



Editorial

Expand National Statuary Hall

Legislation authorizing National Statuary Hall dates from the Lincoln administration and limits each state's statues to two. At that time, the nation's population stood at 34 million, a tenth of today's. After National Statuary Hall filled up with its allotment of 100 statues while the nation grew ten-fold, no provision exists to expand the Hall to accommodate many deserving Americans such as Harriet Tubman who made their marks since the original legislation and will continue to do so in the future.

In recent years, states have been allowed to substitute new statues for old. In this manner, Dwight Eisenhower, Helen Keller and Ronald Reagan gained entry to the Hall but only at the expense of three of their states' original honorees who, by rule, were elbowed out.

Most of those enshrined in National Statuary Hall were chosen in an era when women and minorities had slim chances of nomination resulting in the Hall today being nearly all male and white. *Free Press* feels that the Hall which represents the nation needs to reflect its gender and ethnic makeup. A fair solution to this while honoring those already enshrined is legislation to expand National Statuary Hall. This also poses a good opportunity to relocate the Hall as long ago the designated site of the Hall was outgrown and newer statues had to be spread here and there around the Capitol building.

Harriet Tubman, exemplar if there ever was one of what it means to be an American, is among the most deserving to be considered for National Statuary (Continued on page two)

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Independent reporting on today's Underground Railroad

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Tubman Would Not Have Liked This

Sponsors of a bill in the Maryland legislature did Harriet Tubman no favors when they recommended putting a statue of Tubman into National Statuary Hall at the expense of another Maryland hero already enshrined there.

In 1903, the Maryland General Assembly chose John Hanson and Charles Carroll to represent Maryland in the Hall which is in the United States Capitol. Each state may have two statues in the Hall. Under current law, the only way to get a new statue into the Hall is to remove one already there.

Hanson was the first president of the nation's original government chartered under the Articles of Confederation in 1781, and played key roles in keeping the nation whole as it debated the Declaration of Independence and then formed a government. (See the January, 2011, issue of *Free Press* for an article on John Hanson and Josiah Henson.)

The bill stirred a firestorm of opposition in the legislature and press over the method proposed for gaining Tubman's entry into the Hall. *Free Press*, the Maryland Underground Railroad Coalition and the John Hanson Memorial Association testified before the Maryland Senate, Governor and state Board of Public Works in favor of finding a better method for getting Tubman into the Hall.

The Maryland Senate President and Speaker of the House strongly opposed the bill. Opponents of the bill launched proposals including expansion of National Statuary Hall, erecting a Tubman statue in Baltimore or Annapolis, the state capital, or periodically rotating three Maryland statues through the Hall. (See the editorial of this issue.)

Following *Free Press's* recommendation, the Senate committee hearing the bill began discussing better ways to honor Harriet Tubman.

Niagara Falls Plans Underground Railroad Gateway

One of today's busiest border crossings between the United States and Canada, and a much used route by freedom seekers in Underground Railroad days, is about to be remade into a modern international gateway showcasing the Underground Railroad story.

By 2013, Niagara Falls, New York, will have a new Amtrak station which will include an Underground Railroad interpretive center. The project, begun in 1987, will be located in the renovated historic Customs House at the Whirlpool Bridge crossing the Niagara River into Canada.

The interpretive center is being funded by the New York State Underground Railroad Commission and the state Community Assis-

tance Program, and will be managed by Niagara Falls' North Star Initiative.

Riggs Ward Design will advise on the layout and Underground Railroad story line of the interpretive center.

United States Senator Charles Schumer of New York secured federal funding and cleared hurdles in Washington to get the project completed. Said Schumer, "The longer the trip, the sweeter it is when you arrive at the destination and we have arrived."



Sen. Charles Schumer speaks at the project groundbreaking

The First Draft of "I Have a Dream"

By Clarence B. Jones

This article, which appeared in *The Washington Post* on January 16, 2011, is adapted from *Behind the Dream*, Clarence B. Jones and Stuart Connelly, Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 2011. Jones is Scholar in Residence at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University. Reprinted with permission.

It was the late spring of 1963, and my friend Martin was exhausted. The campaign to integrate the public facilities in Birmingham had been successful but also tremendously taxing. In its aftermath, he wanted nothing

more than to take Coretta and the children away for a vacation and forget - forget the looming book deadline, the office politics of his ever-growing Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the constant need to raise funds.

