

Racism, Our Church and Our Region:

The Complex Past

Repentance, Healing, and Reconciliation Task Force

Episcopal Diocese of Rochester

Spring 2018

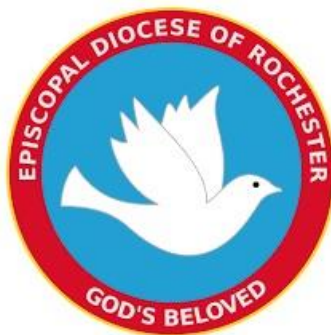


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INTRODUCTION

Dear saints,

Today we mark the fiftieth anniversary of the assassination of a young prophet, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. On this occasion, I want to applaud and thank Ms. Marlene Allen, Ms. Laura Arney, Ms. Elizabeth Porter, Mr. Richard Reid, Rev. Kit Tobin, and Ms. Kathy Walczac for the diligence that went into creating this report: Racism, Our Church and Our Region: The Complex Past. As members of the Repentance, Reconciliation and Healing Task Force they worked hard and long to document this report after two full years of research and documentation from 2015 to 2016. I also wish to thank Mr. Matt Townsend, Ms. Heather Yanda, Mr. Stephen Richards and Canon Johnnie Ross, for helping edit and prepare this document for publication. By the providence of God, we publish this report today. We have come this far, and we have a long way to go!

In November of 2016, we engaged in a year-long pilgrimage that involved diocesan-wide teaching, study and listening around the theme of Seeing the Face of God in Each Other. This pilgrimage culminated in a significant visit from the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Most Rev. Michael Curry, who blessed, challenged and encouraged us. His visit was punctuated by a poignant liturgy of Repentance, Reconciliation and Healing at the 85th Convention of our Diocese. We continue to study and grow as people of faith in the Episcopal Church while making a difference in our immediate and global neighborhoods through loving action and advocacy.

After nearly ten years as the first Bishop of Color in the Diocese of Rochester, I can say at least two things about what I have witnessed:

1. I have seen significant signs of us becoming Beloved Community, signs filled with a deep commitment to kindness, justice, reconciliation, redemptive action, and great generosity.
2. I have also witnessed pockets of “white liberal racism” of the Kiplingesque kind that manifests itself in a colonial veil that is patronizing, controlling and occasionally even mean spirited.

Therefore, I hope you will study this engaging perspective on our history in parts or as a whole to get a sense of how adversely racial discrimination affects the soul of our nation, communities and citizens. You will see how, against all odds, resilient individuals and groups, time and again, *help* bend the long arc of justice through faith that translates into diligent agency. This report sweeps a deep and wide range from the Doctrine of Discovery and Manifest Destiny, which were/are instruments used in the quest for expansion and domination in this nation, to the various engagements of land marked by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784, The Canandaigua Treaty of 1794 along with other treaties with the Native American population. It also marks the aspirational resolutions of the church. Did you know that in the early 1790s, NY State legislature forbid the selling of slaves and final emancipation did not occur until 1827? That was less than two hundred years ago. Did you know that between 1825 and 1850, a quarter of the population of Bath was Black?

New York economics intersected land ownership, slave ownership and the transatlantic trade of cotton or “white gold.” In such a context, it is inspiring to note that Free Blacks were the most invested in the Underground Railroad. We are inspired by the diligent leadership of luminaries like Harriet Tubman, Rev. Quintin Primo, Jr., Rev. Saint Julian Simpkins, and many other leaders who exemplified the deep dream they pursued to see a better day. The friendship shared by Frederick Douglass and Susan B Anthony is a significant embodiment of viewing oppressions not as a hierarchy of pain, but as a coalition of human rights. This is significant especially because we will mark the 10th of December 2018 as the seventieth anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights. Pauline Moore taught at the Carver House Nursery School. In the early 1920s, St. Simon Cyrene Mission started to take root under the leadership of Rev. Frank Louis Brown, the Founding Rector. Later, Rev. Marcus Gilbert James, the first person of color, was ordained by Bishop Bartel H. Reinheimer, the second Bishop of Rochester in January 1946.

We are grateful for outstanding white leaders like William Seward, who gave Harriet Tubman a parcel of land in Auburn, NY; Mrs. Sophia, who taught Frederick Douglas how to read; and Amy and Isaac Post who sheltered more fugitives than anyone else in Rochester. It is such embodiment of beloved community building that has brought us to the current place and time. This is a significant place and time. We have had two terms of the first Black President of the United States in President Barack Obama; Mayor Lovely Warren, the first Black Woman serves her second term as Mayor of Rochester; President Greg Vincent, was elected by the Board to be the first Black President of Hobart and William Smith Colleges; and the first Black Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Most Rev. Michael Curry, was elected on the first ballot! Individually and collectively, these indicate a deep commitment to becoming Beloved Community both in society and Church. The question remains if they will be symbolic or substantive.

This report provides many clues about racism's modalities that perpetuate the notion of the "other" with cultural, institutional, social and individual markers that are normalized in stark and nuanced ways. With this in mind, the chapter on Migrant Farmworkers is particularly poignant and the last few chapters continue in that vein by articulating challenges within the current contexts of education, poverty, housing and health care. Several new iterations of this paradigm of "othering" confront our current state of affairs. Some of these are the increased unblushing expressions of White Supremacy, Islamophobia, Homophobia, the plight of Undocumented persons, the "New Jim Crow" (the business of incarceration impacting greater proportions of black and brown people), movements like Black Lives Matter, "Me too," "Time's Up" and "Never Again," the vulnerability of women and men of color in the work place, abuse of power, bullying, violence and mass shootings. Our context is fertile with possibilities. According to the Democrat and Chronical, more than 61,000 people living in Monroe County were born in another land. There are people from 125 nations speaking many tongues, not including sign language, which is more used in the Rochester region than anywhere else in the US. These are our neighbors!

In conclusion, the sin of Racism has to be acknowledged and it is equally important to invest energy and effort in becoming Beloved Community. Both of these are important movements for our common spiritual health because one without the other is disingenuous. The Presiding Officers have offered the document entitled, Becoming Beloved Community, as a resource to accompany our journey. With all this in mind, I will commission a Racial Justice and Reconciliation Catalysts to help us engage three priorities: Celebration, Education, and Training. We may not be there yet, but with adequate accountability and reconciling grace we will become Beloved Community someday. We see the signs already.

Your fellow servant in Christ,



Bishop Prince G. Singh
Easter 2018

The Episcopal Diocese of Rochester
Repentance, Healing, and Reconciliation Task Force

Following the 81st Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester 2012, Bishop Prince Singh appointed a Task Force to examine the history of racism throughout the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester.

Task Force Members:

Marlene Allen	Church of the Good Shepherd, Webster, New York
Laura Arney	St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Rochester, New York
Elizabeth Porter	St. Michael's Church, Geneseo, New York
Richard Reid	Church of the Good Shepherd, Webster New York
The Rev. Kit Tobin	Christ Episcopal Church, Corning, New York
Kathy Walczak	St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Rochester, New York

The Task Force organized their research by region and topic. They spent more than two years visiting churches interviewing clergy and lay members, and examining church records.

Additionally, Diocesan archival materials, visits to Rochester regional museums and the Rochester Public Library were accessed to gather information.

The outcome of these activities reveal that Central and Western New York State have a rich history of Europeans settling in New York State. Settlers immigrated to New York State believing they were entitled to the land – The Doctrine of Discovery – and did what they felt necessary – war, slavery – to survive and gain prosperity.

Resolution Number: 2000-B049

Title: Require Anti-Racism Training

Legislative Action Taken: Concurred as

Substituted Final Text:

Resolved, that beginning on September 1, 2000 the lay and ordained leadership of the Episcopal Church, including all ordained persons, professional staff, and those elected or appointed to positions of leadership on committees, commissions, agencies, and boards be required to take anti-racism training and receive certification of such training; and be it further Resolved, that the Executive Council select and authorize appropriate programs that will be used at the national level; that each province select and authorize appropriate programs that will be used at the provincial level; and that each diocese select and authorize appropriate programs that will be used at the diocesan and parochial levels, each province and diocese to determine those lay and clergy leaders who are to take the training; and be it further Resolved, that the Standing Commission on National Concerns continues to develop a list of such appropriate resources; and be it further Resolved, that each national committee, commission, agency, and board, and each province and diocese maintain a register of those who are trainers and those who have been trained, and forward this information to the Executive Council by January 1, 2003, and every two years thereafter, and the Council report on this information to the 74th and 75th General Conventions.

Citation: General Convention, Journal of the General Convention of...The Episcopal Church, Denver, 2000 (New York: General Convention, 2001), p. 603.

Resolution Number: 2006-A123

Title: Study Economic Benefits Derived from

Slavery Legislative Action Taken: Concurred

as Amended Final Text:

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church declare unequivocally that the institution of slavery in the United States and anywhere else in the world, based as it is on “ownership” of some persons by other persons, was and is a sin and a fundamental betrayal of the humanity of all persons who were involved, a sin that continues to plague our common life in the Church and our culture; and be it further Resolved, that The Episcopal Church acknowledge its history of participation in this sin and the deep and lasting injury which the institution of slavery and its aftermath have inflicted on society and on the Church; and be it further Resolved, that we express our most profound regret that (a) The Episcopal Church lent the institution of slavery its support and justification based on Scripture, and (b) after slavery was formally abolished, The Episcopal Church continued for at least a century to support *de jure* and *de facto* segregation and discrimination; and be it further Resolved, that The Episcopal Church apologize for its complicity in and the injury done by the institution of slavery and its aftermath; we repent of this sin and ask God’s grace and forgiveness; and be it further Resolved, that the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church through the Executive Council urgently initiate a comprehensive program and urge every Diocese to collect and document during the next triennium detailed information in its community on (a) the complicity of The Episcopal Church in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination and (b) the economic benefits The Episcopal Church derived from the institution of slavery; and direct the Committee on Anti-Racism to monitor this program and report to Executive Council each year by March 31 on the progress in each Diocese; and be it further Resolved, that to enable us as people of God to make a full, faithful and informed accounting of our history, the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church direct the Committee on Anti-Racism to study and report to Executive Council by March 31, 2008, which in turn will report to the 76th General Convention, on how the Church can be “the repairer of the breach” (Isaiah 58:12), both materially and relationally, and achieve the spiritual healing and reconciliation that will lead us to a new life in Christ; and be it further Resolved, that to mark the commencement of this program the Presiding Bishop is requested to name a Day of Repentance and on that day to hold a Service of Repentance at the National Cathedral, and each Diocese is requested to hold a similar service.

Citation: General Convention, Journal of the General Convention of...The Episcopal Church, Columbus, 2006 (New York: General Convention, 2007), pp. 664-665.

Episcopal Diocese of Rochester

Resolution C-2008

Resolved, that the 77th Convention of the Diocese of Rochester mandate an eight-hour Anti-Racism Training at one of the offerings in different locations in 2009 for clergy and elected lay leaders in the diocese, including the members of Diocesan staff, Diocesan Council, the Standing Committee, the Trustees, the Commission on Ministry, Deputies to General Convention, and Delegates to Diocesan Convention, as well as those in process for ordination to the diaconate or priesthood and the members of local search committees; and be it further

Resolved, that the same eight-hour program is strongly recommended for congregational lay leaders, such as wardens, vestry members, child and adult educators, music personnel, and youth program coordinators to attend one of the offerings; and be it further

Resolved, that the present Anti-Racism Task Force be dissolved and replaced by an Anti-Racism Committee, appointed by the Bishop, to continue the work begun by the Task Force, specifically

- To participate in the Episcopal Church's fourteen-hour (two-day) training hosted by the Rochester Diocese and led by national church trainers to be held before the end of 2008.
- To develop eight-hour training based on the fourteen-hour training program, for use by clergy and lay leaders in the diocese.
- To set up a schedule for the eight-hour sessions in different locations in the diocese to begin in 2009.
- To identify potential trainers.
- To monitor the mandated program for newly elected leaders and new clergy to the diocese, and to keep a record of those who have been trained.
- To review materials for the training as they become available.

Explanation

In 2007, the 76th Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester passed a resolution, "On Anti-Racism Training," that asked the Bishop and Diocesan Council to prepare a plan to bring the Diocese into compliance with the 73rd General Convention Resolution 2000-B049," which mandated anti-racism training of lay and ordained leadership of the Episcopal Church. In response to this diocesan resolution, Bishop Jack McKelvey appointed eight members to an Anti-Racism Task Force, whose mission included developing an Anti-Racism training program, determining who should receive this training, and recommending a timetable and long-term continuation of the program.

Although the Episcopal Church (TEC) recommended a fourteen-hour anti-racism training program, the Task Force decided to mandate a shorter version for our clergy and lay leaders, in recognition of the heavy time commitment these leaders already would be engaged in. The Task Force members (or the newly formed committee) participated in the fourteen-hour program, adapted it to eight hours, and prepared the identified trainers by 2009.

Since the process of preparing and maintaining a program would take at least the whole next year and beyond, it was more appropriate that a committee, rather than a time-specific task force, be commissioned for the on-going work.

**Resolution G-2012 - To Recommit to Anti-Racism and
Repentance
Submitted by the Anti-Racism Committee**

Resolved, That, following the 77th General Convention of the Episcopal Church, this 81st Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester recommit to anti-racism training and to dismantling structures of racism in all its forms; and be it further

Resolved, that this Convention request that the Bishop appoint a Task Force, in accordance with the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, to examine the history of racism and the impact of the Doctrine of Discovery in this diocese; and be it further

Resolved, that this Task Force establish a Day of Repentance for the Church's complicity in the sin of slavery and the oppression of Native Americans and all persons of color and hold a Service of Repentance on that day within the next three years; and be it further

Resolved, That this Task Force report back on its progress at the 82nd Diocesan Convention in 2013.

Explanation

At the 77th General Convention in July 2012, Resolution A125 recommitted the Episcopal Church to continue "the work against the sin of racism in all its forms" and "continue to engage in anti-racism training on an on-going basis." Another General Convention Resolution 2012-A127 resolves that "anti-racism training be carried out on provincial and diocesan levels" using "existing programs and ministries, or develop new programs and ministries, to dismantle and eradicate structures of racism." Since 2007, the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester has been actively engaged in the work against racism. That year Convention passed a resolution "to prepare a plan to bring the diocese into compliance with GC Resolution 2000-B049" that requires anti-racism training for "the lay and ordained leadership of the Episcopal Church." At the diocese's 2008 Convention, a resolution was passed that mandated an eight-hour training based on the national Church's program, *Seeing the Face of God in Each Other*, for clergy and elected lay leaders. As of June 2012, over one hundred people in the diocese have received this training, but many more still need to take it. More opportunities for training sessions are planned for 2013. Beyond the anti-racism training program, this diocese might fulfill yet another General Convention Resolution 2012-A128, which directs dioceses to examine the impact of the Doctrine of Discovery that had provided the framework for slavery and the oppression of Native Americans and other ethnic groups. GC Resolution A143 in 2009 "encouraged each diocese" to "name a Day of Repentance and on that day, hold a Service of Repentance" for "the complicity of the Episcopal Church in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination." Such a day could be broadened to include repentance for the oppression of Native Americans and other ethnicities as well as African Americans. Crucial as it is to take the training that raises awareness of racism in us and in the structures of society, racial reconciliation efforts, such as a Day of Repentance, are also necessary for us to become a Church of, and for, all races and ethnicities and be committed to ending racism in the world. A Day of Repentance was observed by the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester on November 5, 2016 at Trinity Episcopal Church in Geneva, NY.

THE DOCTRINE OF DISCOVERY

The Origins of the Doctrine of Discovery

In 1095, the papal bull *Terra Nullius* gave kings and princes of Europe the right to “discover,” or claim, land in non-Christian areas. This was extended in the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* in 1455, which allowed Portugal to claim and conquer lands in West Africa. The papal bull *Inter caetera* gave Spain the right to conquer newly found lands in the Western Hemisphere in 1493, something Christopher Columbus was already doing. The justification for this doctrine was that non-Christians were regarded as uncivilized and subhuman and therefore without rights to any land or nation. Christian rulers used this doctrine to colonize territories, killing and/or enslaving native populations. In 1823, the United States Supreme Court incorporated the doctrine into U.S. law in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, thereby justifying the expansion of the U.S. control of lands in the American West and the subjugation of native populations there. The doctrine continues to govern Indian Law today and has been cited as recently as 2005 in the decision of *Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York* to deny Native Americans the right to their land.

The Response of the Episcopal Church to the Doctrine of Discovery

The 77th General Convention Resolution 2012-A128 *directs all dioceses to examine the impact the Doctrine of Discovery, as repudiated at the 76th General Convention, has had on all people, especially persons of color, including racial discrimination, racial profiling and other acts of oppression.* This resolution extends 2009-D035 that repudiated the Doctrine of Discovery because of its impact on native tribes to all people of color. It was this doctrine that permitted the sanctioning of the slave trade as well as the subjugation of Native Americans. The full text of GC 2012-A128 can be found at www.generalconvention.org/gc/resolutions.

The Doctrine of Discovery and the Christian Church

In 1095, the papal bull *Terra Nullius* gave kings and princes of Europe the right to “discover,” or claim land in non-Christian areas of the world - “The Doctrine of Discovery.” The proclamation declared non-Christians as uncivilized and subsequently without rights to any land or nation.

During the Age of Discovery, there was an enormous need to enslave individuals to work and build on the land. Early Americans tried to enslave white men and women, but for the most part these attempts failed – whites could escape and blend into the crowd and were protected by government laws. Attempts were made to enslave Native Americans; however, Indians too could escape into the country. Another factor was that many Indians sickened and died from European diseases brought here by whites.¹

In 1823, the United States Supreme Court incorporated the Doctrine of Discovery into law in *Johnson v. McIntosh*. The ruling justified the expansion of the United States’ control of lands in the American West with a goal to bring under control the native populations. This law continues to govern Indian Law today and has been cited as recently as 2005 in the decision of *Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York*, which denies Native Americans the right to their land.²

A variation on the Doctrine of Discovery concept was the American idea of “Manifest Destiny”

– the belief that Americans were destined by God to govern the North American continent. Although the term was not coined until 1884 by journalist John O’Sullivan in an article in the *New York Democratic Review*, Americans had been long-practicing the idea, even when still colonies of Britain; the concept had deep roots in American culture. In the mid-eighteenth century, there was a cry to eradicate the American Indians from their land because it was needed for the whites to farm and build. The American Indians’ use of the land did not complement the plans of the Europeans. Contemporary thinking implied that only white people – Protestant and male – were meant to conquer the continent. As we examine both concepts today, they may support glaring examples of racism.

Whether these principles are called the Doctrine of Discovery or Manifest Destiny, they stimulated the United States’ thirst for expansion in the early years of this nation and have been disastrous for Native Americans and African Americans.

¹ Bennett, Jr., Lerone, *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1964*, Chicago, Illinois. 1964

² The full text of GC 2012-A128, www.generalconvention.org/gc/resolutions

Misappropriation of Iroquois Confederacy Land through Treaties

Early Years of New York State

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix – 1784

The first treaty made between the United States and the Six Nations was the treaty of Fort Stanwix (today's Rome, New York). In the years leading up to this first treaty, there were many hardships for the Indians of the new world:

- Wars with other tribes and among themselves
- The Beaver Wars
- The French and Indian War
- The American Revolutionary War

They suffered adversities of diseases brought to the Indians' land by the Europeans. Many of their villages were burned, and they were driven out of portions of land which they had claimed as their own for hundreds of years. In early years of colonization, Native Americans did not have a full understanding of the political relationships between the colonists [Americans] and the British, French, and Dutch adversaries. At the same time federal authority, states' rights, and land rights between states were a major obstacle to peace. Subsequently, the Indians did what was most advantageous for them: 1) they defended themselves where necessary and, 2) sided with the European group(s) that would support their needs.

During the wars, the Indians chose specific alliances – the Oneida and Tuscarora sided with the Americans; the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca sided with the British. Once the British conceded to the colonies, the Indians were essentially left to fend for themselves. Leading up to the Fort Stanwix treaty, there was considerable tension over boundaries.

As negotiations began, the governor of New York attempted to negotiate land boundaries without representation from federal authorities. Joseph Brant discouraged the governor's attempt to start the negotiations and insisted on waiting for federal authorities. Sir William Johnson, previously superintendent of Indian Affairs for the British, attempted to divide the Six Nations to prevent them from forming a pan-Indian Union, an allegiance between Ohio/Western Indians and the Six Nations. Federal negotiators allegedly dictated the terms of the treaty to the Six Nations, treating them as defeated enemies. The federal negotiators established the boundaries for a reserve and took hostages from the Six Nations until prisoners of war were returned. Although there was a promise to protect the Six Nations and the reserve land, that promise was not kept. It was Cornplanter who took the lead in negotiating the best deal for his people and was the major Indian signer of the treaty.

Quotes from the Fort Stanwix Treaty: (Marlene Allen)

- Return hostages immediately
- Oneida and Tuscarora Nations shall be secure in the possession of their lands
- Six Nations cede all claims to Ohio territory and strip of land along the Niagara River as well as all land west of the mouth of Buffalo Creek
- The United States considers the treaty humane and liberal and to deliver goods to the Six Nations. ¹

Cornplanter – 1740-1836
The last War Chief of the Senecas

Son of a Native American mother and Dutch trader father: During the Revolutionary War, Cornplanter became the principal Seneca leader, however his mission as peacekeeper was often difficult but he negotiated the best terms possible for his people. In gratitude for his assistance in keeping the Seneca neutral during the Indian wars in Ohio, he was given a grant of land. The land was confiscated by the United States government with the construction of the Kinzua Dam in 1964.

During the negotiations, the United States admonished the Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga and Seneca calling them combative and aggressive. Although the United States ratified the treaty in 1785, the Six Nations and Ohio/west Indians (Shawnee, Mingo, and Delaware) never agreed with the terms of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

¹ Yale Law School, The Avalon Project; Treaty with the Six Nations; Article I-IV

The Canandaigua Treaty of 1794

Peace between the Native Americans and the states lasted as long as the Americans were able to convince the Indians to sell their lands. In 1785, New York State purchased Six Nations' land with the acquisition of a larger tract of Oneida and Tuscarora lands. New York State was given jurisdiction over the land although Massachusetts still claimed Iroquois lands. In 1787, the Genesee Land Company formed with the purpose of negotiating a lease of all Six Nations land in New York State with the exception of the reservations receiving two thousand dollars annually.

The Voice of Red Jacket

“When we discovered the fraud we had a mind to apply to Congress to see if the matter could be rectified: for when we took the money and shared it – we had but about a dollar a piece for all the country.”

According to historian Barbara Graymont, New York State Indian policy in the American Revolutionary era was based on extinguishing any claim of the United States Congress to sovereignty over Indian affairs in the State of New York; terminating the title of the Indians to the soil; and ending the sovereignty of the Six Nations. New York

State was determined to use Iroquois country for military bounty lands.

Tensions remained high among the Native Americans because of the loss of land over many years. The western Indians [Ohio] completely rejected the terms of the 1784 treaty, and the United States was continually trying to exert itself as “one” and not thirteen colonies. The undeclared warfare with the Indians was costly, and many Americans were injured, killed, or captured. Horses were taken from settlers and there continued to be a great loss of property.

Late spring 1791, George Washington sent Timothy Pickering to meet with the Mohawk Nation to discuss their numerous complaints. Over one thousand Six Nations delegates attended. Later that summer Joseph Brant was asked to meet with the Western Confederacy in an effort to help move matters toward a negotiated peace. Although there was distrust of the United States on the part of the Western Confederacy and the Six Nations, George Washington felt he could ask the Six Nations for help in persuading the Western Confederacy to sell some of their land and, on the other hand make peace. In the end, both Cornplanter and Joseph Brant agreed to attend a meeting with the Western Confederacy.

The United States continued to ask for opportunities to negotiate, including asking Iroquois chiefs to attend a meeting in Philadelphia,

where the Indians were given \$1,500, domestic animals and a promise to take only lands which were sold to them by the Indians. When the negotiations finally started in Canandaigua in October 1794, Pickering announced himself as commissioner representing the United States. Red Jacket, serving as speaker for the sachems, complained about earlier land cessions at Fort Stanwix, Fort Harmer, and Fort

The Voice of Red Jacket

“When we discovered the fraud we had a mind to apply to Congress to see if the matter could be rectified: for when we took the money and shared it – we had but about a dollar a piece for all the country.”

The Voice of Red Jacket

“When whites first came to the New World seeking refuge from persecution, the Indians took pity on them and gave them corn, meat, and a place to stay. In return, the whites gave the Indians poison [liquor] and took away their lands. Now they want to force their religion on the Indians.”

McIntosh. Pickering defended the United States by stating that the British failed to relinquish forts inside the United States' territory in accordance with the treaty at the end of the American Revolution. Counter negotiations were made until the treaty was signed on November 11, 1794, and ratified in January 1795.

The Treaty of Canandaigua 1794

- Pledged peace and friendship between the United States and the Six Nations
- Acknowledged the existing Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga reservations
- Defined the Seneca lands on the east by the line of the Phelps-Gorham Purchase
- Returned land taken from the Six Nations one decade earlier [1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix]
- Six Nations renounced all claims to land outside of the defined borders and granted rights of the road to Buffalo
- Presented the Six Nations with ten thousand dollars in goods
- Increased the annual annuity by three thousand dollars to \$4,500

Timothy Pickering – 1745-1829

President Washington's commissioner to the Iroquois Indians. He negotiated the treaty for the United States – sometimes called the Timothy Pickering Treaty.

United States Secretary of State 1795-1800

Treaty of the Big Tree 1797

This was a major treaty with the Seneca Nation of The Iroquois Confederacy. Although it took the better part of a month in negotiations, the back-and-forth negotiations resulted in 3.5 million acres of land west of the Genesee opening for European settlement. Both the Seneca and the United States officials wanted and needed to settle the dispute. Red Jacket continued to blame the conditions of the Seneca on the whites. Thomas Morris explained that the money received for the land would alleviate the poverty the Seneca were experiencing.

The Phelps and Gorham Development Company, located in Canandaigua, bought all the land west of Seneca Lake promising to pay face value price of the bond's worth. Subsequently, the land lost value, and Phelps Gorham had to foreclose to Massachusetts. Once foreclosed, the land was sold to Robert Morris.

When Red Jacket learned of the purchase of Seneca land he appealed to a representative of the United States government in hopes that Congress would stop Morris. Thomas Morris, son of Robert Morris, was sent to Canandaigua by his father to convince the Seneca to sell their land.

The young Morris pledged fair, honest, and open transactions of Seneca lands. He guaranteed the Indians would have more money than ever before, and they could reserve lands to protect each of their villages, and keep all hunting and fishing rights.

Robert Morris – 1734-1806 – Financier – Episcopalian

Raised great amounts of money to support the Continental Army during the American Revolution and was Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1784. At one time, he encouraged the slave trade. Morris invested heavily in unsettled lands throughout the nation. Eventually, he went bankrupt.

Thomas Morris – 1771-1849

**United States Representative
from New York.**

Practiced law in Canandaigua.

Voice of Red Jacket

“The white man . . . come in vessels and asked permission to come ashore, looking for a place to hang their kettles. Then they wanted a piece of land. The Great Spirit . . . had made the land for the Indians for their support, but when the white man came, hunting became different.”

Thomas' proposal [from his father] stated:

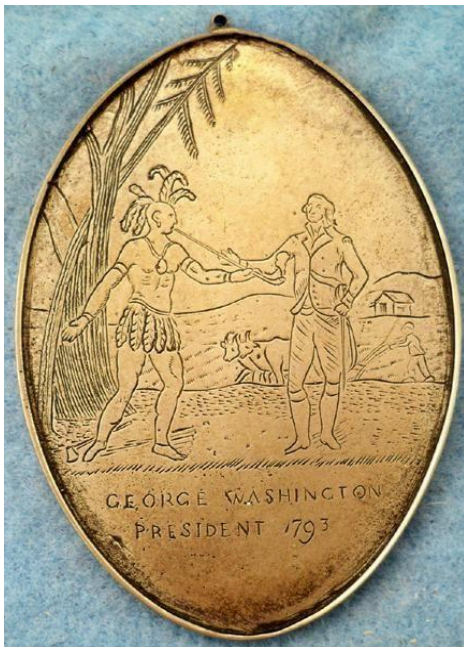
- Seneca land is unproductive.
- Seneca could sell most of the land retaining reservations adequate to their needs.
- The money from the sale would be invested in a bank, and the interest from the investment would make the Seneca rich and happy. Never again would the Seneca be offered such generous terms.

In September 1797, after nearly a month of heated negotiations concluded, the Seneca Nation sold (transferred) 18,000 acres; excluding approximately 340 square miles; 10 Indian reservations received \$5,300 and \$300 in goods. Today, only three reservations remain of the ten. **NOTE:** Although money was deposited in a bank for the sale of land, the bank later failed, and all money was lost.



Red Jacket – 1750’s – 1830

- **Born into the Wolf Clan of the Seneca in the Finger Lakes Region of New York State.**
- **Seneca name: Sagoyewatha (Keeper Awake.)**
- **Considered a war captain in contrast to a war chief.**
- **Provided diplomatic service to the British as a runner.**
- **He was presented with a “Red Jacket”; thus his name.**
- **Played a large role in the negotiations at Big Tree.**



A large silver Peace Medal was presented to Red Jacket by George Washington in the early 1790s. Note: the Indian’s tomahawk [bottom left] has dropped to the ground near the right foot of the Native, although Washington retains his sword at his left. The medal is a message of peace and friendship with the suggestion that the Indian adopt the white man’s ways.

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Early Years: The Episcopal Church
Diocese of Rochester and Western New
York 18th, 19th & 20th Centuries

Bath, New York

On April 15, 1793, Charles Cameron and a party of pioneer woodsmen were the first to land from their flatboats and make camp near where the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western station now stands in the village of Bath. This was one of the first advances of whites in what was territory owned by the Seneca Indians, the westernmost nation of the Iroquois League. Major Seneca villages were located in this area; however, during the time of the war from independence from England, General George Washington sent troops to destroy Seneca villages and drive them from the area. By 1788 treaties were reached with the Seneca, and the sale of these lands was begun by the Phelps and Gorham Land Office. Several parcels sold became Steuben County. Captain Charles Williamson reached Bath soon after the arrival of Cameron and purchased 1.2 million acres of once Seneca land from financier Robert Morris.

