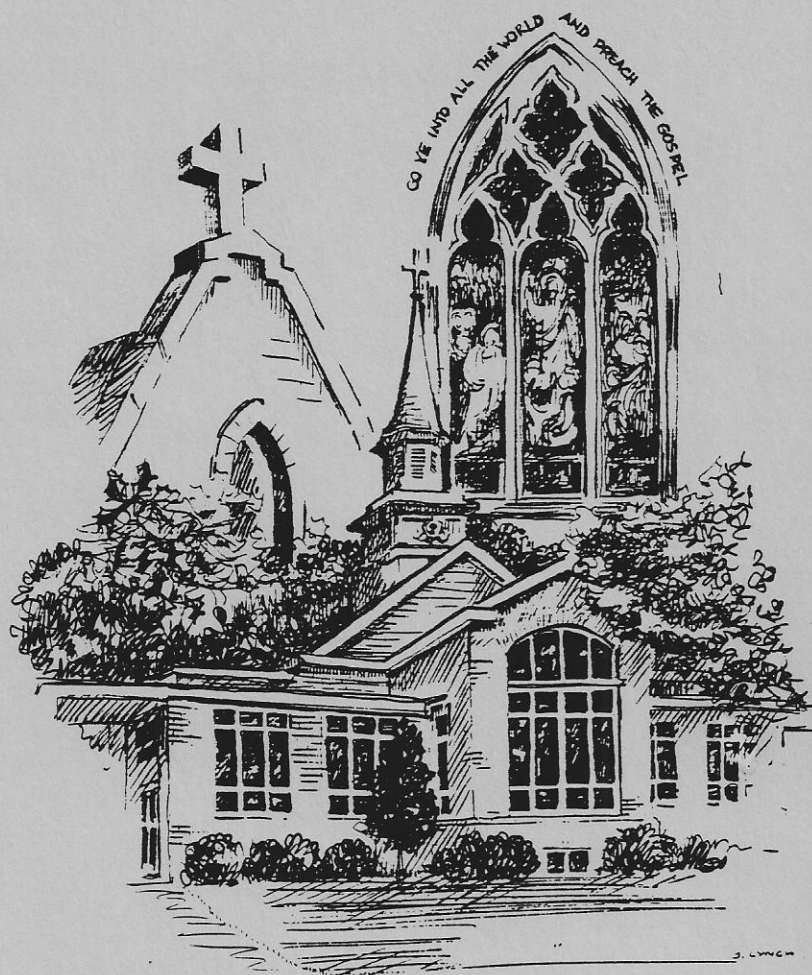


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# IMMANUEL: In Interesting Times



Duncan B. MacDonald

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## The Rectors of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill

### RECTOR

- ✓ Alexander C. Zabriskie (Dean, Virginia Theological Seminary)  
1941-1946

### MINISTER-IN-CHARGE

- ✓ Robert F. Gibson  
1941-44
- ✓ William E. Thomsen, Jr.  
1944-1946

### RECTOR

- ✓ Robert F. Gibson  
1946-47
- ✓ William E. Thomsen, Jr.  
1944-1946
- ✓ J.L.B. (Larry) Williams  
1947-1953
- ✓ W.T. (Tom) Heath  
1954-1960
- ✓ H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.  
1960-1971
- ✓ William L. Dols, Jr.  
1972-1983
- ✓ Robert G. Trache  
1984-1994

*Stephen Cook  
95-2006*

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## FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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When I first started the research that underlies this history of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, Alexandria, Virginia, I read every parish history I could lay my hands on. They all proved to be uniformly flawed. Every last one of them was chock full of self-congratulatory praise, and endless lists of the local "saints." Frankly, they read like appalling combinations of the worst sort of advertisements and the most ghastly kind of obituaries imaginable. I soon realized what the problem was. All of the parish histories suffered from the same imperfection: Their well-intentioned authors had been so intent on telling the story of their congregations that they had made no attempt to fit the lives of their parishes into the larger contexts of the stories of their states or the nation. As such, without even meaning to, they had locked themselves into the pattern of self-congratulation and endless lists. Well, between you and me, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill deserves better than that sort of history. And so, throughout all that follows, it has been my concern to tie Immanuel and the Immanuelites to the bigger stories of Virginia and the United States. My version of the history of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, consequently, is the story of a parish living in and as part of the World. If at times my interest in the larger picture seems too much, bear with me. I promise that the time taken to set the scene makes Immanuel's role in the story shine all the more brightly.

I would be remiss if I didn't take a few lines here to thank all of the good souls who played such large parts in bringing this history to fruition. Were I to list everyone, however, I would end up with one of those endless lists I am trying so prayerfully to avoid. So let's just assume that you all know who you are and that you also know how much I have appreciated the

help. Having said that, though, it is still only meet and right to thank a few of you in particular. First, I owe a real thanks to the Reverend Robert G. Trache, former Rector of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill and my friend. It was Father Bob's desire to celebrate Immanuel's Fiftieth Anniversary as a parish with a simple retelling of the Congregation's history that started this project. Thanks, Bob, I've enjoyed the work. Next, I have to offer special thanks to John O. Walker, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill's Historiographer, for the work he did in producing his history of the early years of the Parish. So much of our *ancient* past would have been lost without him. I have been honored to use his essay in developing my own. After Mr. Walker, I find it necessary to say thanks to Gordon Peyton, Jr., Stefanie Reponen, and Julien Randolph, the Senior Wardens of Immanuel's Vestry during the length of this project. They, along with the rest of the Vestry, came up with the money that paid for this history. But more than that, they allowed me access to the Vestry's records and put up with me ferreting through the files. Then come Dorothy and Jim Kellogg. They have always been there when I have needed them. I only hope they know what they mean to me.

For helping me with the research, I must say a thank you to both my mother, Cora MacDonald and my eldest daughter, Fiona. They took on library chores that were nothing short of legendary. At one point Fiona endured the daunting task of reading through fifty years of *New York Times* articles on the Episcopal Church. No mean feat for a lass of only eleven years. Finally, I wish to say thanks to my long-suffering wife, Marcia. Poor thing not only put up with all the madness inherent in this sort of enterprise, but also graciously gave of her time to edit and type the final version of the manuscript. "Many



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waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods  
drown it."

As I said, these hardy souls helped me to  
create this essay. Even so, I must point out that  
the final words and opinions are mine and mine  
alone. As, indeed, are all of the mistakes I may  
have unwittingly made.

Duncan B. MacDonald  
Alexandria, Virginia

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## CHAPTER 1: IN THE BEGINNING

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"May you live in interesting times." So, runs the most formidable of ancient Chinese curses. I don't know if someone, somewhere, angered an ancient Chinese, but I do know that the history of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, Alexandria, Virginia, is the story of a community bound together by over a century and a half of living together through the most interesting of times. And oh what interesting times they have been. The past eight score years have witnessed wars, peace, depressions, abundance, confidence, growth, and uncertainty. And through it all the people of Immanuel have tried to live out their faith together on their Holy Hill. It is this history of a church community living within realms of larger secular communities that makes Immanuel's past worth remembering.

The history of Immanuel does not begin with the establishment of the Parish in the 1940s, but rather much earlier with the founding of the Immanuel Community. You see, there would be no Parish on Holy Hill if it had not been for the establishing of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary over a century before. The Seminary is the Mother of the Parish. For that reason, our story must begin with a brief rehearsal of the earlier history of the "School of Prophets" on Holy Hill.

The Seminary, its campus so quiet and staid today, was born out of great sound, fury, and revolution. In the years leading up to the American Revolution, the colonies were swept by an angry disestablishmentarianism. A revolution which espoused civic equality, human rights and individual liberties, could not also foster the continuance of pampered and privileged State Churches. So strong, in fact, was this antithetical mood toward State Churches that it actually led to the disestablishment of the Angli-

can Church in Virginia, the one colony where such a thing must have seemed impossible.<sup>1</sup> There had arisen in Virginia a popular animosity towards a Church whose oligarchic and high-brow members had controlled every aspect of the Colonial government to suit their own purposes and not those of the common people.<sup>2</sup>

The Church had not set out to become distant from the people of Virginia. Indeed, it was a casualty of its own history. The Anglican Church had come to Virginia with the first settlers in 1607.<sup>3</sup> Virginia, unlike the other colonies along the Atlantic Seaboard, was from the beginning organized as an attempt to transplant English culture and English protestantism to the New World. This was the age when every Bully Beefeater could, and did, believe that God above had bequeathed all the Earth to the English for the taking. Virginia was to be proof of that inheritance. As such, from the outset, the Virginia Enterprise had about it an air of destiny and mission.

The Church of England entered wholeheartedly into that mission. The Church sent evangelical missionaries to serve the fledgling congregations, proselytize the Powhatan Peoples, and organize parishes and schools. So successful was the Church in planting itself in Virginia that it became the one consistent institution in the colony. But with its successes came a price. The Anglican Church slowly stopped being an evangelical and missionary church. Rather, as a State Church, comfortable and protected, it gradually began to assume more and more the role of being the right church for the right people. Thus, the Church at an early date became wedded to the interests of the ruling oligarchy, and began to serve the interests of the First Families ruling the colony, over the spiritual needs of the people.<sup>4</sup> And as the Church

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became one with the First Families, it also became inexorably joined to the Colonial Government. So strongly joined, in fact, that by the centenary of English settlement in Virginia the lines had blurred almost to the point of obscurity.<sup>5</sup>

The Anglican Church exercised political power at every level. For the average Virginian, however, this power was most obviously noticed within the Parish. Virginia's parishes were defined as geographical, political units, roughly sixty to eighty kilometers square.<sup>6</sup> The vestries of these parishes served as the most local units of government. Further, the local pulpit provided a rapid means for the Rulers to communicate with the people. In addition, the Church, especially the vestries, who had a vested interest in sustaining the ruling oligarchy, gave almost constant physical and moral support to the existing regime. In exchange for these loyal services, the Church received preferential treatment: patronage through taxation of both members and non-members, and recognition as the one True Church in Virginia.

As parish vestries came to dominate local government, so their members, invariably men drawn from the right sort, in turn came to dominate the Colonial Assembly in Williamsburg.<sup>7</sup> There arose in the Colony the original Virginia *Good-Ole-Boy Network*. Men like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and George Mason all began their public careers by sitting on Anglican vestries, secure that they were the best men in the best church in the best colony in the land. Needless to say, they were about to inherit the wind.

The iron ties between the Anglican Church and the Rulers of the colony not only angered religious dissenters, who found themselves to be second-class citizens in their own homeland, but also encouraged the Anglican clergy, secure in their incomes and social position, to adopt an unforgivable indolence.<sup>8</sup> Sadly, churchmen became less and less concerned with their ministerial duties and more and more interested in perpetuating their special status. Further, the *ole-boy-network* of the Church and the Rulers encouraged all of the Anglican laity to

see itself as a special, chosen, and closed community set apart from *hoi polloi*. Clerical indolence coupled with lay apathy born of assumed superiority meant that at the exact moment when the Church desperately needed to go forth and "do the work of the evangelist,"<sup>9</sup> it failed to reach out to others.

Just as the Anglican Church was falling prey to its own history and successes, the Colony of Virginia experienced a mass infusion of non-Anglicans. Germans, Scotch-Irish, Scots, and French all immigrated to the most English of Colonies. By the mid-point of the eighteenth century they had traveled and settled the length of the Great Valley.<sup>10</sup> These new, non-English settlers brought with them the cultural baggage of their old lives. They came with preset loves, devotions, and animosities. They entered Virginia, especially the Scots and the Scotch-Irish, with a marked dislike for all things English. They also came with a profound loyalty to their own "dissenting" denominations. In the score of years before the Revolution, these denominations grew at astronomical rates as their ministers sought every opportunity to create new churches and *win* converts from the older, ill-served, Anglican parishes. The Baptists were so successful in these efforts that they increased the number of their churches in Virginia nine fold in an eight year period.<sup>11</sup> All of these new people in Virginia were denied the rights of their Anglican neighbors. It was galling enough to be locked out, for the most part, from the councils of power within the colony. But it was even more egregious to have their churches treated as alien bodies of pernicious dissent. Many began to regard the Established Church as the most blatant symbol of all of their grievances.

When the Revolution came, the Established Church in Virginia was one of its first victims. Virginia declared its independence from England on 12 June 1776. Almost immediately the House of Burgesses took up the radical democratic reorganization of the Colony become Commonwealth. On 4 July 1776, the House adopted the fundamental charter for Virginia, the *Bill of Rights*. The sixteenth article of the *Bill of Rights* contained a single sentence that sounded the



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death knell of the Established Church:

... Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason, and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance and charity toward each other.<sup>12</sup>

There followed a whole series of lesser acts which stripped the Anglican Church of its prestige, its privileges, and its powers. Disestablishment became complete on 22 December 1781, when the House of Burgesses passed an act which reincorporated the Church as the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.<sup>13</sup> The Episcopal Church, which had been a stalwart of the *ancien regime* in Virginia was orphaned by the Revolution it had helped to create and left alone to fend for itself.

The Anglican Church continued to lose ground and membership throughout the Revolution and early post-revolutionary years. By the time Virginia entered the Federal Period, many of the churches were vacant or in physical ruin. Within the Commonwealth the state of Episcopalianism was nothing short of apostate.<sup>14</sup>

It was at this ecclesiastical nadir that a few dedicated men began to work diligently to save the Church in Virginia. Among these dedicated souls were the Rev. William Wilmer, the Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Alexandria, and the Rev. William Meade, who was on the verge of beginning his distinguished career as the third Bishop of Virginia.<sup>15</sup> Wilmer, Meade, and others came to believe that the only hope for the survival of the Episcopal Church in Virginia lay in the rigorous training of individuals to be evangelical priests. To encourage the evangelical education of young men for the priesthood an Education Society was formed in 1818 in the District of Columbia, with Wilmer as its president.<sup>16</sup> The members of this organization quickly realized that the education of priests required a

formal setting. Informal theological tutelage neither insured a sound religious education nor the development of an evangelical orthodoxy. Rather, to properly prepare a cadre of evangelical priests required the establishment of either a theological professorship at an existing institution of higher learning, or the creation of an independent seminary.

There had been a professor of theology on the faculty of William and Mary before the disruptions of the Revolution. There were those, including the president of the College, who thought that such a professorship could be reestablished. After a few false starts, an attempt was made by the Education Society to reinstate the Chair of Theology at William and Mary College. It failed miserably. The faculty and the students of the school were still aglow with the fires of the recent insurrection. They would not tolerate the return of Anglicanism to their midst.<sup>17</sup> The failure to reestablish a professorship at William and Mary meant that the only hope for formalizing the training of priests in Virginia lay in the creation of an independent seminary.

Alexandria became the favored choice among the individuals of the Education Society, and was ultimately selected to be the site of the new Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary. The venerable entrepôt on the Potomac was picked as the best situation for the Seminary for a variety of reasons. First, the location of the port city was better suited than other locales in Virginia because of its proximity to Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. It was hoped that its closeness to these other states would attract men from beyond the southern pale to study at the school.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, at this time Alexandria was part of the District of Columbia.<sup>19</sup> By the happiest of coincidences, locating a seminary in Alexandria meant that the school would at once be a national institution for the Episcopal Church, located within the Federal environs, and yet remain, as the Episcopal churches of Alexandria had, theologically under the control of the Bishop of Virginia. Thirdly, the Rev. William Wilmer was then serving as the Rector of St. Paul's. Putting the school in Alexandria meant that its most avid advocate and truest friend would be

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close at hand to aide and comfort the fledgling institution.<sup>20</sup> Finally, there resided in the vicinity of Alexandria one of the highest concentrations of Episcopalians to be found in the South. Few other cities in the region could boast of congregations as large and as active as Christ Church and St. Paul's. To plant a seminary in the midst of this Episcopal population would assure continued friendship and succor for the new school.

The Seminary opened its doors, on the Southeast corner of King and Washington streets in Alexandria in 1825.<sup>21</sup> Almost immediately the Seminary faculty began to look for a new situation, as the busy intersection of King and Washington, in the heart of downtown Alexandria, proved too "noisy" for the task at hand.<sup>22</sup> Physically, there can be no question that the town, a thriving and bustling entrepôt in those days, full of heavy wagons and horse-drawn carts clattering their way down cobblestone streets lined with shopkeepers shouting their wares, and thronged by citizens was a noisy place. And indeed, it must have been difficult for a lecturing professor to make himself heard above the din hurly-burly of daily life. The noise surely was too much. But there is noise and then there is "noise." Alexandria, the Port of Washington in those days, already a cosmopolitan place, filled with people from all walks of life, and every ethnic heritage known to nineteenth century America, was *spiritually* noisy. The burgeoning town bristled with all the devilish diversions of a true sea port. A borough only too familiar with earthly delights, Alexandria, through no fault of its own, threatened the good and pious work of the Seminary. The faculty, believing that the Church was already all but apostate, could not allow its future clergy to become corrupted by Alexandria's "noise." For that reason, the Seminary acquired property on the outskirts of town, up on Holy Hill, and in 1827 moved away from the noise of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil.<sup>23</sup>

The Seminary's removal to Holy Hill was of singular significance to our story, for it marked a concerted effort on the part of the Seminary to turn its back on the distractions of the World in order to concentrate on the good

and pious work of its charge. Consequently, as the new buildings began to rise, including the first of a series of chapels to bear the name Immanuel, there also arose within the neighborhood of the Seminary a closed, intensely focused, culturally, educationally, and religiously homogeneous community: the community of the Hill. And thus was the seed of what was to become Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill planted in fertile soil.

The "School of the Prophets" on the Hill succeeded far better than anyone had imagined. Within very little time the seminary was attracting students from all over. But with this surfeit of would-be scholars came a disquieting realization. Many of those who wanted to study for the priesthood lacked sufficient academic grounding to see them through the course of instruction. The need was more grave than might be immediately apparent. Prior to the advent of the 1830s, elementary and secondary education were all but non-existent in the young American Republic. It is not an overstatement to say that there was virtually no secondary education to be found anywhere in the South. As a consequence, there were candidates seeking admission to the Seminary who were barely lettered, and had no background whatsoever in the classics, history, nor the humanities. By the 1830s it had become crystalline that something had to be done to improve the academic calibre of students seeking admission to the Seminary.<sup>24</sup> To the end of providing younger boys with the proper secondary education necessary to complete the rigorous training of the Seminary, the Board of Trustees of the Seminary in 1839, founded and organized the Episcopal High School in Virginia on a thirty-two hectare site immediately adjacent to the Seminary.<sup>25</sup>

The opening of Episcopal High School did not lead to the opening of the Community of the Hill. Rather, the two institutions were deeply *simpatico* with each other. Indeed, you could say intrinsically so. For many years the two were of one flesh, having been jointly incorporated as The Protestant Episcopal Seminary and High School in the Diocese of Virginia. The two schools, while operated separately, nonetheless,



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shared the same boards of Trustees, the same educational goals, many of the same students, and even the same stationery.<sup>26</sup> The faculty of the High School was just as intent on keeping the world away from their young charges as was that of the Seminary in trying to protect their older brothers. The closed Community on the Hill remained a socially homogeneous group and content to be so.

