

Module 5: Pastor

Objective: to introduce students to Harding's work in the 1990s to organize intergenerational retreats between Civil Rights veterans and high school students using footage from the *Eyes on the Prize* documentary (for which he was a senior consultant) to further analyze and understand his religious and spiritual commitments. In this module, Harding's commitment to supporting, encouraging, mentoring, and fostering growth among young people – all roles played by a pastor in a more typical religious setting – are evident.

Key Concepts:

- Students will review what they have learned in this set of modules about Vincent Harding and his religious commitments and understandings;
- Students will analyze the structure and content of Harding's intergenerational retreats for evidence of his religious commitments and practices;
- Students will assess the meaning, significance, tensions, and contributions of religion and religious practices to the Long Black Freedom Struggle.

Estimated Lesson Time: 50 Minutes.

Teacher Preparation:

- 1. Find two hats to use in **The Greatest Exercise on Earth** activity.
- 2. Make one copy of each of **The Dreams of Dr. Harding** and **Remember This Quote?** handouts.
- 3. Familiarize yourself with the notes on the background of the Ambassadors of Hope program.
- 4. Make one copy of the Dr. Harding's 2005 Ambassadors Journal handout.

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Citation: Tobin Miller Shearer, Vincent Harding, Religion, and the Long Civil Rights Movement, June 2025.

- 5. If using the "Guest speaker" exercise in Extending the lesson, contact a racial justice movement activist or organizer to come and talk to your class.
- 6. If using the "Modeling Spirituality" exercise in Extending the Lesson, bring some modeling clay to class.

Materials:

- 1. Two hats
- 2. One copy of each of **The Dreams of Dr. Harding** and **Remember This Quote?** Handouts.
- 3. One copy of the **Dr. Harding's 2005 Ambassadors Journal** handout.
- 4. Modeling clay.

Introducing the Module:

The greatest exercise on earth. Announce to the class:

You are about to embark on the greatest comparison contrast event ever on the face of the planet. Come one, come all – if you dare – review the life of Dr. Vincent Harding as we have explored so far. In a hat-fantastic, randomly associative, really cool exercise that you'll remember for a long time because it makes you think, and it is not at all gimmicky or contrived.

When you are finished making the announcement, bring out two hats. In one hat place the **The Dreams of Dr. Harding** handouts found at the end of this lesson. In a second hat place the **Remember This Quote?** handouts found at the end of this lesson.

Divide the class into four groups. Let a representative from each group pull out one story from the hat with the **The Dreams of Dr. Harding** handouts. Let a second representative from each group pull out one story from the hat with the **Remember This Quote?** handouts. Give each group four sheets of newsprint and two magic markers.

Instruct your students that they need to identify as many characteristics of Dr. Harding's religious commitments and practices by comparing the story and the quote in a six-minute time period. They will have four minutes to read each story out loud to the rest of their group and to pick a writer with legible handwriting. When you tell them to start, but not before, they may begin to work together to identify their lists. The student with the legible handwriting should write the group's findings on a piece of newsprint.

Use a stopwatch to time the students. Give them a three-minute, a two-minute, and a one-minute warning before calling time.

Invite a representative of each group to read their lists of conclusions about Dr. Harding's religious commitments and practices.

Ask them to compare and contrast the lists. Discuss:

- 1. What are the most significant comparisons and contrasts among the lists?
- 2. How do the characteristics on your lists represent or depart from the roles played by Dr. Harding that we have evaluated so far. Remember we have examined him as:
 - a. Peacemaker (behind the scenes negotiations during the 1963 Birmingham desegregation campaign)
 - b. Professor (through an analysis of his 1968 essay "The Religion of Black Power")

- c. Prophet (through evaluation of his 1969 speech at a gathering of Black Studies directors and the religious forms used there)
- d. Pilgrim (evaluating anecdotes from the Underground Railroad trip he took with his family in 1982)
- 3. From these lists, what do you think stands out as important contributions that Dr. Harding's religious commitments and practices made to his involvement in the long Black Freedom Struggle over the course of his life?

Module Steps:

1. **Opening with the Ambassadors.** Say, "We are now going to continue our exploration into the relationship of religion/spirituality and the long Black Freedom struggle by examining a program Dr. Harding developed with his wife Rosemarie and daughter Rachel in 2003."

