the National Urban League would play key roles in the expansion and consolidation of interracial cooperation for decades to come, representing in their own way different orientations within the other tradition. Their views of the state of race relations in the United States, however, as reflected in their respective magazines, differed greatly. As explained by Weiss,

> "The NAACP titled its magazine *The Crisis*, thus summing up its view of the racial situation; the Urban League, by calling its publication *Opportunity*, expressed an optimum that 'the negro problem' could be eased substan-

tially if only whites could be persuaded to give negroes a chance."[160]

The Crisis, which had a much larger circulation than did *Opportunity*, directed its appeal to the black community, whereas *Opportunity* directed its appeal to an interracial readership. Although both organizations were committed to the principle of interracial cooperation, in May 1918 the Urban League adopted as one of its requirements for local affiliation, "the establishment of interracial executive boards."[161]

The National Urban League's concern for interracial cooperation as a means for the social and economic uplifting of blacks was much more pronounced than that of the NAACP. For the league, interracial cooperation was key to the success of its work. In April 1921, President Warren G. Harding expressed his consideration for the league's emphasis on interracial cooperation in a letter to Eugene K. Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League:

> "My dear Mr. Jones: The National Urban League has, as I understand its work, been particularly useful in its contributions toward the solution of the problems of races in the United States, because it has sought to secure the cooperation of leading people of both races in attacking these problems."[162]

The president reminded Jones that in his recent message to Congress he had stated that this represents the only procedure by which we can hope for the fullest and most desirable results. The race problem is one that concerns all of us and which we must all join in handling. I shall hope for, and be confident of, your hearty cooperation in every effort in this direction.[163]

Acknowledging the fact that "interracial cooperation had been known on a limited scale prior to the organization of the League" a November 1935 *Opportunity* editorial claims, "But the

Urban League, it may be said, has transformed this idea from mere academic formula into vigorous reality. And therein lay the hope of a better America and a better world."[164]

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC)

The NAACP and the Urban League continued to work within the tradition of their different modes of interracial cooperation for decades, each in its own way contributing to the growth and development of the other tradition. In the wake of the racial tensions following World War I, another interracial organization emerged, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC). Organized in 1919, it was the major and "most extensive liberal civil rights organization in the South."[165] Its goal was "to quench, if possible, the fires of racial antagonism which were flaming at the time with deadly menace in all sections of the country."[166] The CIC centered its work primarily in the South and reflected the hopes and aims of a minority of Southern white liberals who were forced by tradition to work within some aspects of the racial status quo. Yet according to one scholar,

> "The establishment of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation...was an important landmark for Southern liberalism. The existence of these white Southerners who questioned, disagreed with, and spoke out against traditional Southern mores suggests that some Southerners envisioned alternatives to the prevailing early 20th Century 'Southern lynchlaw'."[167]

The CIC strategy for change was not to confront the hardcore system of Southern racial segregation but to "humanize and soften the Southern system of segregation by rallying the better element of white Southern society to forward-looking social programs for blacks."[168] The acceptance of black members who

were "free to voice complaints" meant that they were altering the racial status quo of Jim Crow, even though that may not have been their intention.[169] The interracial composition of the CIC represented, in part, some traditional modes of the accommodationist interracialism of Booker T. Washington, that Pilkington describes as a "post-1919 triangular alliance of Southern white, Northern philanthropist and foundations, [and] conservative blacks of the Tuskegee school."[170]

The CIC was a Southern white-dominated organization established by Will Alexander and John J. Eagan. Alexander was a dissatisfied Methodist minister who felt the church had failed to bring blacks and whites together. Eagan was a religious Atlanta millionaire whose social work as an assistant to the Secretary of the Navy during World War I had exposed him to the problems of blacks and some possible solutions to postwar race relations. These two, along with other whites, formed the core of the CIC. Working with carefully selected conservative blacks and avoiding at all cost radical blacks, such as those associated with the NAACP, the CIC set about its program of education in race relations.[171]

The CIC's major program of racial relations involved the establishment of local interracial committees throughout hundreds of Southern counties. But the CIC failed to live up to its "professed goal of creating truly biracial committees."[172] Most of these committees were either white or black, with occasional joint white and black membership for "conference and cooperation." In addition, white and black secretaries responsible for forming these committees received different wages, with whites receiving from one half to two thirds more than blacks. Notwithstanding these obvious shortcomings, the CIC impressed such scholars of race relations as Gunnar Myrdal, who in 1944 pointed out that making "interracial work socially respectable in the conservative South"[173] was one of the CIC's most important long-term results.

Although the organizations described earlier represented the three major large-scale organizational efforts of interracial cooperation during this period, there were smaller, yet no less significant, efforts occurring throughout the country. The American InterRacial Association was established in 1927. It explained its purpose as being "dedicated to the talk of encouraging interracial contacts, organizing interracial groups, and creating an interracial press." Significantly, the association saw its interracial press as being different from interracial magazines, such as *Opportunity* and *The Crisis*, which, it said, tended to focus on the "cause of the Negro rather than the cause of interracial relations."[174]

Congress on Racial Equality (CORE)

The black and white founders of CORE were themselves products of the "Christian student movement of the 1930s…and members of the Christian pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)"[175] Within that organization, a small band was part of a group dedicated to "applying Gandhian techniques of *satyagraha*, or nonviolent direct action, to the resolution of racial and industrial conflict in America."[176] FOR's interest in race relations dated to World War I; in 1940, when A. J. Muste became chief executive, "the Fellowship moved beyond philosophical opposition to war to experimenting with nonviolent direct action for social justice in the United States."[177] FOR organized "peace teams or cells." The team that was organized at the University of Chicago in October 1941 was "deeply interested in applying Gandhian principles to racial problems. From the activities of this [approach to] race relations, a cell of about a dozen members emerged the first CORE group, the Chicago Committee of Racial Equality."[178]

James Farmer and George Houser, one black, the other white, were among the founders of CORE, along with Betty Fisher, also white, who was one of the most ardent white advocates of interracial cooperation. "One of our motivations," Fisher once

proclaimed, "had been the determination that there should be a thoroughly interracial organization...not another Negro group with a token membership of whites."[179] Much like earlier radical interracial organizations, such as the NAACP which saw itself as a radical departure from the more accommodationist mode of interracial cooperation of Booker T. Washington, the founders of CORE were critical of the interracial approaches to racial injustice characterized by the NAACP and the National Urban League. They preferred a more direct approach. As Houser put it, racism "must be challenged directly, without violence or hatred, yet without compromise."[180]

During the first year, Chicago's CORE exemplified the new, more radical interracial approach to achieving racial justice. Besides establishing a short-term male interracial cooperative called Fellowship House in January 1942 as a method of circumventing housing discrimination against blacks, it actively challenged the racially-exclusionary policy of the White City Roller Rink and racial discrimination at the University of Chicago's hospital, medical school, and barbershop. The Chicago CORE's greatest efforts were directed toward racial discrimination in restaurants. Other CORE affiliates, such as those in New York and Denver, targeted other public accommodations, including theaters, hotels, and retail stores.[181]

Restaurants that practiced racial discrimination were "a particularly popular object of attack."[182] They presented an opportunity to demonstrate to white owners and patrons that racism would not go unchallenged and that it would be challenged by an interracial group. Interracial challenges to racial discrimination in places of public accommodation undermined the sense of normalcy that far too many whites felt about racism. In addition, interracial challenges during a war against Nazism, with its virulent racism, forced many white Americans to confront their hypocrisy.

Although restaurants were popular objects of attack for

CORE's interracial teams, they also attacked racially segregated housing and the Red Cross practice of segregating the plasma of black and white blood in blood banks.[183]

The early CORE was made up of fairly well-educated blacks and whites from the middle class, with some blacks from the working class. Many CORE members were college students. There was a range of racial mixture within CORE affiliates, however, from predominantly black to predominantly white.[184] Notwithstanding this range, CORE was dedicated to a radical mode of interracial cooperation. Often this approach put it into conflict with other modes of interracial cooperation, such as the NAACP and the Urban League, but these three interracial organizations were able to work together to achieve mutual goals, such as boycotting and employment campaigns. Yet CORE's greatest conflict seems to have been with such radical interracial organizations as the Social Workers Party, which some more moderate interracists accused of subverting their organizations.

The vision of an interracial nonviolent movement was uppermost in the minds of some of the early founders and influenced CORE's history and ideology for some time. By the fall of 1945, Houser, who had been promoting this vision, felt such a need for this kind of movement that he "circulated a...memorandum again urging the establishment of a year-long leadership training project in preparation for a 'mass nonviolent interracial movement.'"[185]

Unfortunately, the time was not right for such a movement and Rouser's vision died, not to be revived until the 1960s. In 1947, CORE conducted the "Journey of Reconciliation…a two-week interracial foray into the South."[186] On advice, it was limited to the upper South: Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky. A group of blacks and whites rode the bus together to challenge racial segregation in Southern transportation. Although this action did not lead to the desegregation of Southern transportation, according to one CORE official this interracial journey

was "perhaps the most unique and outstanding understanding CORE has ever made."[187] Meier and Rudwick argue that it functioned as a dramatic high point, a source of inspiration to CORE for years to come...[and] fourteen years later it served as the model for the famous Freedom Ride of 1961, which projected CORE into the forefront of the Civil Rights Movement.[188]

A Radical Spiritual Approach to Race Relations: The American Bahá'í Community

The American Bahá'í Faith community was one of the most progressive religious communities in the field of interracial cooperation during this period. The Bahá'í Faith teachings on racial unity and cooperation emanate from the wealth of teachings by Baha'u'llah' (1817-1892), the prophetfounder of the Bahá'í Faith. The central principle of the theology espoused by Baha'u'llah' is the unity and oneness of mankind. He contends that the purpose of His appearance and claim as a messenger from God is to unite the human family:

> "O CHILDREN OF ME! Know ye not why We created you all from the same dust? That no one should exalt himself over the other. Ponder at all times in your hearts how ye were created. Since We have created you all from one same substance it is incumbent on you to be even a one soul, to walk with the same feet, cat with the same mouth, and dwell in the same land, that from your inmost being, by your deeds and actions, the signs of oneness and the essence of detachment may be made manifest. Such is My counsel to you, O concourse of light! Heed ye this counsel that ye may obtain the fruit of holiness from the tree of wondrous glory."[189]

The early American Bahá'í community consisted of predominately white Americans who were just beginning to understand the tremendous social and historical significance of the Bahá'í teachings on racial unity. It would take them many decades to understand fully and to apply these teachings to their community life. 'Abdu'l-Baha, the son of the prophetfounder of the Bahá'í Faith, visited North America in 1912 and lectured on and demonstrated the Bahá'í teachings on racial unity and love.