As the Seminary was the Mother of what was to become Immanuel, the High School was the older sister. For from its beginning the faculty of the High School and their families, along with the boys, walked across the Hill to informally join in Sunday services with the families of the Seminary.<sup>27</sup> This *ad hoc* congregation was the nucleus from which Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill was eventually to evolve. For the next score of years, the two schools and their tightly knit community, went about their daily business of preparing boys and men for work in the Vineyard, certain that they had removed themselves from the angers and evils of the World.

The World, the Flesh, and the Devil, however, have a bad habit of crashing in on others. In May of 1861, war came to Holy Hill; the very worst sort of war, Civil War, a conflict between brothers. As much as the people of Holy Hill might have longed to continue their good work in isolated quiet, they could not escape the festering issues of the hour. No less a confirmed nationalist than The Rt. Rev. William Meade found himself pulled inexorably into the vortex of the coming maelstrom. Unable to not support Virginia and her cause, he ended his days as the Presiding Bishop of the Confederacy.<sup>28</sup> And what their Bishop could not ignore, the faculties and the students on the Hill could ignore neither. The air was full of the rumors of secession and war.

The election of 1860 tore at the very heart of the Commonwealth of Virginia. The Old Dominion was full of people who desperately wanted to maintain the Union their forefathers had helped create, and yet, just as desperately wanted to preserve Virginia's rights, political position, and sacred traditions. Of the four

candidates that year, only John Bell, running on a platform that stressed agrarian virtues, and gentility, seemed acceptable to the gentlemen of the Old Dominion.<sup>29</sup> The other three candidates each represented a troubled future. Stephen Douglas symbolized the ascendancy of the West to control of the democratic party and the South's consequent loss of power; John C. Breckenridge personified the failure of democratic institutions to solve the vexing problems confronting the Nation; and finally, Abraham Lincoln embodied the worst threat imaginable: the use of naked force to compel the South to renounce its ancient ways.

The election of Lincoln was too much for the South to swallow. Even before the Republican took office in March, 1861, several of the Southern states had already seceded from the Union. Among those southern states still in the Union was the Commonwealth of Virginia. On its decision rested the fate of both the Southern cause and the safety of Washington, D.C. Lincoln was loath to do anything to push Virginia out of the Federal nest. Yet, as much as Father Abraham wished to avoid angering Virginia, the great day of wrath had come and he could not stand against it.<sup>30</sup> Among the states that had left the Union before Lincoln's inauguration was South Carolina. The confederate government of South Carolina was demanding that Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, be defederalized. To back the demand, South Carolina laid siege to the tiny garrison. It was within days of being starved into surrender. For Lincoln to accept the South Carolinian demand to defederalize the fort would have been for him to accept the existence of South Carolina as an independent Nation. The sixteenth President could not grant such recognition. He determined to resupply the Federal garrison in the fort. South Carolina moved quickly and brutally to thwart such an effort. On 12 April 1861 Confederate forces, under the command of P.G.T. Beauregard, fired on Fort Sumter. Lincoln responded by calling for Federal volunteers. The War had begun.

Virginia decided to cast its lot with the South and seceded from the Union 23 May 1861. The next day, Federal troops invaded and occu-



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pied Alexandria.<sup>31</sup> In the space of a night Alexandrians had lost their citizenship and become subject to military occupation and martial law. Many of the townspeople, including faculty and students from Holy Hill, fled. In very short order, the military authorities began to commandeer and occupy property they deemed suitable for military use. In due course, both the Seminary and the High School were occupied.<sup>32</sup> The joyous Sunday *ad hoc* services of the little congregation of the Seminary's Immanuel Chapel fell into tragic abeyance as the people of Holy Hill were driven away by unholy war.

The military turned the Seminary and High School into a Federal hospital. At the same time, a corner of Holy Hill was ravaged in order to erect Fort Ward.<sup>33</sup> Holy Hill rapidly began to change in appearance as age old trees were felled, fences torn down, and school buildings and faculty houses were first *liberated* of their furnishings, and then ill-treated by Mr. Lincoln's blue-jacketed soldiers.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps all of the destruction and ill-use would have been worthwhile had the Seminary made an acceptable hospital. But alas, that was not the case. The Seminary, designed to house and school students, had halls too narrow and stairwells too steep for the easy movement of wounded men.<sup>35</sup> Yet, large buildings with large campuses, the two schools were the best that the area had to offer. And so, as hospitals in the hands of aliens, the schools remained occupied throughout the course of the War.

No war lasts forever. The great Constitutional Contest ended in 1865, and as soon as possible the people of the two institutions began to try to rebuild the life they had known on Holy Hill in the halcyon days of yore. By 1877, members of the two faculties, their families, the boys of Episcopal High School, local families with teenage daughters approaching courting age, and a few kindred spirits were again meeting for weekly divine services in Immanuel Chapel.<sup>36</sup> I cannot over stress that the arrangements within the congregation of Immanuel Chapel were completely *ad hoc*. It had always been natural for these men and women to meet informally together. This was a community made up of

educationally, ethnically, and religiously homogeneous Church School faculties. What binding force there was in sharing the same aspirations, the same beliefs, and the same glorious liturgy we can only now imagine. But we can imagine they felt themselves content. Nor should Immanuel's air of homogeneity and contentedness be seen as being out of step with the rest of middle class society in postbellum America. The great nightmare behind them, the American people reveled in their similarities. And no where was this truer than in small groups of like-minded friends.<sup>37</sup> The people of Immanuel Chapel were in step with their secular brothers and sisters.

The People of the Hill continued to move in step with their fellow Americans as the 1870s gave way to the 1890s. During these postbellum salad days, the Seminary became very active with the ultimate form of Christian outreach: *Missionary Work*<sup>38</sup>. The Seminary became enamored with far away places with strange sounding names, and quickly began to send its students to the remote corners of the earth to preach the Gospel; the Gospel as it was understood by an American Episcopal Church. Interestingly, it was during these same postbellum decades that the United States was stepping out on to the World Stage as a power.<sup>39</sup> The great adventure of carrying the benefits of the American way of life and the Gospel to the distant corners of the World consumed much of the energy and imagination of the Nation. And how the High School, the Seminary, and the congregation meeting in the chapel must have relished their roles in this heroic enterprise.

This is not to say that everything was hunky-dory in America. Such was not the case. These same decades witnessed repeated scandals as the vilest sort of corrupt business practices oozed their way into the public spotlight. Labor, suddenly aware of its own strength and angered by its mistreatment at the hands of others, learned the manly arts of picketing and strikes during this same age. The poor became poorer as the wealth of the Nation concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. Farmers and others at the mercy of large corporate banks, argued

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loud and long for an end to the Gold Standard. And all the while, new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe raised the first generations of Americans caught between two distinctly alien cultures. The air was rife with the calls for reform. And there were those, both on and off Holy Hill, who were starting to ask what role Christianity should play in bringing about social reform.<sup>40</sup> It was an age full of the promise of future unrest. But it was early days yet, and the middle class of the Nation chose to ignore the domestic problems of the hour. As far as the middle class was concerned, and they are the people of our story, God was in His Heaven and all was right with America. In this belief they persisted from the 1870s until the third decade of the twentieth century when once again the unsettling nature of the World came crashing into the lives of millions.

Volumes have been written describing the horrors of the Great Depression. For many, the economic uncertainties of the era became the defining force of their lives. Ultimately, it matters little if the Great Depression was the result of rampant, unregulated, speculation; the concentration of too much wealth in too few hands, the love child of *laissez-faire* business practices and the paucity of governmental policies; or the result of the World being trapped in the midst of some weird and malevolent marxist dialectic. The nightmare happened. And yet, the Depression Era is remembered today by those who lived through it, not only as a time of misery, but also as a time of renewed hope and promise.<sup>41</sup>

The World, this time apparently crumbling, again came hammering at the gates of Holy Hill in October, 1929. Neither Alexandria nor the people meeting in Immanuel Chapel were spared the crouching beast of Depression.<sup>42</sup> The people of Holy Hill, Alexandria, and the United States were not left alone, however, to confront the uncertain future. For there arose in their midst a voice of confidence, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Those born after the fact, and raised in these days of political mediocrity, thirty-second sound bites, and video image over personal substance, may never understand the impact

Franklin Roosevelt had upon a Nation so sorely in need of a friend and a leader. His "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself ... We do not distrust the future ..." <sup>43</sup> speech still reads as one of the finest calls to courage in the English language. Roosevelt's effect was electric. When the man spoke most Americans believed. Once believing, they acted. His was a crusade to restore the conviction of the people in themselves and in their dreams.<sup>44</sup> And while American politics, as well as American society, are ever more than just the leadership of one man, even his worst enemies grudgingly agreed Roosevelt was a most effective leader. The thirty-second President set out to instill in the people, through a series of radio *fireside chats*, a new sense of mission;<sup>45</sup> a mission directed toward hearth, home, and community; to build support for one another into America's sacred and civic orders.<sup>46</sup>

To that end, President Roosevelt, who more than any of his predecessors, showed an innate willingness to tinker and experiment, called the people to seek new and novel solutions to the problems confronting them.<sup>47</sup> On the spiritual level, churches all over the Nation responded by experimenting with social relief projects, revivalism, and programs to encourage families and communities to hold together in the face of their dread circumstances. In 1937, the Depression entered a new phase — it got worse. In an effort to achieve some sort of enduring results from all their experimentation, the Administration, the Congress, and more importantly, the ordinary people began to institutionalize those projects, programs, and *ad hoc* arrangements that had worked.<sup>48</sup>

On Holy Hill, the folks who had been sharing Sunday services with each other for decades in Immanuel Chapel, led by Alexander Zabriskie, Dean of the Seminary, Charles Tompkins of the High School faculty, and John Walker, future chronicler of Immanuel, as well as others, began to think in terms of providing support and comfort for their small spiritual community.<sup>49</sup> Professional educators and classical scholars, they began to see the problems in terms of Aristotelian thought. Aristotle had said that all successful human communities rested

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on three pillars.<sup>50</sup> The community on Holy Hill already had the pillars of the Seminary and The High School. What was needed was a third pillar to provide spiritual support and comfort to the people of Immanuel Chapel. What was needed was formal organization as a Parish.<sup>51</sup> And so to make Holy Hill complete, the people of Immanuel began to move from their old, easy, *ad hoc* ways toward formal, organized, parochial status. Heirs of an inheritance stretching back through one hundred and ten years of residence on Holy Hill, the story of the people of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had only just begun.



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## CHAPTER 2: A RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY

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Trying to make ends meet in an ailing economy continued to dominated the lives of the people of the United States, Virginia, and Holy Hill all through the 1930s. The Alexandria newspapers of the day were full of advertisements for what appear, by our modern standards, to be ridiculously underpriced bread, beer, and beef. Yet, the very same papers are also laden with articles that make it only too clear how few had the small sums of money asked to buy staples.<sup>1</sup> The country remained mired in Depression, not only of economy, but also of spirit. The stress of it all was beginning to strain the very fabrics of society. Make no mistake about it, the economy's continued floundering in the fourth decade of this century was a tangible threat to the American Way of life. Hard times produced hard thoughts, and hard words. Radical organizations swelled in membership as angry, tired men and women searched for answers along dark and twisted corridors. The challenge facing Americans was to find a way to preserve the American Way while carrying out much needed reform.

The New Deal was an attempt to meet that challenge by using Federal Power to institutionalize reform.<sup>2</sup> As F.D.R. strove to find homes for those reforms which were working, the thirty-second President also began to exhort the people to take action on their own behalf. He began to emphasize the need for the people to come together to build a society secure enough to face the exigencies of an uncertain future.<sup>3</sup> On Holy Hill the response to the President's exhortations was growing talk of establishing Immanuel Parish as a means of organizing spiritual social security in the face of an exacting era: As a means of bringing about needed new support for the people while conserving the best of the life the congregation had loved for so long on the Hill.<sup>4</sup> The establishment of a Parish on the Hill was not

a foregone conclusion, however. Immanuelites being Immanuelites, there was much room for debate. Just as there were those who did not see the need for all of the New Deal's experimentation, there were those at Immanuel Chapel who were equally unconvinced that a radical change of their age old *ad hoc* ways was necessary, or potentially beneficial to life on Holy Hill.

In their debates, Immanuelites in favor of the new Parish returned again and again to the need for a full time Pastor.<sup>5</sup> The *ad hoc* way of doing things had provided the people of the Hill with a place to gather and worship on Sundays and holidays, but it had not afforded them any form of pastoral support for the bumps and bruises of life. The people of Immanuel Chapel had no one to turn to consistently for hospital visitations; no one trained to comfort the bereaved, no one to be a good shepherd and tend the flock.<sup>6</sup> In short, they did not have a parish priest. On Holy Hill, it was now being argued that the mutual support needed to turn the Chapel into a true church home would best be had by establishing a full time parochial ministry at Immanuel.

The people already attending Immanuel Chapel were not the only ones in the neighborhood so desperately in need of a full time Pastor. Anyone willing to climb into the tower and glance down Holy Hill from the top of Aspinwall Hall could see that the spiritual demands placed on the Congregation were about to become unprecedented. The ancient, tiny, port town of Alexandria, which had seemed to sleep so contentedly in the southern sun through the long, languid decades following the War between the States, was suddenly, largely as a result of the growing New Deal Federal bureaucracy, beginning to sprawl. Suburbs were advancing on Holy Hill. There was no reason to assume the Federal Government would suddenly stop ex-

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panding, or that the suburbs laying siege to the Capital City would discontinue their inexorable march. It was only a matter of time before the population of Alexandria, growing and moving, swarmed over Holy Hill.<sup>7</sup> The argument was advanced among the Immanuelites that many of the folks so busy packing and unpacking their furniture, as the houses came ever closer, would eventually find Immanuel Chapel. That more than a few of them would want to join the existing congregation in worship. These new folks would turn to Immanuel in times of grief and joy. They, too, would need a full time Pastor. Not raised in the ways of Holy Hill, they would not understand that the priests on the faculty of the Seminary were following a different calling.<sup>8</sup> Would they not demand change to meet their own needs? Parochial status achieved in advance of the flood of new people would at once preserve the unique qualities of Immanuel while anticipating the needs of all the people for a full time parish priest; a priest that was going to be even more desperately needed if the situation in Europe and Asia continued to deteriorate.

If the times had turned desperately interesting in America, they had become malignantly so in Europe. The old order of the *Belle Epoque* had been bled white and died in the Arden Forrest and mud filled trenches of Verdun and Ypres. Europe entered a time of darkness. Particularly dark was the rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany. Radical right-wing dictators, the two Fascists leaders, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, pushed their people ever closer to war.<sup>9</sup> This march to war in Europe, when coupled with the fact that the Japanese had set themselves on a course of military adventurism, filled the skies with gathering storm clouds.<sup>10</sup> The people of Immanuel Chapel, along with everyone else in Alexandria who could read the newspapers, were keenly aware that they very probably would soon be at war.<sup>11</sup> The threat of war energized the people of Immanuel to action. Holy Hill had been ravaged during the Civil War three score and ten years earlier. Twice since then, the men of the Congregation had been called to the Colors; the last time only

twenty-one years before. The memory of war was fresh and palpable among the Immanuelites. If Depression threatened their lives and increased their need for a parish priest, how much more so would war? The Federal Government at war would most assuredly grow even larger. In turn, that would mean an even larger influx of people into the region; more new people who had not been raised in the *ad hoc* southern traditions of the Hill. And finally, the shortages inevitably concurrent with war would mean that the Diocese would not be able to build new churches in the suburbs, and that Immanuel Chapel would have to step in to provide a church home for an even larger number of people.<sup>12</sup>

Depression, population growth, and the threat of war made unstoppable arguments for the establishment of a Parish. But there was yet one more need facing Immanuel. The people of Holy Hill sorely needed a Parish House;<sup>13</sup> a place to gather for adult classes, Sunday School, dances, dinners, plays, fairs, meetings and all the non-worshipping moments of communal life; a center from which to carry out their mutual ministry to each other and to the folks living beyond the Hill's pale. This was no minor need. If conserving the religious life on Holy Hill was a worthwhile enterprise, then central to that enterprise was establishing a sense of family among the members of the congregation. To that end, the establishment of a Parish House was absolutely necessary.<sup>14</sup> To preserve their wonderfully unique, religious experience of worshipping together as Seminary, high school, and people, while building an ever stronger sense of family and support among the congregation in the face of changing times, the Immanuelites, led by Alexander Zabriskie, Charles Tompkins, Walter Karig, Cooper Dawson, Nancy Bell, Dede and John Walker, among many others, saw no option left open but to embrace the future and become a Parish.

Having determined that a Parish was needed, the men and women of Immanuel's "founding generation" approached their objective in a high spirited and almost cavalier manner.<sup>15</sup> Quickly, and quite extra officially — there was, after all, nothing official about Immanuel in



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those days — a special committee was formed to propose seeking parochial status to all the members of the Congregation. The members of the Special Committee, which included many of the members of the first vestry, half jokingly referred to themselves as a “Cabal.”<sup>16</sup> The truth is, they very nearly were. Their committee was both self generated and self constituting.<sup>17</sup> This was not, however, a churchly *coup d'état*. Alexander Zabriskie, Walter Karig, Ben Boogher, Charles Hoof, Charles Tompkins, Ray Pugh, Al Miller and John Walker were already the recognized and acknowledged leaders of the *ad hoc* Congregation that had been meeting at Immanuel Chapel for so many years. It seemed perfectly logical, not to mention meet and right, that they should lead the *ad hoc* committee to carry Immanuel from Chapel to Parish. The move to parochial status was the result of evolution and not revolution among the Immanuelites.

The Special Committee presented their plans to the people of the congregation at a dinner, held in the old refectory of the Seminary, on 2 May 1941.<sup>18</sup> In the course of one single, heady, evening, the creation of a Parish was proposed and accepted: A slate of vestrymen offered and elected; rudimentary bylaws tabled before the congregation and democratically legitimized. A Parish *de facto* if not yet *de jure* had been brought into being. The evening had been such a success because the new Immanuel was not radically different from what had been established more than a century before. This was not a newly risen group of people bound loosely together with some great missionary zeal burning in their eyes. Rather, this was a group of lifelong friends seeking to meet their rendezvous with destiny; seeking to add something a little new to an established order they loved and cherished.