Ambassadors of Hope. Let students know the following:

- Launched in 2003 out of the "Veterans of Hope" project that the Hardings had founded in 1997 to videotape interviews with community activists involved in the Civil Rights Movement and other social justice struggles;
- The goal of the Ambassadors of Hope was to connect veterans of social change movements like the Civil Rights Movement/Long Black Freedom Struggle with youth in order to model how to challenge different kinds of oppression;
- Did so through storytelling by the elders, watching videos like the Civil Rights Movement documentary Eyes on the Prize – for which Dr. Harding served as senior advisor – and having youth create visual art, movement, and spoken word presentations about their exchanges with the veterans;
- Each day of what evolved into a two-week residential retreat for high school age youth began with a community sharing circle and included time for small groups to work on their creative projects;
- The retreats concluded with public presentations of the youth's creative projects to community members, family, and friends.
- In 2005, Dr. Harding wrote to supporters about the Ambassadors of Hope program as one in which Movement elders "shared their stories and worked with the young people to help them explore the transformative relationships among spirituality, culture, the arts and creative work for

democratic social change; and within the context of the development of their own capacities for 'compassionate leadership'."¹

- In 2006, Dr. Harding described the daily activities of a typical Ambassadors of Hope program this way:

Calling themselves the ambassadors of hope, ...the youth began their day with spiritual practices from a number of sacred traditions always including smudging rituals led by our Native American young people. Opportunities for grounding and sharing were followed each morning with visits from elders from the local community who shared portions of their stories with the youth and engaged with them in the significant conversations that followed. As often as possible the elders ([musicians, artists, dancers, religious leaders, educators, community organizers, and others) shared... [their stories and experiences with the youth].²

Ask for a volunteer to read the following passage from Dr. Harding's journal written during the 2005 Ambassadors event – see handout **Dr. Harding's 2005 Ambassadors Journal**. Note that Dr. Harding's wife Rosemarie died in 2004:

"We came through – pain- joy - hospital visits – confession – new possibilities – new source of our best potentials – capacity to go through – capacity to help others find the way; "Why make it? a. Divine lover & creator – many names – one intention – that we may all discover that we are <u>one family</u>, that we need each other - to become who we meant to be – to create a more just, peaceful and compassionate world; remembers/names Rosemarie as an "elder/ancestor"; "elders from many traditions and experiences – all focused on the great gifts and great responsibilities – marvelous interaction"; "I took the praise from the Native Americans without acknowledging Rachel, Gloria, Rosemarie, Joan or Lattie. My, my!"³

Invite students to call out the words and phrases that they just heard. Write them on a chalkboard or flipchart.

Ask for a volunteer to read the journal passage through out loud a second time. Invite students to call out new words that haven't been identified before. Make a second list of words or phrases that stood out on the second reading.

¹ Vincent Harding to Students in the "Spirit and Struggle" Course, personal communication, Madison, NJ, Spring semester, 2005: Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 102, Folder: Photos.

² Vincent Harding, Dear Sister Winnie (Denver CO: 2005): Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 172, Small Yellow legal pad #3.

³ Vincent Harding, Ambassadors, Veterans of Hope (Denver, CO: July 2, 2005): SARE, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 172, Small Yellow legal pad #2.

Ask for a volunteer to read the passage a third time. Make a third list.

Ask:

- a. What made the words on the first list stand out to us? The second list? Were words on the third list harder to hear? Why or why not?
- b. What was Dr. Harding trying to say? What would he/she say is the central theme of this journal entry?
- c. Is the kind of spirituality described in this essay similar to or different from the spiritual character evidenced in Dr. Harding's life in earlier periods?
- d. How might have earlier actions and reflections by Dr. Harding shaped this expression of his religious ideas?
- 2. **A religion discussion.** On a marker board, chalkboard, or flipchart write: Religion and religious practices only provided the promise of a better world to people involved in the long Black freedom struggle and other social change movements but did not fulfill that promise.

Ask students to spend three minutes writing without lifting their pen or pencil from the paper in response to this statement. They can disagree or agree or simply free associate, but the point is to respond to the statement in writing.