But a date for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom had been nailed down - Aug. 28 - and Martin realized he couldn't plan such a massive undertaking with the usual endless interruptions. No, if this march were going to come together in time, he would have to escape all the distractions. Please see *Dream*, page 3, column 1

Hall. Though she spent nearly three-quarters of her life living in New York state, Maryland should be glad to have her as its inductee, but not at the expense of John Hanson (nor of Charles Carroll, the other Marylander honored in the Hall).

Expand the Hall. If Harriet and John could speak to us today, they would certainly promote this better approach.

(Disclosure: *Free Press* publisher Peter Michael is president of the John Hanson Memorial Association.)

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Peter H. Michael, Publisher
publisher@urrfreepress.com
301.874.0235

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Perry Departs Freedom Center to Head Youth Program

Ernest Perry, who served as Chief Innovation Officer of Cincinnati's National Underground Railroad Freedom Center for the past six years, has announced his resignation to take up the position as President and Chief Executive Officer of Junior Achievement of Greater Reading & Lehigh Valley in Pennsylvania.

While at the Freedom Center, Perry launched many far-reaching educational initiatives, and promoted their availability nationwide to students, teachers and the general public.

Some of the ground-breaking programs which Perry developed are online e-learning resources including video lessons at Apple's iTunes University, downloadable lesson plans, summer camps, an in-house lecture series and the Teacher Resource Center.

Perry developed significant private and public funding for the new programs which put the Freedom Center in the lead in education among Underground Railroad organizations.



Ernest Perry

Founded in 1916 in Springfield, Massachusetts, Junior Achievement educates students about work readiness, entrepreneurship and financial literacy through hands-on programs. In 2010, Junior Achievement reached close to ten million students at nearly 400,000 classrooms and afterschool locations in 122 countries. Junior Achievement's programs are taught by 330,000 classroom volunteers from all walks of life including business people, educators, college students, parents and retirees.

Perry previously held senior executive positions with the National Urban League, Ohio State University, 100 Black Men of Cincinnati and Knowledge Works Foundation. He is a graduate of Miami University of Ohio, Ohio State University, Villanova University, and Harvard Business School.

Free Press Prizes and Survey

Who best for a 2011 Free Press Prize?

You might know someone who has done good work of one kind or another in bringing back the memory of the Underground Railroad or building modern Underground Railroad institutions or programs. Each year, *Free Press* awards prizes for leadership, preservation and advancement of knowledge in the modern Underground Railroad community. Nominations for the 2011 Free Press Prizes are open through June. Visit our website to see past years' winners and for nomination forms.

What should we ask in the 2011 survey?

Since we began them in 2007, our annual surveys of the international Underground Railroad community have included many useful topics suggested by our readers. What do you think we should ask in the 2011 survey which you will be invited to take in May? Just email your questions which you would like included to editor@urrfreepress.com.

New Underground Railroad Books

The Underground Railroad bookshelf continues to expand as more authors turn their attentions to the nation-defining singularity of the Underground Railroad. Recent months have seen three varied entries dealing with one family's deliverance by William Still, a fast-paced historical fiction escape account, and an Underground Railroad site compendium.

Says author Fergus Bordewich of *Freeing Charles: The Struggle to Free a Slave on the Eve of the Civil War*, "In this magnificently conceived and subtly rendered book, Scott Christianson not only brings to life the men and women of the Underground Railroad as they carry out one of the most dramatic rescues of a fugitive

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slave on record, he also guides us unflinchingly along the heartbreaking fault line of racial relations that warped life in America – in both the North and the South – in the age of slavery."

Harriet Tubman biographer Kate Larson adds "Christianson serves up history like a master storyteller – a great dose of good vs. evil *Please see Books, page 4, column 2*

Dream

(This was a man, after all, whose best writing was done inside a jail cell.) He needed to get away to a place where very few people could reach him.

That would be my house in Riverdale, N.Y.

For the previous three years, I had been an adviser to Martin Luther King Jr., his personal lawyer and one of his speech-writers. Stanley Levison, another adviser who had done even more work with Martin on his speeches than I had, was also a New Yorker. Because of some dark ops on the part of the FBI, Martin could not deal directly with Stanley, yet he very much valued his advice, so it made sense for Martin to stay at my home and have me act as a go-between as we planned the March on Washington — and the speech Martin would deliver.

The logistical preparations for the march were so burdensome that the speech was not a priority for us. Early in the summer, Martin asked some trusted colleagues at the SCLC for their thoughts on his address, and during his weeks in New York, we had discussions about it. But it wasn't until mid-August that Martin had Stanley and me work up a draft. And though I had that material with me when I arrived at the Willard Hotel in Washington for a meeting on the evening of Tuesday, Aug. 27, Martin still didn't know what he was going to say.