Sixteen days after the founding fete, the first Vestry met and quickly accepted Dean Zabriskie as the Parish's first Rector. His appointment assured that the Parish would remain inexorably wedded to the Seminary. The vestry then offered the Rev. Robert F. Gibson the post of Assistant Rector and Minister-in-Charge.<sup>19</sup> His acceptance meant that the people

of Immanuel had at long last a full time Pastor. At least for the time being. Father Bob, as the Rev. Mr. Gibson was known to the Immanuelites of his day, had promised his services as a missionary in Mexico. He was waiting for the Mexican Government to allow him to enter into that ministry, when he agreed to serve temporarily as Minister-In-Charge of Immanuel.<sup>20</sup> Having a well known Rector, and an extremely talented Minister-In-Charge, the vestry was now ready to seek formal acceptance by the Seminary, the High School, the Diocese, and the other Episcopal congregations in the area.

Again, the Founders of the Parish were prepared and organized. To smooth their way, the new vestry had earlier sought the advice and consent for their plans from both the Headmaster of the High School and the Bishop Coadjutor of Virginia. Episcopal High School had been using the various incarnations of Immanuel Chapel for Sunday Services since 1839. After the Civil War, it had been the boys and Faculty of Episcopal High School who had been among the first to return to the pews and galleries of the Chapel. Episcopal High School's claim to the Chapel as their spiritual home certainly took precedence over a proposed parish. Any attempt to radically alter the traditional, liturgical relationship between, and the services shared by, the Seminary and the High School would unquestionably incur Headmaster Hoxton's ire. Moreover, Bishop Coadjutor Goodwin, as the apostolic heir apparent to Bishop Tucker, would soon be both the Bishop of Virginia and president of the Seminary's Board of Trustees.<sup>21</sup> The new parish could ill-afford to anger him either. It is a sign of how diligently the members of the parish sought to preserve the old ways of Immanuel Chapel that neither man found reason to complain about what was being proposed. In fact, both Headmaster Hoxton and Bishop Goodwin supported the creation of the new parish.

With the support of the Seminary, the High School, and Bishop Goodwin in place, it should have been clear sailing for the congregation's conversion into a parish. In any other diocese it probably would have been. But

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Immanuel's history unfolded in the Diocese of Virginia with its, at the time, convoluted system of geographical parishes dating back to colonial days. Physical entities, many laid out by the State Legislature, Episcopal parishes had length and breadth to them. And, following now ancient patterns of settlement, the parishes were large, averaging between sixty to eighty square kilometers in area.<sup>22</sup> All of the "parochial" churches in Alexandria — Christ Church, St. Paul's, Emmanuel, and Grace — were, in 1941, part of the Parish of Fairfax.<sup>23</sup> Thus, even though all of these churches had their own vestries; their own rectors; and were responsible for their own budgets and programs, none of them technically was a parish unto itself. Immanuel, as a Parish, would become a member of this congregational club, but only if the others would agree. The other Fairfaxian churches were all doing well and there was no reason to assume they would turn down the new Parish.<sup>24</sup> There was certainly no indication that any of them thought of the new Church as a potential *looter* or *poacher* of communicants. But, there was a rub; a problem that was to lead to Immanuel's first true controversy.

Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Braddock Heights had been an active member of the Parish of Fairfax since 1910.<sup>25</sup> The Church, just off Russell Road, had grown in membership and reputation within the larger communities of Alexandria and Northern Virginia. Emmanuel's outreach and special programs had become a frequent source of feature articles and items on the Religion Page of the local newspaper.<sup>26</sup> Emmanuel was an established church with an established, jealously guarded, reputation. Emmanuel had no desire to confuse the people of Alexandria with the presence of a second Episcopal Parish bearing phonetically the same name. And, the Emmanuelites had reason for concern. There were already two Emmamuels actively vying for the religious population of the area. Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church had been making a name for itself in service to the people of Alexandria for well over a decade. People were always showing up at Emmanuel Episcopal for an event that was scheduled for

Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran. And these two churches were not even of the same denomination. What would happen when the people of Alexandria tried to make sense of Emmanuel and Immanuel Episcopal Churches? The Emmanuelites quite rightfully questioned the wisdom of having two Emmanuel/Immanuel Episcopal Churches as congregations in the same parish.<sup>27</sup>

Typical of Immanuel's future approach to controversy, the members of the Congregation divided, good naturedly it must be admitted, into two camps: Those who called for a new name while all the time asserting that they had always thought Immanuel the sort of name that smacked of smells, bells, incense, and all sorts of perfidious papal panoply; and those who were just as emphatic, although somewhat more dour in their tones, in arguing that Immanuel had always been the name of the chapel on Holy Hill, and as such the Community of the Hill had a prior claim to its use.<sup>28</sup> In the end, a compromise was offered. To avoid confusion between the two sister congregations, and at the same time preserve both of their historical identities, the new Parish would henceforth be known by the awkward, hyphen laden, unwieldy name of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill.<sup>29</sup> The people of Emmanuel knew a good thing when they saw it staring them in the face, and quickly, welcomed Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill as a fellow member in the congregational club known as the Parish of Fairfax.

The flap over the name, such as it was, provided an interesting insight into the nature of the new Parish. The concern over being confused with others had all arisen from the Emmanuel side. It was not a problem for the people worshipping on the Hill. Immanuel Church, with or without hyphens, was not overly concerned about confusing outsiders because the Emmanuelites had no pressing desire, in the beginning, to step out into the public world of the other churches in Alexandria. The Congregation, become Parish, had not made its move in order to "Go Ye Forth Into The World To Preach," but rather, as we have already seen, as a means of providing itself aid and comfort while keep-



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ing alive unique relationships.<sup>30</sup> The people of Holy Hill saw Immanuel as a Parish born complete.<sup>31</sup> They need not proselytize others in Alexandria. Let Emmanuel Church worry. Immanuel was quite content to sit quietly behind its hyphens.

Actually, the insertion of the hyphens in the new name was significant. It clearly provided proof that the new Parish, in keeping with its relationship with the Seminary, was going to emphasize the Low Church leanings of the Diocese of Virginia.<sup>32</sup> Being a Low Church suited the evangelical and democratic forces that had played so much a part in the development of Episcopalianism and the Seminary in the years since Wilmer and Meade. Immanuelites were being true to their heritage. Hyphens were not to be found anywhere in the perfumed, pampered world of perfidious, papal panoply. The compromise offered and accepted, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill became a sister within the Fairfaxian Parish, just in the brink of time, for the World, the Flesh, and the Devil were marching up Holy Hill once again.

On 7 December 1941, the war that everyone had so long anticipated and dreaded came. The men and women of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, along with their brothers and sisters all across the Nation, grieved for the passing of peace and prepared for the fray. Two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Charles Tompkins suggested to the vestry that the time had come to seriously undertake the construction of a Parish House to serve the needs of Immanuel and the people of the Hill.<sup>33</sup> The community had always needed a place to gather together as a family. The War had exacerbated the need ten fold. Interestingly, at the same time that the other Episcopal parishes in Alexandria, long established and housed, were announcing special War Time service hours, and inviting servicemen and newcomers to the area to attend, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill began to debate the need for a Parish House as the proper response to the War.<sup>34</sup>

There was need for the new proposed Parish House. Wartime Alexandria was already paying the price for being so close to the Federal

Capital, and beginning to grow at an astronomical rate.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, by the mid forties, the Parish was already starting to grow at a rate never anticipated. This growth was not the result of evangelical outreach on the part of the new Parish — there had been none. Rather, it was the natural result of the appearance of new neighborhoods in Parkfairfax and Fairlington. The Diocese had originally planned to place a church conveniently between the two new housing additions, but had not been able to do so, as many Immanuelites had predicted earlier, because of the War.<sup>36</sup> Episcopalians in the neighborhood turned to the new Parish. Immanuel Chapel provided a seat for the liturgy, but there had to be another spot nearby in which to house Sunday Schools and adult classes, prepare meals, and be with one another in times of fellowship.

From the outset, Charles Tompkins, who became the driving force behind the proposed Parish House, wanted to have the new building named in honor of one of Immanuel's first, dearest, and truest friends, the Rev. Thomas Kinloch Nelson. The Vestry readily agreed. Thomas Kinloch Nelson's life had exemplified the heritage of Immanuel in a way that few others had. He had been born on Holy Hill, attended both Episcopal High School and the Seminary, served as a missionary in China, returned to several posts in the United States, and then had ended his career working as both a professor at the Seminary and Chaplain to the boys of Episcopal.<sup>37</sup> If anyone had ever loved and understood Holy Hill and the people of Immanuel, it had been Thomas Kinloch Nelson. He was the perfect one to hold up as a model for all future generations of the Parish.<sup>38</sup>

Tompkins' proposal made and accepted, Immanuel set out to make the Parish House a reality. In keeping with the ways they had established, a committee was organized to oversee the entire construction adventure. Tompkins was named as its chair. This group proceeded to propose a building that would have classrooms on a lower level and a hall, kitchenette, office and bathroom on the upper.<sup>39</sup> Armed with a name and a plan, the committee set about to try and convince their friends and neighbors that

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the Parish House was both needed and obtainable.

Most of the years 1942 and 1943 were consumed by the search for a suitable piece of land near Immanuel Chapel on which to build the Nelson House. The land closest to the Chapel belonged to the Seminary. Logic dictated that the best situation for the Parish House would be along the drive from Quaker Lane to the Chapel. But that would have necessitated the Seminary allowing the construction of the building on land literally in its front yard. There were those on the Seminary faculty who did not think it overly wise to either use the property thus, or allow Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill to mar the appearance of the school from Quaker Lane with a building designed for multipurpose use. Another piece of property needed to be found and soon.

1944 was a pivotal year in the History of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. The Board of Trustees decided that the time had come to formalize the relationship between the Seminary and Immanuel-Church-on-the-Hill.<sup>40</sup> Essentially, the resulting agreement between the two institutions legitimized the age old relationship between the School and the Congregation, while at the same time making it crystalline that the Seminary would remain the senior partner in that relationship. By the terms of the agreement, the Dean of the Seminary retained control of scheduling the services and ceremonials for Immanuel Chapel; future Ministers-In-Charge of the Parish would be selected from a list of candidates prepared by the Dean; the parish would pay rent and its fair share of the utilities; and for its part, the Seminary would allow the Parish to build on Seminary land, provided the building conformed to Seminary taste and remained vested in the Seminary.<sup>41</sup> The agreement was acceptable to Immanuel, because it meant that the old relationship would be maintained while allowing the Parish to, at last, seek a piece of Seminary land to build on. Building might have proceeded immediately except that 1944 was not through with Immanuel yet.

In the same month that the Allied Expeditionary Force invaded NAZI occupied France,

Bob Gibson left Immanuel to keep his commitments in regard to Mexico.<sup>42</sup> His departure left Immanuel without a pastor. The Vestry asked a family man, the Rev. William E. Ned Thomsen, to be Gibson's replacement. Suddenly, more important than building a Parish House was finding a place for the new minister and his young family to live in wartime Alexandria. After a few false starts, including turning down a piece of property across from the campus of what is today St. Stephen's-St. Agnes Upper School, the vestry purchased a house on Virginia Avenue.<sup>43</sup>

By VE Day, the desire to build the Nelson Parish House had grown so strong that some sort of beginning had to be made. But where to situate the building? Wherever it went, it would have to please both the Seminary and the Parish. A solution was found in a parcel of property on "the far side of the Jordan," lying across Seminary Road. The site, which commanded the Corner of Quaker Lane and Seminary Road was ideal in that it lay just far enough from the rest of the Seminary to insure the new building would not interfere with the aesthetic qualities of the "School of the Prophets."<sup>44</sup> Tompkins asked the Vestry what they thought of asking the Seminary to cede the plot to Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill?<sup>45</sup> As usual, the good-natured debates soon began.

It was in the midst of these debates over the proposed method of acquiring the site that Father Ned Thomsen made the worst gaffe of his Immanuel career. He seriously proposed that Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill merge with the congregation of the newer St. Clements Chapel, lying on North Quaker Lane. Additionally, he suggested Episcopal High School take over Immanuel Chapel on Sundays as their exclusive preserve, and that the Congregation of Immanuel move their services to St. Clements.<sup>46</sup> The twin suggestions were nothing short of explosive. Ned Thomsen had completely misread the depth of commitment and dedication the people of his flock had for their Chapel on Holy Hill. To be fair, Ned Thomsen was neither native to, nor fully educated in the ways of the Hill. To him, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill was a Parish

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barely five years old. The idea of merging Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill with St. Clements seemed a wonderful way to expand and diversify the congregation. Moreover, the merger would solve all the problems associated with the proposed Nelson Parish House. And surely, both of the young churches would benefit financially from the union. It all must have seemed so logical to the poor man.

Thomsen's suggestions galvanized the Congregation. Many announced that they would not leave Immanuel Chapel unless they were physically dragged kicking and screaming off the premises.<sup>47</sup> Others redoubled their efforts toward getting the land from the Seminary and building a Parish House as a means of sinking physical roots into their Hill. The Vestry asked the Seminary if it would cede the land, and were overjoyed when the Seminary, eager to have the Parish continue to grow and prosper in Immanuel Chapel, offered to relinquish the land lying on its far edge.<sup>48</sup> Ned Thomsen, for his part, having shaken things up on the Hill and moved the people to action, accepted a call to a parish in Maryland and quietly resigned from the post of Minister-In-Charge.<sup>49</sup> The people of the Parish, the Seminary, and the High School threw themselves into raising the funds needed for the building before another threat could arise.<sup>50</sup>

Father Ned was replaced by The Rev. Robert F. Gibson, who returned to Immanuel, this time as Rector. The Immanuelites again had the company of their much beloved friend, Father Bob, but again, the stay was to prove too short. Within a year of his return, Gibson was on his way to assume the duties as Dean of the School of Theology at the University of the South.<sup>51</sup> He in turn was replaced by the Rev. J.L.B. Larry Williams, who was destined to serve as Rector of the parish for the next six years.<sup>52</sup>

The necessary money having been found — part of it coming from the Seminary and part of it coming from the High School — work was finally begun on the Parish House.<sup>53</sup> It should be pointed out here, in light of subsequent events, that the new Parish House rising "across the Jordan" was not meant to be a separate church. Indeed, the Parish House built in the 1940s did

not even contain a chapel. Immanuel Chapel would remain, as it always had been, the spiritual home of the parish.

The Thomas Kinloch Nelson Memorial Parish House was completed by 1949. With its construction, came two of Immanuel's most cherished, and at times frustrating, traditions: running up and down the Hill between Immanuel Chapel and Nelson House regardless of the weather; and the almost constant desire on the part of someone to remodel, rebuild, redecorate, expand, or modify the Parish House.<sup>54</sup> But isn't that the way with every family that truly lives in their home. For you see, Aristotle had been right. The society of the Hill was better served by having three pillars in place. The Parish allowed Immanuelites to grow from a community into a family. In family there was strength. Strength needed to face times full of change; change that was coming even as the people of the Parish gathered to dedicate their new home. The Community of Holy Hill was a century and a score in age, the Parish was pushing eight, and the twentieth century was almost half over. The times were growing more interesting by the second.







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## CHAPTER 3: THE TIMES THEY ARE A CHANGIN'

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Change — constant change had been rampant in the lives of the people of Immanuel for at least the last score of years. Between organizing the Parish, building the new Parish House, and winning the Second World War, the times had been nothing if not interesting. Perhaps the United States, Virginia, and Holy Hill were caught in the midst of an ongoing Chinese curse; perhaps, the rate of interesting change was merely accelerating as the Nation neared the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> Things certainly felt as if they were moving quickly. The founding generation of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had barely had a chance to catch their breath in their headlong, mad dash from Great Depression to Global War to the unsettled peace of Cold War. As the Parish gathered to dedicate Nelson House in 1949, more than one Immanuelite desperately hoped that the next years would bring quiet and settled calm to Holy Hill. It was not to be. The decade of the 1950s were to grow increasingly frantic as America and Immanuel responded to the changes made necessary by unprecedented growth, and the realization that the evil of Segregation must end.

The decade began in a frenzy of growth. The houses that had been relentlessly marching toward Holy Hill all through the 1930s and 1940s finally surrounded and swarmed over the brae. The Seminary, the High School, and the Parish found themselves in the midst of human noise, again. But this time, the three institutions did not move from the crowd. Rather, they accepted the fact that they must carry on their lives, and work, in the middle of thousands of secular neighbors. And as the highrise apartment buildings began to rise to the north of the Seminary, it sank in that soon there would be tens of thousands of neighbors. Suburbia had arrived.

The Suburbs of America grew as a Nation of renters became a Nation of homeowners. At an unprecedented rate millions of young couples who married during and after the war, purchased, with the help of government programs and private loan incentives, homes they could truly call their own.<sup>2</sup> The transformation from urban renters to suburban homeowners happened in remarkably short time. As fast as the houses of Seminary Valley sprung up they were filled with young families. And apparently just in the nick of time. For suddenly, there were children everywhere as the Nation experienced an unprecedented *Baby Boom*.

What the Nation was experiencing, Alexandria knew only too well. In the years between 1940 and 1960, the ancient southern entrepôt all but burst at the seams as the population increased by more than 57,000 souls.<sup>3</sup> The explosion in Alexandria's population was even felt at Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, which was still one of the better kept secrets in town, Immanuelites having returned to their practice of not advertising their Sunday services.<sup>4</sup> Between January 1945 and November 1953 there were no fewer than 337 Baptisms performed within the Parish.<sup>5</sup> And if that high number of Baptisms was not enough to indicate the effects Suburbia and the *Baby Boom* were having on the growth of the Parish, consider the fact that between 1941 and 1951 the number of people present for Easter Services at Immanuel jumped five fold from 185 to 1,020.<sup>6</sup>

The *Baby Boom* that would shortly threaten to blow the walls off of Immanuel Chapel and the new Parish House came about because of the reversal of several trends that had become hallmarks of American Society in the early years of the twentieth century. Strikingly, for the first time in decades women were striving to get out of the work place.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the first half of

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the century, a gradual trend toward double income families, and a World in which women found themselves working outside of the home had clearly been the order of the day. Mothers, wives, daughters and sisters had become a common sight in the work place before 1918.<sup>8</sup> And of course, women had formed a significant portion of the labor pool during the War. Yet, *Rosie the Riveter* lost her iconic status almost as soon as peace returned to the land. It is extraordinary to note that the women of the new decade honestly maintained, along with their brothers, that true freedom could only be found outside the cloying, confining, homogenizing rigors of the factory or the office.<sup>9</sup> Liberation, then, resided within the home. And lucky was the woman who could make a career out of the truly important job of keeping a home and raising a family.<sup>10</sup> At Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, a woman like Charlotte Lloyd, who managed to balance both career and familial duties, became the exception and not the norm.<sup>11</sup> It was the young wives and mothers of Immanuel, *freed* in their own eyes from the drudgery of the work place, who organized the first Kindergarten Program at the Parish; took on the social duties of hosting teas; presided over the care of the Altar linens and furnishings; and studied the books the Rector was purchasing for the newly founded Parish Library.<sup>12</sup>

Women turning away from work outside of the home helped fuel the reversal of two other twentieth century American trends. Couples throughout the 1950s married at a demonstrably younger age than had their parents or grandparents.<sup>13</sup> Some of these earlier marriages were undoubtedly between men and women who had been forced to suspend their lives during the War. But that's only part of the answer. Many of the newlyweds were too young to have either taken part in, or been kept apart by, the War. Rather, young women were eager to begin their true lives' callings as wives and mothers. Their young beaux were just as eager to wed. What is more, they were committed to the idea of marriage. Consequently, the divorce rate dropped below pre-war levels. American newlyweds of the day married for better or

worse, richer or poorer, in sickness or in health, and for life.<sup>14</sup>

New young families were making their way up the drive from Quaker Lane to discover Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. The Seminary, the Parish, and the High School began to change along with their neighborhood. The Great Depression and the War had had an effect on the three institutional pillars of Holy Hill in ways that were only beginning to become evident. The men who returned from the war to study for holy orders at the Seminary were not the same boys who had haunted the place before. The new classes came with experience of arms, the hard-won lessons of adult life, a rising conviction that their calling was as much social as it was spiritual, and, in many cases, with wives and children of their own.<sup>15</sup> The student body of the Seminary would never be the same again. In addition, these young men of experience were greeted by a new younger Seminary Faculty. The old guard on the Hill was fading quickly. The new professors of the Seminary, along with the classroom teachers returning to the High School, were also made different because of their Depression and wartime experiences.<sup>16</sup> These new faculty joined Immanuel and spoke quietly and effectively of the need for the place to change and grow.