A year earlier, 'Abdu'l-Baha had sent a message to the 1911 University Races Congress in London in which he explained the importance of the diversity of the human family and compared humankind to a flower garden adorned with different colors and shapes that "enhance the loveliness of each other."[190] In 1912, 'Abdu'l-Baha spoke at Howard University in Washington, DC. According to a companion who kept diaries of 'Abdu'l-Baha's Western tours and lectures, wherever 'Abdu'l-Baha witnessed racial diversity, he was compelled to call attention to it. During 'Abdu'l-Baha's talk at Howard University, this companion reports, "here, as elsewhere, when both white and colored people were present, 'Abdu'l-Baha seemed happiest."[191]

As he looked over the racially mixed audience at Howard, 'Abdu'lBaha remarked, "Today I am most happy, for I see here a gathering of the servants of God. I see white and black sitting together."[192] After two talks, 'Abdu'l-Baha was visibly tired as he prepared for a third talk. He was not planning to talk long. But here again, when he saw blacks and whites in the audience, he became inspired: "A meeting such as this seems like a beautiful cluster of precious jewels—pearls, rubies, diamonds, and sapphires. It is [a] source of joy and delight."[193] 'Abdu'l-Baha then elaborated on the theme of racial unity to an audience that probably had never heard such high praise for a gathering that many white Americans would have frowned on and just as many black Americans would have avoided. "Whatever is conducive to the unity of the world of mankind is most acceptable and praise wor-

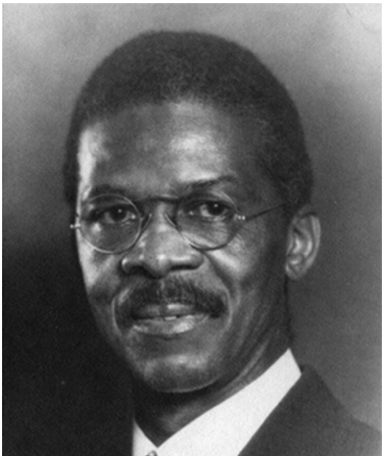
thy...Therefore, in the world of humanity it is wise and seemly that all the individual members should manifest unity and affinity."[194] Returning to his use of positive racial images woven into the new language of racial unity and fellowship, he painted a picture for his audience: "In the clustered jewel of the race may the blacks be as sapphires and rubies and the whites as diamonds and pearls. The composite beauty of humanity will be witnessed in their unity and blending."[195] To another racially mixed audience, 'Abdu'l-Baha commented, "As I stand here tonight and look upon this assembly, I am reminded curiously of a beautiful bouquet of violets gathered together in varying colors, dark and light."[196] Realizing the depth of American racism from his conversations and correspondences with black and white American Bahá'ís years before he visited the United States, 'Abdu'l-Baha did not miss any opportunity to demonstrate to all Americans, black and white, young and old, the Bahá'í approach to the racial problems in the United States. While visiting the Bowery Mission area in New York, some poor boys visited 'Abdu'l-Baha in his room. As the boys filed into the room 'Abdu'l-Baha greeted each one. The last boy to enter the room was a very dark African American. Because he was the only black boy in the group, he may have felt that 'Abdu'l-Baha would not accept him. But as an observer reports, "When 'Abdu'l-Baha saw him His face lighted up with a heavenly smile. He raised His hand with a gesture of princely welcome and exclaimed in a loud voice so that none could fail to hear; that here was a black rose. The room fell into instant silence. The black face became illumined with a happiness and love hardly of this world. The other boys looked at him with new eyes. I venture to say that he had been called a black many things, but never before a black rose."[197]

As in his talks to racially mixed audiences, 'Abdu'l-Baha compared beautifully diverse flowers and jewels to an equally beautiful mixture of people, particularly black and white, and by doing so transformed the traditional racist color symbolism and

imagery into the symbolism and imagery of racial unity. 'Abdu'l-Baha presented black and white Americans with new eyes and a new spiritual language with which to visualize and achieve a spiritual fellowship. By calling on black and white Americans to see themselves in a new light, as different colored flowers and jewels complementing each other, 'Abdu'l-Baha enabled them to counter and transcend the racist cultural tendencies so ingrained in the American national character.

While in the United States, 'Abdu'l-Baha's every act seemed to be calculated to demonstrate the Bahá'í teachings on the importance of love and unity between all members of the human race, especially blacks and whites. He used every opportunity to demonstrate how Bahá'ís should treat racial minorities. One such opportunity came during a luncheon held in his honor in Washington, DC. The luncheon had been arranged by two Bahá'í, Ali-Kuli Khan, the Persian *charge d'affaires*, and Florence Breed Khan, his wife. Some of the guests were members of Washington's social and political elite. Before the luncheon, 'Abdu'l-Baha sent for Louis Gregory, a well-known black Bahá'í. The two chatted for a while, and 'Abdu'l-Baha invited Louis Gregory to the luncheon. The assembled guests were no doubt surprised not only by 'Abdu'l-Baha inviting a black person to a white upper-class social affair but even more by the affection and love shown by 'Abdu'l-Baha for Gregory when he gave the latter the seat of honor on his right. A biographer of Louis Gregory writes of this event, "Gently yet unmistakably, 'Abdu'l-Baha had assaulted the customs of a city that had been scandalized only a decade earlier by President Roosevelt's dinner invitation to Booker T. Washington."[198]

At the time of 'Abdu'l-Baha's visit to the United States many blacks and whites did not accept interracial marriage. Many states outlawed the practice or did not recognize such unions. Yet 'Abdu'l-Baha never wavered in his insistence that black Bahá'ís and white Bahá'ís should not only be unified but also



Louis George Gregory (June 6, 1874–July 30, 951) was given the surname of his step father who was the only free man of African descent in Charleston, South Carolina to join the Union Army in the Civil War. He became a lawyer and an activist member of the Bahá'í Faith and key collaborator on the organization of the first National Race Amity Convention in Washington, D.C. in 1921.

Agnes Parsons (1861–1934) was a Washington, D.C. socialite and devoted Bahá'í who served as the principal organizer of the first National Race Amity Convention held in 1921 in Washington, D.C. She collaborated with co-religionist Louis Gregory and others to launch the historic conference.

should inter marry. In Palestine, he had discussed the matter of interracial marriage with several black and white Western and explored the sexual myths and fears at the core of American racism. His solution was to encourage interracial marriage. As the supreme model of the Bahá'í teachings and principles, he brought together a black American Bahá'í, Louis Gregory, and an English Bahá'í, Louisa Mathew. It was the first black-white interracial marriage between Bahá'ís and became known as the marriage that was personally encouraged by 'Abdu'l-Baha. This demonstration of Bahá'í teaching and principles proved difficult to accept for some Bahá'ís, who doubted that such a union could

last in a segregated society, but the marriage lasted until their deaths close to four decades later. Throughout this period, the Gregorys became the ultimate American Bahá'í symbol of racial unity, love, and friendship.[199]

Historians of American race relations in the early 20th Century will one day examine the influence of 'Abdu'l-Baha's 1912 visit to the United States on certain aspects of American race relations, as well as the effect of Bahá'í-initiated race amity conferences on the history of race relations.

Years later, from his home in Palestine, 'Abdu'l-Baha initiated a plan to address the racial crisis in America. He laid out a plan to organize a series of large, well-publicized interracial meetings, specifically aimed to proclaim the oneness of mankind and to promote "racial amity" between black and white Americans.[200]

He asked Agnes Parsons, a prominent Washington D.C. socialite, who was a Bahá'í to collaborate with others to create the event. Parsons, whose social standing attracted prominent whites, including Senator Moses Clapp from Minnesota, reached out to local and national black leaders as well. She also sought the advice of Louis Gregory.

This first race amity conference took place in 1921 in Washington, DC. Over the years since race amity, or race unity, conferences would become the hallmark of the American Bahá'í community's contribution to American race relations.

Mary and Eleanor—The Interracial Friendship that Helped Shape National Policies on Race Relations

Amity is the core enabler of The Other Tradition. Interracial friendships are the lifeblood, the mortar that gives cohesion and transcendent moral strength to the work of establishing equity, access, and social justice. We have only just begun to fully examine and fathom the powerful forces released by such cross-racial

friendships within the constantly flowing historical stream of this tradition. These friendships have built bridges over chasms of racism, transformed hatred into love, uplifted the oppressed to a place of nobility and influenced people's lives that often are impacted in unsuspecting ways. One of the best examples of the far reaching power of The Other Tradition in the 20th Century was the friendship between two remarkable women, Mary McLeod Bethune and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, a liaison that helped shape national policy on race relations. Their friendship scaled the heights of what many might have seen as impossible, or at least improbable, in the field of racial policy. Together the women formed a powerful bond that has had a lasting influence on race relations and American society in a way that would not be seen again until the Civil Rights Movement which began in the mid-1950s.

