

B/6/94 - FIRST (NON-SYNAG INTERVIEW)
INTERVIEWER - C. OBENQUIST. - JEFFERSON CITY, MO

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How you were chosen, how it fit into your program, and we'll see what happens.

Well field education was a part of every seminarians experience at ^{EDS} ~~EPS~~ when we were there. I'm not sure it still is. I'm not sure it's a requirement. In 1963 it was. Every seminarian did field work. Normally, a seminarian was assigned for two years in one place and the third year would be somewhere else or if it were I suppose if it were not a ⁶⁰⁰⁰ situation then the change would be made after the first year. I don't presume to know how Jon and I were chosen to go to Providence. My assumption was ^{ALWAYS THAT IT WAS} more matter of chance than anything else. It was a program that had opened up that had not been in existence before. That there were congregations which had for many years had provided field work experience for ~~so many~~ seminarians and they were used. It was because of the national church programs that Providence had a program, an urban training program going.

^{CHURCH PROGRAMS} National training too?

Yes urban in the 1960s there was a great interest in the church in specialized ministries including urban ministries. The church at that time primarily because of presiding Bishop John Hines was concerned about urban problems and there were some diocese chosen which were for pilot projects. Providence was one, interestingly enough my own diocese, Missouri was chosen. Primarily I think because Bishop Catigan was keenly interested in social issues and that had been really the ^{TEMPA} ~~emperor~~ of this diocese work for generations. Bishop Scarelot was in the 1930s and '40s taking a very strong position on social issues in a time when it was not popular to do so. Long before the '60s. Labor relations and things like this.

The church had already started Episcopal society. Course that was kind of a subset. Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

I think that was more an organization of the 60s. I'm not sure, ^{ABOUT USLRD.}

It started in '58 but didn't take off until the early '60s.

It was a time of growing interest in that time of social concerns. As I said my assumption was ^{ALWAYS} that it was always kind of a random thing. I don't know what was in the mind ^f of the people, the director of that program at ETS and how he made selections of who, what, where.

Was that all he did? His name was George Hunter. Was he a teacher there as well?

That was primarily his work was ^{FIELD} education. I don't recall that he taught classes. He might have but I don't recall that. That was pretty much a full time job. Supervising and because there were what a 150 student, ^f 135-50 students there when we were there and we were all in field education. So it did involve a lot of coordination.

George Hunter. How did you guys feel about it? Did you know when you signed up to go to ETS that field experience would be part of it?

Yes. I knew that was part of the program. My assumption going there ^{WAS THAT IT} would be a more of a traditional experience. It would be a normal congregation and we would ⁶⁰ like everyone else. Those experiences varied a great deal I think a lot depended upon the seriousness of the supervision and some places the seminarian went and just hung around and caught on. Went off and the seminarian would do the youth group in the evening, ^{WEDNESDAY} Sunday School, would participate in the liturgy and sometimes there was extensive involvement sometimes not. Jon and I were called into the director's office and we were asked if we would be interested in going to Providence and we were both very interested in doing that. It sounded appealing to us. It was a different experience and so there was no hesitation on either of our parts to do that. So the ^{FIELD} experience before this time was this year or two year period would have been you might go off to a parish. It was an attempt to kind of groom?

It was a practical experience. An attempt to most of seminary experience was very academic. It's a formal study of Bible, church history and theology with very little practical training and the, I think the field work experience was an attempt to try to keep grounded in a more practical kind of a setting. Certainly, of course, the experience in Providence was not really that. I mean it was an atypical setting. Although I know that there were field work experiences at the time in neighborhoods in Boston, which were along that order, ^{you know,} blighted neighborhoods. The experience in Providence was not unique really. In that sense it was not typical but it was not unique.

But it was very much a 60 s kind of approach?

Yes

In the fifties it would have been field work but it would have been more a chance to experience life in a parish.

A more typical middle class congregation.

This is a very important point. Bill and I haven't really thought this through yet, that is where did this field work experience come from and its form it's incarnation which you two fellows experienced. It's very, very interesting. ^{FIELD WORK} It would have been part. This kicks it up a level. You were working with the dispossessed as you way.

I think another thing about field work experience too is that we were involved in, there was really two different levels, we had the Saturday program which involved the students from the Rhode Island School of Design Brown and ^{PEN BROOK} Pembroke and it was the involvement with just people in the neighborhood. But Sunday mornings was a kind of meeting point of that world and then the remnant of the congregation which was still there. It was a very small congregation 15 or 20 people were still driving in from the suburbs trying to keep this parish going and there was a real sense ⁱⁿ which the old world had died and they didn't like what it was being replaced with and here

was the church reaching ^{out} ~~not~~ to the people in the neighborhood. They could ^{NOT} identify with that. There was a lot of hostility on the part of that faithful few people who still came on Sunday mornings and what was going on in the neighborhood. There was resentment. ^{A ROVE IT} I can remember ³ a conversation with the junior warden who was in charge of property and he was very upset because the heating bills were so high and if it weren't for those programs they could turn the heat down and not spend so much money. ^{ON THAT} Another thing that was interesting was that there would have been, I don't think there would have been a Sunday school at all if it had not been for the neighborhood children. Most of these were older people and so the Sunday school, ^{WERE} these very loud, boisterous kids in the neighborhood and the Sunday school classes were ^{RIGHT NEXT} ~~close~~ to the main church and the noise spilled over into the church. The sacredness of their hour was disturbed by. I agree there were a lot of obscenity ^{-jes} too. This was street language. One of my memories of the field work experience ^{too} ~~to~~ was that I taught Sunday school, Jonathan was involved in the liturgy and the Sunday school was the same hour and there was a young woman ^{TI} who co-taught the sixth grade and this was a tough group. These were kids who drew scissors on one another and that kind of thing but the director of the program insisted that we use the Seabury Sunday school curriculum which was very popular in the 1950s and 60s and ~~then~~ it was really keyed to upper middle class life in Westchester County. The theology was that God is like the loving daddy that comes home in the afternoon with his briefcase and all this and that was not the experience of daddy for those kids. Many of them only saw their fathers once a month when they came home to beat up their mother and take the check. It was just so difficult I can remember complaining a lot about it. This was just an inappropriate curriculum, isn't there something different we could use? But I lost on that and —

I want to ask you about the parishioners who came back. What would be the percentage then of the old line parishioners and the changing neighborhood parishioners?