The Community on the Hill had always been deeply rooted in its sacramental and theological practices. Moreover, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had not engaged in an overt effort to win new members. As such, the parish seemed the most unlikely candidate for either change or any save modest growth during the 1950s. And yet, largely because the younger faculties and the Rector encouraged the Immanuelites who had been part of the parish since before its inception to embrace the new people arriving as brothers and sisters, the growth of the Parish, as we have already seen, was anything but normal.<sup>17</sup> The idea of greeting the newcomers as family paid tremendous dividends.

The young families finding their way up the Hill had a need to be accepted as family. Many of them were all but spiritually rootless. Spiritual rootlessness was true of families all



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across the land, and was at base the result of the same force that had led to the organization of Immanuel Parish — rampant social and economic change. Make no mistake about it, the old traditional ties to churches had vanished from the land long before the devastating days of October 1929. Too many Americans for too many years had been forced by their interesting times to tear themselves away from the old family farm, the old family neighborhood, and the old family church. Millions longing to express their Christianity, and yet, owning no religious heritage, created a new phenomenon in the 1950s — shopping for the right church.<sup>18</sup> Finding the right church became part of the American quest for the right home set in the right community. All the denominations, including the Episcopal Church, experienced shifts in social focus and religious practices as cradle members left and new faces arrived in unprecedented numbers. This was not a sudden spurt in religiosity based upon hard-core attachment to traditional denominational dogmas, tenets, or theologies. Rather, all but reminiscent of earlier Great Awakenings among the American People, this was a radical rise in popular Christianity; a mass acceptance of the most fundamental Christian beliefs and mores.<sup>19</sup>

The word Fellowship became increasingly linked to the word Christian. The new families attracted to Immanuel by the heritage and values to be found in the Church on the Hill brought with them a desire to have a church that not only fitted their image of the ideal traditional church, but also the yearning for a church that allowed “both low and high, rich and poor” to live together in Christian Fellowship.<sup>20</sup>

The Rev. J.L.B. Larry Williams began wholeheartedly to minister to the new Immanuelites with the same drive and skill he had used in tending to the needs of the older established Congregation.<sup>21</sup> Father Larry understood only too well that not all of the new Immanuelites were cradle Episcopalians. That there was a need for the Parish to look for a path which would allow the newcomers to come into line with the teachings of the Episcopal Church, while leaving them the freedom to keep much of

their personal religious heritage intact.<sup>22</sup> In this effort, Mr. Williams and others planted seeds which were to bear interesting fruit in the years to follow. The first, and fundamentally most important of these fruits, was that Immanuel was on its way to becoming a church grounded upon acceptance. As such, there would increasingly be room at Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill for both traditional sacramental and less than orthodox expressions of piety. Much of the liturgical experimentation at Immanuel in the 1970s and 1980s was made possible by Rev. Larry Williams teaching the Parish, in the 1950s, that there was more than one way to approach the Almighty.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, and significantly, Immanuelites were learning that in order to preserve their own personal religious liberty they had to respect the rights of others to follow their own paths. For some Immanuelites it would be a short step from granting each other religious equality to being willing to grant civil and social equality as well.<sup>24</sup> For others less ready to make that particular journey, spiritual acceptance would make the gradual acknowledgment of equal Civil Rights less socially shocking than it might otherwise have been. Finally, and perhaps most interesting of all, in the process of preserving their individual religious heritages under the broad and beautiful common prayers and practices of the Church, many Immanuelites were preparing themselves for an ever deeper quest for individual communion with their Heavenly Father. So much of the quest for personal ministry and more direct communion with God that was to subsequently make Immanuel Immanuel, rose from the willing acceptance of others preached in the early 1950s.<sup>25</sup>

Larry Williams’ ministry emphasized Christian Fellowship.<sup>26</sup> Immanuel Parish very quickly came to be known throughout Alexandria and Northern Virginia as a place for both family worship and good, clean fun. Father Larry presided over masked *Mardi Gras* parties, lively dinners, joyful dances, plays, and community fairs.<sup>27</sup> In addition, families decorated Nelson House and Immanuel Chapel for Christmas, and the Women’s Auxiliary held teas and



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fetes for newcomers;<sup>28</sup> all in the open spirit of Christian Fellowship. The result was inevitable, Mr. Williams is remembered for always being in the company of young adults.<sup>29</sup> Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill grew and grew.

In response to this growth, the Parish instituted, in addition to its long established eight and eleven o'clock Sunday services, a new service at nine a.m. every Sunday morning.<sup>30</sup> Originally, it was hoped that the new nine o'clock service would meet the needs of adult parishioners while leaving the eleven o'clock service as the spiritual seat of the High School. After some trial and much error, however, it was realized that eleven o'clock better suited the schedules and exigencies of young suburban families. The boys and friends of the High School good-naturedly switched service times with the Parish. Once again, the eleven o'clock service became what it had always been, the principal weekly spiritual expression of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill's communal life in Christ.<sup>31</sup>

Three Sunday services meant that the adult worshippers could be accommodated, but what of their children? Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had not had much experience with children in its formative years.<sup>32</sup> The first attempt at organizing Sunday School on a formal basis had only come in 1948.<sup>33</sup> Undaunted by this lack of experience, as the 1950s progressed, Immanuel went into the Sunday School business in a big way. Under the leadership of such stalwart souls as Deborah Vail, Mary Stanley, and Matthew Hale, a cadre of spirited, dedicated teachers soon was devoting its Sundays to the children of Immanuel, teaching classes that ranged from Pre-School through Senior High.<sup>34</sup> And this was Sunday School with a difference. Because Sunday School was held in Nelson House concurrently with the eleven o'clock service at Immanuel Chapel, it was necessary for parents to leave their children off prior to making their way up the Hill. Matt Hale started what amounted to curb-side service, waiting outside, regardless of the weather, to quickly and safely shepherd children from their parents' automobiles into Nelson House.<sup>35</sup> And the service did not end there. Sunday School teachers went to

great pains to keep parents apprized of a child's progress in Sunday School, actually going so far as to both telephone and send home written comments and reports meant to help parents find ways to guide their children's moral and spiritual development.<sup>36</sup> The result of such service was that Immanuel's Sunday School, itself, became known for its excellent program and interest in children, and began to grow at an unexpected rate. Immanuel's Sunday School was, for many of the children in the neighborhood, "the place to be."<sup>37</sup> Soon there were playful rumors flying about that there were children taking part in Sunday School whose parents were not concurrently attending Church.<sup>38</sup> If that were the case, then the children were certainly made to feel welcome.

Soon there were so many children involved in Sunday School that Nelson House could no longer accommodate all of them. To try to alleviate this situation, the Parish launched into an ill-fated experiment known as Monday School. The idea was simple enough: some of the Sunday School classes would not meet on Sundays, but rather on the following evening.<sup>39</sup> Attending Sunday School on Monday evenings never proved popular with either the children or their parents. What was needed was some way to accommodate the seemingly endless growth of the Parish.

In the midst of this unprecedented growth, in 1953, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill became an autonomous parish;<sup>40</sup> an event which seems to have passed without much fanfare, as the Parish had, ever since the day it had adopted its hyphenated name, pretty much behaved as if it were autonomous anyway. Shortly thereafter, the extremely popular Larry Williams left the parish.<sup>41</sup> After a brief interim, the Vestry called the Rev. W. T. Tom Heath to serve as Immanuel's fourth Rector.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Heath's Christianity was also one manifested in Fellowship. But, in many regards, a less social Fellowship than had been the mark of Larry Williams' tenure.<sup>43</sup> The great cycle of convivial dinners, plays, festive dances, and masked *Mardi Gras* parties all slowly came to an end, as Mr. Heath led his flock toward a more serious form of Christian Fellowship<sup>44</sup>.

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Even though their emphasis was markedly different, Father Tom, like Father Larry before him, continued to stress the place of acceptance in the ministry of Immanuel. The Parish, which still saw no reason to actively pursue evangelical outreach, continued to grow at a phenomenal rate. Within a year of his arrival, Mr. Heath, and the vestry, responding to the continuing growth, began to discuss, for the second time in Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill's brief fifteen years as a Parish, large scale building projects.

Nelson House was rapidly becoming inadequate for the needs of the community. There had to be more room for all the children involved in Sunday School: there had to be more space for their parents to hold meetings, and attend classes; and there had to be a second chapel. It was becoming increasingly impossible to carry out all of the spiritual commitments of a Parish the size of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill within the limited times Immanuel Chapel was available. The Chapel was, as it always had been, not only the Parish's chapel but the spiritual seat of the Seminary, and the High School as well.<sup>45</sup> The Chapel was in all but constant use as each of the three institutions pursued their spiritual lives. The demand on the Chapel could only increase as all three, the Parish, the Seminary, and the High School continued to grow. A second chapel, an overflow chapel, was needed to keep the Parish's spiritual life on schedule. The people of Immanuel accepted the challenges of growth and made plans to simultaneously build a new chapel while extensively renovating Nelson House.<sup>46</sup>

The new and improved Nelson House was to feature not only a new chapel annex, but an expanded kitchen, more fellowship space and larger rest rooms, as well as adequate Sunday School classrooms and offices. The classrooms and offices were to be added to Nelson House by the novel approach of building down. The new rooms would be on a ground floor beneath the Chapel and renovated Fellowship Hall.<sup>47</sup> The Congregation of Immanuel was designing a Parish House meant to serve the community for many decades to come. As a sign of how important the new building was going to be

to the future of Parish, the Vestry voted to name the proposed chapel in honor of Immanuel's first Rector, the Alexander C. Zabriskie Memorial Chapel.<sup>48</sup> In keeping with Immanuel's heritage as a Virginia Low Church, it was decided that the Zabriskie Memorial Chapel should be built along the lines of a "Williamsburg" Church. That is a chapel featuring simple ascetic lines and even simpler decoration.<sup>49</sup>

The renovations would require the moving of Seminary Road several meters to the North. This the Seminary, and the Parish, found the city only too willing to do as it offered a chance to widen and improve the increasingly used road. Serendipitously, the move of the Seminary Road made it possible to use a piece of property, given to the Parish earlier that year, at the original corner of Seminary Road and Quaker Lane, as the site for a new Rectory.<sup>50</sup> Ultimately, the renovation of Nelson House, the construction of Zabriskie Chapel, and the new Rectory, in the years between 1956 and 1959, were to become the driving concerns of the entire parish,<sup>51</sup> a driving force aimed at building community.

While Immanuelites were busy trying to build their community with brick, mortar, and stone, others were actively seeking to renovate American Society with the basic building blocks of rights. The predominately white Middle Class had, without realizing it, begun to change its assumptions in regard to others. America was about to rediscover Civil Rights.

The Civil War had not changed fundamental racial attitudes in the United States. The promise of full citizenship held by the XIII<sup>th</sup>, XIV<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the Constitution, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 went a glimmering after the Compromise of 1877.<sup>52</sup> The rights of Black Americans had suffered setback after setback in the face of Jim Crow laws, and grandfather clauses. By the 1950s, Segregation of the races, either *de jure* or *de facto*, had become the rule of the land both North and South. As a result, there had arisen a great disparity in lifestyles between the increasingly powerful and prosperous whites and their politically impotent black neighbors.



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Worse to admit, the hands of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, and the community of Holy Hill, were not clean in the development of America's separate and unequal society. There had been no great attempt on the part of the Episcopal Church to protest segregationist policies, or the growing economic disparity between the two races. The Church accepted discrimination and operated within the system. For many years the Seminary ran the separate Bishop Payne School of Theology for young black men eager to enter the ministry, and saw no obvious contradiction between doing so while preaching unity in Christ.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, so complete had the segregation of the two races become that when it was first suggested that Mr. John Peters, one of the few black residents of Holy Hill, and a confirmed member of Immanuel Chapel, be asked to join the rest of the congregation for Holy Communion, it was considered an issue worthy of vestry discussion.<sup>54</sup> And, even after Mr. Peters joined his brothers and sisters at the rail, the Parish did not at first make an effort to reach out to other black families living in the area.<sup>55</sup>

But change was in the air. The New Deal, the Second World War, the rise of easy acceptance in Suburbia, and Christian Fellowship, were having a cumulative effect. The people of Immanuel, and the Nation, were beginning to see the question of Race in a new light. The black population of the Nation, sensing a change in some of their white neighbors, and tremendously frustrated by the Federal Congress' rejection of President Harry Truman's call for new Civil Rights legislation, heeded the brilliant counsel of men like Thurgood Marshall and Immanuel's own Armistead Boothe, and began to ask the Federal courts to redress their grievances.<sup>56</sup> The problem with using the courts was that judicial decisions had limited effect, often having an impact only on the litigants in the case. Somehow, the Nation had to be energized to forsake the old segregationist ways and start the long rough climb toward equality for everyone.

The spark that galvanized the attention of the Nation was the arrest in Montgomery, Alabama, on 5 December 1955, of Rosa Parks for refusing to yield her bus seat to a white passen-

ger. Within days, a mass Civil Rights Movement had begun to rise from the grass-roots. Many of the people of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, following the lead of Army Boothe, Marion Galland, Mary Walton Livingston, Eileen Eddy, and their Father Tom, eagerly joined the movement to win Civil Rights for their neighbors.<sup>57</sup> Not all of Immanuel joined in the crusade, it's true. Even so, many in the Parish began to speak out against the segregation which marred Alexandria.<sup>58</sup> Together, with increasing numbers from other churches, these stalwart souls began to bring about an end to the last cultural vestiges of the Peculiar Institution. Indeed, Eileen Eddy, fierce in her convictions, took on no less a bastion of segregation than the Virginia P.T.A., actually speaking out against Segregation at the state convention.<sup>59</sup> She and many of her fellow parishioners worked diligently and courageously to keep the schools of Alexandria open when Segregationists threatened to close them rather than integrate.<sup>60</sup> At almost the same instant Mary Livingston was organizing the effort that would result in the desegregation of Alexandria's lunch counters.<sup>61</sup>

In embracing the cause of Civil Rights in the late 1950s, Immanuelites were training themselves for the future. They were learning in the trenches the tactics that would see them through many a social issue in the days to come. What is more, they were developing an interest in reaching out to their neighbors; an interest that had not been a part of Immanuel in its earlier years. As the decade of the fifties hurried toward its end, the people of the Parish could take great pride in their growth; their newly found commitment to their neighbors; and their renovated Parish House and Chapel. The Parish on Holy Hill had changed with its neighborhood — it was larger, younger, more diverse, and socially much more aware than it had ever been. Surely, the 1960s would hold no surprises for Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. But then, the Rev. H. Coleman McGehee was only just making his way up the Hill.



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## CHAPTER 4: ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS

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The folks gathered in Zabriskie Chapel, for its dedication in 1959, were full of confidence. Their new chapel was cool, and full of peaceful potential. Surely, the future of the Nation was just as bright with promise. Let the new decade come, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill was ready.

Come the decade did. The 1960s began where the 1950s had left off — in a season of phenomenal growth.<sup>1</sup> The surge in the Parish's population during the sixties was not the result of advertising. Throughout its history, the Church on the Hill had never had to advertise in order to grow. Other parishes, such as Emmanuel on Russell Road, trumpeted their existence with exuberance. But to the Congregation gathered around the Seminary and the High School, that sort of thing had always seemed expensive, not to mention a tad gauche. Thanks to the work of Larry Williams and Tom Heath, the Parish, while not banging on doors to invite new people to come to Church, would, nevertheless, welcome anyone who found their way to the doors. Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had become a parish in which men and women of varying political, theological, and social bents could kneel side-by-side in equity. In addition, many of the parishioners were becoming increasingly involved with volunteering their time and energies in outreach to the community.<sup>2</sup> And, of course, members of the Congregation had already become known for their work on behalf of Civil Rights. And so, without really trying, the Parish on Holy Hill had become famous. Consequently, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill continued to grow at an extraordinary rate throughout the early days of the new decade.

In the midst of this unbridled growth, the Parish lost its fourth Rector, Tom Heath. His replacement, the Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, inherited from Father Tom a church physically

bursting at the seams.<sup>3</sup> Believe it or not, the Parish had no sooner moved into the newly renovated Nelson House and Zabriskie Chapel, then someone looked around and realized that for the third time in eighteen years the congregation was rapidly outgrowing its home. The people of the Hill made it only too clear to Mr. McGehee that no matter what else he might wish to do during his tenure at Immanuel, and it was obvious to everyone that Father Coleman was a man of great vision, his first task must be to do something about the crowding caused by exuberant growth.

The new Rector opened the floor to suggestions. The first proposal aimed at alleviating the press of flesh on Sundays was a tried and true favorite on the part of many in the Parish. It was put forth, yet again, that the best answer to the problem lay in a massive construction project. Why not enlarge Immanuel Chapel? Perhaps, by increasing the size of the balcony?<sup>4</sup> The plan suffered from one tiny, yet insurmountable, flaw: Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill did not own Immanuel Chapel. The Chapel is the very heart of the Seminary. Should the Parish renovate Immanuel Chapel to suit its needs, it would have to alter the feel and scope of the old building. To do so would risk making the Chapel unsuitable for use by the Seminary and the High School. The Vestry let it be known that they simply felt it was not overly wise to use parochial monies to renovate someone else's chapel. So, the idea of reconstructing Immanuel Chapel was scrapped.