Mary McLeod Bethune

As in many of the close cross-racial/cross-cultural friendships within The Other Tradition in our country's history, for these two advocates for social justice, access and equity were from vastly different origins. Mary McLeod was born in 1875 in South Carolina, the fifteenth of seventeen children of former slaves. She worked the fields picking cotton when at the age of ten she was invited by white church missionary teachers to join their classes. Mary walked several miles each way to attend the primary reading and math classes. She later wrote that she immediately recognized the power of reading and knowledge to advance personal change and advancement for those deprived of knowledge. "The whole world opened to me when I learned to read," she often observed in her public comments and addresses. A smart and energetic student Mary attended Scotia Seminary (later Barber Scotia College) with the assistance of her white admirers and benefactors.[200]

She met and married her husband Albertus Bethune in 1898

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875– 1955), American educator, college president, stateswoman, philanthropist, humanitarian and civil rights activist.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), diplomat, U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, 1945–1952, and wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. She was chair of the United Nations committee that drafted The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

when they worked together as teachers. She wanted to become a missionary to Africa but segregationist policies did not allow it. She taught for several years then in 1905, at the age of 29 started a school for African American girls, the Industrial Training School for Negro Girls in Daytona, Florida. It soon merged with an all-male school, Cookman Institute, to become Bethune-Cookman College.[201]

McLeod Bethune served as president of the college from 1923 to 1942, one of the few women college presidents in the world during that time. Simultaneously, because of her keen intelligence and energy, she was elected president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), then president of the National Council of Negro Women in 1935. These organizations represented hundreds of thousands of African American women across America. Though not vested with access to full voter rights they were recognized by political and social observers as a source of significant influence in American society, particularly in domestic affairs. She was appointed to the Advisory Board of the National Youth Administration. In this role as in others she was very outspoken and employed a style that was effective. "Addressing white organizations, Bethune adopted her more subdued and affable, down-home style. Typical is a speech during a 1937 NYA field trip through Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri recounted by B. Joyce Ross in the *Journal of Negro History*. 'You white folks have long been eating the white meat of the chicken. We Negroes are now ready for some of the white meat instead of the dark meat.'"[202]

Eleanor Roosevelt

Eleanor was born in 1884 to one of America's economic and political elite families, the Roosevelts. She was the daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt's youngest brother Elliot. Her mother, Anna Hall was a member of perhaps the largest land owning family in New York State with holdings that reportedly totaled

more acreage than the State of Rhode Island. One of Eleanor's direct ancestors was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Another administered the oath of office to George Washington.

Eleanor's parents died when she was a child. After her mother's death, Eleanor went to live with her grandmother. She was educated by private tutors until the age of 15, when she was sent to a school for girls in England. The headmistress took a special interest in young Eleanor and had a great influence on her education and thinking. At age 18, Eleanor returned to New York with a fresh sense of confidence in herself and her abilities. She became involved in social service work, joined the Junior League, and taught at the Rivington Street Settlement House.[203] On March 17, 1905, Eleanor married her fifth cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Her public activities gave way to family concerns and her husband's political career which ultimately rose to his becoming one the most revered presidents of all time, second perhaps only to George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.[204]

The Friendship of Mary and Eleanor

In 1927 Eleanor Roosevelt and her mother in law, Sara Delano Roosevelt, gave a luncheon at the Roosevelt home in New York City for representative leaders of the National Council of Women of the USA. Of the 35 guests, Mary McLeod Bethune was the only African American. Sara noted the apprehensive glances cast in the way of Mrs. Bethune by the Southern women about to be ushered to the table...(Sara Roosevelt) took the arm of this particular guest (Mrs. Bethune) and placed her at the right of their hostess, her daughter-in-law...From that moment the heart of Mary McLeod Bethune went out to Sara Roosevelt. Subsequently, they visited together many times at the home of Mrs. Roosevelt who, among other tokens of her sympathies, accepted the Honorary Chairmanship of the Bethune-Cookman College Endowment Campaign. Their friendship became a treasured relationship. As a direct result of this affection, the friendship

with Eleanor Roosevelt ripened.[205] It was this luncheon where Eleanor first "emerged into public life as a crusader for women's rights and civil rights."[206]

McLeod Bethune had come to that historical luncheon with years of experience interacting with wealthy whites on behalf of her school, a valuable lesson. Four years earlier Bethune had been elected president of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.[207] Seen in this light, Eleanor and Sara Roosevelt were not just inviting a "nice Negro woman"[208] to a luncheon at their home as an act of racial charity—although given the racial customs of the time they certainly deserved credit for breaking with their family and class racial biases. Instead, they were inviting an African American leader and educator with a growing national reputation among both whites and blacks. Four years later Bethune would be invited to attend the Child Welfare Conference called by President Calvin Coolidge. Her national status continued to grow and in 1930 President Herbert Hoover "appointed her to the White House Conference on Child Health."[209]

In 1933 Eleanor took a big step in combatting racial discrimination. She "called a meeting of African American leaders at the White House. Her guests included Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Mordecai Johnson of Howard University; Robert Motion of the Tuskegee Institute, and others. It was the first time that such a distinguished group of Negro leaders had been invited to the White House to discuss issues of burning importance to them."[210] The African American leaders did not hold back. "Hour after hour they bluntly described the crisis among American blacks to Eleanor…The President joined them briefly..."[211]The consensus among all the African American leaders was "access by African Americans to the programs and benefits of the New Deal was the most urgent need and that desegregation of the South would have to come later."[212]

While Eleanor followed her own path and heart on this journey of fighting for racial justice, she still ran up against resistance. Still she did not hesitate to entertain African American friends, like Walter White and Mary McLeod Bethune, "in the private quarters of the White House, but the public White House was another story. At public functions, she bowed to segregation laws and even accepted—though reluctantly—Steve Early's [Press Secretary from Virginia] dictum that women journalists be excluded from her press conferences."[213] As to her African American guests at the White House she more than made up for any embarrassment they may have felt by the manner in which she welcomed and honored them. "To avoid problems with the staff when Bethune would visit the White House Eleanor would meet her at the gate, embrace her, and walk in with her arm-in-arm."[214]

Perhaps the one incident that "caused a fire storm" and forced Eleanor "to assert herself again on the question of race" involved Marian Anderson, the great African American soprano. In 1936, the First Lady invited Anderson to sing at the White House. Three years later Anderson was not allowed to sing at the Washington's Constitution Hall owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), because they did not permit African American artists to use the hall. In protest, Eleanor resigned from the organization.[215] However, "A smashing victory over segregation was rendered when Anderson was invited by Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes to sing from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday 1939."[216]

That same year Eleanor attended the Southern Conference on Human Welfare in Birmingham, Alabama, where once again she was confronted by racial segregation. The city demanded that the conference obey the segregation laws by segregating black and white delegates in the hall. If they wanted to proceed, the organization had no choice but to comply, which they did reluctantly. "But when Eleanor, accompanied by applause, walked into the hall and noticed the segregated seating, she sat down on the

black side, next to her friend Mary McLeod Bethune, director of Negro Affairs for the National Youth Administration. One of the officers sent by the sheriff tapped her on the shoulder and told her black and white delegates could not sit together, and during the rest of the meeting she carried her little folding chair with her always placing it in the middle of the room, in a race-free zone of her own."[217]

Bethune's influence as a major African American leader was growing as was her friendship with the First Lady. On December 5, 1935, Bethune was elected president of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). She was one of 30 representatives of national African American women's organizations who voted to for the creation of the new council. "For her purposes, the national nature of the organizations was crucial, because each woman on the council headed a group that represented dozens or even hundreds of other groups. Counting the full membership of each organization, Mary McLeod Bethune now represented five hundred thousand women."[218] As a result, when McLeod Bethune "spoke publicly, she spoke for all these women. Without ever running for public office, she had a constituency of half a million people."[219]

McLeod Bethune's position as president of an organization of half a million strong African American women was not lost on President Roosevelt. One year later, he appointed her to a position in the National Youth Administration (NYA). McLeod Bethune and Eleanor Roosevelt then joined forces and convinced the president that "the NYA needed a Negro Division to assure that benefits would be equally distributed," which resulted in McLeod Bethune being appointed Director of the Negro Division of the NYA in 1938, "the highest position in the federal government ever held by a black women."[220] The position provided Bethune with tremendous status within the Roosevelt administration. "This added to the influence she already enjoyed as one of the First Lady's closest friends, made her the 'race leader' of the Roosevelt years."[221]

As Director of the Division of Negro Affairs McLeod Bethune realized that she would need help. She established an informal network group composed of 27 men and three women working within the various New Deal agencies. This group became known as the *Black Cabinet*. She was the only African American agent within the National Youth Administration who was releasing funds. She leveraged this rare opportunity to great advantage for African Americans. "She made sure that black colleges participated in the Civilian Pilot Training Program which graduated some of the first black pilots."[222]

In early 1939, Bethune advised the president that "…among all the disabilities black Americans suffered: 'One of the sorest points among Negroes which I have encountered is the discrimination against Negroes in all the armed forces of the United States. Forthright action on your part to lessen discrimination and segregation and particularly in affording opportunities for the training of Negro pilots for the Air Corps would gain tremendous good will, even out of proportion to the significance of such action."[223]

Her efforts resulted in West Virginia State College becoming the first black college "to adopt an aviation program and to receive its first military airplane in 1939." Tuskegee Institute followed with its own program that produced the famous World War II African American hero fighter pilots known in public lore as "The Red Tails" (three women to thank for Tuskegee Airmen existence).[224]

Both Mary Bethune McLeod and Eleanor Roosevelt participated in the early years of the United Nations. McLeod Bethune was the only African American woman at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945 as one of the NAACP representatives, along with W.E.B. Du Bois and Walter White, of the NAACP. In December 1945, President Truman honored Eleanor by appointing her a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly.[225]

From a seemingly unbridgeable chasm in their birth circum-

stances, the relationship of the most influential African American woman in US history, Mary McLeod Bethune, and America's most celebrated and respected First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt is best summarized in a statement of Eleanor Roosevelt to the power of The Other Tradition, "When more whites and Negroes become friends and lose whatever self-consciousness they started out with, we shall have a much happier world."[226]

Septima Clark and Myles Horton: The Highlander Folk School

Septima Poinsette Clark was born May 3, 1898 in Charleston, SC. In 1904, six-year-old Septima Poinsette's first educational experience in Charleston taught her the plight of an African American in a public school. With a hundred other black children, her education began by sitting in the bleachers, learning nothing. Her mother quickly removed Septima from that school, placing her with an elderly white woman who was privately schooling children. Too poor to pay, Septima's mother looked after the woman's children in exchange for tuition. At the time, there was no school beyond sixth grade for black children, so after sixth grade, Septima took a test and was admitted into the ninth grade at the Avery Institute, an academy for black students founded by missionaries from Massachusetts. Life in Charleston, which was deeply segregated at the time, taught Septima many lessons about the pain and unfairness of racial discrimination—lessons that fueled her quest for racial justice and her desire to strengthen the black community through education and citizenship. In her words, "I just thought that you couldn't get people to register and vote until you teach them to read and write." After graduating from twelfth grade, Septima was too poor to attend Fisk College, as her teachers had hoped. But she passed a state examination that allowed her to teach—not in Charleston, which banned Afri-

Myles Horton (July 9, 1905 – January 19, 1990) was an American educator, socialist, and co-founder of the Highlander Folk School. Referred to on occasion as the *Liberal Hill Billy*, Horton was from a poor family in Tennessee. He and Clark worked closely together to develop the Citizenship School curriculum and trained activists to implement it.