As I recall most of the Sunday morning attendance would be the adults ^{WORLD BE} who came back and the neighborhood people were primarily the kids. Very few of their parents were involved.

Oh really? How do you explain that? They weren't Episcopalians?

They weren't Episcopalians and I think it was kind of the follow through of the work on Saturdays. The kids who came on Sunday mornings were the kids who had been in the.... It was primarily art and craft classes on Saturday plus outings. We would go different places for outings and those kids would come on Sunday.

Have you ever read a book called *The Chain* by Paul ^{WELLMAN?} ~~Weldon~~?

No.

It was one of Jonathan's favorite books. It's worth my wasting tape to tell you I think you are going to be intrigued by it. He wrote a review of this book for *The Enterprise* which was student newspaper when he was fifteen years old. This book was written in 1949 when Jonathan was ten and Jon had read this book and in several reviews he talks about it. It's about a young, intense Episcopal priest of Jericho, Kansas, who the Bishop of Kansas books this young priest Father Carlisle into the pastor. But this Episcopal parish was at the foot of the hill. All the rich people lived on the hill and down here is the changing neighborhood of Poles and Hungarians who work at the local meat packing plant which is owned by this man up here. And so what Father Carlisle's job is as he perceives it is to integrate the neighborhood with this neighborhood. In the course of the story he dies and riot takes place, but he manages

with his death to form a healing of the two and that's the end of the novel. You just described a similar parish to that.

One of the interesting links here is the rector of that congregation. He really wasn't the rector ^{BAPTISMS} he was the priest in charge and that was Gus Hemingway. He was not a part of that program, he was not under the dean of the cathedral, he was not that training program he was simply the priest in charge of this congregation but he spent a lot of time with those families. He would call at their homes. It was all kind of interesting because we would have ~~marriages~~ and ~~some~~ confirmations these were strangers, we'd never seen them before and we would never see them again. On occasions I went calling with him and was very close to those people. Very important to them and I'm not sure that anyone ^{Really} has mentioned much about his involvement in that neighborhood.

He was the rector of Christ Church.

His title was Priest in Charge because a rector would intimate that it was a ^{MORE} self-supporting congregation and I think by this time it was no longer self-supporting. He lived in the Brown neighborhood. Had a ^{VERY} large family. His wife was the organist and they had eight or nine children and obviously had means other than the church to support him.

His name again?

His last name was Hemingway, Augustus.

How did he feel about the two of you coming down there?

He was very supportive of us. ^{I STARTED TO SAY THAT} there was not much contact but actually there was. I remember often after church on Sunday we would go to their house for Sunday dinner. It would be this large family and all the children and Allan and Nancy and Jonathan and I. He was very supportive of that. I think he really managed ^{KIND OF} to walk the line between the old guard still coming back and the people in the neighborhood. He was very pastoral to everybody. I think because of his

particular style he was a one on one pastor rather than a community organizer which was more Alan's style.

So Alan and Nancy had already been placed for how long before you two fellows came?

We came in fall of '63. I think Alan had probably graduated from seminary in the spring of '63 because he was ordained about a year later. The norm was to be ordained deacon and then six months to a year later to be ordained priest. This is after graduation in the Episcopal Church. And they lived on Benefit Street behind the cathedral for that first year and then even at the time felt that it would be more appropriate to be living in the neighborhood and so the diocese bought a tenement house about two or three doors down from the church and they moved down there. If I'm not mistaken they moved down over the summer. The first year we would stay on Benefit Street and then after that we went to South Providence and we stayed on the I think we had rooms on the third floor of the tenement building.

IN ST. LOUIS IT WOULD BE CALLED A FLAT.

What street was that on?

Oxford Street. The church was on the corner of Eddie and Oxford and then the house was several doors down three, four or five doors down from the church on Oxford St.

NEIGHBORHOOD

And it was a three story affair? Where did Nancy and Alan live?

Alan and Nancy had the second floor. The first floor was meeting rooms and that's where the activities were held the second year when the kids would come in for the Saturday afternoon program.

And then you guys got digs up on the third floor.

Yes. Funny I can remember vividly the apartment on Benefit Street but I can't remember the rooms on Oxford St. I remember the apartment and eating there. One of the things that we would do was the college students would come in on Saturday mornings and we would have a staff meeting and have lunch together in the house and then the program would be in the afternoon. One of the things I remember that

stuck with me for a long time was that we had a session early in the year of that second year when we were saying what do we want to accomplish here, what do we think our mission is here? And it was kind of a group decision that our mission was to take ^{LOVE TO} ~~love~~ of these people who were deprived of love and toward the end of the year we evaluated what we'd said and everyone reached the conclusion that we had been given more love than we had taken. And I ^{THOUGHT} ~~think~~ that was a very important theological discovery. Nothing new but it was a discovery for us.

That's like that theory by Hannah Arnt that those that are involved in revolution ^{of} ~~are~~ social change undergo more change themselves often than what they bring to society. Did Jonathan ever talk about that? The effect of what he was doing was having on him?

I'm sure. I think Jon and I both talked about that session. That was a moment of revelation for the two of us. I don't remember conversations. I know that we both felt that it did affect us deeply and change us deeply and\

At what point was that in your tenure there which weekend was that in 63 or 64.

It must be '64 because I remember it was in the neighborhood house ^{IT WAS} ~~in~~ the house the first year we didn't deal with that. The first year was a matter of getting established and it's interesting that we had the goal setting session in the second year rather than the first which may be kind of the reverse ^{OF WHAT IT} ~~should~~ be. We were all trying to assimilate that experience. And I know that the college students were very much involved in trying to reflect ^{ON} ~~in~~ what it meant to them and what their purpose was.