Not willing to desert their tradition of construction at Immanuel easily, the people were, after all, nothing if not proven builders, several parishioners began to urge that the congregation undertake the construction of a new church building next to the Parish House and chapel annex.<sup>5</sup> The idea of erecting a new church building was rather swiftly shot down from two

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directions at once. Father Coleman had come to Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill with a mission in mind. He wanted to direct Immanuel's considerable energies outward, and had no intention of giving in to the nesting instinct of his flock.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, he wasn't about to tie up the Parish's financial resources in another building effort and thereby thwart his own plans to use Immanuel's monies elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> Mr. McGehee spoke elegantly and forcefully against the idea of a new church building. Simultaneously, Dean Trotter of the Seminary announced that a new building would inevitably lead to the end of the special relationship between the Seminary and the Parish. He let it be known that the Seminary had no intention of allowing Immanuel Chapel to stand empty on Sundays. And so, he told the Immanuelites that if they persisted in building a new Church, he would organize a new parish seated in Immanuel Chapel<sup>8</sup>. Not even the most obstinate of Immanuelites was willing to try to erect a new church building in face of opposition on the part of both the Rector and the Dean.

The third suggestion to rise in the Parish was to ask the High School to yield its Sunday morning service time to Immanuel. There were those who maintained that the boys of Episcopal would be much happier with a late afternoon service — say, three or four p.m. — than with their required morning attendance.<sup>9</sup> Episcopal High School had played an active role in the life of the community of the Hill since the 1830s. Members of its faculty had been instrumental in shepherding the young Parish through its formative years. The High School had willingly switched service times with the Parish in the past. And now, the High School was being told that it would be best for everyone if it would sacrifice morning services altogether for the greater good of the Parish. The High School, not surprisingly, politely refused to move its service time yet again for the convenience of the Parish. Enough after all is enough. The Parish accepted this polite rebuff, but the stress of growth was to ultimately prove too much. Within a few years, the Parish would be openly inviting the High School to terminate its relationship with

Immanuel Chapel.<sup>10</sup> For the nonce, however, the High School would keep its traditional meeting time, and Immanuel would have to look elsewhere for an answer to its population explosion.

The ultimate solution to the problem of overcrowding rose from Dean Trotter's threat. He had said that rather than see Immanuel Chapel empty on Sundays, he would create a new parish. Instead of that, it suddenly seemed a very good idea for Immanuel to create a daughter parish.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Arnold Wells, an Immanuelite living "in the far off western hinterlands" close by the intersection of Seminary Road and Beauregard Avenue, agreed to take on the task of organizing a new mission church serving the spiritual needs of the people of his neighborhood.<sup>12</sup> The ties between the new church, soon christened the Church of the Resurrection, and Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill were unmistakable. Not only did Immanuelites form the nucleus of the new congregation, but the Rev. Wm. "Jim" Green, who had been serving as Immanuel's Assistant Rector, agreed to become Resurrection's first priest and rector.<sup>13</sup> The Church of the Resurrection was, at once, the answer to many prayers. As the colonists followed Mr. Wells and their new priest off to another corner of the vineyard, the population at Immanuel returned to a manageable size: the people living around Beauregard and Seminary found a Church home; and Mr. McGehee managed to keep his flock's energies free to build a spiritual edifice he hoped would prove more lasting than their usual media of bricks and mortar.

In founding a daughter parish, the people of the Hill were once again walking in step with their fellow Christians throughout the Nation. The inevitable result of all that shopping for the right church in the 1950s, had been the expansion of the established denominations into new neighborhoods. There were new churches springing up everywhere. Within the Episcopal Church for a time, it became quite the rage for established Parishes to plant daughter missions just beyond their proven churchly pales. In a

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decade in which it was very important to be "with it," Immanuel, by helping to found the Church of the Resurrection, had shown itself to be definitely "in."

Throughout all the discussions leading up to the organizing of the Church of the Resurrection by Immanuelites, Mr. McGehee had shown himself determined, extremely well organized, and tenacious in his convictions. Having solved the problem of growth, the fifth Rector turned to the challenging task of preparing Immanuel for the ministry that lay ahead. His first step in that direction was to reorganize the Parish along much more centralized lines than had ever been the case before.

The best business cant of the late fifties had it that success lay along the path of centralized organization. President Dwight Eisenhower had started a trend in centralizing by appointing his own Chief of Staff to watch over the daily operations of the White House.<sup>14</sup> Soon every top ranking executive in the Nation was looking to make their own work more manageable by appointing a Chief. On the Hill, Coleman McGehee followed suit by quietly making one of his parishioners, Colonel Louis Gosorn, his unofficial Chief of Staff.<sup>15</sup> The good colonel, who had been in charge of landscaping around the renovated Nelson House and Chapel, had already proven himself indispensable to the Parish. Before Mr. McGehee's arrival, Gosorn had been asked to do for the Parish's finances what he had done for the bushes in the yard — stubbornly tend them while they grew. And so, he had become Parish Treasurer. An able man, Mr. McGehee quickly spotted Gosorn as the perfect candidate for the position of part-time Parish Business Manager and confidant.<sup>16</sup>

Having Louis Gosorn willfully watching over the daily operation of the Parish's business, left Mr. McGehee free to pursue his myriad pastoral and public duties. And the Rev. H. Coleman McGehee had duties aplenty.<sup>17</sup> Before taking Holy Orders, he had earned his daily bread as an Assistant Commonwealth Attorney.<sup>18</sup> In that position, Mr. McGehee had early shown himself interested in shouldering the

fight for social reform; an interest which became a passion. His reputation for energy and hard work had followed him into the ministry. He was constantly being asked to serve on commissions and committees, both sacred and secular, addressing the social issues of the day.<sup>19</sup> In choosing Father Coleman to be Rector, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had brought a tiger on board who would lead the Parish into ever deeper involvement with the social activism that was becoming increasingly the mark of the decade.<sup>20</sup>

Having found his Chief of Staff, Mr. McGehee moved with great zeal to centralize all of the Parish's activities under his personal purview. Immanuel's ancient heritage as an *ad hoc* congregation had joined with its modern easy acceptance of others to produce a special place where individuals and groups carried on private ministries pretty much as they pleased.<sup>21</sup> The Episcopal Church in Virginia had a tradition of being driven by the laity. Nowhere was this truer than Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, where the Professors and High School teachers had long been of the opinion that if they chose to tackle a problem it was theirs for the taking. Whether the people of Immanuel realized it or not, this was not the way in which most Episcopal parishes outside of the Old Dominion operated. Elsewhere, the local priest more often than not was the driving force behind parochial ministries. By attempting to centralize control of the Parish's activities in his hands, Mr. McGehee was actually only trying to bring the practices of Immanuel more closely into line with those of Episcopal churches outside of Virginia<sup>22</sup>

The first essential step in centralizing the activities of the Parish lay in the management of intraparochial communications. To that end, on 17 November 1961, Mr. McGehee announced the creation of Immanuel's first weekly newsletter.<sup>23</sup> By funneling the flow of news through the Parish, the Rector and his staff could put all of their world beneath their feet.<sup>24</sup> The method to be used was simple. In order to have an item appear in the Newsletter, and thus win for the announced activity the sanction of the Parish, it would have to be submitted to, and quietly screened by the Parish staff.



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It was in his attempt to centralize activities that the Rev. Mr. McGehee ran smack into a distaff hornet's nest. Starting in the nineteenth century and persisting right down to the sixth decade of the present century, the women of Immanuel had organized and maintained their own projects and programs according to their own agenda.<sup>25</sup> The women of the Parish had become famous for the élan with which their wonders were performed. It had been the ladies of the church who had arranged and carried out adult study groups; watched over the development of the Parish Library; taught in Sunday School; and carried on the annual bazaars that had become so much a part of life at Immanuel.<sup>26</sup>

At the time of Mr. McGehee's arrival, the women were carrying on several highly successful fund-raising events. They felt it was their right to not only control these efforts, but designate the way the money they brought in was to be spent. Father Coleman asserted the right of the Rector and Vestry to control the proceeds derived by the women's efforts in a special memorandum to the Parish.<sup>27</sup> According to the memorandum, all parish activities, regardless of their venue, were to be scheduled through the Church Office. In addition, the memo announced that the Parish staff would only be allowed to work on those projects the Rector approved.<sup>28</sup> The Rector's meaning was patently clear. If the ladies expected any assistance they would have to play according to Mr. McGehee's rules. The women of the Parish were angry, but complied with the Rector's dictate. And so was the Parish more or less centralized. And that suited Mr. McGehee to a tee. Father Coleman had come to realize that by speaking as one voice and moving as one hand, the Parish could play a larger role in the community than anyone at Immanuel had ever imagined. But, Immanuel is Immanuel. Mr. McGehee's attempt to create a united front never fully succeeded. Even so, while he never got the Immanuelites to forsake all of their ancient *ad hoc* ways, Coleman McGehee, nonetheless, did succeed in establishing within the Parish a new tradition of formally accepted and administered ministries. From the mid sixties on, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill would be a

place in which individuals took *ad hoc* actions when they felt them necessary, while the Vestry oversaw ongoing formal programs in everyone's name.

Unquestionably sincere in his vigor to bring about reforms, Mr. McGehee also took his canonical duties most seriously.<sup>29</sup> He could be surprisingly conservative in regard to the practices of his church.<sup>30</sup> The fifth Rector seemed to present something of a contradiction to his flock. Here was a man who at once was conservative in his religious practices and liberal in his politics and theology.<sup>31</sup> Yet, the apparent contradiction was only superficial. Mr. McGehee's was a personality drawn to achieving success through order. Just as the law had provided the attorney with a solid framework on which to try and construct a more liberal community, so the ritual of the Church provided the priest with a conservative skeleton on which to build a more liberal society: a new Jerusalem, shining on the Hill.

As the year turned from 1960 to 1961, it became increasingly clear that the building of a new Jerusalem would have to be carried out by ordinary people banded together in extraordinary efforts. The Kennedy Administration announced that it was going to be one of high adventure and Cold War militancy. The New Frontier was not going to be a domestic one. Rather, throughout President Kennedy's short tenure in office, the administration remained focused more on events overseas than at home. Camelot would give neither aid nor comfort in the efforts to build Jerusalem.

Many of the people worshipping on Holy Hill had already entered the battle for reform on their own.<sup>32</sup> In addition to their labors in helping to integrate the lunch counters and restaurants of Alexandria, several Immanuelites had aided in the fight to bring about the integration of the Alexandria Public Schools. Organizing and attending meetings, as well as bravely casting very public, decisive, votes in favor of desegregation, often in the face of extreme opposition.<sup>33</sup> This is not to suggest that every single parishioner favored Civil Rights. Such was not the case. Immanuel had lost some of its members as it had become increasingly clear that the Parish would

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continue to support Civil Rights.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, for those who had remained, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill had become a Parish concerned with the issues of the day. They were ready to follow their Rector forth into the fray. They really had no idea how exhausting the next few years were going to be.

The Rector, a man of unquestioned abilities, and seemingly boundless energies, was suddenly doing double duty as priest and counselor. He was constantly being asked to serve on various panels, committees, and commissions aimed at finding ways to achieve lasting reform.<sup>35</sup> With the Rector so prominently at the fore, the people of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill entered a hectic period of demanding activity geared toward producing positive social good.

Through the grassroots efforts of people, such as those who were working so diligently at Immanuel, much positive change had been already achieved. In addition to the Alexandria Public Schools, the Seminary itself had been successfully desegregated in the early years of the Civil Rights campaign.<sup>36</sup> Yet, there was still much more to do if a truly democratic and equitable society was to emerge. Social involvement was a new road for Episcopalians to travel. In all honesty the history of the Episcopal Church had not been one of continued efforts to build a new Jerusalem on American shores. These were new and heady waters. The soul searching involved was extremely painful. Many came to social activism slowly, and without great conviction. Some never accepted the call for reformation as part of their personal religious heritage, while still others came brilliantly alight with the fires of reforming zeal. This was as true at Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill as it was everywhere else.

The people listened while the Rector hectored and harangued, looked into themselves and responded each according to their own light. In the process, they, along with their brothers and sisters in other parishes scattered across the Nation, quietly planted the seeds which would result in the appearance of a new Episcopal Church; a Church increasingly socially oriented,

and ultimately dedicated to ending all forms of racism and achieving simple justice for all.<sup>37</sup>

The year 1963 proved to be something of a watershed in America, the Episcopal Church, and Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. At an all but confusing pace, the people of Holy Hill were abruptly confronted with myriad voices calling for reforms: Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference insisted the Federal Government do something to further the causes of Civil Rights and end poverty; the National Organization of Women demanded that justice be afforded their sisters; groups representing the aging, the handicapped, and the homophilic chimed in with demands for equity; the first public call for the Ordination of Woman resounded throughout the Episcopal Church; and suddenly there were those insisting that even the Prayer Book needed revision.<sup>38</sup> All in the space of the same year! The nature of the debate on Social Justice was clearly changing. The dream of "New Jerusalem" was going to be a place of true equality. And remarkably, the dream seemed attainable.

The discussion on the Hill in 1963 turned on the argument that the most effective means for the people of Immanuel to serve the cause of Social Justice lay in the Parish finding ways to help its less fortunate neighbors. The Parish threw itself into ministries geared toward serving the people of Alexandria. In particular, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill became active first with FISH, and then later with ALIVE.<sup>39</sup>

FISH, which was in fact an international ministry, manifested itself in Alexandria as a means of providing all sorts of services in times of personal emergency. Gradually FISH evolved into a ministry dedicated with providing rides to the hospital, and other appointments, for those who otherwise would not have the means to reach medical services.<sup>40</sup> Other parishioners were trying to help their neighbors by donating and delivering food and goods to their less fortunate neighbors through the truly local ministry of ALIVE.

While some in the Parish were busily providing food or rides for the less fortunate, others were actively leading the fight for equal



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access to affordable housing in Alexandria. Eileen Eddy, along with others, worked diligently to get the city to provide public housing.<sup>41</sup> Their efforts were not in vain, as the city did begin to meet its responsibility to provide adequate housing for all of its citizens regardless of their wealth.<sup>42</sup> Immanuel was to become so involved with the question of fair housing, that as the decade progressed it was to call upon the city to adopt a comprehensive city-wide Fair Housing Ordinance.<sup>43</sup> The people of Immanuel clearly saw that working to help their neighbors was the best way to bring about social reform.

But, there are neighbors and then there are neighbors. The Congregation, following the Rector's lead, became even more active with Civil Rights efforts throughout Virginia and the United States. Immanuel opened its doors to participants on the eve of the March on Washington in the Summer of 1963. Marchers slept on the grounds of the Seminary and Nelson House, and on the morning of the March, Immanuelites served them a hearty breakfast.<sup>44</sup> What is more, on the day of the March, Coleman McGehee led a group of his parishioners across the Memorial Bridge to attend the most famous Civil Rights rally of modern times.<sup>45</sup> Immanuelites, under the leadership of Mr. McGehee, were ready, indeed antsy for social changes. They had no idea how quickly those changes were coming.

John Kennedy's tragic death in November 1963 energized the Nation's progressive reformers. The new President, Lyndon Baines Johnson was a true believer in the cause of social reform. At long last, Mr. McGehee and others so active in trying to build a new Jerusalem had a friend in the Oval Office.

As President, Johnson set out to bring the promise of America to fruition. His list of achievements is most impressive: the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Medicaid and Medicare; VISTA; the Neighborhood Youth Corps; the Job Corps; and the Upward Bound program — all indicative of how seriously committed the tall Texan was to the cause of social reform. President Johnson realized that it was the penury of spirit arising from impoverishment as much as Jim Crow laws that kept so many disenfranchised and powerless.

He, therefore, set out to use the power of the Federal Government to curb poverty in America. He called for an all out War on Poverty.<sup>46</sup>

Many within the Episcopal Church began to believe that Mr. Johnson was right. That, indeed, the underlying problem to achieving a truly equitable society was not political but economic. And as such, they reasoned, the answer to most of the social ills plaguing America could be found in supplying cash to those truly in want. What was desperately needed was a means to redistribute some of the Nation's wealth. The Episcopal Diocese of Virginia began to encourage the various parishes in the Commonwealth to adopt Fifty/Fifty budget plans.<sup>47</sup> The idea behind Fifty/Fifty giving was simple enough — perhaps too simple. Congregations would take fifty percent of all of their annual income and commit it to charitable and social work outside of their parishes.<sup>48</sup> Given the presumed wealth of the various parishes in the diocese, Fifty/Fifty giving looked, at least on paper, the perfect medium for the voluntary redistribution of wealth.

The concept of Fifty/Fifty giving had an almost Franciscan beauty about it. Here was an expression of belief in the rightness of taking from each according to his means in order to give to each according to his needs as a means of benefiting the souls of everyone. Alas, however beautifully pious the notion of taking from a surfeit of wealth to aid those less fortunate might have sounded, in practical terms, no Fifty/Fifty plan could ever work. Fifty/Fifty giving was predicated on the conviction that the Parish would spend the next year blissfully dwelling in what Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss would have called the "best of all possible worlds." As advocated by the Diocese and eventually adopted by Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, Fifty/Fifty giving failed to recognize that parochial resources were finite. The best that could be hoped for was that a parish, living very frugally, could stand in place for as long as it incurred no unusual expenses. Nothing short of the most creative bookkeeping could keep a parish committed to Fifty/Fifty giving for long.<sup>49</sup>



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As flawed as the thinking behind Fifty/Fifty giving clearly was, it was nonetheless, initially very attractive to Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. The idea was formally brought to Immanuel by Bill Bryant, acting as the Rector's pointman, in a special report to the Vestry.<sup>50</sup> The Parish quickly and confidently adopted the proposal.

In no time at all, however, parishioners began to find it extremely difficult to live within their new austere budget. Had there been any less a leader than Coleman McGehee in the rectory, the people of the Hill probably would not have tolerated the fiscal severity of life under their Fifty/Fifty plan as long as they did.<sup>51</sup> After two years, everyone had to admit that Immanuel could no longer afford to be so generous with its income. The Parish moved away from the Fifty/Fifty plan with something resembling a collective sigh of relief. Still, even though the plan had proven too rigorous to follow, a new commitment had arisen at Immanuel. The Parish continued throughout the remainder of the decade, and indeed continues to the present day, to earmark a sizable portion of its annual income for outreach ministries. Moreover, the Fifty/Fifty plan had put the Parish in the fore of the Social Activism that was becoming the hallmark of the Episcopal Church. Not only was Mr. McGehee's parish in step with the denomination, it was actually leading.

