

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Ultimately, this book is about connections: between religion and politics, between two of Detroit's leading Black political ministers, and between the city's two distinct phases of the civil rights struggle. The following chapters represent one way to explore the complexity of movements for civil rights and social justice in a local setting. Although Detroit is in some ways unique, I hope the implications of this narrative will extend beyond the city's limits and speak to the experiences of generations of activists whose stories have yet to be recorded. Fortunately, much of Detroit's history has been preserved in the manuscript collections of individuals and organizations and in the oral histories and audiovisual materials housed in the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University (ALHUA). This remarkable assortment of primary materials, including a 1967 oral history conducted with the Reverend Charles A. Hill and recordings of Reverend Albert B. Cleage Jr.'s sermons, has been invaluable for my understanding of political radicalism in Detroit.

Thanks to the generosity of the Hill family, I was also given access to the "Red Squad" file kept on Hill by the Detroit Police Department and to many of Hill's personal papers. These materials now form the bulk of the Hill Family Papers at the University of Michigan's Bentley Historical Library, which also houses an impressive segment of the city's religious history, including the records of C. L. Franklin, Bethel AME, and Gerald L. K. Smith.

During the winter of 2005, I had the good fortune to be awarded a Public Goods Fellowship to teach classes at the University of Michigan based on the Bentley's archival holdings. My interaction with colleagues and students at Michigan shaped this manuscript in myriad ways. This

terrific group of students influenced my understanding of issues ranging from the mural of the Black Madonna and Child, which still hangs in the sanctuary of the Shrine of the Black Madonna, to what Robert F. Williams learned from one generation of militant Black Detroiters and taught another. I wish to thank them all. Thanks, too, to the archivists, especially Karen Jania, and the staff for putting up with me. My visiting appointment in Michigan's History Department as a Public Goods Fellow allowed me the time and space necessary to complete this manuscript, and I am equally grateful to my home institution, the Gallatin School of Individualized Study at New York University, for granting me an academic leave, as well as a research grant from the Stephen Golden Enrichment Fund.

Many of the connections I trace in the subsequent chapters were first suggested to me years ago during my childhood in Detroit. It was my good fortune to be in a position to hear many of the stories told at holiday parties (at "Uncle" Ernie and "Aunt" Jessie Dillard's and at Dolores and Oscar Paskal's) and other casual gatherings by those who had been active in local political struggles. Their memories have influenced this book in ways too numerous to decipher or fully acknowledge. While not all of them would agree with all the arguments and analyses I put forth, I owe them a debt of gratitude I can never repay. Special thanks to the extended Hill clan, especially the late Bermecia (Hill) Morrow McCoy, Charles A. Hill Jr., and Lantz Hill for sharing their memories of their father. Many other individuals also allowed me to interview them, including Christopher Alston, James and Grace Lee Boggs, Ernest C. Dillard, Arthur McPhaul, Hodges Mason, David Morrow, Oscar and Dolores Paskal, B. J. Widick, Dorothy Johnson, the Rev. Nicholas Hood Sr., DeVon Cunningham, Barbara (Cleage) Martin, Mark Solomon, Margaret Dade, Malcolm G. Dade Jr., and Jaramogi Menelik Kimathi (Cardinal Demosthene Nelson), Holy Patriarch and Presiding Bishop of the Shrines of the Black Madonna of the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church. Another member of the shrine community, Paul Lee, was equally helpful. A thoughtful and thorough local historian, he was kind enough to share numerous resources (and e-mails) on the early days of the shrine and Reverend Cleage.

The Reverend Charles G. Adams was kind enough to talk with me about "growing up under" Reverend Hill. A "son" of Hartford, Adams took over the pastorate of the church upon Hill's retirement and has guided the congregation for the past three decades. He is a remarkable man in his own right and a figure about whom an entire book could (and should!) be written. I also "grew up" in Hartford (my grandparents

joined the church in the 1920s), and years of listening to Pastor Adams's voice booming from the pulpit schooled me in an understanding of the power of language and the meaning of a passionate devotion to a living and politically engaged faith.

One last person who also granted me an interview needs to be thanked: my mother, Marilyn (Adams) Dillard. She was the first secretary at the Trade Union Leadership Council and was involved in civil rights work in the city in the 1950s and 1960s. Moreover, along with my father, Paul Anthony Dillard Sr., she has provided me with a constant source of love and support—and great stories!—over the years. I could not have lived this life or written this book without them. My late brother, the Rev. Paul Anthony Dillard Jr., who at the time of his premature, AIDS-related death served as dean of the Cathedral of the Imani Temple, an African American Catholic Congregation headquartered in Washington, DC, and led by Bishop George Stallings, also influenced my perspective on the interrelationship between politics and religion in both word and deed.

A number of friends read and commented on parts of this manuscript over the years. It began as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan and was stewarded by a remarkable dissertation committee: Earl Lewis, Robin Kelley, David Scobey, Roger Rouse, and Don Herzog—each of whom gave me a wealth of advice, even when I was too stubborn to take it. I also benefited greatly from the feedback of former colleagues at the University of Minnesota, especially David Roediger, Sara Evans, and Rose Brewer, as well as present colleagues at New York University, including George Shulman, Kim Philips-Fein, Stephen Duncombe, and the entire faculty of the Gallatin School of Individualized Study, along with the members of the Social Movements Workshop. I would also like to thank Jeanne Theoharris and the rest of the contributors to the *Freedom North* volume for deepening my knowledge of and appreciation for the history of civil rights struggles outside the South. My own contribution to that collection (which forms the basis of chap. 6) benefited from the feedback and editorial suggestions made by Jeanne and her coeditor, Komozi Woodard.

A host of others read sections of the manuscript or shared thoughts on how to understand the religious and political history of Detroit, including Thomas Klug, Professor of History and Director of Marygrove College's Institute of Detroit Studies, whose reader's report for the press is a model of scholarly commitment and professional graciousness; Kevin Mumford, who imported insights from his own work on political movements in Newark; Nick Salvatore, most recently the diligent biogra-

pher of Detroit's Reverend C. L. Franklin; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham; and Charlie Bright.

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