In 1801 Major Presley Thornton moved to Bath and was placed in charge of Williamson's mansion. He brought with him Virginia customs, including several enslaved blacks. This was the first and formal introduction of slavery to Bath. Although New York State had a law of gradual abolition of slavery, blacks were still considered property of their owners, and thus they continued to be part of the owner's estate; bought and sold under the law and apparent sanction of the courts.

Captain William Helm

Captain Helm moved to the town of Bath from Prince William County, Virginia, in 1806 with 40 to 100 blacks he enslaved from Prince William County, Virginia. The New York State legislature had forbidden the selling of slaves in the early 1790s, but Charles Williamson's record book shows that he was buying slaves beyond this date. The 1810 census listed 116 blacks in Bath, of whom 87 were enslaved. Helm purchased a number of farms and engaged the enslaved blacks in working them. Bath residents had more enslaved blacks than many other localities, which points to the large number of early wealthy residents in the town that came from states that enslaved blacks.

By 1813, New York State had banned slavery within the state, but two years later a huge Conestoga wagon went through Bath supervised by a man with a whip. Shrieks and cries emanated from the wagon, for Helm had seized some of his former slaves and their families and was trying to transport them to Kentucky for sale. By the time the wagon reached Olean, most of the former slaves had escaped, and Helms was arrested, tried, and imprisoned for a short time for his defiance of the law.

African Americans in Seneca County in 1810

The 1810 federal census showed a countywide population of 16,000. A total of 125 of these were African American (the term “blacks” was commonly used then). There were three different categories of “blacks” at the time: slaves, free blacks living with a white family, and free blacks living alone.

“Black Bath”

Between 1825 and 1850, at least a quarter of the population in Bath was of African origin. In *The Centennial of Bath* book of 1893, Rev. B. W. Swain, pastor of the A.M.E. Zion church on Pine Street, mentioned the names of many holders of enslaved persons held as chattel. Austin Steward, the author of *Twenty-Two Years a Slave and Forty Years a Freeman*, is mentioned in Chapter 1, page 13, as enslaved by William Helm.

St. Thomas’ Bath, New York

Five generations of the Dorsey family have been associated with St. Thomas’ Church. The earliest record consists of Edward and his wife Sarah/Sally Lane. Edward and Sally had five children; Elisa, the last child, was baptized at St. Thomas’ on April 25, 1858 by the Rev. Oran R. Howard.

Moving to the next generation, Benjamin Harrison Dorsey, son of Garrett Dorsey, was confirmed by Bishop Ferris on May 17, 1925. Benjamin and his wife Ella appear in the 1927 and 1935 church yearbook directories. Benjamin’s and his wife’s funeral services were conducted at St. Thomas’ Bath. The last generation remaining at St. Thomas’ Bath, Benjamin, Jr. and his wife Kaye, passed in 2005 and 2006 respectively. Their memorial service was officiated by the Rev. Brad Benson. Their remains are interred in the Columbarium at St. Thomas’.

Bishop John Henry Hobart (1775-1830)

Bishop Hobart was the third Episcopal bishop of New York. Hobart was hired at Trinity Church in New York after serving in New Jersey and was consecrated to the Diocese of New York in 1811. He worked to build up his diocese by attempting to visit every parish annually. Bishop Hobart supported the missions and religious teaching of the Oneida, and licensed Eleazer Williams, a Canadian clergyman of Mohawk descent, to play a major role in the relocation of the Oneida from New York State to Wisconsin. He selected the small village of Geneva on Seneca Lake for his new outpost of learning: later to be named Hobart College.

An address to the 33rd Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Trinity Church, New York, Bishop Hobart stated:

‘The exertions, more recently made for the conversion of the Indian tribes, have not been successful, partly because not united with efforts to introduce among them those arts of civilization, without which the Gospel can neither be understood nor valued; but principally because religious instruction was conveyed through the imperfect medium of interpreters, by those unacquainted with their dispositions and habits, and in whom they were not disposed to place the same confidence, as in those who are connected with them by the powerful ties of language, of manners, and of kindred.’¹

Nathaniel Rochester (1752-1831)

Rochester was the founder of the City of Rochester and the founder of its first Episcopal Church, St. Luke’s. In the 1790 Federal Census, Nathaniel Rochester is documented as living in Hagerstown, Maryland, and owning 16 slaves.² In September 1800, Col. Rochester and two interested friends, William Fitzhugh and Charles Carroll, set out on horseback to inspect the region for business and personal prospects. Together they bought 100 acres at the upper falls of the Genesee River several miles south of Lake Ontario. His federal census entry for 1820 lists four slaves as part of his assets. He was active in state politics regarding the creation of new counties, now Monroe, Livingston and Wayne. “The unruffled dignity with which Col. Rochester directed that legislative contest won many friends at Albany.”³ Col. Rochester rose to prominence on the basis of his fortune, which he made in part by buying and selling slaves and also from the labor of slaves. Active at Trinity Episcopal, he served as one of its first wardens. He bought land and gave a plot of land (with his partners) and monetary donations to the Episcopal Church.

Robert Seldon Rose (1774-1835)

Descended from an Episcopal rector, Rose was a pillar of Trinity Episcopal Church in Geneva and served as a vestryman. Numerous slaves worked on his large farm. He kept his old, infirmed slaves until the time of the final New York emancipation in 1827.

In 1802, Rose, a Virginia planter, purchased land on the eastern shore of Seneca Lake with his brother-in-law, Judge John Nicholas. Rose moved his family and thirty-seven enslaved workers. The enslaved workers cleared land 30 miles north of Geneva at Sodus Bay. In moving to upstate New York, they attempted to establish plantations operated by people they had enslaved, based on the southern model. More than seventy-five enslaved people came with this group. Robert Rose set free many of his enslaved people beginning in 1809. However, by 1820 he still held nine people in slavery – six men and three women – more than any other single person in Seneca County. An 1828 newspaper story noted Rose shot and wounded one of his slaves for refusing to work in the brickyard on Sunday.

John Nicholas (1799-1870) Rose's brother-in-law was active at Trinity Episcopal and served as one of its first wardens. He was a retired lawyer and had served in Congress when he lived in Virginia. He settled with his family on a property that would become known as White Springs Farm on the lake's western shore of Ontario County. He farmed in Geneva and served as the first Judge of the Ontario County⁴ Court of Common Pleas. "The year before he arrived at Geneva, he registered twenty slaves with the local Justice of the Peace." These two men Rose and Nichols, raised in a slave culture, brought that culture, the proceeds of that culture, and slaves themselves to the shores of Seneca Lake.

The Rose Hill Property was established with slave labor and became one of New York State's most famous progressive farms. At the end of the Revolutionary War, New York State appropriated land from the Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga nations, surveyed and divided the land into 28 rectilinear townships, and allotted 600-acre plots to Revolutionary War veterans in payment for their services to New York during the war. In the early 19th Century, many blacks who were recently freed from slavery moved to Rose Hill in Geneva, forming a segregated black community.

St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Rochester, New York

The Rev. Francis Cuming served as the first priest of St. Luke's Church in 1821. St. Luke's vestry agreed to split the church in 1827, which allowed a group of the congregation to plant a church on the east side of the Genesee River, later organized as St. Paul's.

After the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, the rector of St. Luke's held a church service in memory of the slain president. A booklet of the sermon was published locally and nationally: "Sermon on the Death of President Lincoln" delivered on Wednesday, April 19th, and Sunday, April 23th, 1865. Quoting from it:

Indent shows from a book. No quotations needed.

Had our national policy been right, and our national character been conformed to God's will, I am sure that the war would not have taken place. Had not the sins committed by our people displeased Him who is our judge, our Lawgiver and our King that awful deed of blood would not have stained our land.

The next page records: "I regard this event, then, as calling us – to a careful scrutiny into our personal and national sins ... that sin, for his manly abhorrence of which our President was so intensely hated, so cruelly maligned – the sin of African slavery."

"...It is not of slavery as a political system, but as a moral evil, that I here and now speak, as I have spoken before in this place; and that aspect I would here confess, as a part of my own dereliction, that until the rebellion unsealed my lips I had never spoken concerning it as freely and as fully as I ought."⁵

History of Churches in Penn Yan, New York

The first religious services in Yates County were conducted by the Society of Friends (Presbyterian denomination) around 1788. Shortly after, Methodist Circuit “riders” appeared in the region and initiated the Benton Society (United Methodist Church). The Presbyterian Church had healthy membership and influence until about 1824, when there was a division among members on the question of slavery. The dissenters severed their relationship with the mother society and organized what is now St. Mark’s Episcopal Church on Main and Clinton in Penn Yan.

The Ku Klux Klan in Yates County

In 1915, there appeared a silent spectacular of the silver screen, *Birth of a Nation*, which glorified the Ku Klux Klan, depicting blacks as monsters and their white sympathizers as dupes. Organizers (who made fortunes on memberships and sales), took advantage of this free advertising, adding in widespread warnings about the “foreign” Jews, Catholics, immigrants, and city dwellers, in addition to African Americans. Rural whites were already being pressured economically. The Ku Klux Klan had ready answers and a program promising to do something about it.

In 1925, the Ku Klux Klan held a two-day regional rally at Yates County fairgrounds and a four-day regional rally at Chemung County Fairgrounds, culminating in a Fourth of July fireworks spectacular. The Klan openly held meetings and rallies and burned crosses in dozens of area communities.

Members of dozens of area churches applauded when Ku Klux Klan members paraded in wearing their robes. Very often the ministers were members.

¹ McVickar, John, Walter Farquhar Hook, *The Early Life and Professional Years of Bishop Hobart*, D.A. Talboys, pg 480

² United States Federal Census, 1790, <http://search.ancestry.com>. June 18, 2015. LA00123B

³ Rochester History Vol XXIV, Jan 1962, issue # 1, Colonel Nathaniel Rochester. Blake McCelvey. Rochester Public Library, 1962 pgs. 11,16

⁴ At the time of these events, Ontario County was very large; it lay to the west of Seneca Lake and extended from Lake Ontario on the north, to the Pennsylvania border in the south.

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The Underground Railroad and Slavery

The Underground Railroad. The Underground Railroad was an organized network of people helping escaped slaves get to places of safety in Northern states and in Canada. The Ontario region of Canada was a safer destination for escaped slaves than the Northern states because the British colony there had outlawed slavery in the 1790s.¹ The Underground Railroad formed as Vigilance Committees—groups committed to assisting fugitive slaves—in cities and large towns increased their contact with one another and added individuals in the more rural areas.² It was “underground” because it had to be done in secret; not only did a slaveholder regard a slave’s running off as theft of his property, but helping such fugitives escape to freedom was against the law, even in the North. It was called a “railroad” because it did transport “passengers” and its formation coincided with the advent of railroads in the 1830s and 1840s.³ The fugitives traveled at night, perhaps 10 or 20 miles, typically on foot or by wagon, and during the day they stayed at “stations”: private homes, farms, and other buildings such as churches.⁴ At the station, the fugitives were fed, maybe were given clothing and medical attention, and they rested. The homeowner was a “stationmaster,” and a person who guided the fugitives on their travel was a “conductor.” In the interests of secrecy, a stationmaster or conductor would know only about the two stations on either side of his station along his route. Routes were often indirect to make pursuit more difficult. Another important function of the Underground Railroad was in passing messages, such as about impending arrivals or between a fugitive who had reached freedom and his family back on the plantation.^{5,6}

The initial escape of the slave from his master was nearly always carried out on his own volition. John Parker, an Underground Railroad conductor in Ohio, noted that the fugitive slaves he met were “superior people who were ‘usually strong physically, as well as people of character, and were resourceful when confronted with trouble, otherwise they never would have escaped’.”⁷ For black Americans, “slavery was an ever present and very personal enemy. Free black people were the most dedicated members in the movement.”⁸

There was a surge in the activity of the Underground Railroad after the passage of the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. It required local residents to help slave catchers, if requested to do so. Opposition to this law energized the anti-slavery movement: northern whites who had stayed away from all anti-slavery activities were increasingly drawn into the struggle.⁹ Urban Vigilance Committees became more radical, carrying out carefully planned abductions of fugitives, often from the custody of police. White involvement in the Vigilance Committees’ work was usually that of lawyers, getting cases shifted from federal to state courts, bringing suits to intimidate and harass slave catchers, and so forth. “At a time when most blacks could not vote and when the economic, political, social, and legal systems were arrayed against them, these actions expressed the political will of the people and their determination to defend their communities. Their efforts . . . reflect a high level of resolve, sophistication, skill, and above all else, collective action.”¹⁰ New York was a major center “for abolitionist and anti-abolitionist movements and publications. Due

to their proximity to Canada, to work opportunities, and to religious and other social movements, regions of New York State and cities located along the route of the Erie Canal played major roles on the Underground Railroad and in antislavery agitation during the 1800s.”¹¹

Harriet Tubman (c. 1822-1913) embodied many of the characteristics of Underground Railroad workers, but she was also exceptional, so much so that she became known as the Moses of her people. She escaped from slavery on Maryland’s Eastern Shore in 1849. She was something of a mystic and had a fierce belief that God wanted her to take care of her people. To her, this meant she should return to her home area in Maryland, recruit groups of runaway slaves, and lead them to freedom.¹² She planned her rescue missions with the thoroughness of a general laying out a military campaign.¹³ She made thirteen trips to Maryland between 1850 and 1860, motivated at first by the rescue of members of her own family; she ended up bringing out at least 70 men, women, and children.¹⁴ How was this possible? As a black, a woman, a consummate actress, and a master of disguises, she was adept at appearing to be ordinary and inconsequential. In fact, she was smart, resourceful, totally committed to her cause, and apparently devoid of personal fear.^{15,16} After basing her operations in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and St. Catharines, Canada, she moved to Auburn, New York, where William H. Seward (abolitionist, Underground Railroad stationmaster, governor of New York, U.S. senator, and future Secretary of State under President Lincoln) sold her a home and seven acres of land in 1859. Wherever her base was, she supported herself and various family members and raised funds for her rescue missions. Always a prodigious worker, her work in Auburn included farming her land, hiring herself out as a servant, and lecturing about her exploits on the anti-slavery circuit.¹⁷ During the Civil War she found other ways to help the North: She was a nurse, a scout, a spy, and even led several hundred soldiers on a raid.¹⁸ After the war, she lived a much quieter life in Auburn, but continued to serve her people by helping the forgotten and destitute until she died.¹⁹ In 2014 a federal law was signed that authorized Harriet Tubman National Historical Park in Cayuga County, New York, pending the acquisition of lands.²⁰

The Underground Railroad is bathed in myth, legend, and folklore. It “is one of the most enduring and popular threads in the fabric of America’s national historical memory.”²¹ It is important to “remember how much *slavery* existed behind this *freedom* story, and search for the differences between belief and knowledge.”²² The actual number of successful escapes from slavery in the 1800s was only about 1,000 per year. Yet, politically, it was a major factor in bringing about the war. Plantation owners worried about their labor force; slaves dreamed of freedom, and the myth of contented slaves melted away.²³

Slavery in the United States. “Although slavery existed in many times and cultures throughout human history, slavery in . . . the United States was a fundamentally different institution. There was no reciprocal obligation by the elite to the enslaved. Enslavement, with denial of humanity, was a permanent hereditary status.”²⁴ There were “two simple truths: white folks had all the power, and black folks survived. . . . Slavery was an awesome system of forced labor. . . . Africans were forced to do work that white labor would not do and could not be made to do. The ability and willingness to treat Africans as outsiders who could be exploited differently than white

people are what made slavery so vicious and profitable, and white power so daunting.”²⁵ The plantation owners who grew staple commodities created “a radically different form of social organization”; this was especially true when cotton became king. With an insatiable appetite for labor, they transformed slavery and made color much more important in defining status. Through the plantation owners, “blackness and whiteness took on new meaning.”²⁶ They deepened and broadened the gulf that had existed between blacks and whites when slavery was practiced on a smaller scale and more visibly (not in the isolation of plantations).²⁷ In the United States, revolts by groups of slaves were not successful, but the viciousness with which such revolts were put down exposed a truth: Whites, who used fear to rule blacks, lived in fear themselves.²⁸

“Mostly the four million enslaved blacks worked on the plantations and in the fields of the South.” They worked ten hours a day in winter, fourteen-hour days in summer, and eighteen hours a day during the sweltering days of the cotton harvest.²⁹ “The omnipresent symbol of white power was the whip. Whipping and work went hand in hand.”³⁰ Slaves working in the house had physically easier jobs, but were on call throughout the night, were closely monitored, and were subject to the whims and passions of every member of their owner’s family. These situations sometimes escalated to angry whippings or sexual assaults.³¹ Slaves were required to show deference to all white people and to appear to be happy; being sad or sullen was a sign of potential rebelliousness.³² “Even the ‘kindest’ owners kept their slaves illiterate, broke up families through sale, burdened them with too much work,” and kept them malnourished.³³ On the farm in Talbot County, Maryland, where Frederick Douglass lived as a child, adult field slaves got only a fraction of the food needed to keep them healthy in a life of strenuous work.

The children ate cornmeal mush from a wooden trough on the ground, eating with their hands and perhaps an oyster shell, and there was never enough for all the children. One of Douglass’ childhood mistresses, Miss Lucretia, was a friend to him and sometimes gave him bread and butter; it was a treat and an extra ration that none of the other black children got. The slaves did not have beds; while adults had one blanket apiece, children did not have even that.³⁴

In slaveholding areas, whites maintained “a system of police control that was specifically designed to terrorize blacks into helpless submission.”³⁵ Despite this, wherever there was slavery, there was resistance. “While we must never forget or underestimate the reality, effects, and legacy of white violence on black Americans, neither should we trivialize the indomitable spirit that made it possible for African Americans to survive. . . . Black people possessed an unshakable belief in their own humanity and an indelible conviction in the equality of master and slave before God.”³⁶ “Enslaved Africans developed an emancipatory Christianity based on the story of Exodus and laced it with African symbols.”³⁷ These beliefs gave the slave great inner strength. “Family life . . . served as a buffer between master and slave, and the family was made sacred because of it.” The slaves’ separate world of family, Christianity, and folk beliefs gave slaves a place to be human, a sense of identity, and reasons to resist white power.³⁸

Another form of resistance is surprising. Slaves would find temporary rest from their dawn-to-dusk labor by running away temporarily and camp in the woods. It was called “lying out” or

“absconding.” Slaveholders tolerated it because the slaves returned in a few days and resumed their duties.

Short-term escapes were sometimes used as bargaining tools for the slave to get better working conditions. Often the truants sneaked back to the plantation for food, perhaps stealing some chickens. To the slaveholder, lying out was a nuisance. To a slave, it was a joy and—more significantly—it gave hope of escaping entirely someday.³⁹

In the Civil War, over 200,000 African Americans served in the Union army and navy. It was a special form of resistance to slave power, as they put their own lives on the line for freedom and staked an early claim for equality.⁴⁰

Slavery and Its Influence in New York. From the arrival of the Spanish at St. Augustine in Florida in 1565, slavery was a part of the economy and culture that Europeans brought to North America. The European colonists “accepted hierarchy, injustice, and exploitation as a normal condition of human life. Color and religious differences made it easier to enslave Africans. Europeans justified this slavery by denying the humanity of the African.”⁴¹ The Dutch arrived in what became New York City in the 1610s and 1620s, and they also owned slaves. However, in “New Netherland, permanent, racially based, hereditary slavery was not a clearly established institution.” Under British control of New York, which began in 1664, this is exactly what slavery became. More and more laws to control slaves were enacted as the African population grew. By 1712, black slaves had become 15% of the New York colony’s population and the slaves were essential to the economy.⁴²

After the United States’ victory in the Revolutionary War, there was a window when our country’s history of race relations might have made a radical turn for the better. Jupiter Hammon (1711-1806) was a lifelong slave to the Lloyd family of Long Island, New York, and was also the first black poet published in the United States. After the Revolution, he dared to hope that white people would awaken to the plight of blacks and their lack of freedom. He wrote in 1786, “That liberty is a great thing, we may know from our own feelings, and we may likewise judge from the conduct of the white people in the late war. How much money has been spent, and how many lives have been lost to defend their liberty. I must say that I hoped that God would open their eyes, when they were so much engaged for liberty, to think of the state of the poor blacks and to pity us.”⁴³ It did not happen. In the 1790s bills for the abolition of slavery came before the New York legislature several times but came to nothing.⁴⁴ “Four of the country’s first five presidents owned enslaved Africans, as did the four New Yorkers who signed the Declaration of Independence. They made conscious choices to support slavery at a time when the path of history might have been changed.”⁴⁵

In many ways, slavery was integral to the prosperity of New York, first as a colony and then as a part of the United States. New Yorkers owned slaves until slavery was officially abolished in the state in 1827. New York City was a slave port, even after slave trading became a capital offense in the United States (1820). Profits were enormous: slaves were in heavy demand for sugar

production in Cuba, bribes were routine, prosecutions were minimal, and the illegal trade flourished. In fact, from about 1830 to 1860, New York City was the number one port in the world for fitting out slave ships departing to Africa to pick up human cargo bound for the Caribbean or South America.⁴⁶ New York bankers and merchants financed plantations (crops, land, slaves) and sold insurance to planters in the South and the Caribbean. New Yorkers shipped products from plantations and manufactured goods using slave commodities.⁴⁷ Brooklyn, the nation's third largest city by 1850, had waterfront warehouses "filled with the products of slave labor—cotton, tobacco, and especially sugar from Louisiana and Cuba." Southern businessmen and tourists were everywhere in New York City. There were as many as 100,000 southerners visiting the city every summer.⁴⁸ "In order to preserve the Union and protect their own profits from products produced by enslaved workers, many New York and national leaders who opposed the expansion of slavery into the [new states of the] West were willing to compromise with Southern slave owners and to support the slave system in the South even after the outbreak of the Civil War."⁴⁹

The participation of Northern states in America's slave system is usually glossed over. "Nowhere did the connection go deeper than in New York City. . . . Accounts of the city's rise to commercial prominence in the 19th century rightly point to the Erie Canal's role in opening access to produce from the West, but they don't talk about the equal importance to the city's prosperity of its control over the South's cotton trade." "By the 1830s, cotton had emerged as the nation's premier export crop, and New York merchants dominated the transatlantic trade in the 'white gold'."⁵⁰ New York grew from a small town of little importance in 1825 into one of the world's major metropolises by 1860.⁵¹

Unassailable evidence of New York City's slave past was found in the African Burial Ground (now a National Monument) in lower Manhattan. The Burial Ground closed in 1794 and was forgotten even though 10,000 to 20,000 bodies had been buried there. When skeletal remains were uncovered in 1991 during the construction of a federal office building, a Howard University research team (led by Dr. Michael Blakey) examined 400 skeletons. Forty percent of the skeletons were of children less than fifteen years old; malnutrition was the most common cause of their deaths. Many of the adults died of "unrelenting hard labor"; their skeletons had bones broken in a way that showed that muscle attachments had ripped away from the bones, attesting to bodies in perpetual pain. One conclusion of the Howard University team was, "Colonial New York was just as dependent on slavery as many Southern cities, and in some cases even more so."⁵² It is thought-provoking to realize that enslaved Africans helped build the early streets of New York City, the wooden fortification for which Wall Street is named, and Trinity Episcopal Church.⁵³

¹ Fergus M. Bordewich, *Bound for Canaan: The Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America's First Civil Rights Movement*, (New York, Amistad, an Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), 114. The British Empire, as a whole, did not abolish slavery until 1833.

² Eric Foner, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*, (New York, London, W.W. Norton & Company, 2015), 80.

³ David W. Blight, Editor, *Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory*, (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Books, 2004), 175-176.

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Underground_Railroad. Denominations involved in the work included Quakers, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, Reformed Presbyterians, and some branches of the Methodists and American Baptists. Accessed April 20, 2015.

- ⁵ Ibid. Accessed April 20, 2015.
- ⁶ Blight, *Passages*, 100-105, 243. It should be noted that slaves also ran away to other destinations. A much larger number of slaves ran away within the South than made it to freedom in the North or Canada. Maroon societies, permanent outlaw communities of former slaves, developed at sites in thick forests or deep swamps. Others escaped to Florida, to land controlled by Seminoles or by the Spanish at St. Augustine. Also, fugitives escaped by ship, assisted by free black sailors, to Europe, Mexico, and Latin America.
- ⁷ Blight, *Passages*, 97
- ⁸ Blight, *Passages*, 182.
- ⁹ Alan J. Singer, *New York and Slavery: Time to Teach the Truth*, (Albany, New York, State University of New York Press, 2008), 84.
- ¹⁰ Blight, *Passages*, 142-143.
- ¹¹ Singer, *New York*, 25-26.
- ¹² Bordewich, *Bound*, 348-350.
- ¹³ Exhibit at Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, New York. Visited June 6, 2015. She must have had a phenomenal mind and memory because she never learned how to read.
- ¹⁴ Bordewich, *Bound*, 351. Larger numbers are often seen. "Her first biographer, Sarah Bradford, inflated these numbers for dramatic effect to nineteen trips and three hundred passengers."
- ¹⁵ Bordewich, *Bound*, 352.
- ¹⁶ Foner, *Gateway*, 191. Her lack of fear was remarked on by William Still, her Underground Railroad colleague in Philadelphia.
- ¹⁷ Exhibit at Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, New York. Visited June 6, 2015.
- ¹⁸ Exhibit at Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, New York. Visited June 6, 2015.
- ¹⁹ Blight, *Passages*, 198,208.
- ²⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harriet_Tubman. Accessed June 17, 2015.
- ²¹ Gates, Jr., Henry Louis, Who Really Ran the Underground Railroad? Originally posted on [The Root](#)
- ²² Blight, *Passages*, 2-3, 6.
- ²³ Blight, *Passages*, 211.
- ²⁴ Singer, *New York*, 23.
- ²⁵ Blight, *Passages*, 33.
- ²⁶ Berlin, Ira; *Generations of Captivity, Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College*, 2003
- ²⁷ Blight, *Passages*, 19.
- ²⁸ Blight, *Passages*, 62-63.
- ²⁹ Blight, *Passages*, 34.
- ³⁰ Blight, *Passages*, 37.
- ³¹ Blight, *Passages*, 35-36.
- ³² Blight, *Passages*, 39-40.
- ³³ Blight, *Passages*, 42.
- ³⁴ Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, (Mineola, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 2003 [originally published 1892]), 33, 43-44.
- ³⁵ Bordewich, *Bound*, 109.
- ³⁶ Blight, *Passages*, 46.
- ³⁷ Singer, *New York*, 23.
- ³⁸ Blight, *Passages*, 49-57.
- ³⁹ Blight, *Passages*, 99-100.
- ⁴⁰ Singer, *New York*, 24.
- ⁴¹ Singer, *New York*, 23.
- ⁴² Singer, *New York*, 53-54.
- ⁴³ Singer, *New York*, 51-52.
- ⁴⁴ Foner, *Gateway*, 43.
- ⁴⁵ Singer, *New York*, 69.
- ⁴⁶ Singer, *New York*, 94-98.
- ⁴⁷ Singer, *New York*, 24.

⁴⁸ Foner, *Gateway*, 45.

⁴⁹ Singer, *New York*, 24.

⁵⁰ Foner, *Gateway*, 44-45.

⁵¹ Singer, *New York*, 29, 91.

⁵² Singer, *New York*, 28-29.

⁵³ Singer, *New York*, 28.

Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass, Slave and Abolitionist. Frederick Douglass¹ was born into slavery in 1818 in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay in Maryland. He grew up to be the best known and most eminent African American of his era. Even as a child, he knew that slavery was wrong and wished he could be free like the birds he heard singing. "I was just as well aware of the unjust, unnatural, and murderous character of slavery, when nine years old, as I am now. Without any appeals to books, to laws, or to authorities of any kind, to regard God as 'Our Father' condemned slavery as a crime."² At a young age he was sent to live in Baltimore, Maryland, with Mrs. Sophia and Master Hugh Auld, relatives of his master. Mrs. Sophia was kind, gentle, and cheerful and she treated Frederick like a child, not a slave. She had never been a slaveholder. She was also very pious, often reading the Bible aloud when alone. He became curious about the mystery of reading and she began to teach him. When Master Hugh found out, that stopped immediately. He was astounded that she had been doing this and "proceeded to unfold to his wife the true philosophy of the slave system, and the peculiar rules necessary in the nature of the case to be observed in the management of human chattels. . . Learning will spoil the best 'nigger' in the world. If he learns to read the Bible, it will forever unfit him to be a slave. He should know nothing but the will of his master, and learn to obey it. If you teach him how to read, he'll want to know how to write, and this accomplished, he'll be running away with himself." Frederick took it to be the first anti-slavery lecture he ever heard. It was like an oracle to him: "Knowledge unfits a child to be a slave." From that point on, Frederick was headed for knowledge.³

Equally important in his life was an encounter he had with folk beliefs at the age of sixteen. Douglass had been hired out to a slave breaker, Edward Covey. After receiving a bad beating from him, Douglass ran away. Rescued in the woods by a slave named Sandy, Douglass was given food, rest, and a root which Sandy assured him would protect him from Covey's blows. With the root in his pocket, Douglass returned to Covey. When Covey attacked him, Douglass resisted for the first time ever, not by hitting the man but by blocking all his blows and fighting off the others that Covey ordered to beat him. Although Covey pretended he had whipped him, Douglass was unscathed, and no white man would ever beat him again.⁴

For the first time Douglass felt like a man: "I felt as I never felt before. My long-crushed spirit rose, cowardice departed, bold defiance took its place; and I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact."⁵

Douglass made his escape from slavery in 1838. Wearing seaman's clothing and carrying a sailor's identification papers, he jumped on a train in Baltimore, Maryland, just as it was starting to move so the conductor would not look closely at his papers. Despite feeling extreme anxiety and seeing people he knew on the trains and boats on which he rode, he arrived safely in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He caught a train to the north, and on September 4, 1838, Frederick Douglass was a free man walking the streets of New York City. Incredibly, his escape had taken less than 24 hours. He was taken to David Ruggles, the secretary of the New York Committee of Vigilance. Douglass wrote, "Mr. Ruggles was the first officer on the underground railroad with whom I met after coming north, and was indeed the only one with whom I had anything to do, till I became such an officer myself." Douglass' fiancée, Anna Murray, joined him from Baltimore, they were immediately married, and Ruggles suggested they go to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he could work his trade as a ship's caulker.⁶

New Bedford was a major port city, the world's whaling capital, and known as the "fugitive's Gibraltar," where work was readily available, abolitionism was strong, and its free black community was thriving.⁷

On arriving in New Bedford in 1838, Douglass was met by surprises. Having been taught that "slavery was the bottom-fact of all wealth," he had assumed that Northerners must live in poverty. And since the non-slaveholders of the South were generally ignorant, degraded, and known as "poor white trash," he thought that Northerners must be like that, too. What he actually found was that even the laboring classes lived in good homes, with conveniences and elegant furniture: they owned books and read newspapers, and they kept up with the moral, social, and political condition of the country and the world more closely than nine-tenths of the slaveholders in his home county. Moreover, this was true of the black workers as well as the white ones. The dock works he saw going on astounded him: Where were the cursing, the quarreling, the whip? Honest, earnest, and exhaustive work was performed by skilled laborers with an efficiency unheard-of in the South.⁸

In 1841, Douglass attended an antislavery convention on Nantucket Island in Massachusetts. Asked by a friend from his church to speak for the first time in front of a white audience, he trembled all over and was unable to remember later what he had said, but he had drawn the audience to him. After the meeting, Douglass was asked to become a speaker with the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society: he reluctantly agreed to do so for three months.⁹

He had found his life's work. About a year into his new career, he sent a letter to his church in New Bedford, saying that "he had cut loose from the church; he had found that the American Church was the bulwark of American slavery. [The church members] did not take the letter to mean that [he] had repudiated the Christian religion at the same time that he bade good-bye to the churches."¹⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the women's rights leader from Seneca Falls, New York heard Douglass speak at Faneuil Hall in Boston. She wrote, "All the other speakers seemed tame after Frederick Douglass." Douglass' autobiography, first published in 1845, was wildly popular and it made him famous.¹¹

Frederick Douglass in Rochester. Frederick Douglass came to Rochester for the first time in 1843 in the course of a six-month lecture tour. "All along the Erie Canal, from Albany to Buffalo, there was evinced apathy, indifference, and aversion." But in Rochester his reception was better. The local abolitionists were willing to listen to differing views, and Quakers Isaac and Amy Post extended him the warmest possible hospitality.¹²

In 1847 when Douglass expressed his intentions to start an anti-slavery newspaper, he was startled to find that William Lloyd Garrison and other friends in Boston were against it. To avoid competing with the Boston papers, he decided to move away from there. Gerrit Smith, the leading abolitionist in central New York, gave him forty acres of land near Rochester and Douglass moved his family to Rochester on November 1, 1847. On December 3, 1847, the first edition of *The North Star* was published.¹³ Its masthead read "RIGHT IS OF NO SEX--TRUTH IS OF NO COLOR--GOD IS THE FATHER OF US ALL, AND ALL MEN ARE BRETHREN."¹⁴ The paper was printed in the basement of the AME (American Methodist Episcopal) Zion Church¹⁵ and later in an office in the Talman Building at 25 East Main Street.¹⁶ *The North Star* was a large sheet, published weekly, with an average circulation of 3,000 subscribers. Many times, Douglass found himself on the brink of having to close down, even mortgaging his house on one occasion. The local anti-

slavery society held festivals and fairs to raise money and a friend from England, Julia Griffiths, came to offer her financial resources and her services, which proved invaluable. By 1851, when the paper's name was changed to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, it had become self-sustaining. Douglass continued to publish it until 1860.^{17,18}

Initially there were many who were unhappy with his presence in Rochester. "The *New York Herald*, true to the spirit of the times, counselled the people of the place to throw my printing press into Lake Ontario and to banish me to Canada."¹⁹ As people got to know Douglass, the negative feelings diminished.

For one whole winter, he lectured at Corinthian Hall every Sunday evening; he felt the "moral atmosphere" become more tolerant after a time. On some days, after he finished a day's work on the paper, he took a train to Victor, Farmington, Canandaigua, Geneva, Waterloo, Batavia, Buffalo, or another town, and spoke in the evening. Black travelers told him that they could feel the influence of his labors when they came within fifty miles of Rochester. He came to believe that responding to the necessity of writing for the paper had been the best possible school for him. He wrote that it obliged him to think and read, and it taught him to express his thoughts clearly. In addition, he had to lean upon himself and not upon the heads of the anti-slavery "church."

On June 2, 1872, Douglass' house burned to the ground. He was grieved by the loss of twelve bound volumes of his paper, dating from 1848 to 1860. A few weeks before the fire, he had been invited to send the volumes to the library of Harvard University to be preserved there.²⁰

One person who was happy to have Douglass in Rochester was Susan B. Anthony, Rochester's foremost supporter of women's rights. They had first met in 1845 when he was on a speaking tour. She was also an abolitionist, lecturing on New York's anti-slavery circuit, and members of her family were agents of the Underground Railroad. He attended the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848, the only black person who did.²¹ Anthony recalled later: "From that day until the day of his death Frederick Douglass was an honorary member of the National Women's Suffrage Association" and he was an honored guest at their conventions.²² Douglas and Anthony were friends, as well as colleagues; Douglass and his family spent many Sunday afternoons at the Daniel Anthony farmhouse. (Daniel was Susan's father.)²³

Douglass also admired the logic of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. He had a conversation with her when she was just a young woman about the exclusion of women from voting in a republican government. He advanced such reasons as "custom," the "woman's sphere," and the "natural division of duties," but she demolished his arguments with the idea that women live under the laws, so they should have a choice in selecting who frames the laws. Douglass came to be called a woman's-rights man and he wrote, "I am glad to say that I have never been ashamed to be thus designated."²⁴

"My pathway was not entirely free from thorns in Rochester." Douglass felt the "thorns" more sharply because he had spent time in England, where he had been on a lecturing and fund-raising tour. "Men can in time become accustomed to almost anything, even to being insulted and ostracized . . . The vulgar prejudice against color, so common to Americans, met me in several disagreeable forms." He encountered difficulty in securing quality education for his children; after creating considerable agitation, the doors of the public schools were opened to colored children in 1857. "There were barriers erected against colored

people in most other places of instruction and amusement in the city, and until I went there they were imposed without any apparent sense of injustice and wrong, and submitted to in silence.”²⁵ Gradually the barriers were removed and thereafter blacks entered public places freely. In his demands for equal rights, he was supported by Rochester citizens such as Isaac Post, William Hallowell, Samuel D. Porter, William C. Bloss, Benjamin Fish, and Asa Anthony.²⁶

Despite the problems, Frederick Douglass was pleased, overall, with his selection of Rochester as the place to establish his paper. “The city was and still is the center of a virtuous, intelligent, enterprising, liberal, and growing population. The surrounding country is remarkable for its fertility, and the city itself possesses one of the finest waterpower in the world. . . . Its people were industrious and in comfortable circumstances—not so rich as to be indifferent to the claims of humanity, and not so poor as to be unable to help any good cause which commanded the approval of their judgment. . . . I know of no place in the Union where I could have located at the time with less resistance, or received a larger measure of sympathy and cooperation, and I now look back to my life and labors there with unalloyed satisfaction, and having spent a quarter century among its people, I shall always feel more at home there than anywhere else in this country.”²⁷ He is buried at Mt. Hope Cemetery in Rochester.

Douglass’ Work for the Underground Railroad. Besides speaking and writing against slavery, Douglass was a stationmaster and conductor on the Underground Railroad in Rochester. As did any other agent, he risked fines and imprisonment in this work. Nevertheless, he wrote, “I can say I never did more congenial, attractive, fascinating, and satisfactory work. . . . The thought that there was *one* less slave, and one more freeman—having myself been a slave, and a fugitive slave—brought to my heart unspeakable joy.”²⁸ Douglass hid fugitives at his printing office, at his first home on Alexander Street near East Avenue, and at his later home on South Avenue near Highland Park.²⁷ On one occasion he sheltered eleven fugitives under his roof; they had to stay until he could collect enough money to pay their boat passage to Canada. It was 1851 and they were one of the groups of fugitives that Harriet Tubman led north from Maryland.²⁹

The branch of the Underground Railroad on which he worked had its main stations in Baltimore, Maryland; Wilmington, Delaware; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; New York City, Albany, Syracuse, Rochester (all in New York); and St. Catharines, Canada. His partner in conducting the Underground Railroad activities of the Rochester region was Jacob P. Morris, a free African American who was born in Pennsylvania around 1805. He was an established businessman in Rochester and an advocate for full civil rights for blacks as early as 1843. Douglass and Morris never lost a single passenger, but there were many close calls. If the fugitives were not bound directly for Canada upon leaving Douglass’ home, their next stop was often with Douglass’ close friends Amy and Isaac Post; their home was located where the now Hochstein Music School on Plymouth Avenue.

It is thought that the Posts sheltered more fugitives than anyone else in Rochester.^{30,31}

Frederick Douglass’ most fiercely hunted passengers were three fugitives from a violent encounter at Christiana, Pennsylvania, that occurred on September 11, 1851. A slaveholder from Maryland, Edward Gorsuch, was killed in a battle between slave catchers and black militia in Lancaster County. The leader of the militia was Lancaster County resident William Parker, a former slave who had known Douglass when they were both slaves in Maryland, and who had been radicalized when he heard Douglass speak in 1843. After the fight, Parker and two friends fled on the Underground Railroad, arriving in Rochester on

September 20. Douglass sheltered them for the day and, in the evening, escorted them to a Toronto-bound steamer at a landing on the Genesee River. As the steamer was about to depart, William Parker handed Douglass “Edward Gorsuch’s revolver, as a memento. The gun was a symbol, both men knew, that the war against slavery had taken a new and deadly turn. . . It was one of the great moments in the history of the Underground Railroad.”³²

Douglass’ Most Famous Speech. In 1852 Douglass was asked by some leading citizens of Rochester to speak at the city’s Fourth of July celebration. He agreed, instead, to give a speech at Corinthian Hall, on the fifth of July. He “delivered a scathing attack on the hypocrisy of a nation celebrating freedom and independence” while holding nearly four million human beings in slavery.³³

One paragraph from his speech said: “What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sound of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants brass fronted impudence; your shout of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy -- a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.”

This speech is considered by many historians to be the best American anti-slavery speech of the 1800s. Historian Philip S. Foner called the above paragraph “probably the most moving passage in all of Douglass’ speeches.”³⁴

Frederick Douglass and John Brown. Douglass first met Capt. John Brown in 1847. Thereafter, when Brown was in Rochester, he stayed at the Douglass home, and Douglass visited Brown in Springfield, Massachusetts. He developed a strong admiration for Brown and his commitment to the destruction of slavery. Brown told him of his plan to station a sort of guerilla force, starting with just 25 trustworthy men, spread out in groups of five along a section of the Alleghenies. The men would make raids to draw out runaway slaves and then transport them from Maryland and Virginia to the North. This would, over time, destroy the monetary value of slaves in these states, as the likelihood of their running away increased. Douglass thought this a good plan and supported it.³⁵

In 1859, on Brown’s invitation, Douglass met with him at a quarry near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Brown told him of his intention to execute a plan to attack the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Douglass was totally against it because the raid would not lead to running slaves off; it was an attack on the federal government, and he was convinced that Brown would be “going into a perfect steel trap, and that once in he would never get out alive.” Brown, who had once told Douglass that an insurrection would defeat its own object, could not be moved. His object at that point was to do something startling that would rouse the nation.

And so, the two friends parted ways.³⁶

The raid on Harpers Ferry took place on October 16, 1859. Brown’s men held the arsenal for thirty hours and then were overpowered by U.S. troops (led by Col. Robert E. Lee). John Brown was hanged for treason

and inciting slaves to insurrection on December 2, 1859. In Rochester, Susan B. Anthony and a few others stood vigil for Brown at City Hall on the day he was executed.³⁷

Douglass hurried off to Canada because he feared a rushed and biased prosecution in Virginia. After a time, he continued on to the protection of England. He returned to the United States six months later (after the death of his youngest child) and saw that the public mood had altered. The state of Virginia “had made herself ridiculous by her fright and despicable by her fury. Emerson’s prediction that Brown’s gallows would become like the cross was already being fulfilled. The old hero, in the trial hour, had behaved so grandly that men regarded him not as a murderer but as a martyr.”³⁸

Frederick Douglass, 1860 to His Death. After returning from his stay in England, Douglass campaigned for Abraham Lincoln against Stephen A. Douglas and John Breckenridge.³⁹ He

worked very hard to convince Americans that the real purpose of the Civil War was to abolish slavery. He recruited blacks to serve in the Union Army, and advocated equal pay and treatment for black soldiers, which was included in a meeting with President Lincoln.⁴⁰ (He was the first black man, outside of servants, to set foot in the White House.) After the war, he continued to work for equal rights for African Americans, especially to relieve the plight of freedmen who had no means of protecting or maintaining their liberty. He was surprised to find that, due to his fame, he could make very good money by going on tour and giving speeches.⁴¹

In 1872, after his home in Rochester burned, Douglass moved to Washington, D.C., to be at the center of political power.⁴² He served in several appointed offices of the federal government.

His wife Anna died in 1882; in 1884 he married Helen Pitts, his secretary and a native of Honeoye, New York. In response to the controversy caused by his “interracial” marriage, he said, “My first wife was the color of my mother, my second is the color of my father.” He died of a heart attack on February 20, 1895, at Cedar Hill, his home in Washington, D.C., after attending a women’s rights meeting with Susan B. Anthony. Cedar Hill is now a National Historic Site.^{43 44}

¹ Frederick Douglass’ birth name was Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. For simplicity’s sake, I refer to him as Frederick Douglass throughout. After he escaped from slavery, he took the name Douglass from a character in “The Lady of the Lake,” a poem by Sir Walter Scott.

² Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, (Mineola, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 2003 [originally published 1892]), 45.

³ Douglass, *Life*, 47-50.

⁴ Douglass, *Life*, 86-97.

⁵ David W. Blight, Editor, *Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory*, (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Books, 2004), 58.

⁶ Douglass, *Life*, 138-143.

⁷ Eric Foner, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*, (New York, London, W.W. Norton & Company, 2015), 4.

⁸ Douglass, *Life*, 144-146.

⁹ Douglass, *Life*, 151-152.

¹⁰ Rev. Thomas James, *Selections from A Slave’s Autobiography*, (Rochester, New York, Post-Express Printing Company, 1887). <http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/james.thomas.html>. Accessed May 27, 2015.

- ¹¹ Fergus M. Bordewich, *Bound for Canaan: The Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America's First Civil Rights Movement*, (New York, Amistad, an Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), 227, 367-368. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was an Episcopalian and first cousin of abolitionist Gerrit Smith.
- ¹² Douglass, *Life*, 160-162.
- ¹³ Rochester/Monroe County Freedom Trail Commission, *Guidebook to the Underground Railroad and the Abolitionist Movement*, (Rochester, New York, Publication Services, a Division of the Department of Communications & Special Events of Monroe County, 2003), 51.
- ¹⁴ <http://www.sjfc.edu/library/speccoll/northstar.dot>. Accessed June 14, 2015.
- ¹⁵ Timeline of Frederick Douglass and Family. <http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-douglass-family.html>. Accessed May 27, 2015.
- ¹⁶ Rochester, *Guidebook*, 31.
- ¹⁷ Timeline of Frederick Douglass and Family. <http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-douglass-family.html>. Accessed May 27, 2015.
- ¹⁸ Douglass, *Life*, 184-188.
- ¹⁹ Douglas, life, 374
- ²⁰ Douglass, *Life*, 188-189.
- ²¹ Bordewich, *Bound*, 368-369.
- ²² Anne Klaeyen - NYSEC Leader Blog. <https://annenysec.wordpress.com/2009/01/07/leaders-message-an-enduring-friendship-frederick-douglass-and-susan-b-anthony-february-2009/>. Accessed May 27, 2015.
- ²³ Rochester, *Guidebook*, 70.
- ²⁴ Douglass, *Life*, 345.
- ²⁵ Douglass, *Life*, 191-193.
- ²⁶ Douglass, *Life*, 193.
- ²⁷ Douglass, *Life*, 190.
- ²⁸ Rochester, *Guidebook*, 51.
- ²⁹ Bordewich, *Bound*, 351.
- ³⁰ Douglass, *Life*, 190-191.
- ³¹ Rochester, *Guidebook*, 56-57.
- ³² Bordewich, *Bound*, 327, 330-332. The story of the "Battle of Christiana" is told in dramatic detail on pages 325-333 and 340.
- ³³ <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/douglass.htm>. Accessed June 14, 2015.
- ³⁴ <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2927.html>. Accessed June 14, 2015.
- ³⁵ Douglass, *Life*, 195-197, 217.
- ³⁶ Douglass, *Life*, 228-230.
- ³⁸ Rochester, *Guidebook*, 24.
- ³⁹ Douglass, *Life*, 219-222, 231-233.
- ⁴⁰ Douglass, *Life*, 234-237.
- ⁴¹ Douglass, *Life*, 242-252.
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- ⁴² Douglass, *Life*, 271-276.
- ⁴³ Timeline of Frederick Douglass and Family. <http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-douglass-family.html>. Accessed May 27, 2015.
- ⁴⁴ Frederick Douglass Obituary. <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html>. Accessed May 27, 2015.

The Episcopal Church of St. Simon of Cyrene

Rochester's Early Black Church History. Understanding the origin of the Episcopal Church of St. Simon of Cyrene in Rochester requires some familiarity with the African American church community in Rochester. Briefly, it was “the abolition movement and independent African American church movements of the nineteenth century,”¹ that resulted in the founding of the A.M.E. Zion church in 1827, thought to be Rochester's first Black church. Thomas James, an escaped slave and a staunch abolitionist, committed to the organization and education of his people, began A.M.E. Zion as a joint church and school, in order to teach illiterate African Americans to read the Bible. James, a friend of Frederick Douglass, suggested that Douglas make his home in Rochester. A.M.E. Zion housed the printing press for the *North Star*, Douglass's abolitionist paper, and became a site on the Underground Railroad.”² It wasn't until the early twentieth century with the formation of Trinity Presbyterian Church in 1902 that Rochester had its second African American church. Mt. Olivet Baptist Church soon followed in 1910.³

The Early Years of St. Simon's Mission. With her husband, Thomas, Isabella Dorsey (“Mother Dorsey”), who created Rochester's first orphanage in 1917 for African American children,⁴ was “instrumental in the formation of St. Simon's Episcopal parish. Her appeal to the Diocese for a kindergarten for black children led to the establishment”⁵ in 1921 of St. Simon of Cyrene Mission which became a parish church in 1960. Until St. Simon's was able to complete the construction of its own building on Oregon Street in 1935, the Episcopal Diocese permitted St. Simon's congregants to use its churches— The Church of the Epiphany, Christ Church, St. Paul's Church, St. Luke's Church and Trinity – only when they “were not otherwise being used.”⁶ This awkward, interim arrangement sent a clear message to the newly-formed congregation: “Many of the members of St. Simon who talked about those early days spoke of the importance of getting their ‘own’ church. It was important not to feel like second-class citizens, not to feel beholden to the white churches for their spiritual space, not to wonder how long they would be welcome. It is interesting to note that none of the white Episcopal congregations seriously entertained the possibility of welcoming the African American congregants into their midst and into their worshipping community.”⁷

The St. Simon of Cyrene mission church's first vicar was Father Frank Louis Brown (1927-1945). Born in Jamaica, educated at Bard College and the Philadelphia Divinity School, Father Brown was “a lifelong associate member of the Order of the Holy Cross (a religious Benedictine monastic order based in West Park, NY), taking the threefold vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.”⁸ He was working in the Diocese of Western New York as a curate at St. Philip's Church in Buffalo (the only black congregation in that diocese at the time) when he was called to Rochester as “priest-in-charge.”⁹ Father Brown's attempts to create a building fund were hugely successful. He was supported by the Rt. Rev. David Lincoln Ferris, First Bishop of Rochester, appointed to the newly-created position in 1931. In an excerpt from his personal diary dated Oct. 14, 1932, the Bishop writes: “Mr. Donald Barrows to inspect the lot the St. Simon's committees have selected on which to erect a church for the mission. It seemed to me suitable and I told him for the committee to go ahead so long as it is also satisfactory to Fr. Brown and the Mission folks. They have plans for the

church building with a basement and the Auditorium will seat 200 persons. I told Mr. Barrows I would not give my consent to having the Mission go into debt beyond ten thousand dollars, and they are hoping to carry through for less.”¹⁰ When construction was completed in 1935, the building was already debt-free.¹¹

St. Simon’s began to flourish under Fr. Brown’s leadership which he did not limit to the confines of his church building. He always showed a “willingness to visit people in jail, go to court, and come to advocate for any of his parishioners – or for anyone in the community, for that matter, black or white – who needed a powerful presence.”¹² As one author has observed, “People thought Father Brown was a saint.”¹³ He essentially followed the same course that was pursued by all the black churches in Rochester. “The churches:

- inculcated values that encouraged economic independence;
- recognized, encouraged, and supported church members as they sought and achieved material success;
- found people jobs;
- supported African American business; and
- protested economic conditions.”¹⁴

The African American population in Rochester was small; in 1940 it was just 3,262 people and prior to 1950 it “never exceeded one percent of the total population of Rochester”¹⁵ which also made it easier for Fr. Brown and his fellow black clerics to keep it very personal as they quietly pursued their anti-racism efforts.

The Episcopal Diocese of Rochester purchased Carver House with funding from the 66 parishes in the diocese for St. Simon’s Mission which used it in the late 1930s and 1940s. It was named in honor of two men: Dr. George Washington Carver, a prominent botanist and inventor who was born into slavery in the early 1860s, and the Rev. Charles Carver who had been a rector of Christ Church, Rochester. Carver House was the site of “Rochester’s first integrated day care and nursery programs . . . [During WWII, it] housed Rochester’s only USO for black servicemen stationed at the U.S. military base in Geneva, [NY], 40 miles away. Because of racial prejudice and discrimination, the servicemen were unwelcomed at Rochester’s white USO facilities.

Thereupon, Father Brown, the Diocese of Rochester and the City of Rochester collaborated to fill the void that racism and injustice had caused.”¹⁶

Father Primo at St. Simon. Father Brown was succeeded briefly (Nov. 1, 1946 until Feb. 1, 1947) by the Rev. Marcus Gilbert James, a native of Panama and Harvard undergraduate who was ordained by the Right Rev. Bartel H. Reinheimer, Second Bishop of Rochester in January 1946. Fr. James transferred to the Diocese of New York, opening the way for Rev. Quintin E. Primo, Jr. who served as vicar and then rector from 1947 until 1963. His arrival caused the Bishop’s Committee to end the lease for the nursery at Carver House because the Bishop’s Committee wanted it for Fr. Primo and his family as a temporary residence, despite Fr. Primo’s “strong objection.”¹⁷ Like Father Brown before him, Father Primo enjoyed the active support of his Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dudley Stark, Third Bishop of Rochester, even when his ministry took him out of the church and into the political and economic worlds within Rochester.¹⁸

As a community activist Father Primo broke many racial barriers in segregated Rochester during the late 1940s and 1950s. Department stores were induced to hire their first black sales persons; banks, schools, even the police department hired more blacks under his prodding. (For a closer look at this aspect of his work, see the “Appendix” accompanying this essay.) Years later, reflecting back on this aspect of his ministry, Bishop Primo wrote that from the sheer volume of this activity, “We could have opened a non-profit employment agency and counseling center at the church.”¹⁹ Successes such as these led people less inclined to see such achievements as right and just to demand that Bishop Stark rein in this troublesome priest.

“Editor Paul Miller of the Rochester Times Union, a prominent but conservative Episcopalian, had requested the Bishop to silence my tongue,” Father Primo recalled, “accusing me, as NAACP president, and the organization of ‘moving too fast.’ He preferred and offered the gradual approach to blacks for achieving justice, freedom and equality, as if we had not pursued that approach for years. . . . Editor Miller received neither cooperation nor comfort from the Bishop. Instead, the Bishop strongly supported me, saying to him, ‘I sanction the leadership Father Primo provides for his people and the community.’ The Bishop never suggested to me that I should be less aggressive. In fact, he encouraged and blessed me, giving both material and moral support. Also, it was no secret that support came from Warden Herman Brown, Father Brown’s brother, the Vestry and St. Simon’s.”²⁰

Among the many St. Simon members who stood with Father Brown and his successors were two women in particular: Pauline Moore, the daughter of J. W. Thompson of A.M.E. Zion church who was at one time dubbed “the most influential black man in Rochester”²¹ and her daughter, Elizabeth Logan. Pauline’s story is a good example of overcoming the effects of racism through religious faith within a nurturing church. Born in 1893, Pauline graduated from college in 1912 where she was trained as a teacher. Unfortunately, in Rochester, “The teaching profession, along with all other professions, was closed to African Americans . . . until the 1930s.” When St. Simon’s opened the Carver House Nursery School in 1943 to provide for the children of working mothers, Mrs. Moore began to teach – but only after first working there as a cook until the school’s director learned that she held a teaching degree.²² Prior to this, she married in 1917, raising ten children while working part-time as a waitress. She also was the Organist and Choir Director at St. Simon’s in addition to heading the Altar Guild, teaching Sunday School, and was a member of the Daughters of the King, “an episcopal women’s club that saw to the needs of the sick, the shut-in, and the needy.”²³ After spending over three years on the second floor of Carver House with his family, Father Primo, aware that he was there “because of racial discrimination and open bias against minorities”²⁴ prevalent among whites in Rochester during that time, pushed back. “Some older members of the Bishop’s Committee conveniently forgot my agreement to live in Carver House for a space of three years. . . . It was clear to me that the Bishop’s Committee did not desire to spend money for a rectory. I read to them the letter from their former Bishop [Reinheimer] in which the terms of my 1947 call to St. Simon’s were clearly stated and sent a copy to Bishop Stark . . . [who] phoned immediately. Disgusted with the Bishop’s Committee, he said: ‘Quintin, pick me up tomorrow afternoon at one o’clock and we will go looking for a house. I want you and your family to live in a

rectory on par with any of my white Mission priests.' . . . The search was deliberately restricted to white middle-class neighborhoods. . . . Every house we toured, the seller's emphatic response was the same, 'We will not sell to colored people,'"²⁵

Father Primo finally found a house in East Irondequoit owned by a white who was willing to sell to him. Continuing his story, he writes, "During the 40s and 50s, a few black families were able to purchase homes themselves in white neighborhoods. Generally, it was done with the help of emphatic and courageous whites fronting for them In some sense, the Mission congregation and I were fortunate that the Bishop and Trustees, acting on our behalf, purchased the property."²⁶ Father Primo's account also reveals how the prejudice reached even the average Rochester area family. "While diocesan officials were negotiating the purchase the Empire Boulevard dwelling . . . word leaked out that the buyers were Negroes." He tells how "a female neighbor, who lived in the community directly across . . . from the sellers, organized the white, largely ethnic neighborhood to protest our moving there. First, they co-opted a disinterested white buyer, who offered the sellers more than they were asking for their dwelling. Next, a petition was prepared and circulated throughout the neighborhood protesting the sale to Negroes. The petition contained an awful-looking picture of me, one taken from a local newspaper Also, on the petition was such inflammatory and untrue information as, 'He intends to start a colored Protestant church in our neighborhood and drive us out of our homes. His children are unruly and uncontrollable; the Primo plan to throw all-night, weekend drinking parties; our neighborhood and properties will be destroyed'"²⁷

At this critical point in his quest, another prominent white Rochester cleric came to Father Primo's aid. "When the Pastor of the 8,000-member St. Ambrose Roman Catholic Church up the street from the sellers was approached by petitioners and asked to sign the petition, he reportedly countered with, 'If you do not want Father Primo to live next door to you, he and his family are welcomed to live next to me, I do not object to good Christian people, and people of their standing moving into our neighborhood.' Nevertheless, the petition bore more than 100 signatures."²⁸ Yet move in the Primo family did. Fr. Primo tells of a phone call from one of his next-door neighbors telling him that he isn't wanted and not to come. After a few days in the new rectory, Fr. Primo saw that same neighbor erect a fence between the two properties, a barrier that previously had been taken down long-before the black family moved in.²⁹ The Primo family stayed long enough for that fence-raising neighbor's younger daughter to become "bosom friends" with Primo's same-age son, Quintin III, "visiting each other's home or playing in each other's back yard almost daily. . . . Then suddenly, like overnight, the entire fencing was removed for reasons we never sought to know but concluded it was due to the two children's enjoyable friendship."³⁰ "Attitudes of most neighbors had changed by the time we decided to leave Rochester and Empire Boulevard. Many signers of the petition, who still lived in the community, bade us farewell with tearful eyes, expressing keen regrets at our departure."³¹ He concluded, "Thank God, I stayed in Rochester long enough [1963] to witness some changes in racial attitudes! It was wonderful to see minorities buy freely in some white neighborhoods previously closed to them" ³²

Father Simpkins at St. Simon. The year following Father Primo's departure from St. Simon's, the Rev. St. Julian Aaron Simpkins, Jr., age 49, arrived in Rochester in June 1964 to assume the position

of rector of a struggling parish of 50-families. Some voices in the diocese said it should be closed and merged with another congregation.³³ Born in 1915 in Aiken, South Carolina, Father Simpkins was the son and grandson of Episcopal priests. Ordained to the priesthood in 1942, Father Simpkins served in southern posts until he went to Cincinnati in 1957 to be rector of St. Andrew's, following which he served in Rochester.³⁴ He brought with him 17 years of ministry which he summarized in 1973 as, "The urge to reach out and touch people in all walks of life is the sum purpose of my ministry."³⁵ In 1980, Fr. Simpkins shared his initial impression of Rochester: "I saw blight the likes of which I'd never seen before. Most black people in Rochester lived in conditions which were not fit for human habitation. The white community was completely oblivious to the way black people lived."³⁶

Less than a month after Fr. Simpkins' arrival, the Rochester Riots erupted. Three horrendous days and two nights (July 24 to July 26) was an event which "defined my job"³⁷ he always maintained. (For a discussion of the 1964 Riots and a detailed look at the FIGHT organization which arose in the aftermath, see the ARTF Research Summary, "The Rochester Episcopal Diocese and Urban Unrest in the 1960s".) The riots also brought any thought in Fr. Simpkins' mind of closing St. Simon's to an end, ensuring that the church would continue to be a touchstone of anti-racism activism. The Black population of Rochester in 1964 was significantly different from the one that Father Brown knew in the 1940s: it was much larger. From the previously-noted count of 3,262 Blacks in Rochester in 1940, by 1964 they were exceeding 32,000.³⁸

Subsequent investigations into the riots found that jobs were most needed and that became the focus for Father Simpkins and for the newly-invigorated black community in Rochester.