And all the while, the Parish continued to grow. Breathing space was again becoming a concern. If the Parish was to continue to use Immanuel Chapel, then something had to be done to provide more seats for the legions of worshippers. To that end, one bright sunny Sunday morning, the students and teachers of the High School, who had been among the strongest friends and supporters of the Parish, were politely told, in a sermon given by the Assistant Rector, the Rev. Hunter Wood, that the time had come for the two groups to go their separate ways.<sup>52</sup> Mr. Wood, himself a graduate of Episcopal, felt it was wrong to compel students to attend a particular church every Sunday. He also very wisely realized that once the boys were out of the pews there would be more room for

the adults of the Congregation. The High School, as it had in the past, acquiesced to the Parish's desires, and decamped from Immanuel Chapel. And so, by the way, did many of the comely young girls who had been making their way up to Immanuel Chapel since the 1830s.

No sooner had the boys, and their would-be sweethearts, left the pews than the growth of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill began to slacken. This was not so much due to a lack of new people arriving — new folks continued to find their way up the Hill — as it was due to the fact that the Parish was in the midst of tremendous turnover.<sup>53</sup> Some left because they had found new lives in new communities; others left to join friends at the Church of the Resurrection. But, more than a few left because they were tired of marching in the vanguard of social reformation.

And they had reason to feel weary. For at the exact moment when the movement for reform had achieved so much it floundered miserably. The War on Poverty was one of the first victims of the Vietnam War. Mr. Johnson's War, as the conflict in Southeast Asia had been rather unfairly labeled, was draining the Nation's pocketbook at an alarming rate. The economy was not strong enough for both guns and butter. Unable to decide which of his two wars was more important, the President ultimately failed to wage either fully or successfully. What is more, after eagerly trying for so long to build a just society, the people of America could not be fully convinced that the War they were being asked to support was truly just.<sup>54</sup>

Vietnam was to become a source of contention on the Hill, with some parishioners working to support the war effort and others working equally hard to further the Anti-War Movement.<sup>55</sup> Passions were running high throughout the Congregation. True to its spirit, however, Immanuel tried to make room for individuals on both sides. In this the Congregation was not completely successful. The Parish witnessed several vehement arguments between those who had found themselves divided on the question of supporting the War. Indeed, on one occasion passion ran so high that angry words were exchanged in Immanuel Chapel itself.<sup>56</sup>

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Faced with the growing conviction that the Great Society was not to be, and torn by the question of Vietnam, the people of Immanuel turned in one of three directions. They either became increasingly radical in their demands for reform; increasingly disillusioned with the System; or increasingly involved with the inward personal journey of faith.<sup>57</sup> Again, the Immanuelites were not alone. It should surprise no one that while the sixties are remembered for their social activism, the seventies are remembered for a unique blend of cynicism and spirituality.<sup>58</sup>

The decade, which had started with such joy and promise, was growing dour and hard. The people of the Hill had fought the great fight, but were growing weary. Their strength was beginning to wane. But not so that of their Rector. It became clear to the congregation that their Rector was a man of energies and concerns larger than their parish could ever hope to contain or keep pace with. He was clearly meant for a much larger stage. Several members of the Parish began to suggest that Mr. McGehee should have a See of his own.<sup>59</sup> Ultimately, Immanuel's faith in and efforts on the behalf of their Rector bore the desired fruit, and he became the Bishop of Michigan.<sup>60</sup> Mr. McGehee had seen the Parish through a period of intense social activity. His legacy was, in many regards, to prove lasting. Immanuel would forever after be a Parish actively involved in outreach ministries. He left for the frozen north in 1970. The People of the Hill wished him Godspeed and then turned their hearts and minds in new directions.

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## CHAPTER 5: MYSTIC SWEET COMMUNION

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No sooner had H. Coleman McGehee left Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, than the people in the pews made it manifestly clear that they wanted change. At a special parish meeting, the congregation spoke of finding a new Pastor who would "understand both liberal and orthodox ideas"; someone who, while interested in the social activism still endemic throughout the Parish, would not hector and harangue for every member to pick up the sword and enter the fray;<sup>1</sup> someone who not only understood but honored the empowering aspects of the ancient *ad hoc* traditions of Immanuel; someone who would understand the significance of parishioners making their own personal inner journeys;<sup>2</sup> someone who, as a long time parishioner, May Hobson put it, "would preach Jesus and teach Jesus."<sup>3</sup> The search did not take long, for the People of the Hill found just the priest they were seeking in the Reverend William "Bill" Dols.

Bill Dols' style and personality were very different from Mr. McGehee. Whereas the new Bishop of Michigan was known for his innate ability and need to organize and administer every task down to the point of minutiae, through his staff, Mr. Dols neither felt the need to overorganize his Parish nor overdrive his staff. The strictly organized, centralized, Immanuel Parish of the 1960s quickly became a thing of the past. It just didn't suit Father Bill's vision of his mission.

Sensing a real difference in their new Rector, a delegation of the women of the Parish, consisting of Emily Alexander and Elizabeth Smith, cornered Mr. Dols demanding their ancient distaff rights to raise and spend monies as they saw fit. While Father Bill recognized the wisdom in centralizing the Parish's budget in the hands of the Vestry, he nonetheless, recognized a force of history when he saw one. The

result was a compromise. The women could indeed run their own projects for their own money, as long as the Vestry received a fair share of the proceeds for the use of the Parish.<sup>4</sup> His was not a vision that required control and unified action.

Very much in keeping with the tenor of the times, the early 1970s were the Age of Aquarius after all, Mr. Dols found the idea of sharing his ideas on administering the Parish with his staff somehow antithetical to the development of lasting trust and friendships. So strongly did he feel this way, in fact, that the new Rector seemed at first to have had little working contact with his staff at all. The end result was something short of chaos, but still a profound enough muddle to merit the Vestry strongly recommending the establishment of a weekly Staff Meeting in order to keep everything sailing smoothly.<sup>5</sup> It was not so much that Mr. Dols was aloof when it came to his administrative duties as it was that he found them to be a hindrance to his greater calling as the Parish's teacher and priest.

Father Bill was first, and foremost, a teacher.<sup>6</sup> From the outset, his goal at Immanuel was to help others find their own paths. While Mr. Dols believed avidly in some of the reforms boiling to the surface in the 1970s and early 1980s, he was never one to push any of his flock further than they were spiritually capable of going. His vision of a new world rested on individuals finding their own way to Jerusalem. Bill Dols set about to serve as friend and counselor to the People of the Hill.<sup>7</sup> He was, according to those who knew him, the perfect man for the times.<sup>8</sup>

Even as Mr. Dols and his family were settling into the Rectory, and asking if it might be repainted according to a scheme more in keep-



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ing with their lifestyle than that of the former Rector, a scandal of such magnitude that it would threaten the very fabric of the Nation was malevolently brewing in the Federal District. On 17 June, 1972, a group of men were caught and arrested in the act of rifling through the sensitive files of, and attempting to plant electronic bugs in, the offices of the Democratic National Committee located in the Watergate complex. At first the strange break-in seemed of little interest to anyone. Then slowly the entire story began to unravel. And as it did so, the Nation became transfixed with stories of corruption in the highest offices in the Republic. By late 1973, as it became obvious that there had been attempts to cover the fact that someone in the Administration had broken a whole series of Federal laws, there arose the conviction among Americans that their most cherished institutions were in the hands of charlatans, cynics and crooks. Holy Hill went about its daily business as if it had been granted special dispensation and was to be spared the trauma of it all.

But of course, the congregation wasn't to be spared. The history of Watergate was to have an Immanuel chapter. Following a series of misadventures, while the Nixon Administration was still trying to maintain the pretense of high ethical standards, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew was forced to resign from office after admitting that he had accepted bribes and evaded paying all of his taxes as Governor of Maryland.<sup>9</sup> Under the provisions of the Second Article of the XXV<sup>th</sup> Amendment, Richard Nixon appointed Gerald R. Ford as his new Vice President.<sup>10</sup> The new Vice President, a man selected for his unquestioned reputation for honesty and hard work, his wife, Betty and their children had been members of the Parish for many years. He had served often as an Usher, and she had worked long and hard as a Sunday School Teacher.<sup>11</sup> Many of their fellow parishioners hoped that the Fords would have a positive effect on the moral character of the Nixon Administration. But it was not to be.

The President's problems only increased. It soon became obvious that a Bill of Impeachment was going to come out of the House of

Representatives. In August, 1974, Richard Milhous Nixon resigned and Gerald Ford became the thirty-eighth President of the United States. There was great relief that the office of the Presidency had fallen to an honest and good man. The people of Immanuel rejoiced in the great good luck of their friend.

The Sunday after becoming President, Mr. Ford and his family decided to attend services at their Parish. And so they set out to find places in a pew for the 11:15 service. It all proved a comedy of errors as Immanuelites, who had known the Fords for years as fellow parishioners, were suddenly confronted by reporters asking strange and absurd questions of them as they made their way up the Hill. And as if that were not enough, they were then forced to march through metal detectors and past stern faced souls who asked them to prove that they belonged to the Parish.<sup>12</sup> Reporters, Secret Service Agents, metal detectors, and sniffer-dogs notwithstanding, the spirits of the Immanuelites were high. One of their own, a man they knew, liked, and trusted, had become President, and their young Assistant Pastor, the Rev. Patricia Park, would surely give a barn-burner of a sermon on the state of public morale and the need for fresh reforms. She, after all, burned with a zealot's light.<sup>13</sup> Then came the big surprise of the day. Mr. Dols, who was supposed to be on vacation, came marching down the aisle to preach to the congregation and the new President on Christian Love and the Inner Journey.<sup>14</sup> More than one parishioner present was upset that Ms. Park had been denied her opportunity to call for a moral crusade.

Like the steam rising from a kettle, the good will that had bubbled up for Mr. Ford in his first hours in office quickly dissipated into clouds of anger and frustration when the new President granted a full pardon to Richard Nixon for whatever role he had played in the Watergate Scandal. Who could people trust if even a man like Gerald Ford could be captured by the system?

On Alexandria's Holy Hill, Bill Dols answered that question by stressing the need for the people to put their trust in the Almighty and themselves. Mr. Dols celebrated the idea of the

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people becoming more and more responsible for themselves and their Parish.<sup>15</sup> A devotee of the Swiss Psychologist and Christian Apologist, Carl Jung, Mr. Dols had long been of the mind that the best way to allow the laity to find their path was by suffering them to run their own show. Within a matter of months of his arrival, appeals began to appear in the Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Newsletter, renamed the *Almond Tree*, urging parishioners to get involved not only with the running of the Parish, but with the actual planning and conducting of the Services as well.<sup>16</sup> Bill Dols was beginning his true ministry of Lay Empowerment.

The Rector's stress on lay empowerment fit nicely into the historical traditions of the People of the Hill.<sup>17</sup> Quickly, the congregation, with Mr. Dols' blessings, reverted and revitalized the glorious hodge-podgegenality of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. The empowerment, which swept like a fresh breath of air through the place, paid almost immediate dividends. In spite of lacking a formal program of Evangelism, the Church-on-the-Hill began once again to grow.<sup>18</sup>

Parish organizations proliferated as the people assumed responsibility for their own affairs and ministries.<sup>19</sup> Of these new groups, one of the most important for the future development of Immanuel's common life in Christ was the Worship Planning Committee. Prior to the tenure of Mr. Dols, all of the worship planning had been performed solely by the rectors and their staffs. The Worship Planning Committee, which ultimately would assume responsibility for the creation of a new 9:15 Sunday service in Zabriskie Memorial Chapel, proved itself to be a lively and creative force at Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill.<sup>20</sup> It would be the work of this Committee that would make the transition from a Parish with only one Eucharistic Rite to a Parish with two principal Rites easier for all concerned.<sup>21</sup>

The *ad hoc* traditions of Immanuel, which had always licensed individuals and small groups to pursue their own ministries, when coupled with Lay Empowerment in the 1970s, led inexorably to social experiments being run

by small groups of parishioners: each group dedicated to their own issues; own projects; own theologies; and own members. Mr. Dols' genius lay in his ability to provide guidance and spiritual support for the horde of groups, many of whom espoused goals he himself strongly believed in, without appearing ever to step across the line in order to interfere with the peoples' right to run their own shows.<sup>22</sup> As a consequence, the groups each felt constantly that they were both welcomed and honored by their fellow parishioners and Rector.<sup>23</sup> Those calling for change, in the small groups rising at Immanuel, were once again directly in step with their fellow Americans. The Nation, after Watergate, was full of the notion that change, any change, had to be good. This attitude flourished at Immanuel where, in 1973, the parishioners began rearranging the pews of Zabriskie in response to new and interesting theological concerns. One change, moving pews forward to create the illusion of a transept surrounding a free standing altar, was heartily supported, even though it meant doing considerable damage to the existing floor, by some on the grounds of theology, but, by others, for the simple reason that it would prove to be a change, and that in itself was enough.<sup>24</sup>

By the mid-point of the decade, there were small *ad hoc* groups in the Parish actively interested in and working for everything from ending world-wide hunger to repaving the Parish parking lot. In the space of one week in January of 1975, parishioners were simultaneously urged to try Transactual Analysis, Conflict Resolution, Faith Sharing, Yoga, and the giving of food to ALIVE as means of finding personal peace while building a better world.<sup>25</sup> And of course, it goes without saying, that several of the small groups at Immanuel worked, as they always had, in helping to recruit and train seminarians. In March of the same year, the *Almond Tree*, by now a voice for the various small groups in the Parish, ran a series of exhortations and articles touting the creation of a proposed Parish food cooperative; urging the collection of used children's clothing for the needy; advertising the Little Theatre of Alexandria's special benefit production of *Summer and Smoke* — the



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proceeds from which were to go to help the efforts of the United Farm Workers; and announcing the meeting of a new group dedicated to finding a way to end Famine.<sup>26</sup> The air was full of every sort of idea, and every idea seemed to find someone willing to try and carry it to fruition at Immanuel.

While many of the experiments in the Parish were of a direct nuts-and-bolts variety, such as the ongoing efforts to keep the pantry at ALIVE well stocked, others were of a more theological, ideological, and, indeed, wonderfully idealistic nature. Two groups in particular illustrate the idealism of many of the *ad hoc* circles on the Hill. The first was the Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Famine Force, whose members decided, in the early Spring of 1975, that the best way to bring about an end to Famine was for them to fast once a week, eat meatless meals twice a week, abstain from whiskeys made from grain, meditate on the nature of hunger, and give to ongoing famine relief efforts.<sup>27</sup> Their program was one of a marvelous mixture of assumed practical methodology and idealistic social self-instruction. An even more wonderful mixture of idealism and practicality was to be found on the part of the second group. These good people believed they had found a way to cut the costs of living in Alexandria, while taking the first steps toward building a Christian Utopia in the city: the establishment of a Commune.<sup>28</sup> If Jerusalem could not be built across the length and breadth of the Nation, perhaps it could be built one home at a time.

Immanuel's brand of Lay Empowerment reflected a grass-roots spirit of Democracy that was prevalent throughout the first half of the 1970s. Many Americans, in light of Vietnam, the failure of the Great Society, radical economic fluctuation, and Watergate, had come to see that pure democracy by its very nature is opposed to hierarchy and centralized authority.<sup>29</sup> People became jealous of their rights and guarded them with a vengeance. Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, as a daughter of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, and the Seminary in particular, had always mirrored the Virginia-wide tendency toward lay control of the Parish purse.<sup>30</sup> That

had been yoked very early with the *ad hoc* tendencies of the members of the congregation to pursue their own ministries; tendencies that had only briefly been supplanted by the strong centralization of Mr. McGehee. Having found their way back to their historic path, the people of the Hill became suspicious of any attempt to centralize their myriad activities. As the number of groups operating in and around Immanuel increased, Nelson House came into almost continuous use. The lights of the place seemed to be ablaze regardless of the hour as *ad hoc* committees, outreach groups, faith sharers, and local extra-parochial organizations all vied to meet in the place. This great level of activity clearly pleased Mr. Dols and the Vestry. At the same time, however, owing largely to inflation and an OPEC led Oil Embargo, the Parish's utility bills were sky rocketing.<sup>31</sup> To meet these unexpected costs, the Vestry proposed assessing a fee for the use of Nelson House. There was nothing cynical or authoritarian in the Vestry's suggestions. The Vestry was simply seeking an equitable way for everyone using the Parish House to share in the costs. Their plan, however, would also have meant that the Vestry would have a *de facto* say over which groups could or could not meet in the Parish House. And there was the rub. Aflame with the democratic zeal that Mr. McGehee himself had hoped to inspire, the people of the Hill made it clear they would have none of it. The Vestry very wisely, quickly and quietly dropped the idea.<sup>32</sup>

In the process of returning to small group *ad hoc* ministries, enhanced by a sense of empowerment, Immanuel was adopting yet another habit that has persisted to this very day. A direct line can be drawn from the small groups working together for Civil Rights in the 1950s, to the small groups seeking simple Justice for Migrant Workers in the 1970s, to the rise of such small groups as the Holy Land Committee seeking justice for Jews and Palestinians alike in the Holy Land of the 1980s, or Gun Control in the 1990s. The tradition at Immanuel has historically ever been to come together in small, manageable, and knowable groups.



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Immanuel's small *ad hoc* groups further met another of the democratic principles rising to the fore in the days after Watergate. There had developed the notion that all of the problems confronting America were the result of a System unable to remain in touch with the people. As such, the only way Americans could hope to work their way out of their troubles was by making the System more relevant to the devices and desires of the people's hearts. The problem confronting everyone was in trying to determine which of a plethora of possibilities actually reflected the values and mores of the American People. Having given themselves over to grassroots involvement, most Americans concluded that the best place to determine values was in their own communities. Even on the community level, though, there was nothing approaching a clear moral consensus. At Immanuel, from the beginning there had been those in the pews who had sought to find the inner path.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, the Parish had two distinct traditions to fall back on: Social Activism and the Search for Spirituality. Immanuel's metaphysical tradition lent itself nicely for what was becoming a national mania, Values Clarification. The practice of Faith Sharing, meeting in small groups to discuss matters of faith and the Spirit, grew as more and more of the Parishioners turned to the search for religious answers to the problems confronting Holy Hill, Alexandria, the United States, and the World.<sup>34</sup>

While many of the People of Immanuel were active in attempts to clarify and act on their values, others in the Parish had been equally busy working for reforms in the national Church. Their efforts found their greatest expression in 1976. The Episcopal Church, which throughout most of its history had not been a great agency for social change, had come alive with a new zeal in the reforming days of the 1960s. By the early 1970s, the Episcopal Church was rife with myriad calls for reforms. Then came the General Convention of 1976, and to the amazement of non-Episcopalians everywhere, the Church seriously undertook the task of self reformation.