^{WHAT WERE THE} majors of some of those kids. Were they in sociology or —

I don't remember. Half of them probably were art students. They were liberal arts ^{I THINK} ~~primarily~~ majors. A lot of them as I recall were from advantaged homes. Two or three of them were from Philadelphia and this was a cultural experience for them too. It was different they were from advantaged families.

What sparks that kind of interest and involvement ^{PE} from the point of view of ETS I can understand ^{HARRY} Sanders and Jonathan Daniels doing it but to interest the local students, that's kind of what we were saying at lunch.

Yes. And I'm not sure how they were recruited. ^{SEE} I don't know that. I don't if a college chaplain had recommended them or some director of the program. I don't know. That would be an interesting question. Ask Al Mason probably.

That is a good idea.

They were already involved when we got there.

When would you go down? Friday night or Saturday morning?

We went down Saturday mornings and it started we entered school in September and I think ~~it was~~ ^{THERE WAS PROBABLY} a month or so lag before we started field work. We didn't start immediately and I know by the time we started going to Providence, the program was already in place with the students involved. We normally went down Saturday mornings. We caught the 10:10 train. I remember vividly from south station. One of my memories of that is that Jon was always last minute. The first time we missed the train in fact we were running down the track trying to catch it so we had to take the next one. That was one of his little idiosyncrasies.

He was always late for everything. We've heard that from everybody.

~~Only to be early.~~ ^{AND I WANTED TO BE}

How long was it usually?

Less than an hour, usually forty minutes, I guess.

And where would it arrive in Providence?

^{AT THE STATION DOWNTOWN} At the State house. This was on the New Haven Railroad before it became Amtrak and the railroad was bankrupt and the trains were awful. The double glass windows would have water in between them and it would be sloshing back and forth as we rocked down the track. In fact I felt that I was in a time warp in many ways going to

Providence that this was a city that looked to me like it have never come out of the depression. I was there a few years ago, two years ago in fact, I'd never been back and was very surprised at the development that had taken place. In the 60s it looked like the 1930s. There ^{were} ~~was~~ still water lines on the downtown buildings of the great flood of ¹⁹³⁸ ~~1939~~ whenever it was and it just had a depressing ^{-ED} ~~ing~~ air about it.

In 1977 I was at Brown University on an NEH and local Providencians or whatever you call them, pointed out the waterline to me in 1977.

It was an important event to them too I guess.

Would you then walk down from the train station to?

No. They would pick us up at the train station and then we would usually go for lunch at Al and Nancy's house and then went down in the afternoon for the program at the neighborhood program where the kids from ^{also} ~~RHS~~ would come in to do the art classes and then Saturday night we would go back to their apartment for dinner and then Sunday morning would go back down and do the Sunday morning thing and come back usually in the middle of the afternoon. Have lunch on Sunday then come on back.

Did you ^{then} ~~go down and~~ have a specific task that you did with the youngsters yourself? What ^{were} ~~was~~ your duties exactly?

We didn't there were we were just working for personal contact ^{time} with the kids. The projects would be designed by the art students for obvious reasons. They were the ones who had the ability in that area and we would be with them in that program and travel with them and supervise them. There was a lot of contact time. One of the memories is that Jon and I both had a lot of affection for the kids and cared deeply for them. We wanted to see some change in their lives. By Sunday afternoon we felt almost raw. We felt they were very clinging and during the winter time they all smelled like kerosene from the kerosene heaters in their apartments and we just

didn't want to be touched any more by Sunday afternoon. It wore us down. ^{kind of} Got to us. ✓

As I said we both felt as if it was very important.

These were little kids? 6,7, 8, 9, 10 years of age?

^{THAT'S ABOUT RIGHT,} Yes, Junior High School was the oldest. By the time they were in high school they were doing their own peer things.

They weren't all African Americans from the photographs it looks like.

Were there Pakistani or Indian families?

I don't think there were any Pakistani or Indian families. There was the little boy in the photograph his name is ^{MICKY} Nicky Martinez by the way. He was biracial. There was a lot of kids biracial but Portuguese and African American. And some of the kids were white too.

There's a large Portuguese population in Providence.

And this was kind of the racial mix we dealt with. I don't know what the neighborhood is like now. If it's all African American or if it's a mix. It was ^{still} a mix then.

This little boy where was it taken?

This was not...this was an ordination present from Alan Mason. This was one someone that he had known. I didn't really know ^{MICKY} Nicky but it was he was a child from the neighborhood.

We have pictures of the kids at the beach. Probably you took them to the beach as well?

I have those too. I remember one time when the diocese of Rhode Island had a camp, a youth camp, and we went there. I don't remember where it was and we went one Saturday. I think we did a kind of a work project. We did some cleaning of the camp and just took the kids on an outing there. We thought it was very important ^{we went} by bus.

We were renting school buses and we felt it was important to try to get them out of

the neighborhood to try to broaden their world a little bit and so we did that. Probably most of the time was spent ^{HOWEVER} in the neighborhood with them.

Did you ever go to their homes?

Yes we would visit their homes.

How was that? How did the parents feel about that?

Neutral. I think pretty much. They were this was primarily the mother. We very seldom saw ~~the~~ fathers. They were grateful that their kids were involved in something that was important to them. I don't know if they were excited. ^{ABOUT IT.}

The reason I ask is that Jonathan one year later was living in an African American home teaching the children how to read and write and actually as one fellow reported to us in Selma, actually dealing with the issues of ethics and so forth. Branching out from task oriented duties to issues of how people deal with each other.