Enter the FIGHT organization, an acronym for Freedom, Integration, God, Honor, Today, which formed April 6, 1965. The Rt. Rev. George Barrett, was the Fourth Episcopal Bishop of Rochester (1963-1969) during these eventful years. He "supported the Black community's right to be self-determining and self-governing, even if he wasn't comfortable with the methods of some."³⁹ When Father Simpkins became FIGHT's first executive vice president, he had already had a firsthand experience with "the hopeless[ness] and powerlessness of the people in the subculture of the slums", thanks to a program he had attended in 1965 at the Urban Training Institute for Christian Mission in Chicago. Given only \$4 cash, he had to try to survive on the city streets for 24 hours, just as many of the downtrodden in Rochester did every day.⁴⁰

Back in Rochester, Fr. Simpkins promoted the role of his church within the community. St. Simon's expanded its day care nursery into the "the Oregon-Leopold Day Care Center at 6 Oregon Street to improve child-care for working parents and opened a community center at the church to help the neighborhood's youths."⁴¹ St. Simon's Community Center, began in 1967 with an educational rather than a recreational focus. Included in it was the Right-On School "which assists young people to solve learning problems, trains parents in planning for families and promotes understanding of both their own cultural heritage and their environment."⁴² He led the non-profit St. Simon's Housing Co. project which created an apartment complex of 250 units, St. Simon's Terrace Apartments, in the inner city Upper Falls Renewal Area. He served on the board of the Rochester Housing Authority, including the position of Chairman.⁴³

Father Simpkins was named by the Diocese as the Canon for Inner City Work (1964-1969) and became the first black man on the Rochester Diocese staff. His influence also extended beyond

the Rochester diocese to the national church. “Not only was he a deputy to four General Conventions . . . he was a founder of the Church and City Conference for the national church and of the Union of Black Episcopalians. He led the Church to place black persons in offices throughout – nationally and locally”, according to longtime friend, the Very Rev. Almus Thorp, former dean of Bexley Hall.⁴⁴ “During his career, The Rev. Dr. Simpkins also served in top level urban development committees for the Episcopal Church. . . . In November 1981, 325 delegates from the Rochester diocese voted to establish a scholarship fund in his name at St. Augustine’s College in Raleigh, N.C.”⁴⁵ In 1982, at the National Convention of the Episcopal Church in New Orleans, “the Rev. Dr. Simpkins was honored by being selected from among more than 900 clergymen present to fill the honorary post of communicator with the House of Bishops, one of two top leadership groups in the church.”⁴⁶

Father Simpkins also worked tirelessly outside St. Simon’s, such as being one of the founders of Rochester’s Urban League. He engaged in a lot of behind-the-scenes campaigning, opposing what he dubbed white “‘welfare colonialism’”. He was a staunch supporter of black self-determination, and he was firmly committed to the democratic process.”⁴⁷ Fr. Simpkins opposed Franklin Florence for FIGHT’s presidency because he felt that Florence wasn’t “aware of the importance of the democratic process.”⁴⁸ The year following that loss, Simpkins lost his race for re-election as the EVP to Bernard Gifford but Gifford later said of Simpkins, “He was one of my strongest supporters when I became [the] FIGHT president in 1969. Here I was, all of 25 years old and the titular leader of the black community. Canon was twice my age, with much more experience and insight, and he was ready to stand by me.”⁴⁹ Gifford also revealed that Fr. Simpkins “was ‘very persuasive’ in helping to cut a deal between FIGHT, the Ibero American Action League, and St. Simon’s. FIGHT had laid claim to all the land available for public housing, but Simpkins convinced Gifford and the FIGHT leadership that the organization couldn’t raise the capital needed to build housing on all the available parcels. As a result, Gifford says, Simpkins was able to move ahead on raising funds for St. Simon’s Terrace, and Ibero went ahead on Los Flambayanes, a 153-unit complex off South Clinton Avenue.”⁵⁰

Two good examples of Fr. Simpkins’ ability to leverage personal connections without resorting to headlines is illustrated by these anecdotes. (a) “When he came to Rochester, Simpkins and his family moved into the carriage house in back of the Harper Sibley home at 404 East Avenue.

Simpkins became fast friends with Georgiana Sibley, and his closeness to the Sibley family may have prodded Public Safety Commissioner Harper Sibley Jr. into Accepting FIGHT’s demand for 50 minority police officers in 1966. Simpkins praised Sibley for being open to the need for more minority representation on the police force.”⁵¹ (b) “Simpkins always maintained a close personal relationship with Rochester Republican Frank Horton. . . . Horton says he worked closely with Simpkins to steer federal money for public housing to Rochester during the mid to late 1960s. It was his close relationship with Horton which helped Simpkins secure funds for St. Simon’s Terrace, a low-income housing project on St. Paul Boulevard.”⁵² Father Simpkins passed away on February 12, 1983, while still rector of St. Simon’s and was succeeded by the Rev. H. Gregory Smith. A fifth generation Black Episcopalian, he graduated from Nashotah House Theological Seminary and was ordained a priest in December 1980. One of the consecrating Bishops was the Right Rev. Quintin E. Primo, Jr.

Shortly after he was installed at St. Simon Cyrene, Father Smith was approached in 1986 by St. Luke's with a request to open merger talks. It wasn't the first time they had made such a request. In June 1961, the Vestry of St. Luke's requested to meet with the Vestry of St. Simon to consider some of the issues involved in merging. At this time, only about 50 families belonged to St. Simon (which had only just achieved parish status a year earlier) and was perceived by some in the diocese to be struggling.⁵³ Despite an initial consensus, when the merger committee met again over the summer, the idea of a merger was dropped.⁵⁴ Even before this event, Father Primo, who became the Sixth Suffragan Bishop of Chicago on May 20, 1972, recalled that he as Vicar at St. Simon's and the Rev. Dr. Frederick M. Winnie, Rector of St. Luke's from 1933 until 1972, "first suggested a marriage of the same two congregations in the 1950s."⁵⁵ Clearly, the notion of a merger had been gestating for a while.

Founded in 1817, St. Luke's Church was Rochester's first Episcopal Church and the second church of any kind in Rochesterville, as the city of Rochester was first called. The land for St. Luke's was given by Nathaniel Rochester, who obtained a large part of his wealth from the profits he reaped participating in the slave trade.⁵⁶ He was named the church's first Warden. Construction on a permanent structure began in 1824, and St. Luke's was dedicated on September 30, 1827, making it possibly the oldest public building still in use in the city of Rochester.

According to St. Luke's parish register, this church was baptizing, marrying and burying African-American slaves since 1821.⁵⁷ Funding for the church in these early years came from "pew rents" to ensure St. Luke's had money to operate and maintain the building and clergy.⁵⁸ Given the custom of the time, it seems likely that blacks and whites did not sit together, and that extended into the 20th century. From the history of St. Simon's church discussed earlier in this essay, it is known that St. Luke's would only permit blacks to use their building for their services when it was otherwise not being used by whites.

Then in 1986, St. Luke's was said to have only 191 members, about 100 of whom were homebound and unable to carry out a ministry within the community despite still possessing sufficient financial and other resources to do so. Members of St. Simon's Vestry were impressed with aspects of St. Luke's Church, especially the more than ample space it offered.⁵⁹ By the end of the process, it was to be less a merger of equals than it was a merger of needs: St. Simon's had the people while St. Luke's had the physical and financial resources. On December 31, 1987, after more than a year of conversation, the two congregations finalized their merger. From a distance, Bishop Primo felt the merger "appears to be a blessing for the two congregations. Survival is guaranteed, a strong integrated downtown presence is assured."⁶⁰ (For a detailed look at the merger and the attendant difficulties of the process, especially on many in St. Simon's congregation, see the separate document, [Supply title of document when finalized] elsewhere in this report.)

Today, St. Simon of Cyrene Church is officially named, The Episcopal Church of St. Luke and St. Simon Cyrene but is often called, simply, Two Saints. Their website neatly encapsulates the more recent years of St. Simon's story. "Father Smith served as the first rector until 1990 (with Father [Bruce] Hanson serving as Associate Rector). The Rev. Gayle Elizabeth Harris was called to be the second rector in 1992 and served until she was elected Bishop Suffragan of Massachusetts in 2002. . . . The Very Rev. Michael W. Hopkins became rector of the . . . parish on October 1, 2004. He

became, in addition, Dean of Rochester in 2011 . . . Since the merger, St. Luke & St. Simon, or 'Two Saints,' has continued support of the Oregon-Leopold Daycare Center and the Right On School, as well as becoming active in the Rochester Area Interfaith Hospitality Network (RAIHN), which runs a shelter for homeless families who need assistance while they return to work and/or housing."⁶¹

APPENDIX

The importance of having a meaningful, good-paying job, for the income it brings with which to support a family and for sheer self-esteem, cannot be overstated. For African-Americans in

Rochester in the mid-20th century, those kinds of jobs were generally denied to them by the quiet racism that pervaded the city. In his memoir, *The Making of a Black Bishop*, the Right Reverend Quintin E. Primo, Jr. (DE: Cedar Tree Books Limited, 2006, pages 78 to 82), described some of his efforts to desegregate Rochester's job market. Here are some excerpts.

One of Father Primo's many success stories was to induce both Sibley's department store and Sears Roebuck to hire its first black people. Father Primo knew that changing the mind-set of blacks and whites, that black men and women had been limited to the more menial kinds of jobs, would be challenging to accomplish. . . . First, he attacked downtown department stores where there had not been black salespersons. Sibley's responded positively, by employing black women. A member of his congregation, Mrs. Elsie Egling, was first. . . . She worked there until she determined to study in a teacher's college to emerge as a public-school teacher. Downtown department store McCurdy's was slower to come aboard, but its administration had already hired black ladies as elevator operators. With a push from Loftus Carson, executive director of Monroe County Human Relations Commission, and black and white local leaders, Sears Roebuck's Monroe Street store hired its first black salesperson, Mrs. Barbara Harding, who also was a member of Father Primo's congregation. Mrs. Harding was promoted to be a buyer for Sears.

Next, Father Primo tackled banks. No black woman tellers had been employed in local banks, and banks were all anxious to do business with black people and black institutions. Father Primo approached a young, white Episcopalian, Dr. Thomas Hawks. Hawks was friend, and the president and CEO of the Rochester Savings Bank. Hawks was also the son of the bank's founder. Fr. Primo requested Hawks to hire a black teller at his bank. Fr. Primo simply did not expect him to act as rapidly as he did, and Hawks asked Fr. Primo to find a good candidate for the breakthrough. Fr. Primo already had Ms. Dorothy Snellings, a member of my congregation, in mind before even approaching Hawks. Ms. Snellings was hired, and Snelling grew to be Rochester's first black bank teller. A year or so later, nearby banks began to do the same, with spectacular success.

Fr. Primo then moved on to education. The area's public school, Number Nine, was getting more and more black children, however no black teachers. There had been only two of them in the entire system. . . . Fr. Primo spoke with superintendent of Rochester's public-schools Mr. James Spalding about employing some black teachers. Fr. Primo was surprised to find Spalding as an advocate in this idea. Fr. Primo had a certified trainer in his congregation who was a homemaker, Mrs. Alice Young. Fr. Primo recommended Young, and she was hired. A Bennett College graduate, Mrs. Young began working on a master's degree at Cornell University, when she married and moved to Rochester. Fr. Primo was not surprised Young eventually became principal, and later, the Director of Fundamental Schooling for the Rochester Board of Education. Mrs. Young earned a Doctor of Education diploma from the University of Rochester.

Father Primo saw no reason to stop there. "It did not take much vision to see that the local police department, like the public schools, needed to be racially integrated as well. . . . We did some recruiting in

this area as well, receiving abundant help from both white and black community leaders. . . . On day I received a phone call from the head custodian at Kodak. He asked me to find him four janitors of color with a minimum of two years of college. . . . I said, 'Please wait a second. If I come across any young black men with two years of college, I am going to try my best to get them back into college to complete the last two years. Furthermore, I will call on you and Kodak to provide whatever scholarship aid is required.' While we did not find many janitors for Kodak, we helped them out with other auxiliary positions. We could have opened a non-profit employment agency and counseling center at the church. While offering that needed service to the community, I always kept before me the main reason for being at St. Simon's Church, 'to lead, to empower, to administer the sacraments, and to be as Christ-like as humanly possible.'" Aug.2015

¹ Ingrid Overacker, *The African American Church Community in Rochester, New York 1900-1940* (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 1998), 47.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 47 & 115.

⁴ Overacker chronicles how Mother Dorsey's efforts to create that orphanage were supported by the African American community, especially by the pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, Dr. James Rose, and his wife. "The Dorsey orphanage began early in the twentieth century, operated in Mrs. Dorsey's home on Bronson Avenue until 1916, and then moved first to Lake Road, and then to a farm site in Brighton (currently the location of McQuaid High School). Both Dr. Rose and his wife 'supervised and taught the children at the Dorsey orphanage in the 1920s.'" Ibid., 101.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 155.

⁷ Ibid.

⁷ St. Luke's Vestry Minutes 1921 to 1987.

⁸ Quintin E. Primo, Jr., *The Making of a Black Bishop* (Wilmington, DE: Cedar Tree Books Limited, 2006), 66.

⁹ "45,000 Our Goal." (Rochester: Episcopal Church of St. Simon of Cyrene, undated [probably early 1950s]), unpag. ¹⁰ The Rt. Rev. David Lincoln Ferris, *Personal Diary*, Oct. 14, 1932. That Father Brown impressed Bishop Ferris is clear from other entries in his diary that same year. In the entry for May 12, Bishop Ferris notes: "In the evening I went to Trinity Church for the Confirmation of the class of colored persons presented by Fr. Brown. The congregation of St. Simon's almost filled the church and the service as prepared by Fr. Brown was impressive." In another entry, Sept. 13, the Bishop had an easy way to sabotage the rise of a black Episcopal church and to get rid of Fr. Brown, had he wanted to but clearly, he did not. "In the evening, Rev. Mr. Brown called to discuss plans for St. Simon's He also told me of an attractive Call; he had just received from St. Thomas' Church, Colored, Philadelphia, and his doubt as to whether or not he should accept it. I told him my judgment would be for him to see through the work here especially with plans for the new location and an independent church building."

¹¹ Overacker, *African-American*, 155.

¹² Ibid., 195.

¹³ Ibid., 194.

¹⁴ Ibid., 155.

¹⁵ Ibid., 148.

¹⁶ Primo, *Making*, 69.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ When Fr. Primo first arrived in Rochester in 1947, The Rt. Rev. Bartel H. Reinheimer was still the Bishop of Rochester, a post he occupied until 1949. The Right Rev. Dudley S. Stark was installed as his replacement in 1950. ¹⁹ Primo, *Making*, 82.

²⁰ Ibid., 76 & 77.

²¹ Overacker, *African-American*, 77.

²² Ibid., 77 & 78.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Primo, *Making*, 69.

²⁵ Ibid., 71.

- ²⁶ Ibid., 73 & 74.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 72.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 74.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 74 & 75.
- ³¹ Ibid., 75 & 76.
- ³² Ibid., 73.
- ³³ Chris Lavin, "The Rev. Simpkins; 'Saw the needs of the people'", *Times-Union*, February 14, 1982.
- ³⁴ "Diocese Remembers Canon Simpkins' Ministry," *Diocese/The Episcopalian*, April 1983, A.
- ³⁵ Elizabeth Logan, "Canon Simpkins Honored as St. Simon's Holds Gala", *Diocese Newsletter*, Nov. 1973, 4.
- ³⁶ Mark Hare, "Rochester's Builder of Bridges," *City Newspaper*, February 24, 1983.
- ³⁷ G.H. K., "Needs of People Motivate This Parish," Parish Profile Series No. 12, *The Episcopal Diocese of Rochester*, vol. 14, February 1979, 3.
- ³⁸ James Goodman, "Three Days That Shook Rochester," *The Democrat & Chronicle*, July 20, 2014.
- ³⁹ Cheryl A.E. Parris, "Bishop George Barrett's Role in the FIGHT-KODAK Conflict: An Examination of Episcopal Authority and Social Justice," (master's thesis, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School/Bexley Hall Seminary, 2000), 144.
- ⁴⁰ Saralee Orton, "Priest Learns To Be 'Hopeless'", *Times-Union*, January 30, 1965.
- ⁴¹ Lavin, "Simpkins," p. 5B.
- ⁴² G.H.K., "Parish", 3.
- ⁴³ Lavin, "Simpkins," 5B.
- ⁴⁴ Lavin, "Simpkins 5B & "Diocese Remembers," *Episcopalian*. A.
- ⁴⁵ Lavin, "Simpkins 5B.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Hare, "Bridges," p. 4.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Slavin, "Simpkins," 4B.
- ⁵⁴ Vestry Minutes of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Rochester NY. Located in the Church of St. Luke & St. Simon Cyrene Archives, Rochester, NY, note on the reverse of the document for 1961.
- ⁵⁵ Primo, *Making*, 83.
- ⁵⁶ United States Federal Census, 1790, <http://search.ancestry.com>. June 18, 2015.
- ⁵⁷ Parish Register, Vol. 1, 1820-1847. St. Luke's and St. Simon Cyrene Episcopal Church. Published by permission, located at the church office in Historic St. Luke's building, Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, NY.
- ⁵⁸ Record of Proceedings of the Vestry of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, NY, 10 June 1821.
- ⁵⁹ Vestry Minutes of St. Simon of Cyrene Church, Rochester, NY, April 1986. Located in the Church of St. Luke & St. Simon Cyrene Archives, Rochester, NY, unpagged.
- ⁶⁰ Primo, *Making*, 83.
- ⁶¹ "Our History – A Short History of the Church of St. Luke & St. Simon Cyrene," *The Episcopal Church of St. Luke & St. Simon Cyrene* website, <http://www.twosaints.org/about-us/our-history>, accessed 6 November 2014.

Merger of St. Luke's Church and St. Simon's Church

As stated earlier, founded in 1817, St. Luke's Church, Genesee Falls, was the first Episcopal Church in the new settlement of Rochesterville. Among the founders and first warden of the congregation was Colonel Nathaniel Rochester.¹ He gave a plot of land for the church currently located at 17 Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, New York. Other vestrymen of the early church included Jonathan Child, Rochesterville's first mayor, Oliver Culver, and William Mumford. The church was dedicated in 1827 by the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, Bishop of New York. The St. Luke's building is Rochester's oldest remaining public building. The church's original register (1820-1847) documents baptisms, marriages and last rites of African Americans.²

St. Simon Cyrene Episcopal Church, Rochester, began as a mission within the Diocese of Western New York in 1922. In those early years, a small number of African American families in Rochester, with ties to the Anglican Church, petitioned the Episcopal Church "Department of Mission and Church Extension" along with the Diocese of Western New York for a place to worship.³ As a result the

African American families were invited to worship on Sunday evenings at the Church of the Epiphany, Rochester, New York. Several other Episcopal churches, including Christ Church, St. Paul's, St.

Luke's, and Trinity came forward to open their buildings to the families, but only when the inviting white churches were not being used. St. Simon Cyrene erected and dedicated a debt-free church

building on Oregon Street in 1934.⁴ In 1960, St. Simon Cyrene became a parish of the Diocese of Rochester. The parish thrived in its initial years under the guidance of inspirational social activist African American clergy. St. Luke's vestry considered a merger with St. Simon's Church in 1961; however, the idea was abandoned with no reason given.⁵

St. Luke's Church faced a change in its demographics during the decades between the 1970s and 1980s. The City of Rochester experienced a population shift. Several reasons have been noted: (1) Parishioners moved to the suburbs and (2) there was violence and tense racial relations following the July 1964 riots. In the early '80s, many parishioners were aged and homebound and unable to carry out the church's ministries. Consequently, there was a significant drop in physical membership.⁶ Pledges were kept current, and St. Luke's had a good endowment, but they needed new and active congregants to keep the church vital, use its ample space, and to minister within the city. St. Luke's leadership approached several inner-city churches to explore potential cooperative relationships. From 1983 through 1986, their Long-Range Planning Committee tried to identify solutions. Lacking success in the mid '80s, St. Luke's vestry engaged the Alban Institute, Inc., a congregational consulting organization, to help the parish deal with internal stresses and decision-making. In an extended vestry meeting in April 1986 they set "Goals and Decisions" resulting in four alternatives: 1) close St. Luke's; 2) keep going as St. Luke's with renewed effort; 3) federate and/or merge with St. Simon's; 4) federate and/or merge with

another parish.” Vestry members voted to pursue a federation or merger with St. Simon Cyrene. St. Luke’s vestry proposed that St. Simon’s join their church as a *federation* union.⁷ The intention was to have two parishes, two pastors, two income sources and one budget. One resulting effect of this arrangement was to allow both parishes to maintain their own identity.

Following the sudden death of Canon St. Julian Simpkins in 1983, St Simon’s vestry began its search for a new rector, preferring an African American. The Rev. H. Gregory Smith, vicar at Holy Cross Church in Chicago, Illinois, was invited to interview. The interview scheduled for February 4, 1985 went so well that the vestry immediately extended a call to Smith, who accepted.⁸

In April 1986 the Rev. Bruce E. Hanson, St. Luke’s rector, wrote to inform the new rector of St. Simon’s Church and its vestry that St. Luke’s vestry had been working on long-range planning and had discussed various alternatives. In the letter he invited St. Simon’s leadership to discuss combining the two parishes. The goal would be to make greater use of St. Luke’s facilities and strengthen the mission and witness of the Episcopal Church in center-city Rochester. Hanson concluded the letter by noting that “even as we extend this invitation we have been made aware that *an unfortunate situation has developed through our own fault*. In our eagerness to keep our own congregation informed of the actions of our vestry, we acted thoughtlessly with to the effect this action would have on the members of St. Simon’s parish. We offer our deepest apology for the lack of foresight on our part.” From St. Luke’s perspective, St. Simon’s Church and its vibrant outreach community seemed a good candidate for a joint venture. They shared a similar mission to the city. In spite of the awkwardness of the situation, St. Simon’s rector, warden and vestry met and accepted the invitation to discuss the idea.⁹

To the St. Simon congregation, the proposal was unexpected. Parishioners at St. Simons were not aware there had previously been merger discussion in the 1960s and were not aware of St. Luke’s needs. One St. Simon member said she felt the Bishop forced the merger talks. Another common reaction of St. Simon’s members, when hearing of the proposed merger, was “why would we want to do that?” They were not aware of St. Luke’s declining population and had no knowledge that they should plan alternatives for their future. It appeared to some that St. Luke’s or the diocese assumed St Simon’s would be thrilled to join them, unaware of how St. Simon’s thought of their church; its history of overcoming adversity, developing its mission to the community, and its ideas for the future.¹⁰ It was Rev. Hanson that notified St. Simon about a meeting at Diocesan House with details of the merger process.

By January 1987 a timeline and list of priorities had been outlined by the Joint Steering committee. June 7, 1987 was set for the “Day of Decision” [the vote for both parishes] by the Rt. Rev. William Burrill, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester. At this point, the language in the plan went from *federation* to *merger*.¹¹ At a joint steering committee meeting in March of that year, the committee discussed rumors that had surfaced in both parishes. A joint statement from both parishes and the Bishop was recommended. The Diocesan chancellor identified the concluding steps for the merger, and Bishop Burrill stated he was available to talk to either group upon request; however, parishioners at St. Simon’s remained uncertain and questioned the

outcomes and consequences of the merger. St. Simon's members questioned whether they were an aided parish. Some members of St. Simon's felt they were being manipulated by the diocese. A meeting was scheduled with St. Simon's communication chair and the Bishop. Bishop Burrill stressed the merger had incredible possibilities and that he favored the merger. He also stated he was involved in helping St. Luke's with its membership issues about one and one-half years prior to Rev. Hanson approaching St. Simon's.¹² A breakdown in communication occurred after the June 7 vote at St. Simon's. Parishioners at St. Simon's thought the positive results of the vote meant they would continue to discuss the merger. However, Bishop Burrill interpreted the result as a vote to merge.

In an attempt to make known the feelings of seventeen members who voted not to continue the conversations with St. Luke's Church, Gertrude M. Manns sent the contents of an open letter (below) to the rector, wardens, vestry and congregation of St. Simon's Church on July 23, 1987, with a copy to the Rt. Rev. William Burrill:

The rector of St. Simon's Church has indicated in writing that he is in favor of the merge with St. Luke's. The result of the vote taken on June 7, 1987, in which eligible members of the parish participated indicated that fifty-nine of those seventy-six members were interested in continuing conversations with St. Luke's. I speak as one of the seventeen members who voted not to continue the conversations with St. Luke's Church because I believe that St. Simon's is worth fighting for.

Can we forget all of the good people of St. Simon's who are in the nearer presence of God, who worshiped, prayed, worked, sacrificed and gave for the spread of God's kingdom? Can we forget that we are black? As black people, can we continue to accept hand-outs or welfare from the diocese for the rest of our lives? The answer to all these questions should be a resounding "NO"?

People in the diocese are saying, "If St. Simon's does not merge, St. Simon's will die!" That is not true. The only way St. Simon's will die is if we let it die!

People in the diocese are saying, ah, but what about the \$25,000.00 St. Simon's is getting from the diocese each year?" Good Question! How many of us realize that St. Simon's major contribution to the community – Right-On School – is almost completely funded out of this \$25,000.00? Can we as Christians accept this as our mission when we have not tapped St. Simon's greatest resources which are ourselves? The Right-On School is our mission; it started at the altar of St. Simon's. We should be maintaining it – not the diocese – and it is possible!

People in the diocese are saying "The Bishop wants this merge to take place." The Bishop cannot possibly feel what we feel for St. Simon's. The Bishop does not know that – because of his wants or plans or visions – the family of St. Simon's Parish is being fractured and torn apart! Maybe that is the design – divide and conquer.

How can we respond to these "people are saying" statements? Very simply. We can reaffirm our duty as Christians. If we do this, then we need not worry about the Gay Alliance et al; we need not worry about parking and vestments and memorials and buildings and leaving St. Simon's and all the many things that a merge requires.

And what is our duty as Christians? Our bounden duty is to follow Christ, to worship God every Sunday in His church, and to work and pray and give for the spread of his kingdom. For in

worshiping God every Sunday in His church, we not only will receive solace, but strength: not only pardon but renewal. And remember this, with God, all things are possible!

Maintaining our commitment to Christ at St. Simon's Parish, 6 Oregon Street, is possible and reasonable. Let us rally together, determine to give our time, talent and gifts to the Glory of God here in this hallowed place.

Gertrude M. Manns

Committed Member of St. Simon's Episcopal Church In the Inner-City Black

Rebecca McCurdy, a longtime member of St. Simon wrote a letter in favor of merger.

"Sept 12, 1987

To: Rt. Rev. William

Burrill, The Rev. H.

Gregory Smith

Vestry, Wardens and Congregation of St. Simon's Church

"... It is most honorable and fitting that we have been chosen to merge with St. Luke's. St. Simon's Church was built by [sic] devoted, dedicated, hardworking congregation with the help of the diocese and very generous donors, in a thriving neighborhood of people and activity. Our members came from a variety of neighborhoods, towns and cities, drawn by love and devotion without racial prejudice. The neighborhood is now isolated, crime ridden and void of people and buildings."

Later the letter went on to say: *"[The] love of God, Humanity and Unity between the races is the foundation of our religious teachings at St. Simon of Cyrene which will go with them to a new place. Trust in the Lord. Rebecca McCurdy"*¹³

The merger between St. Simon Church and St. Luke Church was approved by 69% of the qualified voters at the Annual Meeting, November 29, 1987. The next evening the vestry, acting in the capacity as trustees, legally approved the merger. The signed documents were sent to the diocese and were presented by the diocesan chancellor to the Supreme Court of New York State to be signed into law.¹⁴

Combined worship began Sunday, January 10, 1988. The merged church was named The Episcopal Church of St. Luke and St. Simon Cyrene, known locally as Two Saints. The joint congregation continued to work at reconciling different worship styles. St. Simon's marble altar and stained-glass windows were brought to St. Luke's building.

The Rev. Michael W. Hopkins, the most recent rector [retired], of Two Saints' parish, wrote in his resignation letter, "I do believe we moved beyond the merger period and into a future-oriented sense of purpose and mission. In doing so we loved each other across many lines of difference, and maintained, if not increased, our witness to the church and the world that inclusiveness is a deeply gospel value."¹⁵

In a statement for this report, he also said, "I have always heard that some people were very unhappy about the merger, but folks here have tended to tell me that is an exaggeration. Personally, I don't think it was. In the long run, I do think the merger has been a success, whether or not it was the right thing to do at the time, which I suspect it was, although the process had many flaws."¹⁶

- ¹ <http://www.libraryweb.org/rochimage/architecture>. Pathfinders: Monroe County Library System. St. Luke's Church.
- ² Parish Register Vol. 1, 1820-1847: St. Luke's and St. Simon Cyrene Episcopal Church.
- ³ Archives: Episcopal Diocese of Rochester, Diocese of Western New York Annual Convention, 1922.
- ⁴ <http://www.twosaints.org/about-us/our-history>.
- ⁵ St. Luke's Vestry Minutes 1921 to 1987.
- ⁶ St. Luke's Vestry Minutes 1921 to 1987.
- ⁸ St. Simon Cyrene Vestry Minutes, 1986/1987.
- ⁹ St. Luke's Correspondence, Bruce Hanson Letter, April 1986.
- ¹⁰ Personal Statement former St. Simon's parishioner.
- ¹¹ St. Luke's Vestry Minutes 1921 to 1987.
- ¹² St. Luke's Vestry Minutes 1921 to 1987.
- ¹³ St. Simon Cyrene Correspondence, Letter from Rebecca McCurdy, September 1987.
- ¹⁴ St. Simon Cyrene Correspondence, Letter: Fr. Gregory Smith.
- ¹⁵ Resignation Letter: The Rev. Michael Hopkins, June 2014.
- ¹⁶ The Rev. Michael Hopkins Email. August 2014.