All of the reforms to come out of the 1976 Convention were significant. Of these, the one

with the most telling effect on the life of the people of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill was that of Prayer Book revision. The liturgy of the Episcopal Church had not been radically altered in over four centuries.<sup>35</sup> The one constant throughout all the interesting times that had gone before had been that every Episcopalian knew the common prayers of every other Episcopalian. As such, Episcopalians had enjoyed a great sense of homogeneity, even when they were no longer all drawn from the same racial, economic, or political backgrounds. Now the Church would cherish not only a traditional Eucharistic Rite, but also a second, more modernly patterned Rite. For the first time, Episcopalians of differing political or economic backgrounds could not be certain that they were still bound one to the other by the agency of common prayer.

When it came to introducing the new Rite, the people of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, true to their habit of acceptance and compromise, and in control of their own Worship Planning Committee, went out of their way to try and offer something for every theological taste. Shortly before the final acceptance of the new Prayer Book, an innovative Sunday morning service was initiated at Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. This service, which was not seated in Immanuel Chapel but rather within the precincts of Zabriskie Memorial Chapel, was an intentional departure from the customary practices of the Parish. It was geared to a younger audience than the more established liturgy supposedly had been. The Zabriskie Chapel Service featured not only the Eucharistic Rite II, but non-traditional music, impromptu prayers, and the heady air of relevancy as well.<sup>36</sup> And yet, in the spirit of compromise, the whole while that the Zabriskie Chapel service was aborning, the principal Eucharistic celebration every Sunday remained the 11:15 service in Immanuel Chapel. The People of the Hill made the transition to being a Parish with two central Eucharistic Rites easily, unlike other parishes which were rent asunder or found themselves leaving the national Church altogether over the new Prayer Book.

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The other great reform to come out of the General Convention in 1976 was the acceptance of Women's Ordination.<sup>37</sup> The call for Women's Ordination was part of a larger grass-roots movement aimed at ending sexism, sexual segregation, and closing of the gender-gap in American Society. Of all of the movements to come out of the 1960s, the Women's Movement was by far the most successful, principally because it had, from its beginning, concentrated on achieving its goals one community or institution at a time. This intense focus on the local meant that individual women, the ones directly involved with the problem in their community, had a greater chance of being heard and heeded. Law, Medicine, Academe, Politics, and the Protestant Ministry, had all begun to see the wisdom of opening their ranks to women prior to 1976.

Immanuelites had early begun to support the idea of women in the Priesthood. In his own quiet way, Mr. Dols, supported the idea of women in the clergy. He asked the Vestry to bring Patricia Park to the Parish as his Assistant Rector before the National Church had moved on accepting Women's Ordination.<sup>38</sup> At a time when other women were having to fight their way into pulpits, Immanuelites were happily being treated to regular sermons by their Ms. Park.<sup>39</sup> What is more, afire with the righteousness of the cause, she became a spokeswoman for her sisters, and actively campaigned in the months leading up to the General Convention of 1976 for the acceptance of Women's Ordination.<sup>40</sup> Ms. Park's presence certainly helped to keep the People of the Hill focused on the need to have female priests. Immanuel threw itself with gusto into Project W — the campaign for Women's Ordination. When the acceptance of women priests finally came, Immanuel greeted the news with elation, mixed with style and grace, and turned out by the bus load for Patricia Park's Ordination.<sup>41</sup> And, of course, women have continued to play a significant role as members of Immanuel's ministerial staff ever since that time. In fact, one woman, Betty Wanamaker, has embodied both the role of a woman as minister, and the spirit of lay empowerment, in her special ministry to the people of Immanuel.

The General Convention marked the rise of a national Episcopal Church committed to working for social justice; a Church that would ultimately commit itself to stamping out institutional racism in all of its vicious forms.<sup>42</sup> And yet, ironically, at the exact moment that the Episcopal Church was striving to amend ancient wrongs and become more relevant to the needs of the American People, there were signs that the people of the Nation were turning away from social reformation in favor of Christian Fundamentalism.

Essentially a conservative movement, Fundamentalism, or Evangelicalism, as it began to style itself, favored a return to the collective morality and discipline of small town Christian America at the very beginning of the twentieth century. America's protestant denominations began to divide between those that stressed personal liberty of conscience and reform, and those that stressed the need to conform to collective mores.<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, the division quickly came to be one between older, established denominations and new, rising denominations; rising denominations that were growing at phenomenal rates.<sup>44</sup> Religious Fundamentalism quickly became tied to Political Conservatism; a conservatism that would, during the Carter years, transform Johnson's vision of the new Jerusalem gradually into Reagan's "City on the Hill." The difference being that Johnson envisioned a new order of equity, and Reagan envisioned a citadel holding the line against radical social change;<sup>45</sup> a political conservatism which, nonetheless, had about it the palpable feel of success.

At Immanuel the rise of religious and political conservatism going on in the Nation had the singular effect of driving the parishioners ever deeper into nuts and bolts outreach ministries to their community. The late 1970s and early 1980s found the Parish becoming more active with ALIVE, the Network Pre-School, and Carpenter's Lodging; ministries all the more desperately needed as conservatives watching the bottom line cut budgets, and times turned tough for the less fortunate.

In the face of growing conservatism, in 1978, America entered a period of hyphenization.



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Suddenly, Americans were no longer just Americans. We became African-Americans, Native-Americans, Latino-Americans, Asian-Americans, Euro-Americans, Gay-Americans, Straight-Americans, and even Protestant-Americans, as every sort of group sought to preserve and protect its own interests.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, by insisting upon the right to hyphenate, Americans were also asserting their right to disassociate themselves with each other. Immanuelites could not avoid the hyphenating process sweeping the land. The Parish had always been the sort of place where people were free to do their own thing. But, from the beginning, the people had been held together by their one shared Eucharistic rite, and their ancient common prayers. In 1978 this was no longer the case. The folks meeting in Zabriskie Memorial Chapel had Rite II, personal impromptu prayers, and a rapidly changing perspective from their brothers and sisters gathered at the 11:15 service on what it meant to be an Immanuelite. The People of the Hill were no longer just Immanuelites. They were dividing into 9:00-Immanuelites and 11:15-Immanuelites.<sup>47</sup> A hyphenated division, potentially every bit as destructive as any of the other divisions entering the American Psyche, was growing up between those kneeling at the Altar in Immanuel Chapel, and those standing to receive the Host in Zabriskie Chapel. The division between 9:00ers and 11:15ers might well have rent the Parish asunder if it had not been for the rise of the last great change to take place among the People of the Hill.

There began on Holy Hill a serious reappraisal of values, and the search for new meanings for life lived within community. The People of the Hill began to pick and choose among myriad choices to construct a ministry and a gospel of their own. Once again, they found themselves in step with the larger communities of Alexandria and the Nation. The opening days of the 1980s were marked by a national quest for the spiritual and the Holy in everyday life.

From the beginning, there had been a streak of profound spirituality present in the chemistry of Immanuel.<sup>48</sup> It had continued as a major theme throughout the tenures of Messrs.

Gibson, Williams, Heath, and McGehee. Then had come Faith Sharing, the study of Jung and Campbell, and participation in the Education for Ministry Movement under the tender guidance of Father Bill. The spirituality of Immanuel blossomed. The People of the Hill were entering into relationships with the Almighty that can best be described as Mystic Sweet Communion. Intensely personal relationships and theologies governed the religious actions of the Parishioners. Interestingly, the people came quickly to see that the deepest form of Communion was one that tolerated differences among their neighbors, and did not draw up barriers of gender, ethnic tribe, economic class, or preference for Rite.<sup>49</sup> In a sense, Immanuel increasingly became, what sounds a contradiction, a corporate body of intensely individual "churches" held together by the spirit of toleration. Given the *ad hoc* traditions that stretched back more than seven score years, it is little wonder that for Immanuel, Mystic Sweet Communion would mean that the divisiveness inherent in celebrating two principal services, according to two separate Rites, in two separate chapels, would not tear the Community of the Hill apart.

In 1983, Mr. Dols left Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill. At that time, the Parish described itself as one that was concerned with personal spiritual development within a loving community committed to social outreach.<sup>50</sup> That this was the case, was in no small part due to Father Bill. He had undertaken and accomplished the difficult task of introducing new Rites to the Parish, and had done so with skill and grace. Further, his ability with small groups had meant that no one ever doubted the love and commitment he felt for his flock. Finally, he had had the wisdom to allow his flock to re-empower themselves and return to their ancient *ad hoc* ways.

After Mr. Dols left, the people of Immanuel set out to find a new spiritual father who would allow them to continue upon the historical path they had been carving out for themselves since the early 1800s; someone who would give them their heads, and yet continue to hold them together as a increasingly diversified, yet loving family.<sup>51</sup> They hoped they had



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found just such a fellow in the Rev. Robert G. Trache. The people paused, bowed their heads and prayed that God would remain with them, as he always had been, on their beautiful Hill. Then lifting their eyes, they watched as the curtain rose on the days of Trache. But that is another story for another pen, writing in some distant time.

Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> William A.R. Goodwin (author & editor), *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia and its Historical Background*, (New York, 1923), volume I, pp. 47-49. cf., Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths & Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*, (New York, 1971), pp. 30-34. Bridenbaugh points out that as early as 1739, and the arrival of the Great Awakening in Virginia, that it was clear the Anglican Church was not meeting the needs of the people.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of The Colonial South*, (New York, 1971), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Goodwin, *Op. Cit.*, vol. I, p. 3. From the very beginning, Anglicanism was established as the Church in Virginia. Only during the more radical phases of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660, did the Church enjoy less than total spiritual ascendancy in the colony.

<sup>4</sup> Bridenbaugh, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 30-34. The Church came to be dominated by the members of the ruling oligarchy of the colony. The "right" families, their positions based on wealth (land), familial connections, and membership in the right organizations, controlled the local vestries, and occupied the pulpits. As a result, the Church did not evolve with colonial society and in the decades before the Revolution actually lost touch with its common people. The phenomenal increase in the dissenting population in the decades before the Revolution is clearly indicative of the Church's failure to meet the spiritual needs of the people.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph H. Alves and Harold Spelman, *Near The Falls: Two Hundred Years of the Falls Church*, (Alexandria, 1969), pp. 1-3. cf. Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, (Lawrence, 1985), p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2. Interestingly, the designation of local parishes as geographical units of government was not part of the traditional English culture the colony was originally intended to foster in the New World. Rather, it is much more comparable to the use of the parishes as political units within the French Empire.

<sup>7</sup> By law only members of the Church could serve on the vestries. In turn, the vestries elected their local representatives to the Colonial Assembly. This did not mean that every member of the Assembly was a son of the Church. There were, of course, non-Anglican men of distinction and connection elected to office. For the most part, however, right up to the tumultuous events of 1776 the Assembly was dominated by Anglicans.

<sup>8</sup> Goodwin, *Op. Cit.*, vol. I, p. 38. Clergy pay was both set and guaranteed by law. It was, not surprisingly, tied to tobacco production.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Timothy 4: 5.

<sup>10</sup> Bridenbaugh, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 120-123. The impact of these new people on the subsequent history of the South, espe-

cially the Scots and the Scotch-Irish, has become something of a heated debate in the last few years. There are those who suggest that the Civil War arose out of these groups' hatred for centralized government as much as from the evils of slavery. Further, it has been argued that everything Southern from the local drawl to barbecue can be traced to these new people.

<sup>11</sup> Goodwin, *Op. Cit.*, vol 1, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> Article XVI, *Bill of Rights of Virginia*, adopted 4 July 1776.

<sup>13</sup> Goodwin, *Op. Cit.*, vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>14</sup> John Booty, "Into the Past for the Sake of the Future: The Story of Virginia Theological Seminary." *Virginia Seminary Journal*, volume XLIII, December 1991, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Packard, *Recollections of A Long Life*, (Washington, 1902), p. 76.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>17</sup> George MacLaren Bryden, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew*, (Richmond, 1952), volume 2, p. 436.

<sup>18</sup> Packard, *Op. Cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>19</sup> Alves and Spelman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Packard, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>21</sup> Goodwin, *Op. Cit.*, vol I, p. 147. Packard sets the date for opening the doors of the school in 1823. That date, however, must be the date on which classes were begun, on an ad hoc basis, at St. Paul's Church.

<sup>22</sup> Packard, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 83-84. See also, Goodwin, *Op. Cit.*, vol I, p. 155. The move was made to escape the noise in 1827.

<sup>23</sup> Alves and Spelman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 30. The seminary acquired a campus slightly larger than 30 hectares in area.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Pardee Williams, *The High School: A History of The Episcopal High School in Virginia at Alexandria*, (Boston, 1964), pp. 11-12.

<sup>25</sup> Dick Thomsen, "Origins of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill," (manuscript dated 20 March 1991), p.1. Interestingly, for many years Episcopal was the only secondary school in the Commonwealth to call itself a High School. Hence, the popular reference to the school as "The High School." The land the school sits on, according to Williams, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 12-13, may have originally been part of an estate known as Howard.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Op. Cit.*, p. 14. The two schools continued in this relationship from 1839 until 1923.

<sup>27</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1. Thomsen points out that as a result of these first informal Sunday services, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, as a congregation, is not a mere 51 years of age, but actually 153 years old.

<sup>28</sup> One of the last people to visit the dying Bishop Meade, in Richmond, was General Robert E. Lee. Bishop Meade is

buried in the Seminary's cemetery on the Holy Hill.

<sup>29</sup> William Current, *inter alia*, *American History*, (New York, 1987), pp. 392 - 393. The other candidates that year were Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglas, and J.C. Breckenridge.

<sup>30</sup> *Revelation* 6: 17.

<sup>31</sup> Alves and Spelman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 37 - 38.

<sup>32</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life Of Billy Yank*, (Baton Rouge, 1988), p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> Fort Ward was one of a series of forts built to guard the approaches to the Federal Capital. Situated where it was, the fort protected the southern roads leading to Washington. Further, Fort Ward offered security to the doctors, nurses, and patients in the nearby military hospital.

<sup>34</sup> The trees that dot the Holy Hill today are almost entirely postbellum plantings.

<sup>35</sup> Wiley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 141. An eyewitness account of the Seminary turned hospital, preserved in Wiley's history decry the narrow steep stairs, the perpetual rising damp, the lack of ventilation, and the malevolent odors that pervaded the place.

<sup>36</sup> Williams, *Op. Cit.*, p. 79. The congregation in all probability resumed meeting for services on an earlier date. 1877, however, marks the year in which Episcopal High School founded a choir to provide music during chapel.

<sup>37</sup> Arthur and Olive Hoogenboom (editors), *The Gilded Age*, (Englewood Cliffs, 1967), p. 171.

<sup>38</sup> One of the most unique pieces of documentation to be employed in this study is a plaque on the north chancel wall of Immanuel Chapel which commemorates the centennial anniversary of the Episcopal Church in Brazil. A plaque which honors the role of the Seminary in planting the Church in Brazil.

<sup>39</sup> George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America*, (New York, 1962), pp. 143 - 159.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28 - 29. The most famous names associated with this questioning were George D. Herron, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Jane Addams.

<sup>41</sup> "The American Agenda," *A.B.C. World News Tonight*, (Televised Broadcast), 8 July 1992.

<sup>42</sup> *The Alexandria Gazette*, vol. CLIII #280, 21 November 1936, p. 1. This particular article, one of many discussing the effects of the Depression on Alexandria, laments the fact that charity donations, so desperately needed because of the economic situation, had fallen off markedly.

<sup>43</sup> Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform*, (New York, 1956), pp. 250 - 251. The quote is, of course, from Roosevelt's first inaugural speech given in March, 1932.

<sup>44</sup> Zel Miller, "Keynote Address," (televised speech), 13 July 1992.

<sup>45</sup> Russell D. Buhite and David W. Lacy (editors), *F.D.R.'s Fireside Chats*, (Norman, 1992), p.15.

<sup>46</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat, 24 July 1933, Buhite and Levy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>47</sup> Goldman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 251. Goldman quotes Roosevelt's famous address at Oglethorpe University, "This country needs... bold persistent experimentation." In fact, the New Deal was never as some have charged, a determined set of

policies grounded on liberal principles. Rather, it remained what it had been in the beginning, a series of bold, daring, experiments aimed at solving the nation's problems.

<sup>48</sup> Alan Brinkley, "The Idea of the State," *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order: 1930 - 1980*, Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle (editors), (Princeton, 1989), p. 86.

<sup>49</sup> John O. Walker, *Origins and Early Years 1936 - 1948 Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, Alexandria, Virginia, Recollections of John O. Walker*, (Alexandria, 1962), p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, H. Rockham (translator and editor), (Cambridge, 1967), Book I, pp. 13 - 14. Charles Secondet, Baron de Montesquieu, made use of Aristotle's tripartite division and support in devising his theory of The Separation of Powers in his classic essay, *The Spirit of the Law*. Montesquieu had in turn influenced Madison, Mason, and other distinguished Virginians of the first generation of independent Americans. As such, the argument for supporting and organizing communities in units of three was a central part of the experience, history, and heritage of the founders of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill.

<sup>51</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

## Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> *The Alexandria Gazette*, vol. CLIII no. 280, 21 November 1936. Among the local concerns trying to survive by selling their goods as cheaply as possible were Tru-Blue Beer and Mummy's Bread. Ads for both of these obviously locally produced brands sadly disappear from the newspapers before the advent of World War II.

<sup>2</sup> Brinkley, "Idea of the State," Fraser and Gerstle, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 87 - 92. F.D.R. turned at this time to established businessmen and women for support. The image of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal being anti-big business to the core is simply erroneous.

<sup>3</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat, 6 September, 1836," Buhite and Levy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 5 - 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *John* 10: 11, (paraphrase).

<sup>7</sup> Charlotte Lloyd Walkup, "Some Recollections of my First Twenty Years at Immanuel-Church-on-the-Hill, 1947 - 1967," (unpublished typescript), September 1991, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4. Although, to be fair, the Rev. Thomas Kinloch Nelson seems to have made a grand effort to carry more than his share of the lot, nonetheless, teaching requires a great deal of time. As a consequence, neither Nelson nor anyone else on the Seminary's faculty had the time necessary to be a full time parish priest. Thomas Kinloch Nelson died in 1940 before Immanuel became a parish. The parish honored him by naming the Parish House after him.

<sup>9</sup> Robert H. Ferrell, *American Diplomacy in the Great Depression*, (New York, 1970), pp. 250 - 253.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, ninth edition, (Englewood Cliffs, 1970), pp. 703 - 707.



<sup>11</sup> *The Alexandria Gazette*, vol. CXLIX no. 237, 6 October 1933, p. 1. The item cited is the first article in the Alexandria paper to discuss Winston Churchill's campaign to build a battle fleet and air force capable of defending British interests in the face of a growing NAZI threat. Throughout the Spanish Civil War, the Munich Conference, the Invasion of Ethiopia, the Japanese Campaign in China, and the last few agonizing weeks before the Blitz of Poland, the *Alexandria Gazette*, along with the other papers of the Nation, gave an ever increasing share of their coverage to War, and the possibility of American involvement. No one with access to the paper could have missed the tragic sweep of events.