Septima Clark (May 3, 1898 – December 15, 1987) co-architect of Citizenship School model with dear friend, Myles Horton. The Citizenship Schools prepared disenfranchised black voters to read and write which gave access to voting during the Civil Rights Movement. Civil Rights leaders Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and Fannie Lou Hamer are among those whose received Citizenship School teacher training. Citizenship Schools are credited with giving local voter organizing efforts their effectiveness.

can American teachers, but in rural areas. Three years later, she returned to her beloved Avery, this time as an instructor. And as an early activist, she helped gather signatures to support the hiring of African American teachers in Charleston. Within a year, she married Nerie Clark, and became Septima Poinsette Clark.

In 1925, after the death of her husband to kidney failure, Septima moved to Columbia, South Carolina to continue teaching. There she joined the NAACP. Septima helped that organization, and Thurgood Marshall—who later became the first African American Supreme Court Justice. Together the two collaborated on a landmark case that sought equal pay for black and white teachers. She called this experience "My first effort in a social action challenging the status quo." When the case was won, Septima's teaching salary tripled.

In the mid-50s, however, South Carolina passed a law making it illegal for public employees, such as teachers, to be a member of a civil rights group. Septima refused to renounce her membership in the NAACP and lost her job. About this time, encouraged to attend a program in Tennessee that was developed to help teachers technical literacy, Septima met Myles Horton. Inspired by progressive Danish schools and his own community activism, Horton had founded the Highlander Folk School in 1932.Highlander Folk School actively opposed segregation, advocated for poor people and the organization of laborers, and offered workshops and job training programs to minorities. Philosophically, Highlander's philosophy matched Septima's, using education to help African American students drive voter registration and political participation.

The school became a center for discussions about strategies for the Civil Rights Movement, and through its doors came powerful figures like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Eleanor Roosevelt, Julian Bond, John Lewis, and Pete Seeger. Septima Poinsette Clark taught many workshops at Highlander. Four months after attending one of Clark's workshops, Rosa Parks refused to give up her bus seat to a white man and sparked the Montgomery

bus boycott. About Septima Clark's inspiration, Rosa Parks said "I wanted to have the courage to accomplish the kinds of things that she had been doing for years." Septima never stopped being a teacher, even after being arrested for teaching integrated classes and being threated physically by the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi.

Harassment also came from some of those she worked with who often dismissed Septima's and other women's contributions to civil rights. She called their sexism, "…one of the weaknesses of the movement." At the National Organization of Women, she spoke out about the struggle of black and white women against male domination.

Myles Horton was born in 1905 in Savannah, Tennessee. When he was 15-years-old Myles organized a strike at the local tomato faculty to protest wages. Working various jobs and receiving some scholarship aid he attended and graduated from Cumberland College and studied at Union Theological Seminary in New York and the University of Chicago. At the University of Chicago he studied the education model of Danish Folk Schools which centered on providing the uneducated with opportunities to learn and to empower them toward self-actualization to improve their economic and social standing. Myles and a friend Don West visited these schools in Denmark. When they returned they opened the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. Klansmen in the area attacked the Highlander Folk School, beat the staff, and burned school property. Political and governmental opponents accused Horton of being a communist and forced the school to shut down. When the doors were padlocked, Horton stood outside laughing. When asked why, he said, "Highlander is an idea. You can't padlock an idea." Horton immediately reopened the school in Knoxville as the Highlander Research and Education Center. The work continued with Septima Clark and others and served as the basic training center for community organizers of the famous "Freedom Schools" which were a key element of Civil Rights' community activism.

A Mother's Ultimate Sacrifice in The Other Tradition—Viola Gregg Liuzzo

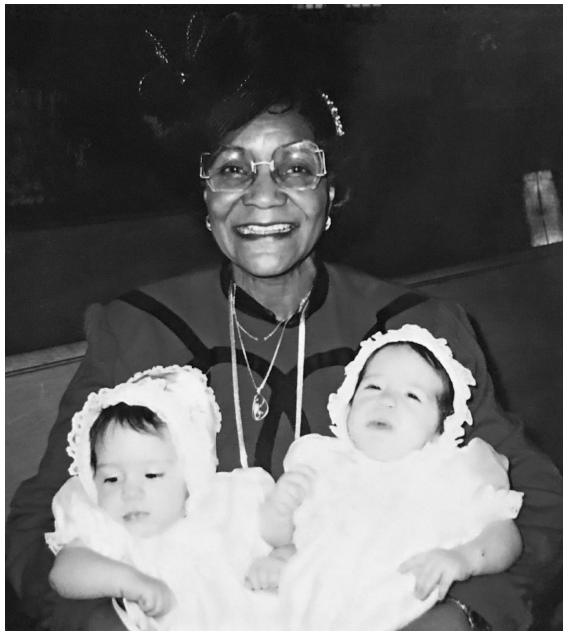
On March 7, 1965 civil rights supporters attempting to march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama were attacked and beaten on the Edmund Pettus Bridge by state and local police officers, using clubs and teargas. The day would go down in civil rights history as "Bloody Sunday"; millions watched the horrible scene on television. Two days later, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. made another attempt to march from Selma to Montgomery but decided against it after facing the state police en route. Dr. King, Jr. put out a call for members of all faiths to join him for a third march.

Viola Liuzzo, a 39-year-old white Detroit housewife with five children had watched the "brutal assault on the protesters in a news broadcast and felt compelled to find a way to join the fight for civil rights."[227] Viola Liuzzo had been raised in the South where she witnessed racial segregation and came to understand white-skin privilege. After moving North she experienced the racial tensions, conflicts, and riots in Detroit during the 1940s. She had been involved in local activism throughout her adult life "but it was not until she attended college in 1962 that she began to get seriously involved in the organized Civil Rights Movement."[228] She had become involved in the Detroit NAACP through the efforts of her long-time African American friend, Sarah Evans. In 1964 they drove to New York City to attend a civil rights seminar at the United Nations organized by Detroit First Unitarian-Universalist Church.[229]

Nine days after Bloody Sunday, Viola participated in a protest at Wayne State University. She learned that her husband Jim Liuzzo would be upset if he knew that she was thinking about going to Selma. "Racked with guilt yet determined to go, she decided to plan the trip without consulting him." However, she finally confided in Sarah who told her "she was crazy and would

Viola Fauver Gregg Liuzzo (April 11, 1925–March 25, 1965) was a Unitarian Universalist civil rights activist from Michigan. She was the only white female martyr of the Civil Rights Movement. She left her children in the care of her dear friend, Sarah Evans, a fellow member of the Detriot NAACP, in order to work as a Civil Rights volunteer in Alabama. She was murdered by the Ku Klux Klan as she drove back from airport after dropping off activists.

Sarah Evans holding twins of Viola Liuzzo's youngest daughter. The granddaughters, coincidentally, were born on the date Viola was murdered, March 25. One of the twins is named for Sarah who Viola's children regard as their aunt.



wind up getting herself killed." Evans said that Viola was stubborn and remembered her friend saying, "A few people started this mess and a few people can end it." Viola was not so much stubborn as she was concerned that her life had purport. As she explained to Evans she wanted to do something "concrete with her life and she thought the Civil Rights Movement would give her that opportunity. 'It's important and I want to be part of it.'"[230]

Viola called her husband Jim to tell him she was going to Selma. She left her children in the care of family and friends with careful instructions about their care. Evans recounted that Viola "…was a loving mother. She took good care of her kids. She set it for me to stay with them when she went to Selma…Mary was already eighteen. She helped, too. Evans promised Viola that she would take care of her children and explain to them where their mother was going, and promised them that she would call every night. Viola had written out schedules and left detailed instructions for the care of the children.[231]

Sarah Evans was Viola's natural choice to take care of her children. The women had been friends since they first met twenty years earlier during World War Two. Years later, after Viola's death, Evans recounted their first meeting that led to their long enduring friendship:

"It was during the war and this pretty little redhead came into my store looking for pepper. Pepper was still being rationed and my boss used to save it for his special customers…there was something special about this lady—she was so open and friendly, so lively. When my boss told her we didn't have any pepper I reminded him there was some under the counter. He could have killed me—probably should have fired me—I never did anything like that before. Anyway he had to sell Vi the pepper. She realized right away what happened and whispered to me, in her Southern drawl, 'you're my kind of people.' She invited me to come over to her apartment for coffee sometime and I went."[232]

Although Evans was ten years older and African American, the two women shared a lot in common. Both had been raised in the South and "…talked about the South a lot…For all its foolishness, Evans recalled, 'it was a place we both missed.'"[233] When Viola became pregnant and Penny was born in 1946, she asked Evans to babysit. From there a 20-year friendship blossomed as Evans's role in the family "evolved from babysitter to full-time housekeeper. Reflecting back on Evans' influence on her life and the Liuzzo's household, Viola's daughter Mary recalled, 'She [mom] wasn't traditional, and wasn't domestic. Everything I know about housework—cleaning, sewing, shopping, taking care of my clothes—I learned from Sarah. Sarah was the stability in our house.'"[234]

Once Viola arrived in Selma she began working with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, delivering aid to various areas, welcoming and recruiting volunteers, and transporting them along with marchers to bus stations, train stations, and airports, using her old car, a 1963 Oldsmobile. She was among the more than 3,000 marchers between in the historic campaign to gain voting rights for African Americans in the South. Unlike earlier marches the participants were protected by U.S. Army and National Guard troops. The marchers reached Montgomery on March 25, 1965 where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave a rousing speech on the steps of the State Capitol building to the huge crowd of close to 25,000 people.