Focus on Anti-Racism from the 1970's through 2015

The Episcopal Diocese of Rochester, through a number of Diocesan Conventions, acted through resolutions to create anti-racism task forces during the span from the 1970s through 2015. A review of history provides information at particular periods of time. Diocesan committees meet to discuss and identify the multitudinous aspects of racism.

Following the racial disturbances during the 1960s, lay and clergy leadership of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester discerned their Christian beliefs and responsibilities about institutional racism.

At the 29th Convention (May 11, 1960) of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester, the Rev. G. Lucian Slone, chairman, called upon the Rev. Walter Pragnell to report findings of his committee concerning needs for an Episcopal City Mission. Slone moved the following resolution:

(1) Resolution of Racial Discrimination:

WHEREAS many persons have expressed grave concern as to the stand of the Episcopal Church with respect to the races...

BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention record its determination to work toward eliminating all aspects of racial discrimination and injustice within our Diocese and nation, and we affirm our whole-hearted support of the Evanston declaration of the World Council of Churches of 1954 that segregation in all of its forms is contrary to the Gospel; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in conformity with a request of the Presiding Bishop: Parishes and Missions of the Diocese of Rochester set aside a day of prayer for South Africa, Sunday, May 29, and that they request their parishioners to make a contribution to aid families of victims of the recent racial disturbances in South Africa, such contributions to be sent to: The Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief, 231 Park Avenue South, New York 10, New York and marked "South African Fund" ...
Seconded and carried.

(2) Resolution on the State Commission against Discrimination:

WHEREAS leaders of both major political parties, in both the City of Rochester and in the County of Monroe, have given their approval to plans for the establishment of a Rochester office of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, an official Commission of the State of New York, the duty of which is to protect the rights of people who have been subjected to discrimination on account of religious faith, race, sex, or age; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention heartily endorses the said plans, and desires to record its hope that the Legislature of the State of New York will take such action and may be necessary to put those plans, and desires to record its hope that the Legislature of the State of New York will take **such action as may be necessary to put plans into rapid effect...**

The resolution was seconded and carried. Diocesan support of this 1960 resolution endorsing the World Council of Churches declaration agreeing segregation in all of its forms is contrary to the Gospel was a segue to future actions by the Diocese. Only several years after this resolution passed [July, 1964], the city of Rochester experienced one of the first and most violent racial uprisings in the country. Again, the awareness of racism raised its ugly head; however, this time it was at home, not across the world.

In April, 1969, James Forman, instrumental leader for the “Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)” presented his “Black Manifesto” at the National Black Economic Development Conference:

“We the black people assembled in Detroit Michigan, for the National Black Economic Development Conference, are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.”

“We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding \$500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. . . we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us.”

The Diocesan Press Service released the following statement from the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church on May 23, 1969: “The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church has voted to ‘not accept’ the Manifesto of the Black Economic Development Conference, but has chosen instead to propose a renewed effort for the Church to combat poverty and injustice.”

Bishop John E. Hines, 22nd Presiding Bishop, created a committee of Council members to shape a unified response. The committee presented the following at the next General Convention:

“The Episcopal Church is to support and expand the operation of the General Convention Special Program (GCSP) [created in 1967]. The eight resolutions for the GCSP included:

Resolved, that this Church, without concurring in all of the ideology of the ‘Black Manifesto,’ recognize that the Black Economic Development Conference is a

movement, which, at this moment, shows promise of being an expression of self-determination for the organizing of the black community in America.

Financial support was provided through the GCSP for three years; however no further discussion was made of the 'Black Manifesto' or reparations at subsequent General Conventions or by the Executive Council.

News of the Black Manifesto spread throughout the Episcopal Church. Some dioceses were concerned about its radical implications. In some dioceses strategies were developed in the event of local demands on churches. It can be [assumed] that once again clergy and lay leaders

questioned the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester's beliefs and responsibilities about institutional racism. In the early 1970s an anti-racism task force was formed, a proposal developed, including a job description for an anti-racism task force coordinator. At the 40th (1971) Annual Convention the following resolution was submitted:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention adopt the Anti-Racism Proposal as of the highest priority for the coming year and urge both the Diocesan Council and the Strong Fund Allocations Committee to find the necessary sources of funding for this program.

The motion was seconded. Several delegates rose to speak in favor of the Resolution and, when put to vote, the Resolution was carried.

Mrs. Odell then read a second Resolution submitted by the Committee on Anti-Racism:

Whereas we, as the Body of Christ, should be consciously anti-racist in our institutional policies, decisions, and actions, and

Whereas it is of urgent importance that those who have institutional responsibilities should become aware of the manifestations and implications of racism in their decision-making processes;

Resolved that this convention mandate the use of the Anti-Racism educational process upon its funding, for all Diocesan personnel, elected bodies and administrative departments and divisions, and

Resolved that this Convention strongly urges all vestries and executive committees, along with other parish units, to participate in this anti-racism educational process as it is offered.

The Task Force made up of 12 clergy and lay, developed a job description for a coordinator of the educational program. The coordinator would be accountable to the

Diocesan Council, the Bishop and the Anti-Racism Task Force. Activities including everything from establishing target groups, program design, recruit/train volunteers to allocation of resources. The Task Force on Anti-Racism requested the Rt. Rev. Robert Spears, Jr., offer the position to the Rev. Henry Atkins, Jr., an Episcopal priest with a background in urban ministries.

Atkins began the education work February 15, 1972 with a base salary of \$9,000 plus benefits, travel and housing expenses. Initial suggestions for educational plans were extremely broad, far more than one could expect to accomplish in a short timeframe:

- Individual
- Racism
- Historical
- Racism

- Institutional/Cultural
- Racism Economics and
- Racism White Identity
- and Racism Anti-Racist
- Action

Concerns regarding mandated training arose in late 1972. A letter was sent from the Standing Committee to Atkins as coordinator:

“The Standing Committee of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester informed the coordinator of the program, The Rev. Henry Atkins, ‘The Standing Committee is an organization created by action of the General Convention, and while its membership is determined by the Diocesan Convention, its basic function is not dictated by the Diocesan Convention. Therefore, participation in the Anti-racialism [sic] educational training is not by mandate but by voluntary decision of the Standing Committee.’”¹

The Anti-Racism Task Force underwent training during March and April 1972. From March 1972 through September 1973 they carried out an ambitious schedule of 34 visitations, planning sessions, and training programs with positive results. The program was evaluated in 1973 by the Rochester Mental Health Center. In his evaluation, Harvey Resnick, Ph.D., encouraged continued support. “...As a functioning group, the Task Force has been able to review its operation and assess their strengths and weaknesses. They are able to pinpoint some troublesome spots, and seemed [sic] to have the commitment to work on making necessary changes in their own group.” “It also seems to me that the mere fact that they exist in the Diocese forces individuals and groups to do the necessary thinking about antiracism.”⁴ The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church (New York) and Colgate Rochester/Bexley Hall/Crozer encouraged continuation of the program.

By December, 1972 funding became a concern. Bishop Robert Spears and the Rev. James Prichard, Development and Planning Officer for the diocese, wrote Trinity New

York Parish informing them of recent changes in the operation of the Margaret Woodbury Strong Fund (MWS) which would greatly restrict the funding of the anti-racism education program. They requested matching funds from Trinity Church since the MWS funds would not be able to fully fund the program in the coming year. Trinity rejected the request for funds.

The anti-racism education continued through diocesan funding at a slower pace through 1974. A Diocesan ad hoc committee evaluated the successes and failures of the Anti-Racism Commission in 1975. "...It is the reviewers' opinion that the Commission has been moderately successful.

While it is apparent that some have been critical and outspoken against the Commission, it is evident that most would like to have the work continued but on a less intensive level and a more educational approach within the Diocese."²

Program funding continued to be a concern. The reviewers' concluded in the 1975 evaluation: "...after looking at the cost/benefit as strictly results translated to dollars, it would seem that the elimination of the Coordinator would substantially reduce the costs, but at the same time it is felt this will also substantially reduce the benefits and/or effects on expenditures."³

The anti-racism program was officially dissolved as of December 31, 1975, leaving the impression that their goals had been accomplished.

Rebirth of the Committee

In 1991 Episcopal Church General Convention Resolution Number 1991-D113 stated:

Resolve, the House of Bishops concerning, That the Episcopal Church spend the next three triennia addressing institutional racism inside our Church and society, in order to become a Church of and for all races and a Church without racism committed to end racism in the world, and that greater inclusiveness become one of the Episcopal Church's primary strategies for evangelism.

Support to the Church's agenda to spend the next three triennia addressing institutional racism is evident in the March 1994 and 2006 pastoral letters from the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church entitled "The Sin of Racism" based on scripture, our Baptismal Covenant, and the Book of Common Prayer catechism. By 1996, the Church developed extensive resources in the training manual, "Seeing the Face of God in Each Other". The text of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's speech, "Why, as Christians, We Must Oppose Racism," delivered in Canberra in 1994 provided a clear understanding of causes of racism.

During the 1990s, a committee of clergy and laity met regularly with goals to understand racism: to define how specific points could be made to Diocesan communities; and how

the anti-racism committee could personally impact congregations. Action was initiated by this committed group by holding Martin Luther King Day in church services; participating with a newly convened Standing Committee at an annual retreat by leading a morning workshop with scripture and small group discussion; presenting information and encouragement to a specific church search committee to consider interviewing candidates of color.

In 2000 the Episcopal Church General Convention Resolution Number 2000-B049 stated:

Resolve, that beginning on September 1, 2000 the lay and ordained leadership of the Episcopal Church, including all ordained persons, professional staff, and those elected or appointed to positions of leadership on committees, commissions, agencies, and boards be required to take anti-racism training and receive certification of such training.

Upon the retirement of Bishop Burrill, the anti-racism task force did not continue to meet. Task force members including the Rev. Canon Stephen Lane, who had been the chair of the task force later, became the Bishop of Maine. However, before he was elected Bishop, he organized, under the direction of Bishop McKelvey, another Anti-Racism Committee. Subsequently, Resolution C-2008: Concerning Anti-Racism Training in the diocese was brought forward, seconded and carried at the 77th Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester.

The resolution [again] mandated an eight-hour training for members of Diocesan staff, Diocesan Council, the Standing Committee, the Trustees, the Commission on Ministry, Deputies to General Convention, and Delegates to Diocesan Convention. However, this time the Church supported the needed structure by offering training, train-the-trainer workshops, and a revised training manual through the direction of the diocesan Anti-Racism Committee.

Since the first eight-hour training was offered for diocesan staff in June 2009, twenty-four programs have been offered throughout the diocese. Almost all clergy, as well as elected and appointed leadership, have been trained. Successes include: clergy, who have completed the training have volunteered to become trainers; the Committee trained Anti-Racism leaders of both Western and Central New York dioceses; St. Thomas' Rochester started a volunteer program at Roberto Clemente, School #8, Rochester City School District to support student equity and participation in public education. The question of mandated training remains a sensitive issue.

The anti-racism training program and its successes bring the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester into compliance with General Convention Resolution 2000-B049, which mandated anti-racism training for ordained and lay leadership of the Episcopal Church.

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^{2,3} EDOR Archives: 1975 Evaluation of the Anti-Racism Commission. 1975.

⁴ EDOR Archives: Letter from the Rev. Robert Parks, Rector. February 1973.

Journal of Gen Conv., Phoenix, AZ 1992, pg 382

The Rochester Episcopal Diocese and Urban Unrest in the 1960s

The Diocese and the 1964 Riot. Cheryl Parris, in her masters' thesis examining Rochester Bishop George Barrett's role in the confrontation between the Black community and the White establishment in the FIGHT-KODAK conflict the 1960s, observes that "the Episcopal Church in Rochester was solidly middle class" despite possessing a public image of being "considered a (if not the) church of Rochester's social establishment."¹ She acknowledges that "a number of public socialites such as [members of] the Sibley family and George Eastman both of whom were proudly Episcopalian," reinforced this image, adding that "moneyed people in the Episcopal Church tended to congregate in a few Episcopal churches, such as St. Paul's, St. Luke's, and St. Thomas"² Parris stresses that "it was the suburban churches that were growing" while the urban churches "were or felt abandoned by their white constituency."³ Overall, the Rochester Diocese was "fiscally solid" but "was not in itself rich,"⁴ like today. The Episcopalians who were black, a small percentage of the overall number of African-Americans living in Rochester in the 1960s, were largely but not all concentrated in one parish, St. Simon of Cyrene Church. (For an in-depth look at St. Simon's. see the separate ARTF Research Team document.) Episcopalians were among the many players on the stage that was Rochester in the 1960s, when three days of civil unrest between largely black protestors and the mostly white police force (the July 1964 Riots, as they have come to be called by locals) led Rochester to confront deeply entrenched racism and its attendant sins, a struggle that continues to this day.

From its earliest beginnings, Rochester always had Blacks among its residents. The 1830 U.S. Census counted 298 Blacks, about 3.2 percent of the city's population. As the decades passed, that percentage shrank to less than one percent as Whites, drawn by the boom town of "The Flour City," arrived in droves continually throughout the 19th century. By contrast, the Black population remained small, growing imperceptibly and only rising above one thousand souls shortly after 1910. Then, the trend changed as a quiet migration from the South by some of its Black inhabitants began. When the 1940 Census was conducted, 3,262 Blacks were calling Rochester their home. Subtle no longer, it was becoming obvious to those trained to observe it that an exodus from the southern states of farm and unskilled workers was underway. Rochester, one of the many American cities receiving those seekers of a better way of life, recorded 7,845 Blacks by the time of the 1950 Census. In 1960, their number had tripled to 23,586. Estimates put the Black population exceeding 32,000 in 1964, with a large chunk of that number located in the northeast 3rd Ward, which had absorbed many of the recent migrants, and in the southeast 7th Ward, the site of the city's long-established black community.⁵ For many first and second generation Black inhabitants, not only was their dream for a better life deferred, it was seemingly impossible because of the way things were done by the white establishment in Rochester. That these two Wards were pressure cookers primed to explode sooner than later was not obvious to the average white resident of Rochester or to those in its outlying suburbs to which many white former city residents had been moving since the end of World War II.

Father Simpkins, Minister Florence & FIGHT. It took the eyes of the Rev. St. Julian Aaron Simpkins, Jr., who arrived as the new rector of St. Simon of Cyrene Church, in June of 1964 to see the obvious. In a 1980 interview, Father Simpkins recalled his initial impression of Rochester: "I saw blight the likes of which I'd never seen before. Most black people in Rochester lived in conditions which were not fit for human habitation. The white community was completely oblivious to the way black people lived."⁶ An arrest for disorderly conduct at a street party in Rochester's 7th Ward on July 24, 1964 rapidly spun out of control with the arrival of more police. The disturbance spread southwest, reaching the 3rd Ward (today's Corn Hill area) on the

second day. When it was over on July 26th, five people were dead, 350 injured, and 893 under arrest, the overwhelming majority of them (720) black, nearly all of whom were either unemployed or unskilled workers. Black unemployment in Monroe County at the time of the riot was over 16 percent (with some sources citing it as high as 25 percent in Rochester), compared to 2.5 percent for whites. Stores, belonging both to whites and to blacks, numbered 250 looted or damaged, carried a price tag of \$2 million dollars, equivalent to about \$15 million in today's dollars.⁷

Rochester was one location of three major race riots that happened during the summer heat of 1964. (The other two were in Harlem, NY from July 16 to 22, and in Philadelphia, PA, from August 28 to 30.) The underlying reasons for the Rochester riot were similar to the other riots. "They included a large and rapid influx of African-Americans from the South, the de-facto segregation of black arrivals in specific areas of the residential urban core, a failure to extend economic opportunities from white to black residents, the physical decay of black neighborhoods due to poverty and inadequate services, the routine exploitation of African-American tenants by white landlords, the neglect and persecution of blacks at the hands of an overwhelmingly white police force, inequities in educational instruction and facilities, and the inability of African-Americans to redress grievances through legitimate political channels."⁸

Subsequent investigations into the Rochester riot revealed that jobs for unemployed blacks were badly needed. This became a major focus for Father Simpkins and for the newly- invigorated Black community. In December, 1964, community organizer Saul Alinsky, by training a sociologist, by reputation, a polarizing figure - was invited by the Rochester Area Council of Churches (RACC) to an ecumenical meeting at the Episcopal Diocesan House. (Fr. Simpkins had previously headed an interracial group from Rochester that had met quite favorably with Alinsky and his Industrial Arts Foundation (IAF) in Chicago.)⁹ In a 1972 interview, Alinsky remembered Rochester as "a classic company town, owned lock, stock and barrel by [Eastman] Kodak; it's a Southern plantation transplanted to the North, and Kodak's self-righteous paternalism makes benevolent feudalism look like participatory democracy."¹⁰ One immediate result from Alinsky's arrival in Rochester was that the local "radio station WHAM . . . told the ministers who'd invited [him] that from now on they'd have to pay for their previously-free Sunday morning air-time."¹¹

Rev. Franklin D.R. Florence ("Minister Florence"), who had come from Florida to Rochester in 1959 to be the pastor of the Reynolds Street Church of Christ, also became a major player in the actions that followed. Out of the planning that followed, the IAF's involvement came the community-based black activist organization called FIGHT (an acronym for Freedom, Integration, God, Honor, today; the 'I' was changed in 1967 to stand for 'Independence') which Rev. Florence headed for several years.¹²

FIGHT's name was said to have been inspired by a passage from the Bible: "Fight the good fight."¹³ True to his organizing principles,¹⁴ Alinsky remained in the background as a consultant. FIGHT officially formed April 6, 1965 from financial support (\$50,000 a year for two years) provided by the Board of Urban Ministry and member churches within the Rochester Area Council of Churches. The goal was to have FIGHT financially independent of the churches by its third year.¹⁵ The Rt. Rev. George West Barrett, Fourth Episcopal Bishop of Rochester (1963-1969), set an example for other Rochester churches by using "his Discretionary Fund to apply the initial \$5,000 contribution on behalf of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester in December [1964] rather than wait until January to present the issue to the Diocesan Council."¹⁶

Later when Bishop Barrett spoke to the Rochester Diocesan Convention in January 1965, he "justified his actions as part of his vocation as Bishop to be faithful to the teachings of the

Church. In Barrett's thinking, support of the IAF and Saul Alinsky were in keeping with the Church's responsibility to transform the culture through deliberate action."¹⁷ "[W]hite liberals interested in the civil rights movement in Rochester were asked to step aside and allow [B]lacks to speak for themselves. These white activists formed Friends of FIGHT (later to become Metro Act) which developed alongside FIGHT as a separate organization. [Rev.] Florence was formally elected president of FIGHT at the first annual FIGHT convention in June 1965. He held the presidency from 1965-1967 and again in 1968,"¹⁸ after it was briefly headed by another person. For his organizing role in FIGHT, Father Simpkins was named FIGHT's first Executive Vice President.

FIGHT also owed its formation, and success it achieved, to the work of other lay people such as the Episcopalian, Mrs. Georgiana Farr Sibley, who married into the Sibley family and was a member of St. Paul's Church. As recounted by Parris, one of Mrs. Sibley's "greatest contributions to Rochester was her work behind the scenes as a conciliator during the 1964 riots. Not only did she bail people out of jail during the riots, her home served as a gathering place for Black and White leaders before the official meetings at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School (CRDS)."¹⁹ During the FIGHT controversy, Mrs. Sibley became the President of the Rochester Area Council of Churches – "the job no one wanted" despite being 79 years old.²⁰ According to her daughter, Jane Auchincloss, "She had to be president. No one else could. All the others had constituencies that wouldn't make concessions. She got the president of Kodak and Black leaders to sit down and talk. She could get people to talk about why there weren't any Blacks in certain jobs. But then she would work to get Blacks to realize the importance of education and job training to be prepared for those jobs. She believed it was especially important for Blacks to have pride in themselves."²¹

At the first FIGHT convention that elected him its president, Rev. Florence set what some saw as a confrontational tone. Nevertheless, at the Special Diocesan Convention in 1965, Bishop Barrett, impressed with the effectiveness of FIGHT in preventing further rioting and setting Blacks on a course to achieve success, got the diocese to pledge \$5,000 for FIGHT in 1966, which added to the \$4,000 that came from the national church via the United Thank Offering. It meant that the Episcopal Church was contributing an even larger chunk towards FIGHT's funding for 1966.²²

By then FIGHT, and Friends of FIGHT, had achieved some success. "FIGHT first challenged social agencies like ABC [Action for a Better Community], the Community Chest, and city agencies and soon after won representation on various boards and advisory committees . . . FIGHT demonstrated its organizing power when the city, planning a \$28 million dollar urban renewal project, was forced to include FIGHT as a developer in what would later be called FIGHT Square."²³ Even Xerox Corporation, one of the then three largest employers in the Rochester area, "deliberately invited FIGHT to participate by supplying trainees for its Project Step Up."²⁴ Earlier in the year, a joint study by the Industrial Management Council and the Human Relations Commission had "revealed a definite need for additional training programs for nonwhites (Blacks and Hispanics) in Rochester. In response to the report, many businesses including Kodak began expanding their training programs to employ nonwhite workers."²⁵

FIGHT vs. Kodak. During this time, the Eastman Kodak Company was the Rochester area's largest employer (about 13% of all workers) with about 40,000 local employees as of 1967. A small number of them, roughly 1,400 or 3.5% of its workforce was black.²⁶ Parris notes that while "Kodak was no different from most of the Rochester area business, in terms of its discriminatory hiring practices," FIGHT decided to make them an example for being "apathetic

and antagonistic toward hiring Blacks” as for “being patronizing and comfortable with the status quo.”²⁷ The experience of Xerox’s cooperation by letting FIGHT supply trainees for their company’s jobs program, likely pushed FIGHT to seek “the same placement role with other business.”²⁸ Kodak, which lacked Xerox’s experience of dealing with unions, and was “highly paternalistic in nature and philosophy”, was “not going to have any organization influence their hiring practices, and much less organize their workers.”²⁹ The stage was set for a confrontation that each side, by its own reckoning, could not afford to lose.

Declaring that “the right to jobs transcends the right to make money,” Rev. Florence and his FIGHT team met with Kodak’s top leaders (including then-Chairman Albert Chapman, President William Vaughn, and Executive Vice President Louis Eilers) beginning in September, 1966.³⁰ Rev. Florence had a simple proposal for them: FIGHT would send 600 of Rochester’s hardcore unemployed blacks to Kodak which would immediately put them on the payroll and train them for jobs. Kodak’s resistance to the proposal resulted in a series of frustrating meetings over the next few months.³¹ By November, Rev. Florence was publicly threatening Kodak by stating he would make Rochester “the Selma of the North” if they continued their unmovable stance.³²

Parris’ study of Bishop Barrett’s role in the FIGHT-Kodak conflict showed that the Episcopal Church was heavily involved in both sides of the debate. She notes that many Kodak employees were members of the Episcopal Church. Bishop Barrett was personally acquainted with Kodak president William Vaughn but never regarded it as being “a big issue.”³³ On the other hand, “Edward Curtis, former Sr. Warden for St. Paul’s Church noted that many of the major decisions were made on East Avenue during coffee hour. . . . During the time period mentioned, a number of key people were members of elite congregations in the Episcopal Church, including a significant number of board members of Kodak. Many of them publicized that they had a conflict of interest in their membership and stewardship with their denomination, and these conflicts were reflected in their fiscal stewardship.”³⁴

The conflict crested in December, when Kodak Vice President John Mulder, who was tagged as “a man with civil rights sympathies” by Business Week when it reported the story, was designated by Kodak President Vaughn to handle the subsequent meetings with FIGHT.³⁵ Out of those sessions came an agreement that the company would hire 600 people over a 24-month period. The bulk - hardcore and unemployed – were all referred by FIGHT, who would provide counseling for those employees at its own expense.³⁶ Neither expecting nor liking the resulting document, Kodak’s “top management decided to declare the agreement unauthorized” on the basis that Mulder had exceeded his authority to make such a pact.³⁷ Rev. Florence saw only a broken agreement, calling Kodak “institutionally racist.”³⁸

FIGHT and the Episcopal Diocese. With no viable agreement, Bishop Barrett and the national Episcopal Church were both coming under mounting pressure to disavow their support, especially financial, of FIGHT. Although it had been initially hoped that FIGHT would be self-funding by the third year, the organization sought \$35,000, including \$5,000 from Episcopal Diocese and an equal amount from the national church’s United Thank Offering. Bishop Barrett then created a study committee to advise him in the matter. Spending 145 hours at its task, the Committee to Assess FIGHT “interviewed 45 persons, including city and county officials, directors of settlement houses, and social agencies and industrial leaders, of which 30 opposed additional funding, six expressed no opinion and nine voted support. It had 68 letters from clergy and laity of the diocese, the majority of whom indicated ‘willingness to help’ the poor but through agencies other than FIGHT.”³⁹

Two of those representative letters, located in the Rochester Episcopal Diocese Archives, both from members of St. Paul’s Church, reveal an awareness of existing injustices yet also minds

that were open to change to varying degrees. One excerpted letter in favor of continued financial support came from Ruth Atwater: "I hope you will not judge the following as an opinion of a minority group or as one arrived at by emotion only. The concern of the church in social change has been dormant for many years, [e]specially the Episcopal Church, which enjoys a membership of the affluent and powerful middle and upper class. In many areas the church has become a closed society where the less well-off members are segregated. We have these kinds of churches in Rochester in the white community as well as in the Negro community. I believed, before joining the committee, and still do, that it is necessary to have help from the outside. Whether it is Rochester or any other city, I do not believe they can be objective about the situation. Be it IAF or any other organization, to be effective it must use tactics the community will dislike. The majority of people interviewed have referred many times that they did not like the tactics Alinsky uses. It may seem fantastic, but we the white community have used some pretty potent ammunition for the last 150 years. What can be more devastating than destroying the humanity of his fellow man . . .? I believe that FIGHT has followed its proposed goals to agitate, be abrasive, and attack organizations and individuals. The apathy has been shaken and the power-structure riled."⁴⁰

One that was opposed to further Diocesan support was from Howard Cunningham, who could not abide FIGHT's tactics but still found himself becoming attuned to its message in this excerpt: "We are to consider the effect on the church's mission if our support of FIGHT is to be continued or terminated. I presume this means the mission of the Episcopal Church in respect to community social, poverty and racial problems. I must admit that I haven't been aware of our church feeling that it has had a mission – other than Canon Simpkins – in these areas. Perhaps the FIGHT activities have awakened us to the fact that we should have. Perhaps, too, Bishop Barrett is awakening us to that fact. If so, and we find ways to contribute to the solution, I would think it might be better thru cooperation with existing agencies and not FIGHT. I don't see how, with a clear conscience, we can subscribe to FIGHT-tactics. I believe the presence or absence of FIGHT means little to our church's mission in the community. The degree to which it might help is offset by the harm it does."⁴¹

Before the vote was taken at the Diocesan Convention in Rochester in May, members of the FIGHT board, which held some shares of Kodak stock, tussled with Kodak leaders on April 25, 1967 in Flemington, New Jersey, at the company's Annual Meeting. FIGHT was represented by Minister Florence as well as Father Simpkins, plus busloads of protestors from Rochester, who had come to picket the meeting and show the stockholders some of the actual players in the dispute. Also, there, holding 5,614 shares of stock were representatives of the Executive Council, the governing board of the U.S. Episcopal Church. "As opposed to the usual policy of mailing in its proxy, the Episcopal Church sent two representatives to the stockholder's meeting, the Vice President of the House of Bishops and the Vice President of the House of Deputies."⁴² Just before this gathering, the Presiding Bishop, the Right Rev. John Hines, along with Bishop Barrett had met with Harmar Brereton, a member of St. Paul's in Rochester, who was also the Vice President and General Counsel of Kodak. Parris makes the point that, "'As far as my research shows,'" Parris states, "'this was the only such meeting of Kodak with a religious denomination, which stresses the connection between the Episcopal Church and Kodak'."⁴³

On that April day, "As soon as Vaughn gaveled the meeting to order, Min. Florence called for a point of order and questioned the dismissal of the December agreement, saying that he would return to the mike at 2:00 p.m. At that time, Florence called for a point of order and demanded an answer. Vaughn stated that the company would not give in to the demands. Florence left the meeting and threatened a march on the anniversary of the July 1964 riots. The Episcopal

Church representatives voted their proxies in favor of management by accepting the Board of Directors as slated.”⁴⁴

When the Rochester Diocese met in Convention on May 6, 1967, it voted by a very clear vote of 141 to 49 to give FIGHT a \$5,000 donation for a third and final year, but on a voluntary basis rather than as part of the diocesan program budget.⁴⁵ The additional \$5,000 donation that had been sought by FIGHT from the United Thank Offering, was also approved but by a closer vote of 98 to 77. Two quotes from this convention clearly reveal the degree of division that the Episcopal Church in Rochester was experiencing: Kodak General Counsel Brereton stated that “The FIGHT organization has created divisiveness in Monroe County beyond comprehension . . .”⁴⁶ The opposite view was offered by Canon Simpkins: “When you object to the tactics of FIGHT, you as whites do not understand why the Negro community needs FIGHT . . .”⁴⁷

Until the vote had been counted, Bishop Barrett, previously recognized as a champion of the church’s support of the downtrodden, had said nothing regarding his position on continuing to fund FIGHT. At the convention, he urged continued support, but it was his silence until then that garnered public criticism from Father Simpkins, who besides being the rector of St. Simon’s was the diocese’s Canon for Inner City Work. After first meeting with the Bishop, Father Simpkins said, “To dilute or to attempt to rearrange our role in this grave matter places us, as a church, in a most untenable position. The principles involved in this entire controversy demand that we take a stand – be it positive or negative.”⁴⁸ According to Parris, the Bishop had been “working behind the scenes with members from the Pundit Club [a bastion of the White establishment in Rochester] . . . [and privately] began to informally discuss alternatives to FIGHT with various civic and business leaders he knew, in an attempt to understand all sides of the debate. . . . While he agreed with FIGHT’s motives, he disagreed with some of their methods. But he also wanted to address the outstanding issues of black unemployment and other related issues.”⁴⁹ His Pastoral Letter in January 1967 had not explained his alternative efforts to FIGHT, which is why leaders such as Canon Simpkins had reacted as they had.⁵⁰ Quote within quote?