I think there was probably more of an opportunity for that for Jonathan in Selma than there was in Providence. Looking back on the experiences ~~we~~ we would go down weekends and then we would ^{RETREAT} ~~take~~ back to Cambridge for the week. We were literally living in another world. That was one of the differences for Jon and I think after he went to Selma that he was totally a part of that culture there and in Providence we weren't. It is true for Alan and Nancy Mason. They were living there all the time. They ~~didn't~~ ^{-FP} develop a lot closer associations with the people and Alan was also involved more in the community organization aspects. That was not something we were involved in primarily because of those kinds of meetings were always on week nights and

I wished I'd asked ^{ALAN} more about that. I didn't think to at the time that we interviewed him. More about the involvement of the parents and so forth.

Well I think community organization was one of the big things in the '60s. How do you get people living in a situation like that organized and how do you get them in ^{INVOLVED} helping to change their situation. How can you affect the power structure then?

And that was an area that was really distant from me. I was intrigued by it, it was an academic question. But so far as being directly involved in it, I was not. With me it was a more direct personal involvement with the people in the neighborhood ~~that~~ we were working with.

See when Jonathan, Jonathan never joined SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee). We don't find any evidence of that, but he worked in SNCC projects which probably that difference is academic too. But SNCC's hallmark of dealing in community ⁻¹⁸⁵ was empowering. Showing the people how they could empower themselves by working within the structure. If your entitled to welfare money, social security, health care benefits or whatever, we'll show you how to go about getting them. It wasn't paternalistic. It was very much bootstrap. So it sounds to me like this is very similar. You were empowering these people or trying to.

I think one of the questions of the time too, of course, was violence as opposed to non-violence and there were discussions about that that was of course by ~~that~~ ^{THE} ^{OF} ~~our~~ involvement in the program, Martin Luther King, Jr. was pretty much the authority in the civil rights movement and of course his philosophy was non-violence. But that was a question ^{OF} ~~for~~ discussion.

Several months before he had just started you can handle that Birmingham situation ^{WITH THE HISBS} [^] and stuff in the summer of '63. I can see where it would be a ~~tough~~ ^{TOPIC}.

But people were starting to ask: "Is non-violence really the way to go?" "Is violence justified?" If a society is so unjust, so racist, would it not be and wouldn't it be

justified using violent means. Of course that was kind of the philosophy that developed after King. There was an academic question for us and I think another thing we talked about was can we make a difference in these people's lives? And can the establishment's attitudes be changed?

Did you come to any conclusions?

I don't think so. I think we or at least I didn't, at that point I guess I felt very cynical about it. I thought we, you commit yourself to where you are and to the people around you but in so far as it really making a difference who would know.

How about Jonathan. Did he agree with that? Not now but then?

Then? I think it was the same open ended question for him. I think so. At that point I think of course I think going to Selma and staying there indicated that he thought there was a possibility of change and he was committing himself ^{TO THAT} possibility.

Otherwise why would ^{ANYONE} he go?

You have the advantage over ^{SEVERAL} serious months riding back and forth with Jonathan, I know thirty years is a long time, but he must have talked about some of these things. Maybe it is impossible to remember. If only one could tap into that. No specific even small anecdotes with children or anything specifically? It might ^{EVEN} seem insignificant but an offhand remark or anything that would show where Jonathan's thinking was at that time with regard to ^{those} ~~the~~ issues.

I wish I could remember. I just can't.

That's okay. It must have been so interesting going from this academic collegiate world in Cambridge which was much more so then and getting on the train and going ^{DOWN} to this impoverished neighborhood. See if I were doing that I would feel as if I were being perceived by the local populace as not slumming, but kind of this dilettante I would be so conscious of that.

And we may have been perceived that way I don't know. But I don't think so. That's how it can work. Did you get graded on this, I mean did you have to report back?

We had evaluations on it. ^{That's an interesting question -} I'm sure we did reports on it. We did reflections on it. There may be a record of that.

We have no we do have Jonathan's evaluation. He talks about the experience of working in the inner city, it really pleased him . text and Biblical study were very candid to say the very least. Did he ever talk about his year ^{SEMESTER} and a half semester at Harvard?

He never talked much to me about it. But I think the style of Jon writing notes in the book was typical of his style in a class, in the classroom setting. He always wanted to engage. He loved what I would call intellectual banter that. And he was generally involved intellectually in the issue and was very articulate. He loved talking with faculty, with other students, he loved dialogue with his textbooks. Writing back and forth in margins that kind of thing.

Now it's a three year program? Would there be a way to characterize how each of those years what its task was ^{IN} and the development of a young priest? ^{IN THE EPISCOPAL FAITH?}

I don't think there's any particular distinction of one year over another. The basic curriculum was Bible, Church History, Theology and Ethics and that was spread over the course of three years with the field education part of the whole thing. I'm not sure but I think there is more independent study now, less classroom experience. When I was there it was ^{VERY} pretty much the traditional classroom experience with lots of lectures. We had as juniors which is first year, it's junior, middle, ^{AND} or senior. Junior we had what was called junior preceptorial. It was a small seminar these were seminars ^{meeting with} meaning that the dean and we would just kind of general orientation. Very few seminars really, we had tutorials which ^{CONTAINED} I'm not sure who Jon's tutor

^{CONTINUED IN 10}

was during that time. And we also we were part of an experiment of having a paper. We wrote a ^{SENIOR} ~~your~~ paper, I would hesitate to call it a thesis. It wasn't really that involved but we got credit for it and of course Jon would have Jon wouldn't have been involved in that. We were the last of the experiments. At that point they gave it up. I don't know if they ever re instituted it or not.

When he was at VMI, Jon's topic for a senior thesis was ^{CAMUS} and existentialism.

He was very interested in existentialist theology. Martin Heidegger was very important to him and he was ^{read} ~~read~~ Heidegger and loved talking about it. He loved Biblical studies too. He was very much involved in Biblical studies and was particularly interested in Hermeneutics which is relating Biblical concepts to our times. I'm sure that was what he was doing in his involvement with the civil rights movement. It was really you mentioned the window of the prophet Isaiah that you know that Jon was living out prophetic impulse which was to do justice. So I think his intellectual quests and his personal involvements were very closely related. In a way probably ^{THAT FOR MANY OF US} ~~different from any other~~ is not the case.