After the march ended on March 25, 1965, Ms. Liuzzo volunteered to shuttle marchers and volunteers to airports and bus stops. She was assisted by Leroy Moton, a 19-year-old African American. Driving along Route 80, a car attempted to force them off the road. Later while Liuzzo was driving back to Selma on a backroad, a car loaded with four Ku Klux Klan members chased them, caught up with the car and shot Liuzzo twice in the head. She died instantly. The car went out of control and crashed. Moton was covered with Viola's blood but was unharmed. Fear-

ing for his life, he lay motionless as the Klansmen checked the car to determine if Liuzzo and Morton were both dead. Convinced that they were dead, the Klansmen left. Moton managed to escape and flag down a truck driven by Rev. Leon Riley, who was also transporting civil rights volunteers back to Selma. The news shocked the nation.[235]

The next day, President Lyndon B. Johnson appeared on television and announced to the nation that Liuzzo's killers had been apprehended. The four members of the KKK were: Eugene Thomas, Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., William O. Eaton, and Gary Thomas Rowe. Rowe was "later revealed to be an F.B.I. informant." And after the brutal murder of Viola Liuzzo, Michigan Governor George Romney visited the shocked and grief-stricken family and stated that she "gave her life for what she believed in, and what she believed in is the cause of humanity."[236] On March 30, just five days after her death, Viola's funeral took place at the Immaculate Heart of Mary Catholic Church, attended by many prominent government and civil rights leaders. Among those who had come to pay their respects to this fallen heroine who like others had paid the ultimate sacrifice, were Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., NAACP Executive Director, Roy Wilkins, CORE National leader, James Farmer, Michigan Lieutenant Governor, William G. Miliken, Teamster President, Jimmy Hoffa, and United Auto Workers President, Walter Reuther. Viola Liuzzo was buried at Holy Sepulcher Cemetery in Southfield, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit.[237]

Despite the efforts of Hoover to discredit Liuzzo, on April 22, 1965 Wilkins, Eaton, and Thomas were indicted in Alabama for the murder of Liuzzo. Because he was an FBI informant and served as a witness, Rowe was not indicted. The defense lawyer, Matt Murphy, immediately attempted to have the case dismissed arguing that President Johnson had violated his clients' civil rights when he mentioned their names during his television announcement. Murphy said that he would call Johnson to testify during the trial. Wilkin's trial was first with an all-white

jury and Rowe as the key witness. During the final arguments, Murphy called Liuzzo, a "white nigger" deploying a racist tactic guaranteed to sway the jury. It worked, and resulted in a mistrial. The next day, a Klan parade was held for the accused murderers. At the close of the parade they were given a standing ovation. Before the re-trial, the defense attorney had a fatal accident. He fell asleep while driving and crashed into a gasoline truck and was killed. Murphy was replaced by Art Hanes, the former mayor of Birmingham, Alabama, who agreed to represent all three Klan members. Hanes was not only a rigid segregationist, but had earned his reputation as mayor of Birmingham during the 1963 civil rights demonstrations when "Bull" Conner used fire hoses on black protestors. Once again an all-white jury was selected. In October, the two-day trial ended after the jury spent less than two hours to acquit Wilkins.[238]

The protracted legal process continued when the defendants were charged with "conspiring to intimidate African Americans under the 18th Ku Klux Klan Act, a Reconstruction civil rights statute." Interestingly enough, "the charge did not specially refer to Liuzzo's murder."[239] This time the trio did not escape justice. In December an all-white all-male jury found them all guilty. They were sentenced to ten years in prison. Out on appeal, Thomas and Wilkins were convicted of firearms violation and sent to prison. Meanwhile state murder charges continued against Eaton and Thomas. At the time, Eaton was the only defendant not in jail. On March 9, he had a heart attack and died. The final trial occurred in September 1966. The evidence against Thomas was overwhelming: the FBI ballistics expert testified that the bullet removed from Viola's brain was fired from a gun owned by Thomas. This time there were eight blacks and four whites on the jury one of the first integrated juries in the South. Unfortunately, it made little difference in the verdict. After just 90 minutes, Thomas was acquitted of the charge. In April 1967, the convictions of the remaining defendants were upheld. Gary Thomas Rowe went into Federal Witness Protection.[240]

FBI Director, Edgar Hoover began his cover-up campaign by suggesting to President Johnson that Liuzzo was probably a drug addict, that she had had sex with Moton, and that her husband who was a member of the Teamsters Union was connected with organized crime. The FBI began leaking these allegations and stories to the press, including that she was both a bad wife and mother. This vicious FBI campaign to destroy his wife's reputation took a toll on Jim Liuzzo. His daughter Penny, recalled that the disinformation campaign "took the life right out of him…he started drinking a lot." According to an autopsy in 1965 no drugs were in Liuzzo's system and she had not been sexually active at the time of her death. In 1978 the FBI's role in the campaign to destroy Viola's reputation was finally uncovered after her children obtained FBI documents under the Freedom of Information Act.[241]

The FBI was not alone in attempts to discredit Viola's courageous decision to join the civil rights march in Selma that led to her death. Various racist organizations attacked her actions as radical and controversial. Viola had not been dead two week before white racists in Detroit reared their ugly heads. A charred cross was placed in front of the Liuzzo's home and three other Detroit homes. Jim's sons, Tommy and Tony, were called "nigger lovers" at school. Their six-year-old sister Sally had to endure rocks being thrown at her as she walked home from first grade. People threw garbage across the family's lawn and shots were fired at their house. Jim was forced to hire armed guards to protect the family.[242]

The racist and vicious rant against the family knew no bounds. Someone sent Jim an anonymous letter with a clipping from the classified section of the January 15, 1966 Birmingham News advertising a sale of the car in which his wife had been murder. The clipping read: "Do you need a crowd drawer? I have the 1963 Oldsmobile 2-door that Viola Liuzzo was killed in. Bullet holes and everything still intact. Ideal to bring in a crowd, $3,500." Jim

was still paying the loan on the car. Mail sacks three-feet-high filled with hate mail were delivered to the house. To protect Jim from seeing and reading the venomous mail, Evans would screen them and burn them in the sink. Having been so close to the family for years, for Evans obviously, the hate mail was difficult to bear. As Jim's daughter shared years later, Sarah "…was my mother's best friend. She shouldn't have had to see all that hateful stuff either." While Evans was screening the mail at the Liuzzo's home, however, someone mailed a news clip from *Knight Rider*, a Klan magazine, directly to Jim's office. It was a photo of the body of his beloved wife, Viola, hanging out of her car![243]

The impact on Jim of losing his wife to hateful violence, the FBI cover-up and its campaign to destroy his wife's reputation, and trying to protect his family from home-grown racists, was getting to him. He was losing his concentration and missing major meetings at work. As a union organizer, traveling was crucial, but he refused to travel. As to the children, Jim obviously loved them but did not know how to nurture them or share his feelings. That role had been left to Viola. Sarah had to fill that role. According to one scholar, "without Sarah's help, life would have been unbearable for the younger ones."[244]

In 1977 the Liuzzo family filed a law suit against the FBI charging that their informant, Thomas Rowe "had failed to prevent Liuzzo's death and had in effect conspired in the murder." In 1979 the American Civil Liberties Union acting on behalf of the family filed another suit against the agency. Unfortunately for the family, in 1983, they lost their suit when a judge rejected their claim, arguing that there was "no evidence the FBI was in any type of joint venture with Rowe or conspiracy against Mrs. Liuzzo. Rowe's presence in the car was the principle reason why the crime was solved so quickly. To add insult to injury, that same year the court awarded the FBI $79,873 in court costs. The ACLU appealed on behalf of the family and the costs were reduced to $3,645.[245]

Viola Liuzzo was among the 40 civil rights martyrs who made the ultimate sacrifice and were honored on the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery created in 1989. In 1991, the women of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference placed a marker on the spot on highway 80 where she was murdered by members of the KKK.[246] In 2004 Paola di Florio presented a documentary on Liuzzzo, *Home of the Brave*, at the Sundance Film Festival. "The critically acclaimed film explored Liuzzo's story as well as the impact of her murder on her children."[247] Four years later, blues singer, Robin Roger s, now deceased, memorialized Viola Liuzzo in a song, "Color Blind Angel" on her album, *Treat Me Right*. During the fiftieth anniversary of the Selma March and the signing of the passing of the Voting Rights, the film, *Home of the Brave*, was re-released and shown on March 7, 2015 at the Capri Theater in Montgomery Alabama. The film[248] was screened around the country, and honors Viola as the only white woman killed in the Civil Rights Movement.

Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center

Morris Dees was born in 1936 in a white farming family in Alabama. During the summer of 1947 at age ten, he learned a valuable lesson in race relations that would later influence his decision to fight for racial justice. In his autobiography, *A Lawyer's Journey: The Morris Dees Story*, he tells the following story:

> "Daddy called for me to get my cotton basket as he headed for his green Studebaker Pickup. Billy Lucas [a black farmer] had asked if he would bring the field hands who lived on our small farm to help him finish picking what he hoped would be the first bale harvested in Montgomery County for 1947. He had planted early in hope of reaping the extra five hundred dollars it would bring at auction.

> Billy was rushing to beat the Belser brothers, owners of a large plantation with over fifty hands. He had dreams of using the extra money to repay past-due debts. It was also a great honor to be pictured on the front of the Montgomery Advertiser with your freshly ginned bale of cotton and the merchant who made the highest bid. This honor usually went to the big planters…The eight black folk and me would give Billy and his family an even chance to ride his mule-powered wagon across the scales ahead of everyone. I was only ten but I added fifty pounds that day he needed for the winning bale. Robert Belser's [one of the big white planters] face was redder than its usual sun-burnt hue as he cussed daddy. "Why the goddamn hell did he have to help that nigger beat me out of the first bale," he demanded. He ranted for ten minutes to the small group of white farmers sitting around my Uncle Lucien Dees' country store. My uncle didn't speak up for Daddy…Daddy stood at the gin, waiting to take Billy's bale to the Court Square in downtown Montgomery. It would be many years before I understood why my father was different from most other white men in Mount Meigs when it came to black folk. It would be nearly a lifetime before I could appreciate the influence his examples had in shaping my decision to fight legal battles for underdogs like Billy Lucas."[249]