We met in the lobby rather than in a suite, under the assumption that the lobby would be harder to wiretap. Tables, chairs and plants acted as a cordon of privacy. It was with this odd start, hiding in plain sight, that 12 hours before the March on Washington began, Martin gathered with a small group of advisers to hammer out the themes of his speech.

He had reacted well to the material Stanley and I had prepared, but he also knew that many of the march's supporters and organizers - labor unions, religious groups, community organizations and academic leaders - needed to be heard as well. So that evening he had a cross-section of advisers present to fill any blind spots. Cleveland Robinson, Walter Fauntroy, Bernard Lee, Ralph Abernathy, Lawrence Reddick and I joined him, along with Wyatt Walker and Bayard Rustin, who were in and out of our deliberations.

As we ate sandwiches, our suggestions tumbled out. Everyone, it seemed, had a

different take. Cleve, Lawrence and I saw the speech as an opportunity to stake an ideological and political marker in the debate over civil rights and segregation. Others were more inclined for Martin to deliver a sort of church sermon, steeped in parables and Bible quotes. Some, however, worried that biblical language would obfuscate the real message - reform of the legal system. And still others wanted Martin to direct his remarks to the students, black and white, who would be marching that day.

Martin got frustrated trying to keep everything straight, so he asked me to take notes. I quickly realized that putting together these various concepts into a single address would be difficult. Martin would have to take one approach - his own - with the other ideas somehow supporting his larger vision. I kept on taking notes, wondering how someone would turn all this into a cohesive speech. As it turned out, that would be my task.

Eventually, Martin looked to me and said, "Clarence, why don't you excuse yourself and go upstairs. You can summarize the points made here and return with an outline."

I sat in my room, flipping through the scrawled pages of the yellow legal pad, struggling to boil down everyone's perspectives. The idea of urging the crowd to take specific actions, as opposed to a general kind of complaining, seemed one area of agreement. (The march's organizing manual even had a headline that spelled it out: "What We Demand.")

A conversation that I'd had during the Birmingham campaign with then-New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller inspired an opening analogy: African Americans marching to Washington to redeem a promissory note or a check for justice. From there, a proposed draft took shape.

And the words "I have a dream" were nowhere in it.

About an hour later, I took my writing back to the lobby and began presenting it to the group. Immediately the others interrupted:

"What about - "

"Why didn't you - "

"I thought we agreed - "

They were all over me. And given the fact that several were Baptist preachers,

there was no small amount of grandstanding. I began defending myself, but Martin intervened. "Okay, brothers," he said, "thank you so much everybody for your suggestions and input. . . . I am now going upstairs to my room to counsel with my Lord."

He walked quietly toward the elevators, leaving the rest of us to look at each other. "Tomorrow, then," someone said, and we dispersed.

Tomorrow, as history would record, turned out to be an enormous success. The weather and the massive crowd were in sync - both calm and warm for the March on Washington. Even the D.C. Metropolitan Police, which had been bracing for a race riot, had nothing to complain about.

I remember when it was all over but the final act. As I stood some 50 feet behind the lectern, march Chairman A. Philip Randolph introduced Martin, to wild applause, as "the moral leader of our nation." And I still didn't know how Martin had pulled the speech together after our meeting.

After Martin greeted the people assembled, he began his speech, and I was shocked when these words quickly rolled out:

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check.

Martin was essentially reciting the opening suggestions I'd handed in the night before. This was strange, given the way he usually worked over the material Stanley and I provided. When he finished the promissory note analogy, he paused. And in that breach, something unexpected, historic and largely unheralded happened. Martin's favorite gospel singer, Mahalia Jackson, who had performed earlier in the day, called to him from nearby: "Tell 'em about the dream, Martin, tell 'em about the dream!"

Martin clutched the speaker's lectern and seemed to reset. I watched him push the text of his prepared remarks to one side. I knew this performance had just been given over to the spirit of the moment. I leaned over and said to the person next to me, "These people out there today

Please see Dream, page 4, column 1

The National Park Service's Network to Freedom program is sponsoring the fifth annual National Underground Railroad Conference June 15 to 18 in Cincinnati. "Pathways to Freedom" will explore modern efforts to disseminate the inspiring history of the Underground Railroad. Submit proposals for papers by March 15 or register at ugrconference.com/ugrc/home.html.

Dream

don't know it yet, but they're about ready to go to church."