For some it becomes a weakness.

For many of us we have the intellectual interest but there is no grounding of it. For others of it we act without any reflection on it. But Jon did both. Probably more so than anybody I've known. He really was serious about reflecting intellectually, theologically, spiritually. I think that's another aspect incidentally that after Jon went to Selma, after he went south, there was a tremendous development in his spirituality. Again my memories of ETS when we were there was that in the '60s spirituality wasn't really a very popular topic of discussion. Pietism was not really something people were proud of and yet when Jon went to Selma I think it was — prayer became very important for him. It became more important and I think that was one of his there was a very close association with Jon and Roman Catholics in

Selma and I think because they were grounded in more spirituality than we were at the time, this has been one of the changes that ^{INDEPENDENTLY} has taken place since then is that in seminary education in general there is just a much greater interest in spirituality. At that time there was not really. And I think there was a kind of discovery for Jon in the South.

Spirituality I suspect means something different to me now than it would to you then. ^{IF YOU COULD -} Spirituality not that its pejorative but It was then.

Yes. Would you spirituality then becomes ^A concern for things spiritual?

Well it's really more of a development of the personal relationship to God. Prayer, the life of prayer. And one of the criticisms I think of the civil rights movement in the '60s by many people in the church was that it did not have a spiritual foundation. It was humanistic, motivation rather than ^A spiritual motivation.

In spite of the Southern Leadership Conference involvement? ESCRU and so forth?

Well again the perception of that was that it was the church acting like a secular ^{AGENCY -} agent.

Right. Yes and I remember specifically in my own experience in the Catholic Church that it took a stand against that which I think was unfortunate considering the Catholic Church say in Central America always had been involved in ^{SOCIAL CHANGE =} minorities, ^A involvement .

You see in the 1970s in the Episcopal Church there seemed to be a renewed interest in spirituality. I can remember I was back in St. Louis at the time and in a diocese which has a long history of social involvement and I can remember a lot of suspicion and a lot of questioning of this new interest in spirituality because people saw it as a cop out ^{OF} social involvement.

That's the term, cop out. Exactly. That was the term that was used.

I think Jon succeeded in ^{NOT} doing that though. It was probably more than anybody knew kind of a marriage of spiritual life and social action. That became that was probably evident more in his letters than in anything else. I've lost all the letters or I think I probably I had to leave so many things or had to throw so many things away before I came back.

I bet you moved a lot too?

No. I just came back to the Midwest from Cambridge. It was like getting on a covered wagon. I kept throwing out favorite belongings. Many things I just ^{PITCHED} ditched because I moved back with three suitcases and a trunk and it was whatever I could fit ^{I had things} in them. So a lot of things went by the wayside. I guess the letters did. I used to keep all my letters and I guess it just went with all the others that I had collected.

It's hard to know what to keep. I'm very interested in that marriage idea. But I think *U.M. - (Break - ~~that~~?)*

I've had another thought about this too about the aspect of spirituality and social action that you mentioned Jon's conversion experience at the Church of the Advent in Boston and I don't know if you're aware that the Church of the Advent is an Anglo-Catholic congregation.

The librarian there tried to explain that to me and I don't quite understand it. It's high.

High church, low church was a distinction that was common in the church at that time. They've kind of lost their meanings now. We've gone through liturgical renewal. It had a lot to do with ceremony but historically in the first part of the nineteenth century, ^{THE} early 1800s, there was a real spiritual low in the Church of England and there were a group of Oxford scholars who were concerned about trying to recover the spiritual dimension of the faith and the only model we had was the Roman Catholic Church and so there was a turning to Rome at that time to try to recover the lost spirituality. The aftermath of that was the concern with all the

trappings, ^{WITH} the ceremonies, the vestments and that's really when all those things came back into the Anglican churches which had been thrown out at the Reformation. But always an important part of Anglo Catholicism was spirituality and it was a kind of flavor of spirituality that low churchmen were not at all comfortable with but I think it's very significant that that's where Jon's ^{SO-CALLED} conversion experience was and interestingly enough there were weekends when we didn't work in Providence and on those weekends Jon and I would usually go to the Church of the Advent on ^{REARON} the hill in Boston. And Christ Church Providence was the priest ^{then} was an Anglican Catholic. The liturgy there is simple as it was in that ^{AUTHER} Protestant neighborhood was very much a high church liturgy and Father Hemingway was an Anglo Catholic and.

Are Anglo Catholics where they accepted as part of the Episcopal Church?

It's a party within the church ^{ITS-AM-} which I don't know what it would be comparable to. It's not a separate church. They were the nineteenth century they were called parties: The Evangelical Party and the High Church Party and so forth. By the 1960s in America there were still people ^{"AREYID"} that were high church and low church and a lot had to do with ceremony. High Church is so called--they would use incense, and sanctus bells and there would be Eucharist every Sunday which was not the norm for the rest of us until ten years ago. As I said those concerns have been replaced by other concerns like women inclusion of women and prayer book revision and all kinds of other things.

In the Church of the Advent there is that beautiful crucifix hanging from two chains at the altar. The librarian told me the name of it. I have it in my notes. But I do get the sense of going into a Catholic Church.

Well the liturgy on Sunday morning. Another thing it is a very beautiful liturgy. They had a wonderful choir ^{FORGAN} and that was very important to Jon. The esthetic interests, his esthetic interests were very strong.

You know when he was a very, very young teenager, he had a club that would meet in the crawl space underneath his house and they set up an altar and his friends tell us he would burn incense until his friends would almost pass out.

That's interesting.