Dees' father's influence on his racial attitudes began years earlier and presented a counterweight against his Uncle Lucien's rabid racism. "Daddy and Lucien didn't see eye-to-eye on too many things. Daddy never used the word 'nigger' and he wouldn't tolerate us using it either."[250] Dees learned that lesson when he was about five when a 50-year-old black farm hand was trying to help him down off of a mule. The little boy resisted, angrily telling the old black farm hand, "You black nigger, you can't tell me what to do." He didn't know his father was nearby and heard

his racial insult. "In a single motion, he reached up, grabbed me, jerked me to the ground, took off his belt, and gave me the first whipping of my life. (He was not prone to hitting us.) Daddy wore me out with that belt, whipped me all over that mule lot, and when he was done he looked me square in the eye and said, 'Don't you ever call anybody a 'black nigger.'" Then his father instructed him to obey the elder black farm hand, "you do what he says."[251] After that "lesson" in race relations, Dees recalled, "I never called anyone a nigger after my whipping, and by the time I was ten, I was working with Wilson [the old black field hand] and the rest of the hands in the field."[252]

Both of Dees' parents played vital and complementary roles in shaping his views on racial justice. Notwithstanding the fact that his maternal grandfather was a member of the Klan, Dees' mother believed in and practiced racial amity, grounded in her religious faith. "Momma felt that her Christian faith demanded she act kindly to all of God's children. As a result, all the black people in Mount Meigs loved the slight, blond woman they called 'Miss Annie Ruth.' Often as not, I'd come into the house and find her sitting at the breakfast table with some of the black women from the community, helping them fill out requests for welfare relief. Other times she'd make calls to public officials trying to cut through red tape for some social service benefit. The white wives of plantation owners and even the wives of the smaller farmers and tenant [farmers] would rarely take the time to do paperwork for black folks, and certainly wouldn't let them sit down at the family table. But, Momma, who believed everybody should get along with everybody else, was the white go-between."[253]

By 1962, Dees was a lawyer struggling to get by. That year he represented a Klan member named Claude Henley who was facing Federal charges for assaulting Freedom Riders. Dees got him off. Afterwards, two young black male Freedom Riders confronted him, one asking: "Don't you think that black people have rights?" The encounter shocked him. "This was the first time a black person had ever confronted me." He responded, "Yes, I do.

I agree with you a hundred percent." And walked off, thinking, "My actions, morality, had been challenged."[254] As he looked in the face of his accusers, Dees "felt the anger of a black person for the first time." As he explained, "He saw me as an enemy representing the Klan, just as years later Louis Bean [The Grand Dragon of the Texas Knights of the KKK] and his compatriots would see me as an enemy opposing the Klan." From that point on, he vowed "that nobody would ever again doubt where I stand. It took me a couple of years to make good on that promise."[255]

He began making good on that promise several years later in 1963 after the tragic bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama that killed four black girls. He would later write, "Ninety miles away in Montgomery, I felt the reverberations of the bombs, and as Dr. King prophesied, I came to terms with my conscience." His first act of conscience was to stand up in front of the congregation of church he belonged to and ask for contributions and prayers for the four black girls killed by the bombing. The response from his fellow church members was chilling. Some were shocked while others "were too shocked to be angry." When he asked them to join him in prayer, there "was a deathly silence." That was the day, as his wife would recall, that he knew his life was going to change. "That was the beginning."[256]

Two years after the Birmingham bombings, Dees participated in his first civil rights event. He and a friend provided transportation for people for the historic 1965 Selma March led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1969 Dees filed a suit against the all-white Montgomery YMCA on behalf of two seven-year-old black children effectively ending a hundred years of racial segregation by the organization.[257] Predictably, he soon became very unpopular with local whites, and even some close relatives, such as his racist uncles, Lucien and Arthur.[258] By the late 1960s, Dees was well on his way to fulfilling his vow and his promise and securing his place in annals of The Other Tradition.

In 1971, Dees and his law partner, Joe Levine, decided to

establish a nonprofit law center, the Southern Poverty Law Center. They choose the name "to convey where we were and what we did. Our primary goal was to fight the effects of poverty with innovative lawsuits and education programs. We would target customs, practices, and laws that were used to keep low-income blacks and whites powerless."[259] They choose Julian Bond, one of the founders of the SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, to serve as president of the Law Center.[260]

Ten years later, the SPLC filed a suit against United Klans of America on behalf of Mrs. Beulah Mae Donald whose son, 19-year-old Michael Donald, was lynched by members of the organization. The SPLC won a seven million dollar verdict "which bankrupted the United Klans" and forced it to sell its headquarters.[261] The SPLC repeated this feat in 1991 when it sued Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance for $12.5 million. Dees and the SPLC continued in their crusade against other racist organizations such as the Christian Knights of the KKK and Horace King, a top official, forced in 1995 "to pay $37 million to the Center's client, the Macedonia Baptist Church."[262] In 2000, Dees won a $6.3 million judgement against the Aryan Nation.[263]

A true representative of the role of white warriors in the struggle for racial justice within The Other Tradition, in March of 2007 Dees was described in a speech by Judge Keith at the University of Texas School of Law, as "his generation's most valiant and effective soldier in the fight for civil rights and civil liberties."[264]

The Other Tradition includes both the struggle for racial justice and multiracial community building which have been evident in Dees' and SPLC's work. For example, their "Teaching Tolerance" programs are designed "…to foster school environments that are inclusive and nurturing—classrooms where equality and justice are not just taught but lived. The program points to the future, helping teachers prepare a new generation to live in a diverse world." In 2009 SPLC launched The Teach-

ing Diverse Students Initiative "an online project designed to improve the quality of instruction experienced by racially- and ethnically-diverse students."[265]

The Preacher and the Rabbi—Profile of a Sacred Friendship: Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel

In 1965, during the historic civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, an African American preacher and a Jewish Rabbi walking side by side took center stage in the eyes of millions of observers throughout the world—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel. The photograph of these spiritual giants, friends and allies, captured and preserved one of the proudest moments in the history of the Civil Rights Movement and African American and Jewish relations. Hershel's daughter, Susannah, explained the impact of the photograph on Jews. She wrote, "For many Jews, the photograph of my father in Selma with Martin Luther King, Jr. at the start of the Voting Rights March of 1965, both men adorned with Hawaiian leis, is an iconic picture. Jews are inspired by the image and also feel affirmed: it is indeed our Hebrew prophets who made justice central to God's message. Andrew Young once told me that many civil rights workers carried copies of my father's book on the prophets in their pocket as they marched."[266]

Few observers of the bond between Heschel and King knew the history of how their personal and spiritual lives converged in this historic moment. Dr. King, the son of a preacher, had been reared in the racially segregated South, where he witnessed the brutal racial oppression of African Americans. By the time of the march, he had become one of the major leaders in the Civil Rights Movement.

Rabbi Heschel was reared in Warsaw, Poland, where he expe-

rienced the horrific ravages of European anti-Semitism. His mother and sister had been murdered by the Nazis. He was a descendant of Rabbis who had founded a Jewish sect of mystics that contributed to an interest in Jewish ethics.[267] Heschel's exposure to American racism would eventually put him on a path toward King and the struggle for racial justice.

Along with 360 German Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler, Heschel arrived in the United States in 1940. As he was disembarking the ship that had brought them from Nazi-dominated Europe, rescuing them from racism and anti-Semitism, he was shocked to see "an African American kneeling to polish the shoes of a white man." Not unlike many Europeans, Heschel had never seen a black person, and he was shaken by this system of American racial stratification.[268] He would remain concerned with this flaw in his adopted country.

As a staff member at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, with its Southern culture, Herschel was again exposed to American racism. In keeping with the racial norms of white culture, African Americans were essentially relegated to being servants of the Jewish students. They made the students' beds daily, did their laundry, and "...dressed in white coats, served meals in the dining room at tables spread with formal cloths." Still shaken by his experiences with European racism, Herschel rebelled against this custom of white racial privilege at the Jewish college. Instead, he broke racial customs at the college and the region by reaching out in friendship to Larry D. Harris, the African American headwaiter of the dining hall (who was always addressed by his first name by the Jewish college faculty as an indication of his racial status). Herschel showed genuine interest in Harris' family and community and went even further in breaking with the racial customs by discussing "...with him the predicament of African Americans in the segregated city."[269]

Heschel continued his interest in the plight of African Americans and the struggle against racial injustice. As he wrote in

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (second from left) and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel (second from right) marching from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965. Photo: Jewish Theological Seminary

1963, "Racism is an evil of tremendous power, but God's will transcends all powers. Surrender to despair is surrender to evil. It is important to feel anxiety, it is sinful to wallow in despair. What we need is a total mobilization of the heart, intelligence, and wealth for the purpose of love and justice. God is in search of men, waiting, hoping for man to do his will."[270]

That same year, Herschel and King met for the first time at the National Conference on Religion and Race. Heschel compared the conference to what he described as the first conference on religion and race which occurred several thousand years before in Egypt, where the main participants had been Moses and the

Pharaoh. Heschel reminded the audience of Moses's warning to the Pharaoh: "'Thus sayeth the Lord God of Israel, let my people go.' And the Pharaoh retorted, 'Who is the Lord that I should heed this voice and let Israel go?" Both Heschel and King saw in this comparison the challenges from both conferences:

Heschel said, "In fact, it was easier for the children of Israel to cross the Red Sea than for a Negro to cross certain university campuses."[271]

Dr. King delivered the final speech of the conference with "an authoritative 'Challenge to the Churches and Synagogues' which included a 'harsh diagnosis' of the state of racism in the United States. We must face the melancholy fact that one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro is still dominated politically, exploited economically, and humiliated socially." He reminded his audience, that "Negroes, North and South, still live in segregation, housed in unendurable slums, eat in segregation, pray in segregation, and die in segregation."[272] Similar to Heschel who shared his criticism of institutionalized religion, King took organized Christianity to task for being "untrue to its root values." He warned the gathering that "If the Church does not recapture its prophetic zeal, it will become little more than an irrelevant social club with a thin veneer of religiosity."[273]

The spiritual bond between King and Heschel was based upon their shared belief in and focus on the "sanctity of the human being in the eyes of God."

"Segregation denies the sacredness of the human personality. Human worth lies in relatedness to God. An individual has value because he has value in God."[274] This shared belief not only brought two visionaries together at this historic conference, but made them allies and friends in the protracted struggle for racial justice.