What could possibly motivate a man standing before a crowd of hundreds of thousands, with television cameras beaming his every move and a cluster of microphones tracing his every word, to abandon the prepared text of his speech and begin riffing on a theme that he had used previously without generating much enthusiasm from listeners?

Before our eyes, he transformed himself into the superb, third-generation Baptist preacher that he was, and he spoke those words that in retrospect feel destined to ring out that day:

I have a dream . . .

In front of all those people, cameras, and microphones, Martin winged it. But then, no one I've ever met could improvise better.

The speech went on to depart drastically from the draft I'd delivered, and I'll be the first to tell you that America is the better for it. As I look back on my version, I realize that nearly any confident public speaker could have held the crowd's attention with it. But a different man could not have delivered "I Have a Dream."

Some believe, though the facts are otherwise, that Martin was such a superlative writer that he never needed others to draft material for him. I understand that belief; fate made Martin a martyr and a unique American myth - and myths stand alone. But admitting that even this unequalled writer had people helping him hardly takes anything away. People like Stanley, Mahalia and I helped him maximize his brilliance. If not, why would Mahalia interrupt a planned address? She wasn't unhappy with the material he was reading - she just wanted him to *preach*.

That he did. You only have to hear the recording of even a handful of the words from his speech and, for the rest of your life, when you read it you will hear his signature cadence. Can you hear it now?

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

The crowd was rapt. Tears of joy fell

everywhere. And when Martin ended with a cried refrain from a spiritual that predated the Emancipation Proclamation, the sense of history - past and future - struck me full force:

Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

More than 40 years later, I was invited to visit Stanford University's Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute as a candidate for an academic post. I met with the director, who knew I had just started work on a book about Martin and wanted to convince me that I should write it there. To demonstrate the wealth of the institute's research materials, he had me choose a date from the years I had worked with Martin.

I offered Aug. 28, 1963.

One of the staffers soon brought in a cardboard box with papers related to that day. Among them was a copy of the program that had been handed out at the march. At the time, no one could possibly understand the emotional impact this had on me. It was the standard program except for one corner, where it bore a handwritten note to Martin - from me.

"Dear Martin - just learned that Dr. W.E.B. Dubois died last night in Ghana. Someone should make note of this fact."

I was looking at a copy of my own program, something I'd urgently written on and passed through the crowd to Martin up on the dais. Tears welled in my eyes as I imagined its long journey from my hand to the institute's files. I felt Martin, my friend, reaching out and saying to me, "Keep our dream alive."

That is what this country does every January on Martin Luther King Day. I am hopeful that sometime soon, it will be what we do every day of the year.

Books

drama in the form of tragedy, triumph, love, illicit sex, and a cast of characters that will surprise and delight you."

Δ

Tom Calarco's *Places of the Underground Railroad* provides 80 exceptionally well researched profiles of safe-houses and routes accompanied by dozens of maps, illustrations and sidebars on related topics. Calarco is in typical meticulous form following his 2008 *People of the Under-*

ground Railroad and 2004 *The Underground Railroad In the Adirondack Region* which won him the 2008 Free Press Prize for Advancement of Knowledge.

Calarco's growing body of Underground Railroad scholarship belies the sobriquet "amateur historian" for lack of academic trappings. Here is one of the foremost Underground Railroad historians.

Places of the Underground Railroad is light on accounts east of the Appalachians where much Underground Railroad traffic had to cross the Potomac River into Maryland. Baltimore and Washington do get mention, but none of the documented sites in western Maryland where travel was friendlier or on Harriet Tubman's Eastern Shore. Calarco does note the need for a similar compendium of sites below the Mason-Dixon Line.

This book would also have benefitted from use of the Wellman Scale to give readers a gauge of likelihood of authenticity of the 80 Underground Railroad claims presented, though most of them seem either definitively documented or otherwise convincing. But don't let these two detractions discourage you from putting this book on your shelf.

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Leslie Gist's *The Gist of Freedom Is Still Faith* offers 32 documented accounts of the work of her ancestor, William Still, ferrying Underground Railroad fugitives north. In an interesting marketing move, the entire e-book version may be read free at Amazon.com.

Strong on character development, *Gist of Freedom* traces a uniquely American family's impact from the Stills of Underground Railroad days to the Gists and their relatives of today.

By the Numbers . . .

82%
Share of *Free Press* readers who have ever visited an Underground Railroad site

12.5 years
Average length of involvement of readers with the Underground Railroad in 2010

\$6,333
Mean 2009 budget of Underground Railroad organizations

67%
2010 *Free Press* market share among Underground Railroad news publications