When three minutes are up, invite students to pick a sentence of a phrase from what they have written and take turns reading it out loud.

Ask:

- a. Religious practices are sometimes depicted as being limited to the vision of a better world in this life or the next. Yet, some religious communities don't have a concept of an afterlife. What else other than a vision of the afterlife might religion and religious practices have to offer people involved in social change efforts?
- b. What do you think motivated the Hardings to include religious elements so centrally in their Ambassadors program?
- c. How were the events of the long Black Freedom struggle in which Dr. Harding was involved for his entire life shaped and influenced by religion and religious practices?

- d. How else have people involved in racial or social justice change efforts found substance and strength for their efforts?
- e. In the long arc Harding's life spanning 83 years, how did his expressions of religion and religious practice change? In what ways were they consistent?
- 3. **The Things I Have Learned Hypotheses.** Divide the team up into small groups or pairs. Tell them that you will read a sentence to them that describes a hypothetical situation. They will then have one minute to come up with a response based on what they have learned in this class. Students then vote for the best response each round. Award the winners with the honorary title of Harding Scholars. Draw on these five scenarios as needed:
- a. You are walking down the street in your home community and one of your former teachers sees you. They say, "I heard you were studying a unit on Dr. Vincent Harding's religious life and the civil rights movement. What's the most interesting thing you learned and why?" How do you respond?
- b. You are walking in the hallway on the way to class and a student you only vaguely recognize says, "I'm thinking of taking the unit on Dr. Harding. What's the point of the class?" How do you respond?
- c. You are invited to visit a class of younger students interested in attending your school. They have heard of the unit on Dr. Harding. One student asks, "Why are you talking about religion and stuff in the life of that civil rights guy?" How do you respond?
- d. You are waiting in a long line to buy a ticket to a movie and a group of people your age stop by to chat. One of them says, "I don't think religion really ever had anything to do with the Civil Rights movement. Prove me wrong." What do you say?
- e. You have just sat down with your extended family to enjoy a big holiday feast. One of your favorite relatives says in a voice loud enough for everyone to hear, "So what's this I hear about that class you're taking on religion and the Civil Rights movement or whatever. Isn't that just a waste of your time?" How do you respond?

Extend the Lesson:

These activities will take longer than 50 minutes.

• Guest speaker. Invite someone involved in a racial justice movement – either in the past or at the present time – to speak to your class. Ask guest speakers to talk about what they did, why they did it, and in which ways – if any – religion or spirituality influenced their actions.

- **Peacemaker research.** Have students look up <u>www.thehistorymakers.org</u> on the web. Give a sampling of interviews from any three featured interviews in the "<u>CivicMakers</u>" category and compare their perspectives with that of Dr. Harding. What are the similarities and differences in any references they make to religion or spirituality?
- Modeling spirituality. Hand out modeling clay and have the class form a symbol that represents the role of spirituality in the life of Dr. Harding. Invite them to explain why they chose the symbol that they did and how it relates to what they have learned about him.

The Dreams of Dr. Harding: Seeing Dr. King⁴

I had a dream a couple of years ago. In the dream, I was in my home church where I had grown up, on 138th Street in Harlem. I had been away from the church for a while, and I was back in my usual manner rehearsing with the junior choir. While I was singing, I became conscious of the fact that, in that empty sanctuary, toward the back pews, someone was sitting. I looked over, and there was Martin [Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.], sitting in the pew all by himself. I had never seen King looking so much at peace with himself. Peace, fulfilled as if the journey had finally brought him to a new and magnificent place in his own evolving life.

(Harding described this dream in an interview in 1991 when he was 60.)

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⁴ Vincent Harding, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: Dangerous Prophet," in *Cloud of Witnesses*, ed. Jim Wallis and Joyce Hollyday (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 92.