The conference was a stone thrown into a quiet pool of the racial status quo, sending ripples throughout the country, some

small, others large and historically potent for the future of race relations. As a result of his involvement in the National Conference on Religion and Race, Heschel was invited to join 400 Christian and Jewish leaders in a meeting at the White House with President Kennedy and his brother Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The meeting was scheduled for June 17, 1963. However, the day before the meeting, Heschel made a bold and courageous proclamation in a telegram to the President in which he stated, "Let religious leaders donate one month's salary toward fund[s] for Negro housing and education. I propose that you, Mr. President, declare a state of moral emergency. A Marshall Plan for aid to Negroes is becoming a necessity. The hour calls for high moral grandeur and spiritual audacity."[275]

The antiwar movement provided yet another opportunity for Heschel and King to demonstrate their spiritual leadership of their respective faith communities and their mutual commitment to the wellbeing of humankind. Both had to overcome resistance and opposition within the ranks of their supporters and friends. Many in the Civil Rights Movement did not want King to venture off into criticizing President Johnson's war in Vietnam because they felt it would hurt the movement. Heschel's friends and supporters felt his involvement in the antiwar movement would affect the United States support of Israel. However, on April 4, 1967, at the New York Riverside Church, King, Heschel, and other speakers took a stand against the war. As one scholar put it, "The spiritual alliance of King and Heschel was renewed before an audience of more than three thousand."[276]

The last meeting between Rabbi Heschel and Dr. King took place when King was invited to speak at a Rabbinical Assembly convention, in New York's Catskill Mountains, in March, 1968. Susannah Heschel vividly remembers the event.

> "As Dr. King entered the hall, the Rabbis stood up, linked arms, and sang 'We Shall Overcome' in Hebrew, as a tribute

to him. In introducing Dr. King to the Rabbis, my father asked, 'Where in America today do we hear a voice like the voice of the prophets of Israel? Martin Luther King, Jr. is a sign that God has not forsaken the United States of America.' King was obviously moved by both Heschel's compliment and the Rabbis' gesture of song. He told the gathering how hearing the Civil Rights anthem sung in the language of the prophets deeply moved him. He praised Heschel's speech at the 1963 Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, called Heschel 'a truly great prophet,' and added that he hoped to return to the gathering to celebrate his hundredth birthday."[277]

After King's address, it was time for an honest and frank discussion, helped by the presence, influence, and deep friendships between Heschel and King. The most critical issue was King's support for Israel. King was clear that "We must stand with all our might to protect its right to exist, its territorial integrity." However, he also pointed out to the Rabbis that the Arabs also needed economic security. "These nations, as you know, are part of the third world of hunger, of disease, of illiteracy. I think that as long as these conditions exist there will be tension, that there will be endless quests to find scapegoats." He called for a "Marshall Plan for the Middle East" that would bring impoverished Arabs "'into the mainstream of economic activity."[278]

The assembled Rabbis were urged to support economic justice by opposing the Vietnam War, which King explained was undermining the war on poverty. He also asked them to support financially, along with their participation in the upcoming Poor People's Campaign in June of that year. Referring to the urban riots that had ravaged the nations since the 1965 riots/rebellions in Watts, King stated, "We need a movement to transmute the rage of the ghetto into a positive constructive force."[279]

A few weeks after the Rabbinical Assembly, Dr. King was

assassinated in Memphis. Years later, Susannah Heschel recalled, "Dr. King was hoping to join my family for the Passover seder; instead, that terrific spring, my father read a psalm at Dr. King's funeral."[280]

Rabbi Heschel was asked to take part in the funeral. He flew to Atlanta and went to Dr. King's house, where he met with the bereaved family, Robert Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and other national leaders. He attended both the morning and afternoon services, one at the Ebenezer Baptist Church, where King co-pastored with his father, and another at Morehouse College, where King attended as an undergraduate. Dr. King's grieving widow, Coretta Scott King, had invited Heschel to read a passage from the Old Testament at this service. He was the perfect choice because after the march from Selma, Coretta Scott King had commented that Rabbi Heschel was "One of the great men of our time."

She choose the Suffering Servant from Second Isaiah (53:3-5), a passage dear to the hearts and souls of both Jews and Christians. It was "A stirring portrait of Israel as the afflicted beloved of God, it was interpreted by Christians as a prefiguration of the betrayal of Christ."[281] Heschel rose to the occasion, as he "Dramatically, in his plaintive, sing-song voice…to his friend and ally…He was despised and rejected by men; a man of sorrow, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hid their faces. He was despised, and we esteemed him not."[282]

Not long after he spoke these sacred words at the King funeral, in May of 1968, Heschel addressed a meeting of Solomon Schechter Day School principals on *Teaching Jewish Thought*. During the Q and A, among other spiritual wisdom he shared with the Jewish gathering, was praise for the "…piety of African Americans as models for Jewish teachers, alluding (without naming him) to his friend Larry Harris, the headwaiter at Hebrew Union College. 'I told him he was the finest human being that I [had] met during the five years that I was in America.'"[283]

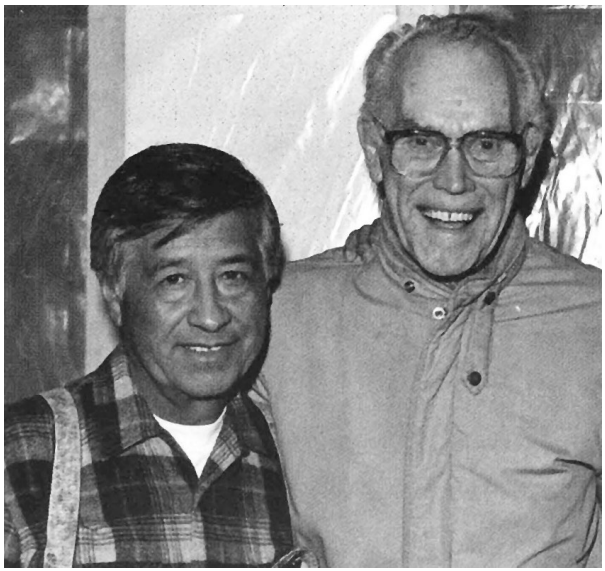
Triad in Amity for Equity and Access—Chavez, Huerta, and Ross

One of the most under-celebrated associations in American movements for access, equity, and social justice is the enlightening cross-racial association and series of events that led to the creation the United Farm Workers (UFW). "For more than a century, farmworkers had been denied a decent life in the fields and communities of California's agricultural valleys. Essential to the state's biggest industry, but only so long as they remained exploited and submissive, farmworkers had tried, but failed, so many times to organize the giant agribusiness farms that most observers considered it a hopeless task."[284] The United Farm Workers changed those conditions.

The UFW was created in 1962 through the close collaboration and friendship that developed among three people—Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and Fred Ross, Sr. The close association of these dedicated and gifted individuals led to a national movement that affected meaningful change in the working and living conditions, as well as civil rights, of Latino, Filipino, and African American farm workers. The UFW continues its work into the second decade of the 21st Century through its National Headquarters and six satellite offices in California and Oregon that focus on advancing equity and access.

This stalwart organization for equity had its beginnings when Fred Ross, Sr., a persistent grassroots community organizer, met the charismatic Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, who were intensely focused on changing the deplorable conditions of farmworkers. The work of this triumvirate changed the national paradigm of protest and advanced labor rights to an important new tier.

Cesar Chavez (1927–1993), and Fred Ross (1910–1992)



Dolores Huerta (1930–) signing up members at the founding convention of NFWA. Photo: Joseph Francis Gunterman. (Courtesy Walter P. Reuther Library)

Fred Ross, Sr.

Fred Ross, Sr. was born in 1910 and grew up in a middle-class neighborhood in Los Angeles. He received a general secondary teaching degree from the University of Southern California in 1936. As it was during the Great Depression, Ross could not find employment, and in 1937, he accepted a position with the state relief administration doing social work. He later quit his caseworker job and went to work for the Farm Security Administration, which was in charge of the relief program in the Coachella Valley.[285] It was there Ross first encountered the dire poverty and unhealthy living conditions that prompted his resolve to work with farmworkers to organize for change.[286]

In 1947, Saul Alinsky, America's preeminent community organizer and founder of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), hired Ross as an organizer. Fred formed the Community Service Organization (CSO) in Los Angeles' eastside barrio. A key part of Ross' strategy for organizing was to hold meetings in the homes of those he sought to engage. This "house meeting" approach gave participants a level of comfort to discuss difficult issues in the familiar and secure environment of their homes, therefore it became a basic part of the CSO organizing strategy. The CSO helped 50,000 people obtain citizenship, registered 500,000 voters, elected the first Hispanic to the Los Angeles City Council, and won a major legal victory against police brutality directed at Mexican-Americans. This success earned Ross a record of achievement that could be used to reach out to other communities.[287]

In 1952, Ross began efforts to organize farm workers in the San Jose, California area. In getting to know the local community, Ross asked the public health nurse, Alicia Hernandez, to point him to local activists. Alicia identified Cesar Chavez who lived in *Sal si Puedes*, then called Chavez's wife, Helen, to let her know that Ross would be coming by to meet Cesar. The call led to an awkward, and somewhat humorous, beginning of one of

the closest and most productive friendships in Latino civil rights history. Chavez said in an interview, "Helen told me this gringo wanted to see me. That was enough to make me suspicious. We never heard anything from whites unless it was the police, or some sociologist from Stanford, San Jose State, or Berkeley coming to write about *Sal si Puedes*. *Sal si Puedes* means [in Spanish] 'Get out if you can.' They would ask all kinds of silly questions, like how did we eat our beans and tortillas. We felt it was none of their business how we lived."[288]

Helen told Cesar that Fred was coming by that evening and that it was likely a good thing, as Alicia would only refer someone who had something good to offer. This had no impact on Cesar, and he went across the street to his brother's house, telling Helen to say he wasn't home. She did, but Ross wasn't dissuaded. He came back the next evening. Later Cesar related, "Fred Ross never stopped working. He was very persistent, and it was lucky he was, because I would never have met him otherwise. I was trying to avoid him."[289]

Finally, after Helen told Cesar she would not lie for him again, he met Fred Ross briefly. He agreed to bring neighborhood people to a meeting in the Chavez home, done, Cesar later recounted, to get rid of Ross once and for all.

"I invited some of the rougher guys I knew and brought some beer. I thought we could show this gringo a little bit of how we felt. We'd let him speak for a while, and when I gave them a signal, shifting my cigarette from my right hand to my left, we'd tell him off and run him out of the house. Then we'd be even. But somehow I knew that this gringo had really impressed me and I was being dishonest.