They would also swallow beer down there and have a cigarette, ^{OR TWO.} I saw the altar. The crawl space is still there. I went there with my camera and filmed it. Incense, Catholicism, ritual, -

I've lost the letters but I think Jon was very seriously toying with Roman Catholic Church toward the end of his life. He was questioning why did Canterbury really break with Rome. He was really doing historical questioning. I don't know if he had ^{SIDE B} any interest in the Roman Catholic Church prior to being confirmed in the Episcopal Church. I just don't know that. I got the sense though it was more his association with Roman Catholics in the South. This is how I remember that. The people who were so important to him were the people, were Roman Catholics and I think again as I recall from the letters this may be my ^{FAULTY} ~~fact~~ in memory but again he appreciated the marriage of their spirituality and social action. These were people who were not acting out of purely ^A humanitarian interests ^B but a sense of devotion to it as Jon had. I think he felt truly called in what he did.

So Martin Luther said faith without good works was sufficient for salvation. Jonathan would not have subscribed to that.

I'm not sure. I don't think that's exactly what Martin Luther said is that it is not good works that justify us, but if we are God's people we do engage in good works, but they do not redeem us. I don't remember discussions with ^{JON-} I think he probably would have

been rather Protestant on that. He was not in the South to save his soul. He did not have, that was not the need. It was the ~~one~~ ^{WHO} doesn't serve in order to be saved, one serves because one is saved.

Some people might. I can picture people ~~you~~ ^{WHO} might, but that would be a second order. ^{OF EXPERIENCE,}

And I don't think this is Jon's motivation either. And people I talk to and when someone dies you seem to judge their lives by whether or not they did good things.

And theoretically God looks at us differently.

That's a very terrifying thought you know.

Yes.

That almost makes it an act of bravery to ~~double~~ ^{double} bravery to be involved in social change. You have to make sure that you're aligned ~~your~~

spirituality is ~~the~~ ^{THAT} things are moving concomitantly. Jonathan talked

about a beloved community in the South. These ~~are~~ ^{WERE} his people. It went

beyond the ~~virtual~~ ^{RACIAL} identification to something else. In his letters he

talks about feeling uncomfortable with whites when he comes north.

Driving up north on 95, I suspect it was, with Alabama plates on his car

and seeing the contempt ~~for~~ ^{FROM} the black family riding by with New Jersey

plates and looking at these two whites in the car and wanting to say

"But I'm with you."

Well and that was one difference. He truly lived with those people. He lived with families didn't he? The whole time he was there? I know when he first went down he was staying with the family in a project?

The West's.

That's ^{-s}right. I'd forgotten their names and I had seen pictures of the family and the projects and that was something we really hadn't done in Providence. We even in the neighborhood we didn't live with those families. And that would be a totally

different experience. He was living with those families and there was a common enemy. So it's understandable that they would feel very close to one another.

Was there anything in the theological training that you people were experiencing that would have prepared Jonathan for mixing of spirituality with social change?

Well there certainly was a stress on social change. Our seminary was very supportive of people's involvement in civil rights and I remember. I can't remember who all left it was Jon and Judith Upham and I don't know who else left. It was one evening they left to go to the South and everyone gathered in the parking lot including the faculty.

That's why I mentioned Nancy ^{LANTON} ~~let~~ She was part of that group as well.

We have a photograph of ^{THEM} her.

So yes it was very supportive of that. Again this is my recollection. And part of it was the spirit of times and we were ^{JOBT} reluctant to talk about our spiritual devotional life. It was not just done then, not in the Episcopal Church. As I said it's really come around a lot and sometimes it seems like it's almost weighted on that side and there are people who are deeply concerned about their spiritual life but it doesn't seem to ^{ACTED} get out in any real way. So I think ETS prepared us for that aspect. I'm not sure they really prepared us for the spiritual marriage as we're talking about.

And that wouldn't be his intention anyway. It was ^{LIKE THE HIGHLAND SCHOOL} for social change. We know that it was a theological school.

Yes.

Did Jonathan talk with you at all about his decision to go South other than in the letters which you so kindly?

Oh I'm sure we talked about.... I can't remember direct conversations. I can remember, one of the things I remember about it is that I'm sure many of us I felt you know should I have gone. Many people many of us

I've asked myself that question.

And I was able to say well I was involved in Providence. But so was Jon involved in Providence. I don't know. I was not able to do that. I don't know why. I guess Jon was less concerned, he was less anxious about his life, and it wasn't a matter of if I went down there would I be hurt. It's how would I finish school. I was on a track. I was planning to get through seminary in three years, be ordained, go into a vocation then and that would all be interrupted. I think that's where many of us were. Jon was simply willing to allow his life be interrupted by this. I think when Jon went down as most of us sensed the danger of it so very dangerous to do, especially as time went on. We certainly realized that. I don't know if he realized the danger at the time. I'm sure he didn't when he first went down.

Reverend Reeb, a Unitarian minister, was murdered the night that Jonathan arrived in Selma. Mrs. ²¹⁰²²⁰ ~~Hutzo~~ was murdered at the conclusion of the march from Selma to Montgomery. Jonathan was the next, third and last white ^{TO BE} ~~man~~ killed in Alabama that summer. There were three.

This is the summer of '65 isn't it? When did Jon go South? It was in the middle of the academic year.

He left March ^{8TH-9TH} ~~9~~.

That's interesting because I didn't remember it being that late. So we went through most of the second year together. It seemed very strange going myself to Providence.

Did you miss him?

Yes.

I imagine the camaraderie and banter ^(BREAK) Introduction in one book it says that you have to accept your death as part of a whole scheme of things if your ^{LE} going to enter into a truly Christian life. It has to happen.

Your own death has to have already been a given to you. After reading ^{BARNES} ~~VonHoffer~~ I went to Stokely Carmichael's tape that he gave at ETS in

1966 in April and he says, "We all know when we went South, death was part of the program." You already had to accept it. Here's Carmichael talking about secular ^{point of view} ~~part of~~ ^{BONHOEFFER} VonHoffer talking about a Christian. That's an overlay, like transparencies.

As I recall ^B VonHoffer was very important to Jonathan.

I think so. I suspect. He never mentioned it but. — local bookstore — ^{BONHOEFFER}
Cost of Discipleship in particular.