The Dreams of Dr. Harding: Singing (and crying) in the choir⁵

I had a dream a "vivid and moving dream: It appeared to be in Bowen Ave. Church, not many of us were there, and as I sat in the congregation, I remember no one but Willie Couldwell near me. We had begun to sing the song that I now know is "A Clear Heart." We were singing the chorus when I was overcome with a bursting desire to cry. And there as I sang, I cried, first haltingly and then in a fullness, the strength of which is still impressed upon me. Time and time again we sang the chorus "So search me then, without, within, as purge with fire if that must be" and time and again the words were sobbing sounds from within me and the tears from my eyes. When I awoke the chorus remained, but the stanza would not return. Later I found out. More than anything else I am impressed with the fact that this song that I have not sung more than once in a dozen years became so real to me. Perhaps I shall understand.

(Dr. Harding wrote down this dream in his journal in June 1956 when he was 25.)

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⁵ Vincent Harding, "To remember Wednesday night's vivid and moving dream…" (Chicago, IL: June 1, 1956): Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 80, [loose journal from 1956].

The Dreams of Dr. Harding: From The Early Sit-ins⁶

Last night was a fascinating dream. Rose and I were talking with some folks, mostly white I think, about these connections (probably the conversation with Parker and the visit to Atlanta were meshing in my soul). I was showing someone a magazine cover which carried on it a muted but attractive photo of one of the early sit ins. I thought I saw Sherrod in the photo, sitting at the counter. Then someone got up out of the photo and started walking slowly toward me. I was now positioned at the end of the counter and he ... over, gently and smoothly, rocking, swaying. He was a composite of Sherrod and Charlie Cobb junior and precious Bill Mahoney (where are you Bill, where?). And somehow, I knew that he/ they wanted the connections to be made. It was all right. And I feel it within me. But I also sense the long hard way toward the necessary discipline. I thought about that on the way from Atlanta. Whatever the differences between the politics of the old time and the new, there is no struggle on any and without discipline, beginning with self- discipline. There is my battleground, focusing now on. The issue of food. But even here, I must learn the way of the east, the way of opening and flowing more and managing less. The dreams join in with the spirits and the spirit of those who also seek the new common ground. There is power available, even for the discipline I need. So, to open that is the call. To open and to know that the flow up from my deepest reserves will continue, and the flow inform that source of all the power will continue, and I must know that and not be afraid to believe. A last thought for now: I need the power of this desk in Martin, facing this manuscript, living in this sense of time, tempted to feel oppressed, tempted to feel overwhelmed, tempted to give up the struggle for focus, wisdom and direction. So, here, too, I shall open more, open more.

(Recorded by Dr. Harding in his journal in 1980 when he was 50.)

⁶ Vincent Harding, "What I feel..." (Pendle Hill, Pennsylvania: June 10, 1980): Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 16, [Red and black notebook - 1979].

The Dreams of Dr. Harding: Using the Wrong Coffee Pot⁷

Last night the full moon was very bright and my sleep was full of dreams. Several seemed to deal with my struggles ... to return to some place in the traditional academic institutions. One had me involved as either a new or visiting faculty person in a rather staid setting, and I was doing a number of unstaid things, like climbing up railings that were not meant to be climbed, and being greeted by the stares of my new colleaguesblack and white. Not really embarrassed, but sort of uncomfortably amused, I announced to them that my climbing was part of my physical development program. I remember, too, running into a little flack with the departmental secretary because I used the wrong coffee urn, or used it at night, or something else out of proper order. In the dream I got the feeling that some people were quietly supportive of my non-conformity, but all seemed to be waiting to see what would happen with my strange doings got to the ears of the administration. For my part, I did not seem at all concerned about that.... Then there was what seemed to be another series of dreams, all related to us as a family and our future place of calling and being. In these dreams we were in wilderness mountain settings like the ones we've known in Wyoming and New Mexico. Someone who seemed like a mother- religious figure- ... was encouraging us to come and establish ourselves in this new setting. And each section of the dream seemed to be an example of the way in which we could fit in, and of the way in which we were needed. ...[a] sense of her attempt to open a way for us and to show us the need and the rightness of our presence is very strong.- ... This could also be the calling that runs from another time, another place...in the dreams, there is a sense of freedom, a sense that even though the decisions, are not clearly made in current concerning the future, that we have gone beyond our captivity to the past and our moving free.- I want that newness and freedom so much that I can taste it.

(Recorded by Dr. Harding in his journal in 1980 when he was 50.)