"When the meeting started, Fred spoke quietly, not rabble-rousing, but saying the truth. He knew our problems as well as we did. There was a creek behind *Sal si Puedes* which carried the waste from the packing house nearby. The kids downstream would play in it, and they'd get sores. There were big holes in

that creek where water would collect and stagnate, where the mosquitoes would breed. He took on the politicians for not doing something about it.

"The more he talked, the more wide-eyed I became, and the less inclined I was to give the signal. When a couple of guys who were pretty drunk by that time still wanted to give the gringo the business, we got rid of them. This fellow was making a lot of sense, and I wanted to hear what he had to say"[290]

Chavez said, "Fred Ross did such a good job of explaining how poor people could build power that I could even taste it."[291] That meeting began four decades of collaboration, camaraderie, and personal friendship.

Cesar Chavez

While many in today's social culture avoid or find speaking of faith and God politically incorrect, faith and belief in God was a commonality among many in the leadership ranks of The Other Tradition. Faith gave moral grounding and fueled the commitment and dedication for many of those heroines and heroes. Some of these moral icons were more emphatic than others in regard to importance of the God force to impact their work. Faith and belief in God were ever present in the work of Charles Thomson, Frederick Douglass, Harriett Tubman, Thomas Garrett, Mary McLeod Bethune, Abraham Joshua Heschel, and Martin Luther King, Jr., to name a few.

Cesar Chavez too was a man of deep faith and spiritual conviction. Chavez was born in Yuma, Arizona in 1927. In hardship, his family left their small farm, and his father worked as a migrant farm worker. It was this experience that gave Cesar firsthand knowledge of the grueling, back-bending, health-jeopardizing labor for which workers received a pittance in pay. "The milk of the fig eats through your skin like acid," Chavez recalled.[292]

Chavez's faith and beliefs were formed at an early age by exam-

ple and instructions from his mother and grandmother. Cesar described his mother as "very religious without being a fanatic and she believed in saints as advocates and lobbyists to pray to God for her."[293] His mother exercised her faith through action, leaving a lasting imprint on Caesar.

"Her patron saint was St. Eduvigis who was a Polish duchess who, in the early Christian era, gave up all of her worldly possessions, distributed them among the poor, and became a Christian. On the saint's birthday, October 16, my mom would find some needy person to help and, until recently, she would always invite people to the house, usually hobos. She would go out purposely to look for someone in need, give him something, and never take anything in return. If a man was selling pencils, she would give him some money but wouldn't take a pencil. She would look for people who were hungry to come to the house. Usually, they would offer to do some work, like chop wood, in exchange for a meal, but she would refuse because, she said, the gift then was invalid. I think that is a very beautiful custom, and my dad must have felt pretty much the same way because he didn't object."[294]

Chavez's faith moved beyond the bounds of his own practice of Catholicism and included an understanding that religion was not a requisite for moral conviction and service. He said, "It is not necessary to have a religion to act selflessly. I know many agnostics who are more religious in their own way than most people who claim to be believers." His faith also gave him a confidence to admire other religious practices. "I have come to realize that all religions are beautiful."[295]

Chavez's understanding of the overall institutional scope and nature of the injustice and plight of migrant workers came when he helped a priest, Father Donald McDonnell, with fix-up chores at a rundown building that would serve as a church in the poor community where Caesar lived. Chavez described how they "became great friends when I began to help him. We had

long talks about farm workers. I knew a lot about the work, but I didn't know anything about the economics, and I learned quite a bit from him."[296] This education included political, moral, and spiritual learning:

"As Father McDonnell followed legislation very closely, he introduced me to the transcripts of the Senate LaFollette Committee hearings held in 1940 in Los Angeles. I remember three or four volumes on agriculture, describing the Associated Farmers, their terror and strikebreaking tactics, and their financing by banks, utilities, and big corporations. These things began to form a picture for me. When I read the biography of St. Francis of Assisi, I was moved when he went before the Moslem prince and offered to walk through fire to end a bloody war… St. Francis was a gentle and humble man.

> "In the St. Francis biography, there was a reference to Gandhi and others who practiced nonviolence. That was a theme that struck a very responsive chord, probably because of the foundation laid by my mother. So, the next thing I read was the Louis Fischer biography of Gandhi."[297]

This grounding would be foundational to surmounting the incredible challenges to come and to the impact that Cesar would have on Fred Ross, Sr. and Dolores Huerta. Forty years after they met, Cesar Chavez was asked by the Ross family to give the eulogy at Fred's 1992 memorial service. Cesar lamented that during his last visit with Fred he "didn't have a chance to tell him in addition to training us and inspiring us and being my hero for 40 years, how good of a friend he had become. I will miss him very much."[298]

Dolores Huerta

Dolores Clara Fernandez Huerta was a teacher, community organizer, and strategist who assisted people of color in the farm working industry. Born in Dawson, New Mexico in 1930, Huerta shared similar backgrounds with Cesar Chavez in family life and upbringing, including strong mothers who inspired an orientation to spirituality and service to others to alleviate human suffering. Dolores was raised in Stockton, California by her mother, Alicia Chavez, who started a small hotel and restaurant that catered to low-wage earners, including farm workers and their families. Alicia Chavez would allow people to stay for free if circumstances warranted.

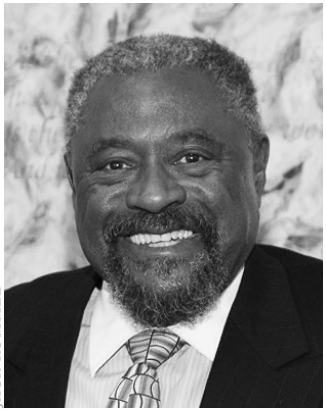
Her ability to maintain a business that included service and compassion for others demonstrated the moral values that Dolores would adopt in her life's work. In an interview Dolores said, "The dominant person in my life is my mother. She was a very intelligent woman and a very gentle woman"[299] Her mother's generous actions inspired Huerta's own non-violent, strong spiritual force. In the same interview, she said, "I think that Hispanic women are more familiar with spiritual forces. We know what fasting is, and that it is part of the culture. We know what relationships are, and we know what sacrifice is."[300]

After working as an elementary school teacher, Dolores left education, later saying, "I couldn't tolerate seeing kids come to class hungry and needing shoes. I thought I could do more by organizing farm workers than by trying to teach their hungry children."[301] This resolve led to her becoming an activist and leader in the Stockton civil rights efforts that focused on the plight of farm workers.

Her active leadership drew the attention of community organizer and creator of the Community Service Organization Fred Ross, Sr. Meeting and working with Ross was the conduit for Dolores to meet her organizational alter ego, Cesar Chavez. Together the three would make historic changes in living condi-

tions for hundreds of thousands of migrant workers from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds —Mexican Americans, Filipino Americans, Chinese Americans, and African Americans. When she joined Chavez to eulogize Fred Ross, Sr. at his memorial service, Dolores said, "I used to tell Fred all the time that he was my spiritual father, because he was the one that really changed my life when I went to that house meeting, just as he changed Cesar's life when he went to that house meeting."[302]

Fred Ross, Sr., Cesar Chavez, and Dolores Huerta shared a legendary friendship that changed the lives of millions. Their success was guided by the strategy articulated by Fred Ross, Sr., "A good organizer is a social arsonist—one who goes around setting people on fire."[303]; by the moral reference as stated by Cesar Chavez, "Fighting for social justice, it seems to me, is one of the profoundest ways in which man can say 'Yes' to man's dignity"[304]; and by the vision articulated by Dolores Huerta—"Every moment is an organizing opportunity, every person a potential activist, every minute a chance to change the world."[305]



JACK RUMMEL

William H. "Smitty" Smith, Ed.D., is the founding executive director of the National Center for Race Amity based at Wheelock College in Boston, Ma. He began college by helping integrate Division I football in the old Confederate South at Wake Forest College. A *Sports Illustrated* cover story (November 7, 2005) identified him as one of the pioneers who changed the face of college football. A Vietnam veteran, serving as a conscientious objector infantry medic, he was awarded two Bronze Star awards and the Combat Medic Badge. Smith received his undergraduate and doctorate degrees from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. An activist in race relations Smith coordinated the national initiative "Neighborhood Conversations on Race: A Talk Worth Having" and "Campus Conversations on Race" (CCOR). CCOR served as the program for racial dialogues during the PBS 50th Anniversary Celebration of The Freedom Rides.

Smith is recipient of the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame Award for *The Invisible Soldiers: Unheard Voices* which aired nationally on PBS. In 2000 he led the successful initiative for the Joint Resolution of the US Congress establishing the National Day of Honor for African American and Other Minority World War II Veterans.

The National Center for Race Amity hosts the annual National Race Amity Conference (https://raceamity.org) and organized the legislative initiative for Massachusetts' first in the nation law establishing Race Amity Day as an official day. The law directs the sitting Governor to annually issue a proclamation to the 351 cities and towns to hold appropriate programs and activities on the Second Sunday in June. Smith is currently leading *Towards E Pluribus Unum*, which calls for a Joint Congressional Resolution to establish National Race Amity Day.

LANCE HIDY

Dr. Richard W. Thomas is Professor Emeritus of History at Michigan State University. For thirty-eight years he taught race-related courses. He has lectured and conducted workshops on race relations in the United States, C anada, England, Ireland, Switzerland, Fiji, Australia, South Africa, and Israel.

He is author and co-author of several books on race relations and the African-American experience including: *Detroit: Race and Uneven Development*, *Racial Unity: An Imperative for Social Progress*, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building The Black Community In Detroit*, and *Understanding Interracial Unity: A Study of U.S. Race Relations*.

In 1993 he was one of several recipients of the All-University Diversity Award for excellence in diversity work. In 1995 he was awarded the Wesley-Logan Prize awarded by the American Historical Association and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, for his book: *Life For Us Is What We Make It*.

In 1997, he was awarded the Gustavus Myers Center Award for the Study of Human Rights in North America for his book, *Understanding Interracial Unity*. He is co-author with Joe T. Darden, of the recently published book, *Detroit: Race Riots, Racial Conflicts, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide*. This book was selected as one of Michigan's Notable Books for 2013 and in 2014 received a State History Award by the Historical Society of Michigan "for their Outstanding Michigan History Publication."