The Aftermath. By the next month, William Vaughn was out as Kodak’s President (promoted to Chairman) and Executive Vice-President Louis Eilers became the President. Eilers then recognized FIGHT as “‘a broad-based community organization’ and saying that the newly-created Rochester Jobs, Inc. ‘promises to be an effective way of providing job opportunities for the hard-core unemployed.’”⁵¹ Something, perhaps public opinion, perhaps new insight among its executives, led Kodak to back away from its previous stance. Rochester Jobs Inc. (RJI) was said to have come about after the Bureau of Municipal Research’s report (Study of the Unemployed) “reinforced FIGHT’s argument about discrimination and disproportionate hiring practices by Rochester area businesses,”⁵² An informal group of civic and business leaders, including Bishop Barrett and representatives from FIGHT had been meeting at the Colgate Rochester Divinity School in the first half of 1967 to create what was announced that June as RJI with a commitment “to train and employ 1,500 hard-core unemployed that FIGHT and other agencies would recruit.”⁵³ Actually they did much better than that. In the ten-year period between 1968 and 1978, about 12,000 people were placed in entry-level positions.⁵⁴ In 2013, blacks composed 9.4 percent of Kodak’s U.S. workforce and Hispanics accounted for 8 percent.⁵⁵

FIGHT continued on. Bernard Gifford served as its President from June 1969 until April 1971 when Raymond Scott, Gifford’s Vice President, took over, serving until 1976. Working with Xerox Corporation in June 1968 FIGHT created FIGHTON, a community development

corporation (CDC), one of the first of its era which “would become a model for CDCs across the United States.”⁵⁶ DeLeon McEwen, briefly President of FIGHT between Rev. Florence’s terms, became FIGHTON’s first President. The company, which manufactures power supplies, metal stampings and vacuum cleaners, started with almost a half-million-dollar grant from the U.S. Dept. of Labor to train the hardcore unemployed with a Small Business Administration guaranteed loan from a Rochester bank. What really set the company on a path to success was “a pledge from Xerox to buy \$400,000 in products from FIGHTON in its first year and upwards of \$700,000 in purchases each year through 1972.”⁵⁷ Calling this agreement a ‘Marshall Plan’ for the ghetto, McEwen “noted it was the first such agreement in the nation between a major corporation and a militant community organization.”⁵⁸ By 1976, the company’s new CEO, Matthew Augustine, an African-American graduate of the Harvard Business School, reorganized the company, and in 1977 changed its name to Eltrex, which continues to this day.

The largely-white organization, Friends of FIGHT, which had an uneasy relationship with FIGHT, the result of conflicts over the 1967 battle with Kodak, changed its name to Metro-Act in 1968. It became “an umbrella organization drawing numerous neighborhood associations and other groups into a united front on varied metropolitan problems . . . , combating the red-lining practices of some banks and real estate agencies and endeavoring to promote open housing in all city and suburban neighborhoods.”⁵⁹ Bishop Barrett left Rochester in 1969, followed by the Rt. Rev. Robert Rae Spears, who served from 1970 until 1984.

During Rochester’s tumultuous years of the mid- to late-1960s, the Episcopal Diocese played a significant role in finding ways to battle the city’s entrenched racism. In its support of FIGHT’s goal of securing jobs for hardcore unemployed blacks, the church’s own paternalistic practices, some subtle, some overt, became evident to an increasing number of its members. In 1971, the Rochester Diocese formed the first Episcopal Anti-Racism Task Force in the U.S., to fight diocesan institutional racism. The pace has been glacial at times with missteps and detours, but none can deny that the diocese is journeying along the road to racial reconciliation.

EDOR and Rural and Migrant Ministry Timeline

Rural and Migrant Ministry, Inc. (RMM) acts to overcome the prejudices and poverty that degrade and debilitate all members of our society. It serves as an interfaith organization whose members believe that inspiration comes from participation in the creation of a just world. At the onset of ministries for migrant workers in the 1960s, workers were primarily blacks from the Southern states. Prior to 2010, farmworkers were excluded from the basic labor law protections that the rest have had, including such rights as a day of rest per week, overtime pay, disability insurance, and collective bargaining rights. Today, migrant workers are a mixture of Hispanic and Afro-Caribbean with a diminished number of African Americans. The change toward mostly Hispanics began in the 1990s.

Year	Key Event for Migrant Workers Western New York State
1960s	Fr. George Exley-Stiegler developed migrant ministries with black and Hispanic farm workers while serving as priest at St. Luke's, Brockport, New York.
Summer 1975	Three Eucharistic services and multiple Bible-study sessions in Spanish were held at a migrant labor camp outside of Brockport by Fr. Exley-Stiegler.
1976 New Year's Day	Fr. Exley-Stiegler led the first Eucharist in Spanish at Calvary, St. Andrew's. He continued to lead Spanish-language services there for three years on Sunday afternoons.
1976	Fr. George Exley-Stiegler, along with two other clergy, formed the Rochester Interfaith Jail Ministry at Monroe County Jail. He served as pastor to many Spanish speaking people in this role.
1989	Brockport Ecumenical Outreach Committee (BEOC) formed with St. Luke's, Brockport as a founding member with support from Episcopal Diocese of Rochester (EDOR).
1990	BEOC Clothing Center opened in the basement of St. Luke's, Brockport with the help of EDOR funding. It was created specially to meet clothing and bedding needs of migrant farmworkers, although all in need are served.
1996 to <u>Present</u>	Farm Worker Advocacy Day in Albany was founded. Many Diocesan clergy and congregants travel to Albany each year to stand with farm workers as they present their plea for equity to Senate and Assembly legislators.
1999	A second grant provided by the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester enabled the BEOC Clothing Center to triple in size.
2000	Diocesan Council approved a resolution from the Committee on Public Policy urging state legislators to support passage of the Farm Work Fair Labor Practices Act, calling for equity for farm workers. The resolution also praised legislators for passing a bill providing the same minimum wage standard for farm workers.
2001	Diocesan Resolution to initiate ministry of advocacy and empowerment with Rural and Migrant Ministry within rural areas of the Rochester Diocese was passed.

2001	EDOR grant enables BEOC to highlight local farms and farm workers through a presentation of pictures and stories of three farms and some of their farm workers in local grocery stores.
2002	St. Luke's, Brockport provided office space for both Rural and Migrant Ministry (RMM) and CITA (Center for Independent Agricultural Workers).
2003	Diocesan Convention: <i>Resolved</i> , that this 72 nd Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester request the Bishop appoint a task force to explore, structure and plan how the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester might enter into a covenanting relationship with Rural and Migrant Ministry and what that relationship would mean at both parish and diocesan levels, using diocesan Mission Objectives as a guide in the process.
2003	Kick-off event held at St. Luke's, Brockport for the 330-mile Farm Worker March to Albany was backed by the Diocese.
2004	Convention approved task force recommendation for a covenant relationship with Rural and Migrant Ministry for a period of five years and remains in effect today.
2004	Diocesan grant to BEOC enabled the informative sharing of both cultural meaning and activities of the Day of the Dead at the Brockport Farmers Market on the last day in October.
2005	A March in the Rain from Albion to St. Luke's Brockport supported the Farm Worker Fair Labor Practices Act in Committee of the Senate in Albany.
2005	Liturgia, an education center run by Rural and Migrant Ministry in the old rectory of Grace Church, Lyons New York, sought to improve working and living conditions for rural workers and farmworkers; funded through the generosity of EDOR.
2007	RMM with support of St. Mark's Newark, Grace Church Lyons, and St. John's Sodus offered a two-week Leadership camp to children of farmworkers. The program served 20-30 children of farmworkers, aged 9-13.
2008	Rolfi Alevo and Jim Schmit brought workers together to initiate steering committee and set an agenda for Liturgia programs.
2011 to 2015	RMM offered Alternative Spring Break to students from Vassar, NYU, Cornell, Ithaca, Harvard, Oneonta, and Hobart William Smith to learn about issues of farm workers and their families.
2014	RMM with support from St. John's Sodus and Grace Church Lyons hosted dinners for Hispanic and Haitian workers.
2015	RMM, St. John's Sodus, and the St. Martin's Lutheran Church Webster celebrated "Twelfth Nite" with a bilingual service led by Fr. Andrew D'Angio-White
2015	RMM and Gates Presbyterian Church hosted Fiesta for Jamaican and Haitian workers to build relationships with this community.

TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS

(In American & Episcopal Church History and in New York State & the City of Rochester History)

Key National Events in Episcopal and U.S. History	Year	Key Events in New York State or Rochester and Its Surrounding Area
Doctrine of Discovery, an international law concept, enables countries to claim land whose people were not subject to a European Christian monarch. Later used by U.S. Supreme Court (especially in 1823) to justify taking Native-American lands.	15 th to 18 th centuries	
First slaves arrive at Jamestown, Virginia, part of estimated 9.4 to 12 million slaves in New World from 15 th to 19 th centuries.	1619	
Massachusetts is first of the original 13 British colonies to legalize slavery.	1641	
	1664	British colony of New York legalizes slavery.
	1702 to 1712	New York passes several laws regulating slaves, including death penalty for killing whites and prohibiting freed blacks, mulatto slaves and Indians from holding property.
In Pennsylvania, Quakers forbid its members to own slaves or be part of the slave trade.	1758	
	1760	Jupiter Hammon, enslaved his entire life to the Lloyd family on Long Island, becomes first black poet published in America.
Escaped slave Crispus Attucks is killed by British soldiers, one of the first to die in so-called Boston Massacre.	1770	
Black Minutemen are part of the battles of colonist and British troops at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts.	1775	
During American Revolution, the Episcopal Church emerges from the Anglican church as its own jurisdiction.	1776 to 1783	
Vermont is first of the 13 colonies to abolish slavery & enfranchise all adult males.	1777	New York enfranchises all free propertied men regardless of color or previous servitude.
Samuel Seabury consecrated first American Episcopal Bishop by Scottish Bishops.	1784	Fort Stanwix Treaty between the U.S. and the Six Nations secures tribal lands in NY but ends their land claims to the Ohio territory.
	1785	New York passes a gradual emancipation law & prohibits the importation of slaves.
	1785	Diocese of New York (entire state) formed.
The Northwest Ordinance forbids slavery except as criminal punishment in the Northwest Territory.	1787	

Key National Events in Episcopal and U.S. History	Year	Key Events in New York State or Rochester and Its Surrounding Area
U.S. Constitution reckons slaves as 3/5 of a person for taxation and congressional representation.	1788	New York passes a new comprehensive slave law stating that all current slaves are slaves for life.
Protestant Episcopal Church in the US established; First General Convention held in Philadelphia.	1789	
Eli Whitney receives a patent for the cotton gin which boosts cotton production and bolsters the need for more slaves.	1793	
St. Thomas Episcopal, first church in America for blacks organized by Absalom Jones and others in Philadelphia.	1794	The Treaty of Canandaigua establishes peace between the U.S. and the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.
	1797	The Treaty of Big Tree between Seneca nation and the U.S. opened the territory west of the Genesee River for settlement and created 10 reservations for the Seneca in western NY.
	1799	NYS passed a gradual emancipation act that freed slave children born after July 4, 1799 but indentured them until they were young adults. NY next-to-last original state to outlaw slavery.
Congress prohibits U.S. citizens from exporting slaves.	1800	
	1803	Nathaniel Rochester with 2 partners, purchases 100-acre tract along Genesee River. In 1811, Rochesterville (Rochester in 1823) is founded.
Absalom Jones becomes first African-American ordained as a priest in the Episcopal Church. He is later listed on the Episcopal calendar of saints.	1804	
U.S. Constitution mandated end of the American slave trade as of January 1 st but it continued illegally for years.	1808	
	1817	NYS passes law that frees slaves born before 1799 but it will not take effect until 1827.
	1817	St. Luke's, first Episcopal church in Rochester, is founded on land donated by Nathaniel Rochester who obtained part of his wealth from participation in the slave trade.
	1817	Freed slave Austin Steward opens a meat market; Rochester's first black businessman
	1818	Year of Frederick Douglass' probable birth; he escapes slavery 1838 and goes to NYC.
	1825	Erie Canal opens and makes Rochester America's first "Boom Town".

	1835	A.M.E. Zion Church and school founded in Rochester by Thomas James for ministry to blacks and to teach them to read the Bible.
	1835	Rochester petition to U.S. Congress to abolish slavery in Wash. DC signed by 200 plus residents including Mayor Jonathan Child, Episcopalian.
	1838	Diocese of Western New York is formed on November 1 which includes Rochester.
In 1841, U.S. Supreme Court declares the slaves on the Amistad are free to return to Africa.	1839 to 1841	In 1839, Blacks take control of the slave ship, Amistad, & land on Long Island; legal challenges ensue to save them from slavery & likely death.
	1847	Frederick Douglass moves to Rochester & begins publication of abolitionist paper, The North Star, in Rochester at A.M.E. Zion Church.
Address to the Colored People of the United States by Frederick Douglass (Cincinnati OH).	1848	1st Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls; Frederick Douglass attends.
Compromise of 1850 relieves political tensions but enacts a fugitive slave law detested in northern states.	1850	Rochester is a major station on the Underground Railroad for escaped slaves seeking sanctuary in Canada.
Harriet Tubman escapes slavery in 1849 & returns to South about 20 times helping over 70 blacks to escape slavery; after Civil War lived in Auburn NY helping the destitute	1850	School No. 13 on east side is Rochester's first desegregated school.
Harriet Stowe's novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, which shows the humanity of enslaved Africans, published & becomes a best-seller.	1852	At Corinthian Hall, Frederick Douglass gives his most famous speech, on the meaning of 4th of July from the slave's point of view.
	1853	National Negro Convention (aka: Colored National Convention), to promote unity and equality, is held in Rochester
Protestant Episcopal Society for Promoting the Extension of the Church Among Colored People, earliest known national group of black Episcopalians forms by James T. Holly.	1856	
U.S. Supreme Court's Dred Scott case denies citizenship to slaves, ex-slaves and descendants of slaves and denies Congress the right to prohibit slavery in territories.	1857	All of Rochester's public schools are officially desegregated after years of fighting for this by Frederick Douglass.
John Brown leads attack on federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, VA; caught, he is hanged and deemed a martyr for abolitionism.	1859	
On eve of Civil War, economic value of U.S. slaves put at \$3 billion (in 1860 currency).	1860	Due to its financial role in the South's cotton trade, NYC becomes a major metropolis; from 1830 to 1860, NYC is world's top port for outfitting slave ships (illegal in US at the time).
U.S. Civil War tears apart nation; about 200,000 blacks (free men and former slaves) serve in the Union Army and Navy.	1861 to 1865	

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation issued; it only frees slaves in areas in rebellion not in states still loyal to the Union.	1863	Frederick Douglass is received by President Lincoln at White House, the first time a black man enters there other than as a servant.
13th amendment to U.S. Constitution abolishes slavery throughout the nation.	1865	
Reconstruction era supports black civil rights but reforms soon fade; segregation of races begins under "Jim Crow" laws in America.	1865 to 1877	
James Theodore Holly becomes 1 st African-American Bishop in Episcopal Church; becomes missionary bishop in Haiti.	1874	
First African American delegates (from TX & FL) attend General Convention in Chicago.	1884	
Episcopal Church establishes Church Commission for Work Among Colored People (CCWACP) for southern blacks.	1885	
Frederick Douglass, 77, dies of heart attack in Wash. DC where he lived after leaving Rochester in 1872.	1895	
U.S. Supreme Court in Plessy vs. Ferguson upholds state laws that require racial segregation in public facilities under the doctrine of "separate but equal".	1896	
	1898	Statue of Frederick Douglass erected in Rochester, the first monument to a black man in the U.S. It now stands in Highland Park.
	1902	Rochester has its 2 nd African-American church with founding of Trinity Presbyterian Church.
Episcopal Church forms American Church Institute for Negroes (ACIN) which adopts a racially paternalistic approach to its schools which taught religion and vocational skills.	1906	
Canon law amended to permit election of Suffragan Bishops without mention of color.	1910	Mt. Olivet Baptist Church becomes Rochester's third black church; The Dorsey Home for Dependent Colored Children opened in Rochester by Isabella Dorsey (Mother Dorsey).
	1910	<i>A Theology of the Social Gospel</i> written by Rochester-born Walter Rauschenbusch who long-worked in Harlem in New York City.
General Convention adopts first church-wide anti-lynching resolution.	1919	
	1922	St. Simon of Cyrene, an Episcopal mission church forms in Rochester as the city's 4 th church with a ministry towards African-Americans. Until it builds its own church, St. Simon's permitted to meet at white churches only when the building is not in use for whites.

	1927	Fr. Frank Louis Brown is called as vicar at St. Simon's where he will remain until 1945.
	1931	Diocese of Rochester created in December as a separate entity from Diocese of Western NY.
	1935	St. Simon's completes construction of its building which opens debt-free.
	1947	Fr. Quintin E. Primo Jr. becomes vicar (later Rector) of St. Simon's Church. He remains until 1963; later became a Bishop elsewhere.
U.S. Military ends segregation of races in the armed forces as official policy.	1948	
General Convention of Episcopal Church adopts resolution opposing racial discrimination in every form.	1952	
U.S. Supreme Court case, Brown vs. Board of Education, ends racial segregation in public education but does not overturn the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision in full.	1954	
Civil Rights Era sees non-violent protests by blacks & white supporters largely in the South seeking to end segregation practices and to ensure full legal rights.	1955 to 1970	
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU) founded to establish total participation in the church regardless of race, class or national origin; ends in 1970.	1959	
	1960	St. Simon's becomes a Church with its own rector, ending its long status as a mission.
General Convention declares past and present racial discrimination in the church to be inconsistent with the Gospel.	1961	Constance Mitchell becomes first Black and first woman elected to the Monroe County Board of Supervisors (now: Monroe County Legislature).
John M. Burgess elected first black Suffragan Bishop (in Diocese of Massachusetts).	1962	In early 1960s, Fr. George Exley-Stiegler while at St. Luke's, Brockport, developed migrant ministries for black & Hispanic farm workers.
General Convention adopts policy prohibiting racial discrimination in churches; Martin Luther King, Jr. speaks at General Convention & wins 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.	1964	Fr. St. Julian Aaron Simpkins Jr., becomes Rector of St. Simon's. He will remain until his passing in 1983. He begins serving as Canon of Inner City Work (thru 1969) -- 1 st black on Diocesan staff.
Congress passes Civil Rights Act of 1964 that outlaws discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.	1964	Three days of rioting envelop Rochester in July which forces the city to begin to address racial and economic issues it had long-ignored.
Congress passes Voting Rights Act of 1965 prohibits racial discrimination in voting.	1965	FIGHT forms on April 6 with financial support from the Rochester Area Council of Churches. Fr. Simpkins is its first executive vice president.
The ESCRU charges Episcopal Church with heresy for its continued racism.	1966	

Black Episcopalian Thurgood Marshall appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court as its first African-American Justice.	1967	
1967 General Convention creates a General Convention Special Program to respond to the poverty and injustice in urban ghettos.	1967	FIGHT's focus on jobs for hardcore unemployed blacks leads to confrontation with Eastman Kodak that polarizes Rochester and churches.
Union of Black Clergy and Laity formed. In 1971 called Union of Black Episcopalians.	1968	
John M. Burgess becomes first African-American consecrated as a Diocesan Bishop in Episcopal Church (in Massachusetts).	1970	
	1971	Diocese of Rochester creates first Episcopal Anti-Racism Task Force in the U.S. to fight diocesan institutional racism. It disbands in 1975.
	1975	Ronald Good is first African-American man elected to the Rochester City Council.
Layman Dr. Charles Lawrence II is first African-American elected as President of the House of Deputies (served until 1985).	1976	Fr. George Exley-Stiegler & 2 other clergy form Rochester Interfaith Jail Ministry at Monroe County Jail & Correctional Facilities.
	1977	Ruth H. Scott is first African-American woman elected to the Rochester City Council. She became its President in 1986.
	1987	St. Luke's Church mergers with St. Simon's to form the Episcopal Church of St. Luke and St. Simon Cyrene, aka Two Saints.
Frederick Douglass' home, Cedar Hill, in Wash. DC, becomes National Historic Site.	1988	
Barbara Harris becomes first black woman consecrated as a Suffragan Bishop in the Episcopal church (in diocese of Mass.).	1989	Brockport Ecumenical Outreach Committee formed with Diocesan support. St. Luke's started Clothing Center for migrant farm workers and others the following year.
	1993	William A. Johnson, Jr. Rochester's first African-American mayor. Served three terms until 2005.
"The Sin of Racism: A Pastoral letter" issued by House of Bishops of Episcopal Church.	1994	
General Convention of the Episcopal Church Resolution B049 mandates anti-racism training for lay and ordained leadership of the Episcopal Church.	2000	Diocesan Council resolution urging NY state legislators to support Farm Work Fair Labor Practices Act approved. Legislators thanked for passing bill giving farm workers minimum wage.
	2001	Resolution passed for ministry of advocacy and empowerment with Rural and Migrant Ministry within rural areas of the Rochester Diocese.

National Convention, Resolution A123 said slavery was and is a sin, one in which the church profoundly regretted its involvement and in subsequent discriminatory practices.	2006	
	2008	“The Diocese of New York Examines Slavery: Talk About Reparations, Repair and Reconciliation”, a DVD, is released by the Episcopal Diocese of NY.
	2008	Resolution C adopted at Episcopal Diocese of Rochester Convention calls for mandated eight-hours Anti-Racism Training in 2009 for clergy and elected lay leaders of the Diocese.
National Convention Resolution A128 called for examining the impact of the Doctrine of Discovery on all people, especially relating to subsequent discriminatory practices.	2012	Resolution G at 81 st Convention of Episcopal Diocese of Rochester recommits to Anti-Racism Repentance.
African-American, The Rt. Rev. Michael Curry, Bishop of North Carolina, is elected Presiding Bishop on the first ballot.	2015	Service of Repentance for Racism held at the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester Convention.

¹ Cheryl A.E. Parris, “Bishop George Barrett’s Role in the FIGHT-KODAK Conflict: An Examination of Episcopal Authority and Social Justice,” (master’s thesis, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School/Bexley Hall Seminary, 2000), 56.

² Ibid., 57.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ James Goodman, “Three Days That Shook Rochester,” *The Democrat & Chronicle*, July 20, 2014.

⁶ Mark Hare, “Rochester’s Builder of Bridges,” *City Newspaper*, February 24, 1983.

⁷ Goodman, “Three Days”.

⁸ “Rochester Race Riot Papers 1964-1966”, *University of Rochester River Campus Libraries website*, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=1097>, accessed 10 March 2015.

⁹ Parris, “Barrett’s Role,” 88 & 89.

¹⁰ “Interview with Saul Alinsky – Part 12 – Saul Alinsky on The Struggle with Eastman Kodak,” 31 December 2003, *The Progress Report website*, <http://www.progress.org/tpr/saul-alinsky-on-the-struggle-with-eastman-kodak/>, accessed 10 March 2010.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² “Franklin Florence Papers, 1962-1972,” *University of Rochester River Campus Libraries website*, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=882>, accessed 3/10/2015.

¹³ Timothy 1st, Chapter 6, Line 12, The New Testament

¹⁴ The tactics and principles Saul Alinsky espoused were subsequently summarized in, Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals (Vintage Books, 1971).

¹⁵ Parris, “Barrett’s Role,” 90 & 91.

¹⁶ Ibid. 91.

¹⁷ Ibid., 91 & 92.

¹⁸ Ibid. 91.

¹⁹ Ibid., 44.

²⁰ “Georgiana Farr Sibley (1887-1980)”, *Friends of Mount Hope Cemetery website*, <http://www.fomh.org/Data/Documents/GeorgianaFarrSibley.pdf>, accessed 12 March 2015, 6.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Parris, “Barrett’s Role,” 104 – 106.

²³ Ibid., 103.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 104-106.

- ²⁶ "The Fight that Swirls Around Eastman Kodak," *Business Week*, April 29, 1967, 40.
- ²⁷ Parris, "Barrett's Role," 106.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 107.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 107 & 108.
- ³⁰ "Kodak", *Business Week*, 39.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Parris, "Barrett's Role," 108.
- ³³ Ibid, 109.
- ³⁴ Ibid., 108 & 109.
- ³⁵ "Kodak", *Business Week*, 40.
- ³⁶ Letter dated December 20, 1966, signed by John Mulder and Franklin Florence, summarizing the agreement that they had reached, a copy found in the Rochester Episcopal Diocesan Archives, December 9, 2013.
- ³⁷ "Kodak," *Business Week*, 40.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ "FIGHT Funding Gets Support," *The Times-Union*, April 18, 1967, 4B.
- ⁴⁰ Ruth Atwater, Letter to Rev. William Williams, Chairman, Committee to Asses FIGHT, March 1967, unpagged.
- ⁴¹ Howard Cunningham, Letter to Rev. William Williams, Chairman, Committee to Asses FIGHT, March 27, 1967, 3.
- ⁴² Parris, "Barrett's Role," 112.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 113.
- ⁴⁵ Mary McKee, "FIGHT Funds Voted," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 7, 1967, 1B.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Chris Lavin, "The Rev. Simpkins; 'Saw the needs of the people'", *Times-Union*, February 13, 1983, 5B
- ⁴⁹ Parris, "Barrett's Role," 110-111.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ James Goodman and Brian Sharp, "Riots Spawned FIGHT, Other Community Efforts", *Democrat & Chronicle*, 20 July 2014, 21A
- ⁵² Parris, "Barrett's Role," 120-121.
- ⁵³ Ibid, 120-122.
- ⁵⁴ "Constance Mitchell," Rochester Black Freedom Struggle Online Project, July 12, 2008, *University of Rochester Library* website, http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=4495&Print=17#_ednref12, accessed 24 March 2015.
- ⁵⁵ Goodman and Sharp, "Riots Spawned FIGHT", 21A.
- ⁵⁶ Abstract for Laura Hill, "A Social Experiment: FIGHTON, Corporate Responsibility, and the Development of CDCs Rochester, NY, 1965-1975", *All Academic Research* website, http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/3/7/8/8/5/p378859_index.html, accessed 3/24/2015.
- ⁵⁷ "Xerox Opens a Market to 'Community Capitalism'," *Black Enterprise*, September 1970, 43.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Blake McKelvey, *Rochester on the Genesee; The Growth of a City*, Second edition, (Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 1983), 271.

Education - Challenges Facing Rochester

As a booster for regional economic development, the Greater Rochester Enterprise website's page on "Education" is impressive: "The Greater Rochester, NY Region is home to 17 exceptional colleges and universities with more than 86,000 students and 19,000 graduates per year. Our colleges and universities attract some of the best minds in the country, and we have the jaw-dropping R&D resources that make other communities envious. Each of these institutions provides unsurpassed learning opportunities. *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report* consistently rank many of Rochester's public high schools among the best in the nation. *The Daily Beast* also recognized Rochester as one of the top ten smartest cities based on the education attainment levels of our workforce as well as our intellectual environment. With our brains and impressive assets, you're sure to succeed. . . . In addition to the high quality of education, the local workforce is highly-skilled and productive. More than 90% have a high school degree or equivalent, and more than 62% have some college education. Employers also give the local workforce high marks for work ethic, productivity compared to other company locations, and punctuality."¹ This is one view of the contribution made by education in the Rochester area. There are other truths about education and race, ones that need to be heard.

The Schott Foundation for Public Education has been conducting surveys for about 15 years focusing on education concerns for African-American high school students, and especially black males who were judged to be more at risk for failure in public school systems. Their 2015 survey, Black Lives Matter, continued their ongoing series examining public education in the 50 states. Among its findings: "The graduation gap between Black and White males has widened, increasing from 19 percentage points in school year 2009-10 to 21 percentage points in 2012-13. Black males continue to be both pushed out and locked out of opportunities for academic achievement, including notable disparities in their enrollment in Advanced Placement courses and participation in Gifted and Talented programming. Furthermore, Black students were more likely to be classified as students with disabilities and were more likely to be suspended or expelled from school. These trends persisted at the national level as well as when analyzing data for individual states."² The national high school graduation rate for black males for the 2012-2013 cohort is 59%.³ Compare that finding with the 2005/2006 cohort when "only 47 percent of America's Black males were graduating from high school."⁴ Clearly, some improvement is evident at the national level.

Drilling down to the state level, for New York State, the numbers are grimmer but not without hope. For the 2001/2002 school year, only 30% of black males received diplomas with their cohorts at the end of 12th grade, compared to 70% of white males for a white/black gap of 40%, according to Schott's 2005 study.⁵ Examining graduation rates in its July 2008 study for the 2005/2006 cohort, Schott found New York State saw some improvement with 39% of its black males graduating compared to 75% of its white males. The gap had lessened to just 37%.⁶ For the 2012/2013 cohort, New York State's graduation rate for black males was up to 57% and 85% for its white males making the gap just 28%.⁷ In this eleven-year period, the graduation rate for black males in NYS had nearly doubled, though it is still 2% below the national rate by Schott's reckoning.

Graduation rates, however, only offer a partial picture. In 2009, with its report, Lost Opportunity, Schott introduced its Opportunity to Learn Index (OTLI), which is composed of four core measures: high quality early childhood education; highly effective teachers; well-funded instructional materials; and college preparatory curriculum. Schott determined that “nationally, students from historically disadvantaged groups have just a 51 percent Opportunity to Learn, when compared to White, non-Latino students, as measured by the OTLI.”⁸ Looking at individual states, the report found that “New York State accounts for 15 percent of the nation’s Opportunity to Learn inequity impact” and its “share of the economic impact of inequity is nearly three times its percentage of the national population”⁹ In a ranking of the 50 states and the District of Columbia, New York finishes dead last — 51st, its Blacks and Latinos scoring just 25% each on the Schott Opportunity Index.¹⁰ When examined against OTLI’s four components, New York scores wildly differ. It ranks 1st for well-funded instructional materials; 8th for early childhood education; 41st for college preparatory curriculum; and 43rd for highly effective teachers.¹¹ Clearly NYS education money wasn’t used in 2008 as effectively as NYS thought.