⁷ Vincent Harding, "At the Lake" (August 27, 1980): Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 16, [Red and black notebook - 1979].

Remember This Quote?: The Harriet Tubman Bird⁸

The next morning, long before the church services were scheduled to begin, Rosemarie and I returned to Bucktown. The sky was bright, clear and cloudless. Because we had forgotten the mosquito repellent, and they were swarming as usual, Rosemarie waited until I left the car. Walking down the dirt road past the unpainted remains of the deserted frame house, along the gully at the side of the cornfield, I moved toward the edge of the woods, feeling out the area to which Mrs. Travers had pointed, "where Harriet was born."

When the place seemed right, I stopped and faced the woods, absorbing as much of their silence as I could. I was three or four hundred yards away from the road, alone with the trees, the sun, the sky--and the mosquitos. Forgetting them, I remained silent for a long while, and then called out, "Harriet." I repeated her name into the silence, perhaps three more times. "Harriet." Suddenly a bird appeared, high above me at the top of the tall trees. Its body and head appeared to be brown; its wings were brown with white trailing feathers. It looked like a small eagle. As I remained silent, looking up, it circled directly over me with no movement of its wings, soaring, circling, at least six or seven times. I was unaware of time.

In ways that I do not begin to understand, I was convinced that communication was taking place. With my face up to the bird, I kneeled down and said, "Thank you, Harriet," as the circling continued. Soon I stood up, and shortly after that another bird of the same kind appeared even higher in the sky. At that moment, my Harriet bird flapped its wings, made its last turn, and flew off through the tops of the trees toward the southeast.

(Dr. Harding wrote down this anecdote in 1983. It took place the previous summer when he was 51.)

⁸ Vincent Harding, "We were a black family…," 1984, Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 99, Folder: [unmarked folder - unlabeled manuscript with Harding's personal reflections'].

Remember This Quote?: Singing to the tune of Jacob's Ladder⁹

"Black History is refusal to give over our lives, our creativity, our history, our future into the hands of white America, for they have proved themselves totally inadequate and ultimately dangerous."

"If we move following the intuitive leadings of our poets and musicians, we shall perhaps redeem the fathers who wrote Negro history with tear-flooded eyes, filled with desperate hope (and the fathers who blew their horns in the night, and the Mommas who sang till their hearts broke.)"

"... we of the Institute of the Black World pledge ourselves to struggle by your side as long as your face is really set towards the new land."

[closes by singing "we are building up a new world" to the tune of Jacob's ladder]

"Go with the fathers and go with the children, and build on, brothers and sisters."

(Quotes from Dr. Harding's 1969 "Beyond Chaos" talk given in Atlanta at a meeting of Black Studies staff and directors. He was 38 at the time.)

⁹ Vincent Harding, "Beyond Chaos: Black History and the Search for the New Land, November 9 1969," Institute of the Black World, Atlanta, GA., Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 4, The Institute Of The Black World, 1968-1974, Box 22, FF14: Programs/Projects: Black Studies Directors Seminar, 7-9 November 1969 [folder 1 of 2].

Remember This Quote?: Religion and Black Power¹⁰

Perhaps refusal to hate is enough to begin with when one considers the deep sources of human justification for black hatred and revenge against whites. Perhaps those who can rise out of such carefully poisoned wells of human experience with the strength not to hate their oppressors have made a major beginning, whatever their dreams may be period of course, if anyone should dare to press on and raise the most disturbing religious issue of even loving enemies, there may be two initial responses. It must first be acknowledged that the American religious communities have offered no consistent examples of this love for enemies, especially in times of war. (Black people consider themselves at war, and they have imbibed more of American religion than they know.) Second it is essential that all questioners should examine the possibility that men may need the freedom to hate their enemies before love can become an authentic response. It may be that black freedom offers no less dangerous path than any other variety.