That's the book I have and it's that introduction by ^{BONHOEFFER TALKS ABOUT IT} Arthur Tucksun.

Cheap Grace is one of his terms.

What does he mean by that?

That is acceptance of grace without the willingness to pay the price. That grace is a free gift ^{OF} from God but it does ^{COST} a discipleship and we don't know where that leads. That's different from saying ^{THAT OUR WORKS JUSTIFY US} "Are the works justified?"

Your describing a struggle like those Medieval divines who claim they were thrown on the floor by God and wrestled all night until finally they gave in and decided to take on a life of devotion to God and to Christ. There's incredible stories I used to read. Physical throwing around. Coming up bruised. ^{WILL COST. I GIVE IN} ~~They all do it and then give in.~~ One man I interviewed in Phoenix in 1991 I can't remember his name now, he was in Vietnam sergeant of a platoon, the day job I think I killed. He thought he was going to die. He was in a fox hole. He's an Episcopal priest now, I can't think of his name. Because the story was so extraordinary, it was too extraordinary to use in the film. I videotaped it. And he just decided that he just had to give his life to God. He was never going to give out of this alive and he survived it and he realized that his struggle with God was over and he was going to become an Episcopal priest. And this man had killed, twenty-five or thirty

^{CONTR} Vietnamese. An incredible story. He said he learned later that was the day Jonathan had died. He had not known Jonathan, because he had gone to a different school. People ^{WOULD WANDER UP} wrote to me about how Jonathan had changed their lives, people who had never met him. One guy, a Mexican Episcopal priest and teacher at the seminary in Mexico City, said he was riding around Mexico in late August of '65, he was eleven years old, he was wondering whether or not he should stick with his family religion Catholicism. Picked a paper up off the floor somebody left on the bus next to him and read about this Episcopalian seminarian who'd gotten killed. He said if that church can create such people who would martyr themselves, then that was the church for me. Ruby Sales' brother, whose now a Muslim, told us that he white people until he realized one had saved his sister's life. But he wouldn't go on tape saying that. It was awkward for him. All these incredible stories I mean if Sullivan and I engaged in ^{HABIT} hate geography here, I don't know how anyone could blame us. It's a struggle not too. People have come up and just said these things to us and yet it's just this guy that used to sneak cigarettes and beer in his basement.

Well I guess like all the saints, he didn't always seem like one. ^{YOU KNOW,} He was a very human kind of person.

Would you mind talking for a ^{MOMENT} bit about your thoughts of the time when Jonathan had died? I don't mean in any sentimental sense exactly, but more did you must have ^{THOUGHT THAT} talked about it often. When you learned about you said from your friends?

Yes. We had taken the train from Washington to Greensboro ^{+ WERE MET} at midnight and were given this news and I don't know it was the end of the summer when my friend and I had worked in ^{AN} the urban training program in Washington. We were in different

parishes but we had contact through the summer then there was a short time before classes began. Rather than ^{come} go back home I went to visit him in North Carolina. It was surreal.

Your letter from Jonathan. He was staying at the George Washington Carver home, you knew that Jonathan was working in Selma among the poor which was relatively lower risk. Did you know when he had moved to Lowndes County and was involved?

I'm sure I did. Again I don't remember, ^{you see,} I was involved in a program in Washington and I don't remember whether or not we had correspondence.

— WHAT DID YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT.

I had a feeling by this time I don't know if Jon was writing too much to anybody. He was probably pretty involved in what he was doing. I don't know. It came as a, it was weird it was literally midnight news, it was a shock and yet not surprising. It was to be expected in a sense. I just associate the hearing the news and dealing with the death and the funeral with long journeys and as you know long journeys can be surreal experiences in themselves without trauma like that. There is so much about getting back to New Hampshire and the funeral, I don't remember. I remember coming back to New York and picking up our friend Michael Stickway and going on up. I don't remember how we got there. I remember the funeral vividly.

Did you go ^{out} ~~off~~ to the cemetery?

Yes.

Our local newspaper came across 35 processed negatives but they'd never been printed that their staff photographer had taken, people around the cemetery plot. If I'd known that, I would have brought some of those pictures. There is a picture of Stokely Carmichael, Kim

^{OREIBALM}
~~Dryback~~. Did you know Kim?

I know there were many people there that I didn't know.

ALL STANDING

Paul Stansfield singing presumably "We Shall Overcome."

I remember that. And I might have been included in the thing. I think that was probably part of my dealing with the trauma that is typical when you're shocked and disbelief.

There were many people there from Atlanta who had come up. Mrs. West, Stokely, and others who came up to be there. Stokely said that they just couldn't send the body ^{HOME} up alone. They had to let the people of New Hampshire know for whom he had worked with. It was very eloquent on that point. You mentioned earlier The Prophet's Work. I never heard the prophets. Apparently, I don't know if you were speaking singularly or plural, to do justice. Would you mind talking about that just for a moment? He was doing a prophet's work that is to bring justice to the world.

It was to really to proclaim to call the people to task for not doing justice. I think I touched on this in the sermon this morning that the demands ^{OF} for God are love and justice that are acted on in ~~a~~ very concrete way^S and in the prophets of Israel, that dealt with the very basic things, which is the way the poor and widows are treated and fairness in the court system and all of those things. ^{AND} When justice is not being done than it's the role of the prophet to shout "stop." To shout "unjust, unfair." And that really in a sense is what Jon was doing.

Jon in a sermon that he gave in 1963 in Keene quotes Isaiah "And the Lord said Who shall go for me?" and I said "Here am I Lord: Send me."

We are going to use that as a title for our film. ^{"HERE AM I LORD, SEND ME"} I can't remember the context in which he says that.

Well this is call of the prophet Isaiah. I imagine it comes early in the book and what is very often the case with the prophets is they felt that they were the least likely people to be called. Very often they were people who were not verbal. They were not

in positions of power and authority. How could they sway people? But if they were called they went and part of the Biblical tradition is that God calls unlikely people.