What about Rochester public high schools? In 2005, Schott’s study, Public Education and Black Male Students: A State Report Card, included data for Rochester, finding that only 26% of black males graduated compared to 44% of white males. Although the racial gap was much less at just 19%, it is doubtful that anyone would consider it an improvement over the state numbers.¹² In July 2008, Schott was back with, Given Half a Chance: The Schott 50 State Report on Public

Education and Black Males,¹³ Rochester saw a small uptick in the graduation rate of its black males (an estimated 29%), though the graduation rate of its white males significantly fell to an estimated 36%. Unfortunately, in Schott’s latest report, 2015’s Black Lives Matter, the numbers for Rochester’s 2011/2012 cohort shows just 21% of black males graduating (and 38% of its white males as well), for a black/white gap of only 17%.

Michael Holzman, who had been one of the authors of Schott’s 2004 report on black male students, authored an article that appeared in the summer of 2014 on the *Dropout Nation* website, did more than just suggesting that notion. “The Rochester City School District enrolls just under 30,000 students, 61 percent of whom are African American and 25 percent of whom are Latino. [There are approximately 10,000 school-aged white residents of the city; two-thirds of whom are not enrolled in the city’s public schools.] Eighty-five percent of the district’s students are listed as “economically disadvantaged.”¹⁴ Among the article’s many measures that evaluated the effectiveness of Rochester schools was the New York State Dept. of Education’s “‘Aspirational Performance Measure,’ in effect, its judgment of whether students are well-prepared for careers and college. The state judged 5.1 percent of Rochester graduates in June 2013 as satisfying this measure. The percentage of black students was 2.9 percent.”¹⁵

Holzman looked at reading skills. “Statewide, 31 percent of New York students reach the National Assessment of Educational Progress Proficient (grade level) status in eighth grade reading, and four percent reach the Advanced level. White students score at Proficient or above 46 percent of the time; black New York State students reach Proficient or above 18

percent of the time. The New York State Department of Education believes that the new Common Core tests begun in 2013 are now aligned with NAEP. In the 2014 administration of these tests, 5.7 percent of all Rochester eighth grade students scored at grade level in reading, level 3 or above (up from 5.6 percent the previous year). This was the lowest percentage at grade level of any of the state's large cities. Among white students, 12 percent reached level 3 and 8 percent reached level 4. Among black students, four percent reached level 3 and none reached level 4 (due to rounding, the combined levels 3 and 4 totaled five percent). For black male students, 3 percent reached level 3 and none reached level 4. The failure of the district to teach its black students to read and write by eighth grade is nearly total."¹⁶

Holzman also considered Rochester's teachers. "In the 2011-12 school year, the turnover rate of teachers with fewer than five years of experience was 51 percent. The turnover rate of all teachers was 28 percent, double the statewide average. In a typical Rochester school, comparatively few teachers are highly educated, few teachers new to teaching are in the classroom after their second year, few of any teachers after their fourth year."¹⁷ The conclusions reached by Holzman are particularly disturbing, especially the final sentence. "It is not too much to say that a college education for Rochester residents is a white privilege. The Rochester school district brings relatively few of its black students to grade level in reading in eighth grade. It graduates just over a quarter of them. A few dozen earn Associate's degrees, a relatively few Bachelor's degrees and above. Without those qualifications their opportunities for successful careers are quite limited, their chances of economic mobility beyond the station in life of their parents scant. At the end of the day, the only thing Rochester does well is reinforce a socioeconomic caste system that keeps young black men and women at the bottom. Thanks to the district, they will have a good chance of being known to the criminal justice system."¹⁸

A year earlier, the Rochester Education Foundation's report, Success for Rochester City Students: Making a College Education Obtainable, found that the Rochester school system was "behind other comparable cities and communities in its ability to track city student application rates, college enrollment rates, financial-aid form completion, and other key indicators associated with college enrollment."¹⁹ Additionally, the findings cited city schools for its "woeful lack of consistency from school to school" in providing students with support and guidance about going to college; for not providing "additional support for city students in the form of advisors, mentors and other assistance"; and for its need to "create goals for a focused college-going campaign for city students"²⁰

Poverty impacts the educational attainments of students. The New York State Education Department collects data on the number of students who have experienced homelessness at any point in the indicated school year.

For the most recent complete five school year available (2009/2010 to 2013/2014), homeless children enrolled in the Rochester City School District and in all of Monroe County were reported as follows:²¹

Year	Rochester City School District	All Monroe County School Districts
2013/2014	2,049	2,837
2012/2013	1,820	2,573
2011/2012	1,685	2,422
2010/2011	1,223	1,857
2009/2010	781	1,318

This five-year period includes the Great Recession and the area’s economic recovery from it. It is intuitive to think that the numbers of the homeless would recede as the economy improves. For the homeless students, unfortunately, there has been no recovery, because their parents have not benefitted from that recovery. As the numbers reveal, for them, it has only been an ongoing, widening descent into despair with no end yet evident.

The correlation between high school dropouts and crime has been long-established. A 2006 study by Harvard University professor Bruce Western, Punishment and Inequality in America, published by the Russell Sage Foundation revealed: “The incarceration rate for young, low-education black men rose by 22 points in two decades after 1980. Incredibly, 34 percent of young black male high school dropouts were in prison or jail on an average day in 2004, an incarceration rate forty times higher than the national average.”²² In that same book, Western notes that overall in America, “Black men are eight times more likely to be incarcerated than whites, and large racial disparities can be seen for all age groups and at different levels of education Age, race, and educational disparities concentrate imprisonment among the disadvantaged. . . . From 1980 to 2004, the percentage of young white men in prison or jail increased from 0.6 to 1.9 percent. Among young white men with only a high school education, incarceration rates were about twice as high. At the dawn of the prison boom, in 1980, the incarceration rate for young black men, 5.7 percent, was more than twice as high as that for low-education whites. By 2004, 13.5 percent of black men in their twenties were in prison or jail. Incarceration rates were higher in the lower half of the education distribution. More than one in five young non-college black men were behind bars on a typical day in 2004.”²³

In light of these incarceration rates, it should not be surprising that arrest rates are also highly disproportionate by race and by education status as well. During the protests in Ferguson, MO over the killing of an unarmed black teen by a white policeman, the newspaper USA Today on November 19, 2014 reported on its study of arrest records across the country. They found that, “At least 1,581 other police departments across the USA arrest black people at rates even more skewed than in Ferguson.”²⁴ This included the Rochester area. For example: “In Gates, the

black community represents about 10 percent of the town's population. But in 2011 and 2012, more than 40 percent of all arrests police made there were of black people, according to statistics provided by the town's Police Department to the FBI. And Greece has a population that's about 6 percent black, but blacks there were more than seven times more likely to be arrested than

non-blacks, according to data analysis of local police department arrests compiled and analyzed by *USA TODAY*.²⁵ The Rochester Police Department shows a disparity rate well-over 60% which is close to what Monroe County experiences, where “blacks are arrested at a rate about six times higher than people of other races. The highest rate was in Irondequoit where blacks are nearly 8 times more likely to be arrested than non-blacks.”²⁶

To conclude this section, take in the facts from Bruce Western’s research on prison and incarceration: “60 percent of black male high-school dropouts in the United States will go to

prison before age 35.”²⁷ A recent estimate places the annual cost of incarceration of an inmate in a NYS prison is at about \$30,000.²⁸ This amount is nearly \$6,500 more than the 2014/2015 typical direct and indirect costs for undergraduate students enrolled in a baccalaureate degree program at a SUNY College.²⁹ According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, as of May 2015, the unemployment rate for people with a bachelor degree or higher was a bit over 2%; for those with some college or an associate degree, it was about 5%; for just high school graduates, it was nearly 6%; and for those with less than a high school diploma, it was over 8%.³⁰

If there are doubts about that possibility, consider the cost of dropouts to the economy in general. The Alliance for Excellent Education did just that in a report it released in April 2011. It noted that “in the Rochester metropolitan statistical area (MSA), an estimated 3,400 students dropped out from the Class of 2010 at great cost to themselves and to their communities. Cutting that number of dropouts in half for this single high school class could result in tremendous economic benefits to the region.”³¹ If 1,700 of these dropouts had instead graduated, the Alliance estimated these economic results:³²

- \$19 million in increased Earnings
- \$14 million in increased Spending
- \$4.9 million in Investment
- \$39 million in increased Home Sales
- \$1.4 million in increased Auto Sales
- 150 New Jobs created
- \$26 million in Economic Growth
- \$3.1 million in increased Tax Revenue

In other words, the prospects for a great many of these dropouts avoiding incarceration would be high. Although the Alliance study did not offer separate tabulations by race, it is certain that blacks, especially black males, would have been well-represented among those leaving high

school without a diploma. Had these dropouts possessed a diploma, some and perhaps even many of them, would have become part of the success story trumpeted by the Greater Rochester Enterprise's website, cited at the beginning of this document.

Despite the grim statistics already presented, there is a positive process, albeit, a limited one, at work in education for the Rochester area: The Urban-Suburban Inter-District Transfer Program. It is "the first and oldest voluntary desegregation program in the United States."³³ In September 1965, on an invitation from the West Irondequoit Central School District, 24 first grade pupils from Rochester's School No. 19 transferred to the suburbs and the program had begun.³⁴ Five additional districts joined in short order. Enthusiasm soon waned as only one suburban district joined the initial six between the mid-1960s and 2014. In a flurry of activity in 2015, East Irondequoit, East Rochester, Hilton, Kendall Central (in Orleans County), and Spencerport joined participating suburban districts Brighton, Brockport, Fairport, Penfield, Pittsford, West Irondequoit and Wheatland-Chili in the Urban-Suburban program. Under NYS law, minority pupils in Rochester may apply for a transfer to the participating suburban schools in the program to fill available spaces. The result is "a highly competitive process that rejects nearly 90 percent of applicants."³⁵ On that basis, the program, now in its 50th year, can be celebrated as a glimmer of hope for only a few of the minority students of the Rochester's public-school system. Help for the rest remains wanting.

¹ "Education" *Greater Rochester Enterprise website*, <http://www.rochesterbiz.com/LivingHere/Education.aspx#sthash.gGCqROii.dpuf>, accessed 25 May 2015.

² *Black Lives Matter: The Schott 50 State Report on Public Education and Black Males*, 2015 Edition, 7, *The Schott Foundation for Public Education website*, <http://www.schottfoundation.org/publications-reports/>, accessed 25, May 2015

³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴ "Foreword," *Lost Opportunity: A 50 State Report on the Opportunity to Learn in America*, 2009, *Schott Foundation for Public Education website*, <http://www.schottfoundation.org/publications-reports/>, accessed 25, May 2015

⁵ Michael Holzman, *Public Education and Black Male Students: A State Report Card*, 2005, 39, *Schott Foundation for Public Education website*, <http://www.schottfoundation.org/publications-reports/>, accessed 25, May 2015.

⁶ *Given Half a Chance: The Schott 50 State Report on Public Education and Black Males*, 2009. 5 & 6, *Schott Foundation for Public Education website*, <http://www.schottfoundation.org/publications-reports/>, accessed 26, May 2015

⁷ *Black Lives*, Schott, 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, "Appendix 2," 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, "Appendix 4," 29.

¹² Michael Holzman, *Public Education and Black Male Students: A State Report Card*, 2005, 39, *Schott Foundation for Public Education website*, <http://www.schottfoundation.org/publications-reports/>, accessed 25, May 2015.

¹³ *Given Half a Chance: The Schott 50 State Report on Public Education and Black Males*, 2009. 5 & 6, *Schott Foundation for Public Education website*, <http://www.schottfoundation.org/publications-reports/>, accessed 26, May 2015

¹⁴ Michael Holzman, "Rochester, Good Lord," 26 August 2014, *Dropout Nation website*, <http://dropoutnation.net/2014/08/26/rochester-good-lord/>, accessed 25 May 2015.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Success for Rochester City Students: Making a College Education Attainable, Prepared for the Rochester Area Community Foundation, April 2013, 34, *Rochester Education Foundation website*, <http://rochestereducation.org>, accessed 26 May 2015.

²⁰ Ibid., 34 & 35.

²¹ "Data and Statistics on Homelessness," *The New York State Technical & Education Assistance Center for Homeless Students website*, <http://nysteachs.org/info-topic/statistics.html>, accessed 25 May 2015.

²² Brice Western and Christopher Wildeman, "The Black Family and Mass Incarceration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Sciences*, January 2009, 225.

²³ Ibid., 228.

²⁴ Brad Heath, "Racial Gap in U.S. Arrest Rates: 'Staggering Disparity'," 19 November 2014, *USA Today website*, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/11/18/ferguson-black-arrest-rates/19043207>, accessed 25 May 2015.

²⁵ Meaghan M. McDermott, "Black Arrest Rate High in Rochester," 19 November 2014, *Democrat & Chronicle website*, www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/2014/11/18/racial-arrest-disparity-gates-rochester/19243017/, accessed 25 May 2015.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Elizabeth Gudrais, "The Prison Problem," *Harvard Magazine*, March-April 2013, *Harvard Magazine website*, <http://harvardmagazine.com/2013/03/the-prison-problem>, accessed 25 May 2015.

²⁸ Nick Reisman, "Gov. Cuomo: Economy Focus Should Be Education, Not Incarceration," 16 February 2015, *Time Warner Cable News website*, <http://www.ny1.com/nys/rochester/news/2015/02/16/cuomo-economy-focus-on-education-not-incarceration.html>, accessed 25 May 2015.

²⁹ "Tuition and Fees," *State University of New York website*, <https://www.suny.edu/smarttrack/tuition-and-fees/>, accessed 25 May 2015.

³⁰ "Chart 17: Unemployment rates for persons 25 years and older by educational attainment," *Charting the Labor Market: Data from the Current Population Survey*, 8 May 2015, *U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics website*, http://www.bls.gov/web/empsit/cps_charts.pdf, accessed 25 May 2015.

³¹ Education and the Economy: Boosting the Economy in Rochester, NY Metropolitan Statistical Area by Improving High School Graduation Rates, *Alliance for Excellent Education website*, <http://www.all4ed.org>, accessed 25 May 2015.

³² Ibid.

³³ "Welcome," *Urban-Suburban Inter-District Transfer Program website*, <http://www.monroe.edu/urbansuburban.cfm>, accessed 7 June 2015.

³⁴ "The History of Project U-S, June 1963-June 2013," *Urban-Suburban Inter-District Transfer Program website*, <http://www.monroe.edu/UrbanSuburban.cfm?subpage=1161>, accessed 7 June 2015.

³⁵ Justin Murphy, "Program May Admit Whites," *The Democrat & Chronicle*, 20 March 2015, 14A.

Poverty - Challenges Facing Rochester

How rich are people in the United States today? According to Credit Suisse's Global Wealth Report 2014, if your income is only \$3,650 a year, then you have more wealth than half of the people in the world today. (To have more wealth than 90 percent of the world, your income must exceed \$77,000 a year; to be in that enviable (or infamous) one percent category, one needs a more challenging \$798,000.) "Taken together, the bottom half of the global population own less than 1% of total wealth. In sharp contrast, the richest decile holds 87% of the world's wealth, and the top percentile alone account for 48.2% of global assets."¹

By the standard above, the overwhelming majority of Rochesterians should be considered fairly well off compared to well over half the people in the world – but try convincing a particular group of about 69,000 people in Rochester today of their good fortune. They are the ones who are mired in poverty *as defined by the federal government* according to the Rochester Area Community Foundation (RACF). (That this group is just a beginning number for poverty will soon become evident.) In 2013, the RACF and ACT Rochester issued a 50-page report, Poverty and Concentration of Poverty in the Nine-County Greater Rochester Area which "documented the presence of more than 160,000 poor people in our nine-county region. With a regional poverty rate of 13%, our area closely reflects the nation as a whole. It is in the concentration of poverty that our area was found to be exceptional. This extraordinary concentration of the region's poor results in extremely high poverty data for the City of Rochester."²

Rochester is but one of four cities within the nine-county region. "All have poverty levels higher than the regional average."³ Batavia and Geneva were both 23% while Canandaigua was 13.3%. Rochester's was 31.1% which represented a striking 61.1% of all the poor in Monroe County.⁴ "But it is also important to recognize," the 2013 report states, "that there are considerable numbers of poor people in every county (and every town, village and city) . . . Yates County has the highest poverty rate (15.4%), yet, because it has the smallest population, it has the smallest number of poor people (3,904). On the opposite end of the spectrum, Ontario County has the lowest poverty rate (9.7%) but the largest number of poor people (10,469) outside Monroe County."⁵ Two years later, the same organizations revisited that document in, Benchmarking Rochester's Poverty: A 2015 Update. Looking at just Rochester this time, one finds:⁶

- The City of Rochester's poverty rate increased from 31% (2013) to 32.9% (2015).
- The poverty rates in Rochester by racial and ethnic groups are all high: Whites (23%); Blacks or African-American (39.8%); American Indian (35.1%); Asian (29.5%); Hispanic or Latino (44.1%).
- The City of Rochester's childhood poverty rate has increased from 46% in 2013 to more than 50% in 2015.
- Rochester ranks no. 1 in childhood poverty rate among cities in comparably sized metro areas with more than 25,000 children under age 18 living in poverty.
- Rochester now has the highest rate of extreme poverty (16.2%) of any comparably sized city in the U.S.
- Rochester is the 5th poorest principal city (32.9%) among the nation's top 75 metro areas.

- Rochester is the 2nd poorest among cities in comparably sized metro areas,
- The official report documents 66,312 poor people, but since poverty status was only determined for 95.8% of all residents, it is estimated the actual number is closer to 69,000 people.
- The poverty rate for Rochester's women (34.9%) exceeds that of men (30.7%).
- Rochester's poverty rate for people with some disability is 42.1%, which is 9.2% higher than the general population.

These poverty rates are calculated by the federal government based on a formula it first developed in 1963 and adjusted annually using changes in the consumer price index; for example, in 2015, for a family of four to be considered living in poverty, the family's income must be below \$24,250.⁷ How realistic is that? Is a family of two adults and 2 young children or a family of one adult and three kids, both with an income of \$27,000 a year comfortable, or at least, getting by well enough? In 2010 (the most recent calculation available), the Center for Women's Welfare at the University of Washington's School of Social Work developed for New York State its second edition of a "self-sufficiency standard," which measured "how much income a family of a certain composition in a given place needs to adequately meet their basic needs – **without public or private assistance.**"⁸ The calculations were made for each NYS county for a range of family types from one adult with no children up to two adult families with three teenagers.

Here are some examples for self-sufficiency in Monroe County in 2010:⁹

- An individual adult with no children needed to make \$20,042
- An adult with an infant: \$37,151
- An adult with a preschooler: \$38,773
- An adult with an infant and a preschooler: \$51,218
- An adult with a preschooler and a school-age child: \$47,391
- An adult with a school-age child and a teenager: \$31,299
- An adult with an infant, a preschooler and a school-age child: \$65,417
- Two adults with an infant and a preschooler: \$58,284
- Two adults with a preschooler and a school-age child: \$54,182
- Two adults with a preschooler, a school-age child and a teenager: \$58,598

If you consider these numbers as a percentages of federal poverty levels, the numbers for several family compositions come in at around an average of 250%, illustrating how truly fancifully understated the federal poverty guidelines are in today's real world.¹⁰

Still, this is only one organization's view. Consider the research of The Brookings Institution. Its study released in November 2011, also addressed poverty in America, focusing on the 100 largest metropolitan areas and their cities for the period 2005 to 2009. Its numbers, though gathered earlier when the Great Recession's effects were still emerging, report the same general trends as the later RACF studies. The Rochester Metropolitan Statistical Area (overlapping much of the RACF's nine-county area), with an overall population of 1,011,733 identified a poor population of 121,243 in 27 extreme poverty tracts containing 55,350 people of which 26,705 were deemed "poor" (per the federal poverty guidelines in effect at that time) for a concentrated poverty rate of 22.0%.¹¹ Then, just looking at Rochester, the primary city in

that MSA, the report identified a poor population of 56,813 out of an overall population of 202,644. There were 27 extreme poverty tracts identified with a population of 55,350 people. Of these, 26,705 were tagged as being in extreme poverty for a concentrated poverty rate of 47.0%, making Rochester the third worst city for concentrated poverty of the primary cities in the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the 2005 to 2009 period.¹²

On July 31, 2014, Brookings partly revisited their 2011 study, examining the growth of poverty in the period between 2008-2012, when the Great Recession had ended, and a sluggish recovery had begun. In general, the poor remained “stubbornly stuck at record levels” with “more of those residents” living “in suburbs than in big cities or rural communities, a significant shift compared to 2000, when the urban poor still outnumbered suburban residents living in poverty.”¹³ For the Rochester metropolitan area, rather than the city which was not reported, the update found the number of poor people had grown by 29.9% to 139,263 people. Further, the share of the poor living in tracts with poverty rates of 40% or higher had increased 5.7 points to 22.7% from 2000 to the 2008-2012 period. Even more disheartening, instead of 19 census tracts, there were now 31 tracts with poverty rates of 40 percent or higher.¹⁴

Another way to assess poverty in the Rochester area and the entire country, is to consider a concept known as, “The American Dream,” which is often described as “the belief that with hard work and the freedom to pursue your destiny you can achieve success and provide better opportunities for your children.”¹⁵ The newspaper USA Today did just that in July 2014, devising a yearly dollar amount that is required to make that dream come true for a family of two adults and two children (in 2013): \$130,357. That amount was broken down into three categories: “Essential Expenses” like housing, food, medical, etc. of \$58,491; “Extras” – largely discretionary spending such as a summer vacation, entertainment, restaurants, etc. of \$17,009; and “Taxes/Savings” which included saving for college, contributions to a 401k plan, and paying all taxes owed for \$54,857. This sounds good – but it is good only for about 16 million U.S. households – one in eight or just 12.5%, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.¹⁶ When U.S. median household income is about \$51,000 (in 2013), a great many of the remaining 87.5% of American households must make choices about where to spend and where to save (if they can).

The challenge, then, is to make “The American Dream” a reality for many more people. Recent research shows that where you live *significantly* impacts how much you might hope to earn in life. In other words, being upwardly mobile – or not. In April 2015, Raj Chetty and Nathaniel Hendren of Harvard University, published, The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility; Childhood Exposure Effects and County-Level Estimates. It “looked at five million families that moved across counties, focusing on children in families at the 25th percentile of the income distribution. The study found that every extra year that a child spends in a better neighborhood environment improves the child’s economic outcome as an adult, indicated by measures such as income, likelihood of college attendance, and probability of avoiding teenage pregnancy. Children who moved at an older age still benefited from an improved environment over time. The study also found that counties with higher rates of upward mobility among low income children tend to have less economic and racial segregation, lower levels of income inequality, better schools, lower rates of violent crime, and a larger share of two-parent households.”¹⁷ In other words, most of Rochester’s leading issues for its poorer areas.

Consider Monroe County, NY. According to Chetty and Hendren’s research, “It’s among the worst counties in the U.S. in helping poor children up the income ladder . . . , better than only

about 10 percent of counties. It is relatively worse for poor boys than it is for poor girls.”¹⁸ In terms of dollars, “If a child in a poor family were to grow up in Monroe County, N.Y., instead of an average place, he or she would make \$2,380, or 9 percent, less at age 26.”¹⁹ As economist Justin Wolfers wrote in the New York Times, “Sociologists have typically been quicker than economists to embrace the idea that neighborhoods are important. But the relentless accumulation of evidence is now so compelling that I believe it will sustain a new consensus . . . place matters. This puts the issue of fixing our failing neighborhoods squarely on the political agenda.”²⁰

On November 26, 2014, New York State Assembly Majority Leader Joseph D. Morella, Rochester Mayor Lovely A. Warren, and United Way of Greater Rochester President and CEO Peter Capino launched the Rochester-Monroe County Anti-Poverty Initiative, a coalition of about 100 agencies and organizations from health, business, human services, education and government. The goal is to create a unified solution to “eliminate childhood poverty by ensuring that every child will have the opportunity to achieve the American dream, to live in a stable family environment where the promise of economic mobility is a reality.”²¹ Five key drivers were initially identified “to end the cycle of poverty and to create a practical pathway for families to get out of poverty”:²² A sixth workgroup (Justice) was later added.

- Jobs
- Education and training
- Housing
- Safe neighborhoods
- Health and nutrition
- Justice

Each of these drivers has formed a workgroup whose members include members of the business community, government and non-profit officials, academics, and at least five people in each group who are members of the working poor. Each group is charged with compiling recommendations that will aid the working poor. The Director of the initiative, Leonard Brock, “grew up in one of the neighborhoods that forms Rochester’s crescent of poverty and went on to earn a doctorate in education in executive leadership.”²³ Recommendations are expected in July. Challenges Facing Rochester – Housing & Redlining.

¹ Global Wealth Report 2014, October 2014, Research Institute, *Credit Suisse website*, <https://publications.credit-suisse.com/tasks/render/file/?fileID=60931FDE-A2D2-F568-B041B58C5EA591A4>, accessed 23, April 2015, 11.

² Edward J. Doherty, Benchmarking Rochester’s Poverty; a 2015 Update and Deeper Analysis of Poverty in the City of Rochester (Rochester Area Community Foundation and ACT Rochester, 2015), 2, www.racf.org/reports, accessed May 20, 2015.

³ Edward Doherty, Poverty and the Concentration of Poverty in the Nine-County Greater Rochester Area (Rochester, NY, Rochester Area Community Foundation, December 2013), 14, Rochester Area Community Foundation website, <http://www.racf.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/Poverty%20Report%20for%20Web.pdf>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 11

⁶ Doherty, *Benchmarking*, 2-6 & 9.

⁷ "2015 Poverty Guidelines," Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, *U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Services* website, <http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/15poverty.cfm>, accessed 21 May 2015.

⁸ Diana M. Pearce, *The Self-Sufficiency Standard for New York State 2010*. Prepared for the New York State Self-Sufficiency Standard Steering Committee, June 2010, (Albany, New York State Community Action Association, 2010), 11, <http://www.selfsufficiencystandard.org/docs/New-York-State2010.pdf>, accessed 21 May 2015,

⁹ Ibid., 81.

¹⁰ Ibid., 101.

¹¹ Elizabeth Kneebone, et al., *The Re-Emergence of Concentrated Poverty: Metropolitan Trends in the 2000s* (Washington DC., The Brookings Institution, November 2011), 22, *The Brookings Institution* website, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2011/11/03-poverty-kneebone-nadeau-berube/1103_poverty_kneebone_nadeau_berube.pdf

¹² Ibid., 26.

¹³ Elizabeth Kneebone, "The Growth and Spread of Concentrated Poverty, 2000 to 2008-2012," *The Brookings Institution website*, July 31, 2014, www.brookings.edu/research/interactives/2014/concentrated-poverty#/M10420, accessed 22 May 2015.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Howard R. Gold, "American Dream Price Tag: USA Today Analysis Shows a Family of Four Needs \$130,357 a Year," *USA Today in the Democrat and Chronicle*, July 6, 2014, 6B.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "A New Look at Neighborhoods and Upward Mobility," 11 May 2015, *National Low Income Housing Coalition website*, <http://nlihc.org/article/new-look-neighborhoods-and-upward-mobility>, accessed 22 May 2015.

¹⁸ The Upshot: The Best and Worst Places to Grow Up: How Your Area Compares," *The New York Times website*, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/05/03/upshot/the-best-and-worst-places-to-grow-up-how-your-area-compares.html?abt=0002&abg=1>, accessed 22 May 2015.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Justin Wolfers, "Why the New Research on Mobility Matters: An Economist's View," 4 May 2015, *The New York Times website*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/23/upshot/but-what-does-the-trade-deal-mean-if-youre-not-a-cheesemaker.html?rref=upshot&module=Ribbon&version=context®ion=Header&action=click&contentCollection=The%20Upshot&pgtype=article&abt=0002&abg=1>, accessed 22 May 2015.

²¹ "Rochester-Monroe County Anti-Poverty Initiative Proposal," November 26, 2014, *United Way of Greater Rochester website*, <https://www.uwrochester.org/RochesterAnti-PovertyInitiative.aspx>, accessed 17 June 2015.

²² Ibid.

²³ Patti Singer & David Riley, "Anti-Poverty Initiative Leader Named," *The Democrat & Chronicle*, 28 May 2015.

Housing

What are the costs of segregated housing in the U.S.?

A 2015 report from the National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA), observed, “Where you live determines whether or not you have access to a high-performing school, fresh foods, reliable transportation, good job, quality health care, and recreation in a green space. It often determines even how long you will live.”¹ The first chapter of this report summarizes many studies underscoring the gaps - sometimes very large ones, between Whites and Blacks in the U.S. when it comes to opportunities in education, employment, home ownership, wealth, and health care. Among some key points:²

- “The median overall proficiency ranking for the schools closest to White households with children is in the 65th percentile” while for “for the schools closest to Black and Latino households of color” it is “in the 24th and 34th percentiles, respectively.”
- As of March 2015, the unemployment rate for whites for 4.7% compared to 10.1% for Blacks and 6.8% for Latinos.
- In 2013, White families on average had seven times the wealth of African American families and six times the wealth of Latino families.
- About 9 million people in the U.S. live within 1.8 miles of a hazardous waste disposal facility and of these 5.1 million are people of color, much higher than their percentage of the population.
- “Nationwide, predominantly Black zip codes have about half the number of chain supermarkets (a proxy for stores that sell fruits, vegetables and other healthy foods) compared to predominantly White zip codes.”
- Blacks have a lower life expectancy (75.4 years) compared to Whites (78.9 years).

The Rochester Area Community Foundation’s website provides statistics about the current state of housing and home buying, among them:³

- Median home values in the nine-county region have grown just 1% from 2000 to 2009-13 to \$125,900, below the nation (\$176,700) and state (\$288,200).
- Homeownership rates in the region have remained level since 2000 with 69% of homes occupied by owners in 2009-13, above state (54%) and national levels (65%).
- In the City of Rochester: home ownership rate was 39% with a median home value of \$75,800 for 2009-13, which is down 10% since 2000.
- Median monthly rent in the region: about \$780, which is lower than the state (\$1,090) and the nation (\$900).
- Renters in the region spent a third of their income on rent (34%) in 2009-13, similar to the state and nation, and above what is considered affordable (30%),
- Residential Building Permits in the region have declined 56% since 2000.