The issue of religion is constantly before many of the young persons who are drawn back into the ghettos by the urgent logic of Black Power. As they return-from college or from prison- to struggle against what can be reasonably described as "principalities and powers" which seem anonymously but fiercely to control the life of their people, they find themselves often insufficient as autonomous sources of inner strength. They cannot return to the Christian churches they once knew, because these churches have so often appeared irrelevant to the real needs of the community and most often they are controlled by older men and women you seem unprepared for the competition from radical black youth. In here, strangely enough, a few black Christian churches have responded finally to the call of black power. In Detroit the pastor of one such congregation, the Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr., of the Central United Church of Christ preaches of a revolutionary Jesus who came to set the non-white peoples free. A black Madonna is the focal point of worship, and the church has probably attracted more persons committed to Black Power than any other single institution still connected to the Christian churches.

(From Dr. Harding's 1968 essay, "The Religion of Black Power." He was 37 when it was published.)

¹⁰ Vincent Harding, "The Religion of Black Power," in *The Religious Situation: 1968*, ed. Donald R. Cutler (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).

Remember This Quote?: Behind the Scenes in Birmingham¹¹

Perhaps refusal to hate is enough to begin with when one considers the deep sources of human connection. Finally, through the help of a member of the Alabama Council of Human Relations, contact was made with one of the city's young professional men who turned out to be all-important. He had the ear and the confidence of both business leaders and the city administration-elect. Late on April 15, the night after Easter, he met in a minister's home with one of King's co-workers, the Council's representative, and my wife and me. The movement toward real negotiations now began. King's aide found almost immediately that the young man's concern was not limited to ending the demonstrations but with working out just and meaningful solutions. Moreover, he was well trained, like many of the protest leaders, and personal bonds began to be developed. If credit for bringing about a settlement in Birmingham ever were to go to any one person, it should be to this native Southerner. (At this time, he is better left unidentified.)...

For the next two weeks semi-secret meetings were called, usually early in the morning or late at night. They were held in churches, homes, deserted office buildings; and in their course a network of relationships began to build up....

Late Thursday night, May 9, I worked with one Negro and one white lawyer and a representative of King's on the wording of the four-point agreement to be given to the press. The next morning the prisoners began to be released, even before the last negotiating session. The phrasing of the agreement was settled, and firm assurances were given that the schoolchildren would be readmitted on Monday. Early that afternoon, the final press conference was held, and Fred Shuttlesworth announced: The city of Birmingham has reached an accord with its conscience." Before scores of cameras, Martin King was so moved that he said: "Birmingham now stands on the threshold of becoming a great, enlightened symbol, shedding the radiance of its example throughout the entire nation."...

The very confidence that the Negro leaders have in the good faith of the white negotiators is in itself heartening. (Of course, one of these leaders quietly revealed the fact that his confidence was greatly bolstered by the presence of Burke Marshall at all of the initial stages of negotiations.) They will be less tempted to stage impulsive demonstrations, even when sorely tried by situations like the May 12 bombings or the Connor-appointed school board's action in expelling or suspending 1,081 students. Moreover, I, too, felt that the men who represented the white business and industrial leaders were men of goodwill, men who had been certainly affected by the demonstrations, but also men who were doing more than merely trying to stop marches. They were concerned with setting right at least some of the inequities of the system in which they too were trapped....

¹¹ Vincent Harding, "A Beginning in Birmingham," The Reporter, June 6, 1963.

(Dr. Harding published this account in 1963. He was 32 at the time.

Dr. Harding's 2005 Ambassadors Journal¹²

Note that Dr. Harding's wife Rosemarie died in 2004:

"We came through – pain- joy - hospital visits – confession – new possibilities – new source of our best potentials – capacity to go through – capacity to help others find the way; "Why make it? a. Divine lover & creator – many names – one intention – that we may all discover that we are <u>one family</u>, that we need each other - to become who we meant to be – to create a more just, peaceful and compassionate world; remembers/names Rosemarie as an "elder/ancestor"; "elders from many traditions and experiences – all focused on the great gifts and great responsibilities – marvelous interaction"; "I took the praise from the Native Americans without acknowledging Rachel, Gloria, Rosemarie, Joan or Lattie. My, my!"

(Dr. Harding was 74 when he wrote this.)

¹² Vincent Harding, Ambassadors, Veterans of Hope (Denver, CO: July 2, 2005): Emory University Rose Archives, Vincent Harding Papers, MSS 868, Series 12, Unprocessed Additions, 1968-2014, Box 172, Small Yellow legal pad #2.