On the wall of the stained glass windows in the Church of the Advent,

THERES Isaiah, Ezekial, Jeremiah, and Daniel. I wonder why those four. There must have been others. Are those the big ones.

They were the writing prophets but there were many. I don't know in a sense whose likely or whose unlikely, I guess one of the questions that was raised in many of our minds were were we called but didn't go. Who knows. In a sense Jon was likely in that he was verbal, he was able to speak, he was bright, I think what's important there was that he obviously felt a sense of calling to do that. That's what he was he loved people but obviously his primary motivation was not a humanitarian one but a theological one. *I'M SENT -* Here I'm called: I will go. That's not a humanitarian motivation.

Judith Upham said they were witnessing when I asked what that meant.

She went back to the Greek root. She said Jonathan and I were very aware of the fact that we were bearing witness. What does that mean?,

SHE SAID: Judith I asked. To bring back the conditions of society back into our world.

A martyr is one who bears witness. The Greek word martyr means witness. It's one who dies witnessing for the faith.

I didn't realize that witnessing put one in such physical jeopardy.

Standing for the truth always does. Whether it's religious context or not. It's very dangerous to speak the truth.

3/11/94 If we could *BEEP* start with a discussion of how you got into the program, the ride down.

SIDE Well Jonathan and I were both seminary classmates. We entered in the fall of 1963.

A SYNC. MATERIAL Part of our training was field work, field education and we were assigned *BY THE -* in the program to different areas. Most of our classmates went to parishes where they

worked on Sunday mornings at various traditional programs. We were both invited to go to Providence on the weekends to work ⁱⁿ on an urban training program which was being conducted by the Dean of Cathedral in that diocese and we took the train down on ^{-DROPT- SAT-} Saturdays. We would leave Boston about midmorning. We would be picked up at the train station. We would have lunch with the other people in the program. It was students from Brown and Pembroke, as well as Rhode Island School of Design. Then on Saturday afternoons, we would work in programs for children in the neighborhood primarily. We would have art classes which were led by the students from RISD and we would have outings and then we stayed overnight on Saturday night and Sunday mornings we did work in the church that was in the neighborhood where we were. I taught Sunday School, Jonathan was assigned ~~to~~ into the service itself. I recall that he worked with the acolytes and servers.

Let's shift over to the issue of any thoughts you might have about the spiritual nature of Jonathan's move South and his integration of spirituality and social action. However you might like to characterize it.

To preface the remarks [I think it is important to note that in the 1960s there really wasn't that much conversation about spirituality. In fact there was a kind of reaction against it. [People were becoming more and more aware [many people in the church were becoming more aware of social injustice and ^{FELT} that the church had not spoken to that. Many people felt that the church had retreated from the issue by being concerned with pietism or whatever. And so [in the 1960s it was becoming fashionable to be involved in social concerns but very often it was not related to any kind of ^A spiritual ground work. I think with Jonathan though looking back on his life] and he probably talked about it more than it seemed at the time, but looking back] it seems to me that he did reach a kind of marriage between the spirituality and the social action. Jon had had a serious religious experience ^{NOT} long before this. He had

kind of acquired a new sense of faith and that was within the context of Anglo-Catholic liturgy and spirituality. And I think that probably had a strong influence on Jon in that I guess maybe you can look on it as a kind of a triangle of good work, and faith and spirituality.] AND AH -

Do you think he knew himself — he didn't go, did he go South for himself?

No. I don't think he went for himself. I think his in the program in Providence was not for himself. The question was not what is this doing for me. It was what needs to be done. How can we respond to the needs of the situation. I think that that very much was Jon's motivation in going South. He was not trying to find any kind of personal fulfillment. He simply saw a need a social need and the demands of his faith required that he meet them. That he try to respond to it somehow. The I think maybe as I remember the letters, I've lost almost all the letters I had, but there were references to prayer and this kind of thing. I remember one letter, I've lost it, but there were references to the Magnificat (the Song of Mary). There is a line of course in the Magnificat to social justice "He hath put down the mighty ^{FROM THEIR SEATS,} the sea, He has exalted the humble and meek." But I think it was significant that he was not just a pulling of a social concern line out of that hymn, it was very significant that this was the song of Mary, it was a prayer and I know that while he was in Selma, Jon continued to kind of explore his own religious tradition, Anglicanism as well as ^{NOT AS OPPOSED TO} Roman Catholicism and I think there was a searching going on with him in Selma about the spirituality aspects. It wasn't a doctrinal thing—what does one faith teach as opposed to another—but I wasn't in Selma so I don't know. I think probably the people that Jon was working with in Selma were people who were working but they were also praying.

Do you think that ^{TO END IT -} you talked about the prophets last time we talked.

You mentioned about the prophets doing justice but you put it

differently. Can you talk about that just for a moment? Jonathan's favorite prophet was Isaiah apparently.

The role of the prophet was to ^{SPEAK} spread the word of God. To speak on behalf of God, actually. They would speak in first person quoting ^{GOD.} The prophets believed that they were given a message and that they were to proclaim it ^{TO THE PEOPLE.} The underlying theology of the prophets was that God is a God of love and justice. And that human beings created in the image of God are to reflect that same kind of love and justice. Whenever the prophets observed social behavior or political behavior or religious behavior, ^{WHICH} it was not congruous with ^{THAT DEMAND FOR} the God of love and justice then ^{THEY SAW IT AS} so it is their task to speak out or I really should say lash out because they could be very adamant about it. And Jon had mentioned that Jon had a sense of being sent. And that was not so much just a personal individualist kind of thing but anyone who claims to believe this ^{RELIGIOUS} tradition is sent to speak out on behalf of love and justice because that's the nature of God. The consequences then wouldn't be an issue.

No. Although in the Old Testament the prophets knew ^{THAT} often that the consequences were not positive. That whenever someone speaks the truth, ^{THEY} often get beaten down for it.

Anything we should add before we stop. Anything you'd like ^{TO ADD.}

About this issue?

Any issue. - NO -

END