Redlining is a term coined in the 1960s by Northwestern University sociologist John McKnight, referring “literally to a red line that would be drawn on maps, showing where bank money wouldn’t go . . . because of some non-economic bias related to where the

property sits.”⁴ The actual practice goes back to the Great Depression. “It was the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, not a private trade association that pioneered the practice of redlining, selectively granting loans and insisting that any property it insured be covered by a restrictive covenant—a clause in the

deed forbidding the sale of the property to anyone other than whites.”⁵ The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) “adopted a system of maps that rated neighborhoods according to their perceived stability. On the maps, green areas, rated ‘A,’ . . . lacked ‘a single foreigner or Negro.’ These neighborhoods were considered excellent prospects for insurance. Neighborhoods where black people lived were rated ‘D’ and were usually considered ineligible for FHA backing. They were colored in red. Neither the percentage of black people living there, nor their social class mattered . . . Redlining went beyond FHA-backed loans and spread to the entire mortgage industry, which was already rife with racism, excluding black people from most legitimate means of obtaining a mortgage.”⁶ Officially, redlining was outlawed by the Fair Housing Act in 1968, but was readopted by Congress in 1988 and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2015.

In 2012 The Manhattan Institute, a New York City-based think tank, issued a report using neighborhood-level Census tract data on race to examine racial segregation in America’s cities over a period from 1890 until 2010. Before revealing how the situation had changed, the report gave the big picture of how segregation began. “In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, prior to the Great Migration of blacks from the rural South to urban areas, segregation was comparatively modest. Between 1910 and 1960, blacks moved to urban areas in vast numbers. Upon arriving, they often encountered legal obstacles in their choice of neighborhood, ranging from restrictive deed covenants (enforced until the late 1940s), federally sponsored redlining in mortgage lending, and outright discrimination by landlords, real-estate agents, or local public housing authorities. As a consequence, segregation rose dramatically. By

mid-century, the typical urban African-American lived in a city where 80 percent of the black population would have to move in order to achieve integration and in a neighborhood where the black share exceeded the citywide average by roughly 60 percentage points.”⁷

A determined black family facing segregated housing practices in the 1940s and 1950s would generally follow this process to acquire their own house: “Generally, it was done with the help of empathetic and courageous whites fronting for them. The scenario went this way: 1) the black family secretly chose the house and the neighborhood; 2) they then contacted the white family willing to buy it, providing the address and required down payment for deposit in the buyer’s bank account; 3) the buyer meets the seller, tours the dwelling, makes an offer, and leaves a small check as earnest money to seal the deal; 4) the white buyers inform the black family of closing date, mortgage costs, monthly payment mortgage notes and possible occupancy date; and, 5) the white buyer keeps the house vacant for 60-90 days, then transfers the deed to the rightful black property owners. Interestingly, a good number of the deeds contained ‘restrictive covenant’ clauses, i.e. binding agreements among homeowners not to sell to blacks, Jews, and other minorities.”⁸

To put a human face on this period, a time when racial segregation in housing was probably its most restrictive, listen to the Right Reverend Quintin E. Primo, Jr. Having first come to Rochester in 1947 to become the Vicar of St. Simon of Cyrene Church, he related what he experienced when, about 1950, he sought to leave the cramped space of Carver House to find a place to live for himself and his family. Accompanied by his Bishop, The Right Reverend Dudley Stark, Father Primo deliberately restricted his search to white neighborhoods. "It made no difference that we both were wearing clericals, he in Bishop's purple, I in black. The fact that I was a black man was enough, especially when discovering that my family and I would occupy the dwelling. Every house we toured, the seller's emphatic response was the same. 'We will not sell to colored people.' Finally, we got an East Irondequoit woman to agree. . . . Meanwhile, a female neighbor, who lived in the community directly across . . . from the sellers, organized the white, largely ethnic neighborhood to protest our moving there. First, they co-opted a disinterested white buyer, who offered the sellers more than they were asking for the dwelling. Next, a petition was prepared and circulated throughout the neighborhood protesting the sale to Negroes. . . . In some sense, the Mission congregation and I were fortunate that the Bishop and Trustees, acting on our behalf, purchased the property."⁹

Then began a turnaround spurred strongly by the Fair Housing Act of 1968. To return to the Manhattan Institute's report, "Segregation has declined steadily from its mid-century peak, with significant drops in every decade since 1970. As of 2010, the separation of African-Americans from individuals of other races stood at its lowest level in nearly a century. Fifty years ago,

nearly half the black population lived in what might be termed a "ghetto" neighborhood, with an African-American share above 80 percent. Today, that proportion has fallen to 20 percent."¹⁰ This success reflects the overall national trend, but what about the city of Rochester?

Commenting on the Manhattan Institute's report, the blog, *The Rochesterian*, concluded, "The report found **only slightly more integration** here in the last decade. A look at the numbers shows segregation still persists. Rochester's Dissimilarity Index went from 65 percent in 2000 to 62 percent in 2010. That means 62 percent black people would have to move to create even distribution of races. Rochester's Isolation Index went from 36 percent in 2000 to 34 percent in 2010. That means the average black person lives in a neighborhood with 34 percent more black people than the metropolitan average."¹¹ Unfortunately the report did not have similar data for earlier years.

The Democrat & Chronicle's "Unite Rochester" project largely confirms the findings from recent years as detailed in the Manhattan Institute's report. On the newspaper's website page, it states, "The proportion of minority households who own their own home has stagnated over the last two decades and remains far below that of whites in Monroe County. The homeownership rates: 75 percent of white households; 50 percent of Asians; 33 percent of Latinos; and 33 percent of African-Americans."¹² Additionally the website reports, "In 2011, mortgage lenders approved 5,600 home-purchase loans in Monroe County. More than 4,900 of those were given to white buyers. In 2011, 16 percent of African-Americans and 11 percent of Latinos were denied mortgage loans in Monroe County. The denial rate for whites was 7

percent. Those numbers showed an improvement since 2006. In 2006, 24 percent of African-Americans and 19 percent of Latinos were turned down for home loans. The denial rate that year for whites was 8 percent.”¹³

In 2012, the New York State Attorney General’s Office began investigating redlining practices “in the wake of the 2007 mortgage crisis and subsequent concerns that banks were no longer lending to minorities.”¹⁴ The case against Five Star Bank, which is based in Wyoming County and part of Financial Institutions Inc., was settled in January 2015 with the company’s full cooperation. Under the terms of the agreement, Five Star will open two branches in or near neighborhoods where minorities are at least 30% of the population. Additionally, the company will spend \$750,000 over a three-year period to provide discounts for loans to residents in minority neighborhoods and on marketing targeted to minorities. A second lawsuit by the NYS Attorney General against Evan Bancorp., based in Erie County, is still pending in federal courts with the bank maintaining it has done nothing wrong.¹⁵

Redlining in the Rochester area has been the subject of a series of reports under the series title, Paying More for the American Dream, issued between 2007 and 2012. They were jointly prepared and released under the auspices of the California Reinvestment Coalition, the Community Reinvestment Association of North Carolina, the Empire Justice Center, the Massachusetts Affordable Housing Alliance, the Neighborhood Economic Development Advocacy Project, the Woodstock Institute, and the Ohio Fair Lending Coalition (which joined after the inaugural report appeared). In addition to Rochester, cities examined were New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and Charlotte, NC with a seventh city, Cleveland, added starting with the second report. Examined were the lending patterns of seven large mortgage lenders that operate substantial prime and subprime lending businesses: Citigroup, Countrywide, GMAC, HSBC, JP Morgan Chase, Washington Mutual, and Wells Fargo. The key points are summarized in the accompanying table on the last page of this chapter.

The Rochester Area Community Foundation’s 2013 study, Poverty and the Concentration of Poverty in the Nine-County Greater Rochester Area, offers additional insight into the convergence of race and housing opportunities. Examining the region’s population growth between 1950 and 2010, it was found that the nine-county region saw an overall growth in its population of 52% -- an increase was decidedly not uniform. The city of Rochester saw its population decline by 37%, despite a surge in migration to Rochester by blacks and other minorities. Suburban Monroe County grew at a phenomenal 244%, while the eight surrounding counties managed to increase their collective populations by just 50%. “So, two things were happening simultaneously: whites were leaving the city for the suburbs, and minorities were moving to the area and settling primarily in the city. These simultaneous trends at the time of significant regional growth fostered a remarkable concentration of the minority population.”¹⁶

The study states, “This rapid growth of Rochester’s suburbs was not accompanied by a plan that would permit the poor to benefit from this growth. Very few housing choices for the poor can be found in Rochester’s suburbs. For the most part, poor people must find affordable rental housing. The legacy of overt discrimination, combined with contemporary market conditions, has resulted in an extraordinary concentration of such housing. More than 35% of *all* rental housing in the nine-county region is within the city of Rochester (more than 50% of *all* Monroe County rental units) . . . [T]he availability of *any* rental housing outside the city is extremely limited. Only two towns – Greece and Brighton – have more than 5,000 rental units of any type, *Affordable* rental housing in Rochester’s suburbs is nearly non-existent. The lack of affordable rental housing can be viewed as either a cause or result of the concentration of poverty.”¹⁷

The report concludes its analysis on race and housing by detailing that “private market conditions are not adequate to encourage a dispersion of the poor. And, as it turns out, public housing policy hasn’t been effective either. There are a handful of public housing units in Rochester’s suburbs . . . and most suburban public housing is limited to seniors and disabled persons. . . The synergistic impact of racial segregation and rapid sprawl created a striking separation of races. While it is important not to equate race and ethnicity with poverty, the correlation in the Greater Rochester area is indisputable. For much of our history, minorities were excluded from more lucrative employment, including factory employment. While employment opportunities are more equitable today, the legacy of past policies is strong and continues to impact our region by concentrating our poor.”¹⁸

A more recent report in July 2015 revealed the situation has not improved for minorities, especially for African-Americans, when the Empire Justice Center, a public interest law firm in New York State, released The River Runs Dry II: The Persistent Mortgage Drought in Rochester’s Communities of Color. The report examined “home purchase lending by applicant and by community to see whether all families and communities are benefiting equally” during the economic recovery period of 2010 to 2013.¹⁹ The data covers the Rochester Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) which covers five counties: Monroe, Livingston, Ontario, Orleans and Wayne. One key conclusion: “borrowers and communities of color started out behind and have fallen even further behind their white counterparts between 2010 and 2013.”²⁰ Specifically, “For African Americans, home purchase lending remains very low, and was lower in 2013 than the overall low point of 2011. As of 2013, African Americans received 3.2% of the home purchase loans made in the Rochester MSA, less than in 2011 (3.7%) or 2010 (4.5%). In comparison, the percentage that Latinos received remained relatively consistent, ranging from 2.8% in 2011 to 3.1% in 2010. The distribution of loans to Asians also was relatively stable between 2010 and 2013, ranging from 2.1% in 2012 to 2.5% in 2011. The share received by white borrowers consistently increased, from 86% in 2010 to 87.8% in 2013 . . . The increase in lending to white borrowers represents 1,030 additional loans made in 2013 than [sic] in 2010.”²¹ Comparing the Rochester MSA with national data doesn’t offer any better numbers. “Nationally, African Americans received 4.8% of all home purchase loans – down from 5.1% in 2012. An average of 7% of home purchase loans went to African Americans prior to the recession. Latino borrowers received just 7.3% of all home purchase loans, down from 7.7% in 2012.”²²

Looking at mortgage denial rates in the Rochester MSA for the 2010 to 2013 period, it was shown that “African American applicants were denied at least twice as often as white applicants, with denial rates ranging from 16.6% in 2011 to 20.6% in 2013. Whites had the lowest denial rates of any race/ethnicity; ranging from 8.8% in 2010 to 8.2% in 2013. When lending picked up in 2012 and 2013, denial rates increased for African American and Latino applicants, while rates held relatively steady for white and Asian applicants. As a result, by 2013, Latino applicants were denied twice as often as whites, and African Americans were denied 2.5 times as often.”²³ The report also found that the income of the potential borrower alone could not explain loan denial rates. “Denial rates and denial disparities are largest for African American applicants for every income group. Middle income African American applicants are, on average, denied home purchase loans 2.5 times more often than middle income whites, and upper income African Americans are denied twice as often as upper income whites.”²⁴

Where the potential borrower lived was also surveyed. “Denial rates for neighborhoods of color grew between 2011 and 2013, while they remained relatively flat for other neighborhoods. The denial rate for 80-100% non-white neighborhoods grew from 14% in 2011 to 27.8% in 2013. By 2013, applicants in 80-100% non-white neighborhoods were denied 3.3 times more often than applicants in neighborhoods with less than 10% non-white residents, and those in 50-80% non-white neighborhoods were denied 2.7 times as often.”²⁵

When the account of this Empire Justice Center survey was reported in the Democrat & Chronicle, Chad Rieflin of the Consumer Credit Counseling Service of Rochester made a telling point. “One of the main driving forces that motivates people is home ownership. If folks don’t have those opportunities to access home ownership, it takes away from that motivation factor you need to lift people out of poverty.”²⁶

¹ Where You Live Matters: The 2015 Fair Housing Trends Report, *National Housing Alliance website*, <http://www.nationalfairhousing.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=SYWmBgwpazA%3d&tabid=3917&mid=5321>, accessed 11 June 2015, 1 & 2.

² *Ibid.*, 6-12.

³ “Housing – Key Trends” *Rochester Area Community Foundation website*, <http://www.actrochester.org/housing/key-trends>, accessed 21 May 2015.

⁴ “What is Redlining?” *The Democrat & Chronicle*, 19 January 2015, 15A.

⁵ Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Case for Reparations,” June 2014, *The Atlantic website*, <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/05/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>, accessed 16 April 2015.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Edward Glaeser and Jacob Vigdor, The End of the Segregated Century: Racial Separation in America’s Neighborhoods, 1890-2010, Civic Report No. 66 (New York: The Manhattan Institute, 2012), 3-4.

⁸ The Right Reverend Quintin E. Primo, Jr., The Making of a Black Bishop (Wilmington, DE, Cedar Tree Books, Ltd., 1998), 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 72-74.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹¹ Rachel Barnhart, “We’re Still Segregated,” *The Rochesterian website*, 30 January 2012, <http://therochesterian.com/2012/01/30/were-still-segregated/>, accessed 16 April 2015.

¹² “Unite Rochester’s Project Findings,” *The Democrat & Chronicle website*, <http://her.democratandchronicle.com/print/article/20130616/UNITE01/306160040/Unite-Rochester-findings>, accessed 15 April 2015.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Matthew Daneman, "Five Star Settles Redlining Claims," The Democrat & Chronicle, 19 January 2015, 15A.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Edward Doherty, Poverty and the Concentration of Poverty in the Nine-County Greater Rochester Area, (Rochester Area Community Foundation, December 2013), 27, <http://www.actrochester.org/poverty>, accessed 21 May 2015.

¹⁷ Ibid., 28.

¹⁸ Ibid., 28 & 29.

¹⁹ Barbara van Kerkhove, The River Runs Dry II: The Persistent Mortgage Drought in Rochester's Communities of Color, (Albany, Empire Justice Center, July 2015), 4, http://www.empirejustice.org/publications/reports/new/river-runs-dry-2.html#.VbwFK_nmgxl, accessed 31 July 2015.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 7.

²² Ibid., 8.

²³ Ibid., 10.

²⁴ Ibid., 11.

²⁵ Ibid., 12.

²⁶ Patti Singer, "Study Finds Mortgage Lending Gaps," The Democrat & Chronicle, July 29, 2015, 12A,

Key Points of “PAYING MORE FOR THE AMERICAN DREAM” series²⁷

(Note: 1st report covered 6 metro areas; all others in series covered seven)

Report	National (Seven MSAs Studied)	Rochester MSA Only
March 2007: Analysis of Higher Cost Home Purchase Lending	Blacks were 3.8 times more likely to receive a higher cost home purchase loan than were white borrowers	The percentage of all home purchase loans that were higher cost by race: Whites (13.7); Blacks (44.4); Latinos (28.5)
March 2008: Sub-Prime Shakeout & Its Impact on Lower-Income & Minority Communities	High-Risk lenders had a 20% market share in predominantly minority neighborhoods compared to a 4% share in predominantly white ones. Minority neighborhoods clearly bear the brunt of the negative impacts of concentrated foreclosures of loans that go bad.	In 2006, Rochester’s high-risk lender market share by Census Tract race/ethnicity and income level was 4.3%, the lowest of the seven metro areas studied. (New York City and Los Angeles were the highest of the 7 MSAs with 14.7% each.)
April 2009: Assessing the Impact of CRA (Community Reinvestment Act)	Lenders covered by CRA far less likely to make higher-cost loans than lenders not covered by CRA but banks covered by CRA still make a disproportionate share of their higher cost loans to communities with large minorities	Percent of Loans in Low- or Moderate-Income Census Tracts that are Higher Cost: if CRA Obligated (21.1%); Not CRA Obligated (39.5%); by Mortgage Cos. (44.3%). For All Lenders in the Rochester area (30.3%)
May 2010: Decline of Prime Mortgage Lending in Communities of Color from 2006 to 2008	Between 2006 and 2008, prime lending in communities of color decreased 60.3 % compared to 28.4% in predominantly white neighborhoods. Prime refinance dropped 66.4% in neighborhoods of color compared to 13.9% for white areas	In 2006, the share of prime refinance loans that went to neighborhoods of color was just 1.2%; by 2008, that had declined to 0.5%. Prime mortgage loans dropped 52.5% in areas with 80% or more residents of color but just 25.3% if residents of color were under 10%
April 2011: The Dual Mortgage Market in 2008 & 2009	In 2009, conventional refinance loans to homeowners in neighborhoods largely white grew 129% while declining by an average of 17% in communities of color compared with 2008.	Lenders denied conventional refinance loan applications from homeowners in communities of color 3.7 times more frequently than they denied applicants from mostly white neighborhoods.
July 2012: Racial Disparities in FHA & VA Lending in 2010	Borrowers in communities of color got gov’t-backed loans significantly more often (3 out of 4 home purchase loans to blacks and 2 of 3 loans to Latinos) than did white borrowers (about 1 of 3 loans). For refinance loans, it was 3.5 times more for blacks and	For the Rochester area, FHA and VA loans constituted a staggering 86.4% of all home purchase loans made to communities of color, the highest of the seven metro areas studied. Government backed refinance loans to communities of color were made

	<p>2.1 times more for Latinos than whites.</p> <p>Persistent mortgage redlining and discriminatory loan steering is evident.</p>	<p>more than twice as often as to predominantly white neighborhoods.</p>
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²⁷ The six reports are: [Paying More for the American Dream: a Multi-State Analysis of Higher Cost Home Purchase Lending](#), March 2007; [Paying More for the American Dream: The Subprime Shakeout and Its Impact on Lower-Income and Minority Communities](#), March 2008; [Paying More for the American Dream III: Promoting Responsible Lending to Lower-Income Communities and Communities of Color](#), April 2009; [Paying More for the American Dream IV: The Decline of Prime Mortgage Lending in Communities of Color](#), May 2010; [Paying More for the American Dream V: The Persistence and Evolution of the Dual Mortgage Market](#), April 2011; and, [Paying More for the American Dream VI: Racial Disparities in FHA/VA Lending](#), July 2012. All may be accessed from the websites of the seven organizations that jointly issued the reports, as well as from *Reinvestment Partners website*, <http://www.reinvestmentpartners.org/issues/home-mortgage-lending>, accessed 21 May 2015.

Health Care - Challenges Facing Rochester

“Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health care is the most shocking and inhumane.”

---Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.¹

There exists “overwhelming evidence suggesting that social and economic conditions are the prime determinants of health and its distribution in human populations. What are the implications of this evidence for the gaping health inequalities experienced by Black Americans in the U.S.?”² The implications are very clear. “African Americans experience dramatically worse health across the age spectrum, including higher infant and adult mortality. They have significantly higher mortality rates from cardiovascular and cerebrovascular disease, most cancers, diabetes, HIV, unintentional injuries, pregnancy, sudden infant death syndrome, and homicide than do whites . .

. . Racial differences in socioeconomic status, not genetics, are the most important cause of these health disparities.”³

To put this conclusion into more every day terms, in the late 1990s, for the entire U.S., “despite some improvements in health care for African Americans since the 1960's, African Americans have a life expectancy that is six years shorter than the life expectancy for white Americans.”⁴ Additionally, “Minorities are less likely to be given appropriate cardiac medications or to undergo bypass surgery, and are less likely to receive kidney dialysis or transplants. By contrast, they are more likely to receive certain less-desirable procedures, such as lower limb amputations for diabetes and other conditions.”⁵ Those additional examples come from a 2002 report, *Unequal Treatment*, from the Institute of Medicine which “found that a consistent body of research demonstrates significant variation in the rates of medical procedures by race, even when insurance status, income, age, and severity of conditions are comparable. This research indicates that U.S. racial and ethnic minorities are less likely to receive even routine medical procedures and experience a lower quality of health services.”⁶

Dropping down from the national level to New York State, consider “America’s Health Rankings.” Since 1990, the United Health Foundation in partnership with American Public Health Association and Partnership for Prevention has ranked all 50 states annually. The survey “uses measures of behavior, community and environment, policy, clinical care, and health outcomes to describe the health and wellness of each state compared to all other states.” Although in the mid-1990s NY rated as low as 41st, in the most recent report (2014 edition), the state reached its highest position yet, ranked 14th.⁷ While this improvement is impressive since it reflects the health of all its citizens, looking below the state level reveals that a rising tide did not necessarily lift all the boats.

Based in Rochester, the nine-county Finger Lakes Health Systems Agency (FLHSA) was founded in 1974 with a mission to “identify the most pressing health needs facing the region, then bring together hospitals, insurers, physicians, consumers and other partners to find solutions.”⁸ Among its programs is the African-American Health Coalition (AAHC) which “focuses on non-medical interventions and on mobilizing the community in health promotion, health education and the practice of positive health

behaviors, as well as to improve community health status through public policy and health systems advocacy.”⁹ In 2014, the Coalition issued a report, *“What’s Goin’ On”*, which chronicled local health care disparities. It revealed that “the burden of poor health is not equally shared across the region. Specifically, African American men, women, and children who reside in eight ZIP codes within the city of Rochester called the ‘Focus Area’¹⁰ in this report experienced many of the worst health outcomes in Monroe County. They were more likely to have serious, chronic, and often preventable diseases, and they had a rate of premature mortality that is almost 300% higher than Whites who live outside of this Area.”¹¹

In this report’s Executive Summary, in a section on “Discrimination,” the linkage between race and socio-economic conditions is referenced to several national studies. “These studies note that discrimination has had a profound and damaging effect on the mental and physical health of African Americans. According to this research, the mental health of African Americans is greatly affected by discrimination because discrimination creates emotional stress. The negative effect of stress on physical health is documented by several studies which link it to high blood pressure, low birth weight, infant mortality, depression, COPD, and cancer. All these conditions are most prevalent among African Americans, which suggests a link between stress caused by discrimination and these serious health conditions.”¹ Explaining “the impact of discrimination on African Americans in Rochester was not available until now,” the study goes on to detail the work by the AAHC with “investigators at the University of Rochester to study the effects of discrimination on African Americans in Rochester. More than 700 African American adults participated in the study, which aimed to identify social and health concerns in Rochester, as they relate to discrimination. The results include:

- More than 31% say they experienced discrimination while receiving medical care
- 61% report discrimination has interfered with their ability to have a full and productive life
- 47% have experienced stress as a result of lifetime discrimination”¹³

Quite revealing was this discovery: “Investigators concluded that discrimination negatively and profoundly affects behaviors, mental health, and physical well-being of its victims. The repetitive nature of lifetime discrimination is linked to chronic diseases and psychological trauma. Victims develop healthy and unhealthy mechanisms to cope with discrimination. This includes self-blame, avoidance, praying, speaking up, ignoring it, and working harder to prove those who discriminate are wrong. Victims also become conditioned to lifetime discrimination, and suffer physical and behavioral consequences from feelings of frustration and distrust. There is a remarkable similarity between the percentage of Rochester residents who report lifetime discrimination in this study, and those who were asked about lifetime discrimination in the Jackson Heart Study conducted in Mississippi. The consistencies in these two reports suggest discrimination is as prevalent in Rochester--which is considered a northern progressive community, --as it is in communities in southern states, which are perceived to have more persistent and more deeply rooted discrimination.”¹⁴

The study of these specific Rochester zip codes led the researchers to conclude, “Health disparities exist. African Americans fare worse on almost every measure of

health; living in the Focus Area typically exacerbates these disparities. For example, the YPLL rate [the number of years of life lost among persons who die before a predetermined age] for African Americans in the Focus Area is almost three times that of Whites living in the rest of Monroe County. This high rate of premature mortality, coupled with the large percentage of our community's African Americans who live in the Focus Area, makes it clear that place matters. In fact, the negative effects of living in the Focus Area appear so profound that all racial and ethnic groups living in these zip codes have worse health outcomes than those living in other city neighborhoods or suburbs of Monroe County."¹⁵

Returning to the connection between race and socio-economic conditions, the investigators looked at the people and where they lived. "African Americans in our community typically earn less, have lower levels of education, are more likely to be unemployed, and are more likely to live in families headed by a single parent. They are also more likely to be uninsured and face shortages in the availability of primary care providers. What's more, the majority of African Americans live in neighborhoods that have environmental hazards, high rates of violent crime, high concentrations of liquor and tobacco outlets, and in comparison, few grocery stores that sell affordable healthy food options"¹⁶

Another aspect of this topic is the availability of health care, specifically in health care facilities and personnel. According to the Center for Health Workforce Studies, part of the School of Public Health at the University of Albany, the Finger Lakes region which covers Monroe County and eight other counties (Wayne, Ontario, Livingston, Seneca, Yates, Staunton, Schuyler and Chemung) in 2014 had 109 primary care physicians per 100,000 population. This is slightly less than the 114 tally for NYS. The number of board certified physicians is 82% for the area, slightly above the 78% for the entire state. For the Finger Lakes region in 2014, the number of active patient care physicians per 100,000 population in NYS was 109.2, only behind the Hudson Valley region (120.0) and NYC (121.8).¹⁷ Focusing on just Monroe County in 2014, the Center for Health Workforce Studies ranks the county as 7th in Primary Care Physicians, 9th in Dentists, 27th in Hospital Beds and 18th in Nursing Homes Beds. The data showed 1,066 primary care physicians in the county for a rate of 143.8 per 100,000 population.¹⁸

In May 2015, "Gov. Andrew Cuomo asked the federal Department of Health and Human Services to designate the entire city of Rochester as a health professional shortage area . . . Pockets of the city already are designated primary care shortage areas, defined by the federal government as census tracts where the ratio of residents to physicians exceeds 3,500 to 1."¹⁹ The governor's action came on the heels of a report in April 2015 from the Monroe County Medical Society's survey of area doctors. Among its findings was the troublesome fact that

Medicaid, which is used heavily by the poor, is the reason that of primary care doctors accepting new patients, 23% of them are not accepting new Medicaid patients.²⁰

Here for reflection is a concluding thought: "The Urban Institute estimated that from 2009 through 2018, the differences in health between white and minority populations will cost the health care system \$337 billion, including \$220 billion for

Medicare.”²¹ While it is only an estimate, this sobering fact does manage to put a dollar amount to one tiny facet for reckoning the financial cost of racial discrimination in the United States.

¹ African-American Health Coalition, “What’s Goin’ On?” Executive Summary 2014, *Finger Lakes Health Systems Agency website*, <http://www.flhsa.org/uploads/pages/pdf/whatsgoingonexecutivesummary%2004012014.pdf>, accessed 15 April 2015.

² Daniel Goldberg, “Racism, The Social Determinants of Health and Health Inequalities Among Black Americans,” *Journal of Black Masculinity*, Vol. 2 No. 1 (Fall 2011), 65.

³ Kevin Fiscella and David R. Williams, “Health Disparities Based on Socioeconomic Inequities: Implications for Urban Health,” *Academic Medicine*, Vol. 79 No. 12 (December 2004), 1140.

⁴ “Discrimination and Racism in Health Care,” *American Nurses Association website*, <http://www.nursingworld.org/MainMenuCategories/Policy-Advocacy/Positions-and-Resolutions/ANAPositionStatements/Position-Statements-Alphabetically/Copy-of-prtetdisrac14448.html>, accessed 21 May 2015.

⁵ “Report”, *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care*, 2002 Report, *Institute of Medicine website*, <https://www.iom.edu/Reports/2002/Unequal-Treatment-Confronting-Racial-and-Ethnic-Disparities-in-Health-Care.aspx>, accessed 21 May 2015

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ “New York,” *America’s Health Rankings website*, 2014 edition, United Health Foundation, accessed 15 April 2015. ⁸ “About Us”, *Finger Lakes Health Systems Agency website*, <http://www.flhsa.org/about-us>, accessed 15 April 2015. ⁹ “African-American Health Coalition”, *Finger Lakes Health Systems Agency website*, <http://www.flhsa.org/african-american-health-coalition>, accessed 15 April 2015.

¹⁰ The document refers to eight Zip Codes which are: 14605, 14606, 14608 14609, 14611, 14613, 14619 & 14621. It represents about 63% of all African Americans living in the Finger Lakes Region and 68% of all non-Whites in Monroe County.

¹¹ African-American Health Coalition, “What’s Goin’ On?” Executive Summary 2014, *Finger Lakes Health Systems Agency website*, <http://www.flhsa.org/uploads/pages/pdf/whatsgoingonexecutivesummary%2004012014.pdf>, accessed 15 April 2015.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. This particular research was also released as: Amina Alio, *Addressing Racial Discrimination in Rochester: A Multi-Level Approach* (University of Rochester Medical Center, 2013), 29, http://www.rochester.edu/diversity/assets/pdf/annualconference/2013/RacismInRochester_SEM_12_April_2013.pdf

, accessed 21 May 2015. The study reported on discrimination experienced by African Americans in the Rochester metropolitan area who were 18 years old and older conducted from November 2011 through May 2012. At least 30% reported having experienced racism while getting medical care.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *New York Physician Workforce Profile: 2014*, Abridged Edition, *Center for Health Workforce Studies website*, <http://chws.albany.edu/>, accessed 5/21/2015.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Patti Singer, “More Primary Care Doctors Sought in City,” *The Democrat & Chronicle*, May 16, 2015, 12A.

²⁰ Matthew Daneman, “Survey: Need for Doctors is Growing in Rochester Area,” *The Democrat & Chronicle*, April 17, 2015.

²¹ Patti Singer, “Everyone’s Health Problem,” *The Democrat & Chronicle*, 30 March 2014, 20A.