<sup>12</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13. In fact, this is exactly what did happen. A proposed church to serve the communities of Parkfairfax and Fairlington had to be put off because of the War. Immanuel had to serve as the church for the entire community during the war years.

<sup>13</sup> Charlotte Lloyd Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1 - 2.

<sup>14</sup> A sign of how important the parish house has been to Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill is the disproportionate number of documents related to the Parish House. From the meeting of the first Kindergarten Sunday School to the performances of *Joe Carpenter and Son*, the Parish House has remained the seat of the heart of the people of Immanuel.

<sup>15</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Although, to be sure, the Seminary, the High School, and the Diocese knew what was happening.

<sup>18</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3. There was no Scott Lounge and high vaulted Refectory in those days. At the time, Spring 1941, the Refectory was housed in the long, low, building lying along the drive from Quaker Lane to the Chapel.

<sup>19</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9. The Rev. Robert F. Gibson, a man of considerable talents, was later elected Bishop of Virginia.

<sup>20</sup> "Unsigned Letter", 23 May 1944. The letter restates that Robert Gibson had only been on loan from the National Church until his call to Mexico.

<sup>21</sup> *The Virginia Churchman*, vol. LXXVI no. 10, February 1968, p. 2. Goodwin became Bishop of Virginia in 1944.

<sup>22</sup> Alves and Spelman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> "Telephone Conversation with Emmanuel," (unpublished), 17 July 1992. Emmanuel had begun as a mission in 1910. It achieved independent parochial status in 1922.

<sup>26</sup> A careful reading of the *Alexandria Gazette* in the years between 1932 - 1944 revealed that Emmanuel Episcopal Church was listed or referred to virtually continuously throughout the period. By the same token, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill is not to be found mentioned on the Religious page until 1943!

<sup>27</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. As a form of retaliation for being stuck with such an awkward name, wags among the Immanuelites have ever since referred to Emmanuel Church as "Emmanuel In-The-Hole."

<sup>30</sup> Proof of this unwillingness to step out into public can be

seen in the fact that Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill made no attempt to advertise its services in the Alexandria papers until the Spring of 1943. And only then as part of a larger ad listing all of the parish churches in Alexandria.

<sup>31</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3. Thomsen refers to the new parish as springing forth "Athena like."

<sup>32</sup> Virginians have been low churchmen from the beginning. It has been said that Virginia has the most unique clerical garb in the entire Anglican Communion. It's called the neck tie.

<sup>33</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10. The securing of property and the construction of the Parish House was to consumed almost all the time and energies of the young Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill in the years between 1941 & 1949.

<sup>34</sup> Starting on 13 December 1941 and running for months afterward, Emmanuel Episcopal Church ran weekly ads on the Religious Page of the *Alexandria Gazette* announcing special Wartime Services. As has been previously noted, *Supra*. #49, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill placed no such notices in the newspapers.

<sup>35</sup> *The Register of Church Services, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill*, (unpublished), 25 December 1941 - 1951. 185 people attended Easter Services in 1941. The number had grown to 320 on Easter Day 1943.

<sup>36</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> Dedicatory Plaque, Main Entrance, Thomas Kinloch Nelson Memorial Parish House, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, Alexandria, Virginia. Nelson had died in 1940.

<sup>38</sup> It is a shame that so few Immanuelites today refer to the Nelson Parish House by that name. The names that people bestow on their community buildings are important. They describe at once their sense of place in time and their aspirations for the future. When we refer to Nelson House as "the Parish Hall," or the Fairchild Room as "The Lounge," we rob ourselves of our own heritage. And having done that, we risk losing the firm foundation on which to build our future.

<sup>39</sup> Danie Bradford Barrows, "Letter to the Author," (unpublished), p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 14 - 16. Walker preserved the agreement in toto. Anyone interested in reading it should turn to his remarkable history of the early years of Immanuel.

<sup>41</sup> "Agreement between the Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia and Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, 28 May 1944. There is a copy, undated, of this agreement in the records of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill.

<sup>42</sup> "Letter to the Vestry," 23 May 1944. The letter reminds the Vestry that Bob Gibson would be leaving on the first of June and nominates the Rev. William E. "Ned" Thomsen as his replacement as Minister-In-Charge.

<sup>43</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> Charles V. Tompkins, "Letter to the Vestry" (unpublished and undated), p. 1. The site ran for a full 168 meters along Seminary Road.

<sup>46</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Alexander Zabriskie, "Letter to the Vestry," (unpublished), 30 July 1947. The letter informs the vestry that the land first proposed to be ceded to Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill in 1946 is at long last theirs by an act of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary.

<sup>49</sup> "Letter from the Vestry," (unpublished), 9 September 1946. The letter accepts Mr. Thomsen's resignation.

<sup>50</sup> "Letter from Vestry of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill to the Episcopal High School," (unpublished), 7 July 1946. The school boys of Episcopal High School actually gave up some of the loose plate offerings that had been earmarked for their social programs to the new Building Fund.

<sup>51</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>52</sup> "Vestry Minutes, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, Alexandria, Virginia," (unpublished), 18 May 1947. The minutes record the Vestry's desire to have Williams serve as Rector. There will be more to say of Mr. Williams in the next chapter.

<sup>53</sup> *A Greater Work*, (Alexandria, 1956), pp. 1 - 2.

<sup>54</sup> The Chapel would be renovated in the 1950s and the 1980s.

### Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> A child born on Holy Hill in 1901 would, by time she reached her fiftieth birthday, have seen the United States go from a still largely rural Nation of horse and buggies to an industrial superpower with atomic weapons and intercontinental aircraft. By her seventieth birthday she would have seen men walking on the moon.

<sup>2</sup> Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation*, Vol.2. (New York, 1993), pp. 782 - 783.

<sup>3</sup> Anyone interested in the historical statistics of Alexandria should consult the *U.S. Census Report* for the year in question. The population of Alexandria in 1940 was 33,523. The population in 1960 was 91,023.

<sup>4</sup> Bill Bryant, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Parish Register*, #3, (unpublished), (January 1945 - November 1953), pp. 74 - 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Register of Church Services*, 1940 - 1951, (unpublished).

<sup>7</sup> Betty Frieden, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York, 1968), pp. 18 - 19.

<sup>8</sup> According to the U.S. Census publication, *Historical Statistics: Colonial Times through 1970*, Women made up 21% of the work force by 1920.

<sup>9</sup> William H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, (New York, 1956), p. 395. For an entire generation, the phrase "The man in the grey-flannel suit" conjured up images of the worst forms of alienation and lost identity. There is a reason why the 1950s witnessed successful revivals of O'Neill's *Great God Brown*, as well as the appearance of popular comedies such as, *Will Success Ruin Rock Hunter*.

<sup>10</sup> Anyone interested in pursuing the significance women of the fifties placed on the liberating aspects of their role as wife and mother should look at the women's magazines of the era. They abound with articles stressing just that point. And, these are articles written and edited by women. It

would be the better part of twenty years before Germaine Greer produced *The Female Eunuch*.

<sup>11</sup> Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, p.5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3 - 4. *cf.*, Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2. Walkup remembers that it was the Women's Auxiliary that organized and carried on the Parish's study groups. Barrows remembers that Father Larry let the women chose the books for the new library.

<sup>13</sup> In 1920, according to the U.S. Census, the average age at the time of their first marriage for men was 24.6 year, and for women 21.2 years. That average held relatively constant through out the Depression and World War II. By 1956, however, the average age for a first marriage had dropped to 22.5 for men and 20.1 for women.

<sup>14</sup> E.T. May, "Cold War - Warm Hearth: Politics and the Family in Post War America," *Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*, Fraser and Gerstle (eds.). (Princeton, 1989), p. 154. The images of the speakeasy loving flapper and the disco dancing darling have more in common with each other than they do with the busy housewife in frilly apron making cookies for the kids.

<sup>15</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Becky Graham, "Conversation in a Public Library," (20 July 1992).

<sup>17</sup> *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Parish Register*, #3, (unpublished), pp. 74 - 107. There were, between 1945 and 1952, over three hundred Baptisms celebrated at Immanuel. By comparison, according to *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Parish Register*, #8, (unpublished), pp. 50 - 87, there were, in the years between 1977 and 1992, three hundred and fifty eight Baptisms celebrated at Immanuel. The former reflects a period of six years, while the latter reflects a period of almost three times longer.

<sup>18</sup> T. Ronald Oakley, *God's Country: America in the Fifties*, (New York, 1986), pp. 317 - 324.

<sup>19</sup> Peter Lewes, *The Fifties*, (New York, 1978), p. 238. Lewes maintains that there were 110,000,000 Churchgoers in the United States in 1958.

<sup>20</sup> Whyte, *Op. Cit.*, p. 367. *cf.*, Lewes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 70 - 80. and *Psalms* 49: 2. Sense of belonging to community has become one of the principal reasons why people continued in the Churches they join.

<sup>21</sup> Bill Bryant, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.1.

<sup>22</sup> Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Almond Tree*, 12 December 1973. A group known as "Faith Sharing" was busily discussing the personal journey in faith. Much of the Parish's interest in everything from the writings of Carl Jung to the teachings of Joseph Campbell can be traced back to the sharing of faith begun by Mr. Williams in the early 1950s.

<sup>24</sup> Charlotte Walkup, "Taped Comments," (16 January 1994), p.3.

<sup>25</sup> Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3. Danie Barrows notes that Mr. Dols' introduction of the Parish to the works of Carl Jung, via the writings of John Sanford, in the 1970s was made easier for the reason that many of the Immanuelites had read the works of his father in the Parish Library founded

by Mr. Williams in the 1950s.

<sup>26</sup> Dick Thomsen, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.1.

<sup>27</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1. Charlotte Walkup particularly remembers the costumed *Mardi Gras* parties.

<sup>28</sup> Becky Graham, "Notes of Memory," (Unpublished, 1992), pp. B1 - B2. Becky Graham remembers the Family Christmas Decorating parties with particular fondness.

<sup>29</sup> Bill Bryant, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.1.

<sup>30</sup> Graham, "Notes", p. A1. *cf.*, Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4. John Walker in his history of Immanuel's early years refers to plans for a nine-thirty Service. The others sources refer to the services being at nine. Nonetheless, the new service began sometime during the ninth hour of the morning.

<sup>31</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4. The High School would keep the nine o'clock service for many years. It is interesting that in the 1970s and 1980s the nine o'clock service became the service preferred by many of the younger families.

<sup>32</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p.3. *cf.*, Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 21. David Lloyd played a seminal role in the creation and organization of the first Sunday School for the parish.

<sup>34</sup> Graham, *Op. Cit.*, p. A2. Matt Hale is remembered in several of the sources as always being courtly, suave, and concerned about the children. *cf.*, Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1. Danie Bradford Barrows organized the first class for nursery aged children.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. A2 - A3.

<sup>36</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Carol Phillips, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.2.

<sup>38</sup> Graham, *Op. Cit.*, p.A3.

<sup>39</sup> Preston Davis, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.1.

<sup>40</sup> *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill: Parish Profile, December 1983*, (Alexandria, 1983), p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Mary C. Zabriskie, "Remarks at the Consecration and Dedication of the Alexander Clinton Zabriskie Chapel," (Alexandria, 1977), p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1. Mr. Heath was the fourth Rector of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill in thirteen years.

<sup>43</sup> Willard Matthias, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1993), p.1.

<sup>44</sup> Dick Hobson, "Taped Comments." (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.4.

<sup>45</sup> Indeed, it must be remembered that both the High School and the Seminary had prior claim on Immanuel Chapel.

<sup>46</sup> *A Greater Work*, (Alexandria, 1956), p.5.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>48</sup> Vestry Minutes, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, 18 November 1956.

<sup>49</sup> Nancy Richardson, "Some Recollections," (unpublished), (Alexandria, 1994), pp. 4 - 5.

<sup>50</sup> Originally, Seminary Road disgorged into Quaker Lane right through what is the Rectory kitchen.

<sup>51</sup> The Vestry Minutes between 1956 and 1959 are full of constant references to the ongoing building project.

<sup>52</sup> Many Americans today are not aware that Reconstruction ended as the result of a Compromise to end the deadlock surrounding the contested election of 1876. The Compromise of 1877 led to the almost immediate collapse of the Republican Reconstruction Governments in the South and the return of rampant racial discrimination.

<sup>53</sup> There are interesting and strikingly troubling photographs in the second volume of Goodwin's *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia and its Historical Background* of the Superintendent of the separate school and his young charges.

<sup>54</sup> Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11. Walker notes that the Vestry unanimously approved of the idea.

<sup>55</sup> Bill Bryant, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.4.

<sup>56</sup> Samuel Eliot Morrison, *Oxford History of the American People*, (New York, 1965), pp. 1053 - 1054. While it is true that Immanuelites quite proudly claim Armistead Boothe as one of their own, it is equally true that he came to Immanuel fairly late in his career. During much of the time in question, he attended Christ Church, Alexandria.

<sup>57</sup> Nancy Richardson, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.4.

<sup>58</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> Charlotte Walkup, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.3.

<sup>61</sup> Nancy Richardson, "Taped Comments." (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.4.

## Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup> *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Church Register*, #5, (8 Mat 1960 - 24 May 1964), pp. 82 - 101. Between 13 May 1960 and 24 May 1964 there were 192 Baptisms celebrated in the Chapel. *cf.*, *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Church Register*, #8, (20 February 1977 - 28 June 1992), pp. 50 - 67. There you will find that there were 358 Baptisms during a period of 15 years. The difference in the rate of growth between the early sixties and the later years of the seventies through eighties is obvious.

<sup>2</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill Church Register*, #5, (8 May 1960 - 24 May 1964), p. 45. Mr. McGehee officially came on board on 1 October 1960.

<sup>4</sup> Preston Davis, *Recollections About Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill*, (unpublished), 16 August 1992, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. It is interesting to note that no one at this point was suggesting using Zabriskie as the seat of a weekly Sunday service. Clearly, the majority of Immanuelites were still thinking in terms of Immanuel Chapel as church and Zabriskie as an overflow chapel annexed to the Nelson House.

<sup>6</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4. *cf.* Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4. For one brief moment there was the mind-boggling possibility of Alexandria having to adjust to three Emmanuel\Immanuel



Episcopal Parishes in their midst.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4. When the suggestion to terminate relations came, it was "sprung" on the High School in the midst of a sermon during the 11:15 service.

<sup>11</sup> Jerrie Stumpf, "Car Conversation," (unpublished), 22 August 1992.

<sup>12</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Jerrie Stumpf, "Conversation Before A Choir Rehearsal," 22 August 1992.

<sup>14</sup> Morison, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1080.

<sup>15</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8 - 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Holt H. Graham, "Letter to the Author," 12 August 1992, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> H. Graham, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Dick Hobson, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), pp. 4 - 5.

<sup>21</sup> From the collecting of Christmas Baskets for the poor in the 1940s to the staging of a benefit Rock Concert in the 1990s Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill has remained a place in which individuals perceive a need and moved in *ad hoc* to find an answer.

<sup>22</sup> Marcia MacDonald, "Conversation," 19 August 1992. Mrs. MacDonald worked as a Parish Secretary in Oklahoma and instantly recognized the reorganizational moves of Mr. McGehee as an attempt to bring Immanuel into line with parochial practices she knew well.

<sup>23</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8. *cf.*, *Rector's Memorandum*, 17 November 1961. The Newsletter became the *Almond Tree* during the tenure of the Rev. William Dols as Rector.

<sup>24</sup> *Psalms* 8: 6. (paraphrase).

<sup>25</sup> Nancy Richardson, *Op. Cit.*, p.3.

<sup>26</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2. *cf.*, Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1 - 2.

<sup>27</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3. *cf.*, H. Coleman McGehee, "A Memorandum from Mr. McGehee to the Congregation," 17 November 1960.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> H. Graham, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Bill Bryant, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p. 5. *Cf.*, Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> McGehee's sense of continuity is best illustrated by his open encouragement of John O. Walker's writing of the Parish's first history.

<sup>32</sup> Walkup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Dick Hobson, "Taped Comments," (16 January 1994), p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> H. Graham, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1. Mr. Graham, who was Professor of New Testament at the Seminary at the time, recalls Father Coleman asking him to substitute for him during midweek services, and less frequently on Sundays, when Mr. McGehee had to be away from the Parish in order to attend commission and committee meetings.

<sup>36</sup> Gertrude Mitchell, "Conversation" 26 June 1992.

<sup>37</sup> *Washington Post*, Vol. 114 No. 227, 20 July 1991, Section D., p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> *New York Times*, Vol. CXXVI No. 43,338, 19 September 1976, section IV, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> Helen Reid, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994). p.2.

<sup>41</sup> Charlotte Walkup, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Dick Hobson, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.3.

<sup>43</sup> *The Report of the Urban Crisis Committee, Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill*, (unpublished), 11 March 1968.

<sup>44</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p.7.

<sup>45</sup> Peggy Tompkins, "Conversation after Church," 11 June 1992. Mr. McGehee led the Immanuel marchers across the Memorial Bridge which had been so named because it symbolically linked Mr. Lincoln's North with Mr. Lee's South.

<sup>46</sup> James T. Potterson, "Welfare in America", *Interpretations of American History*, Gerald N. Grob and George A. Billias (eds.) (New York, 1987), p. 480.

<sup>47</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. *cf.*, "A Motion on Fifty/Fifty Giving," made to the Vestry of Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill, (unpublished), November 1962.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. One creative solution at Immanuel was to ask parishioners to give money they normally would have sent to charities on their own to the parish to give out as part of its committed largess.

<sup>50</sup> Bill Bryant, "Report on Fifty/Fifty Giving," (unpublished and undated), p. 1 - 2.

<sup>51</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4 - 5. Preston Davis remembers Coleman McGehee increasing his own pledge in order to help make the plan work.

<sup>52</sup> Thomsen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Mary Beth Norton, *InterAlia, A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, (Boston, 1990), p. 944.

<sup>55</sup> Peggy Tompkins, "Conversation," (11 June 1991).

<sup>56</sup> Norma Smith, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> *New York Times*, vol. CXXVIII no 44, 152, 10 March 1979, p. 24.

<sup>59</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9. Before his ultimate election as Bishop of Michigan, the delegation from Immanuel had nominated him for the office of Suffragan Bishop of Virginia.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

## Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup> "Summary of Comments at Parish Meeting", (unsigned), 15 September 1971, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick Moring, *Report to the Vestry*, (Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill), 16 November 1971, p.2.

<sup>3</sup> Norma Smith, "Taped Comments," (16 January 1994), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Jim Hobson, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p.4.

- <sup>5</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12. The weekly staff meetings continue to this day.
- <sup>6</sup> Ken McDonald, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994), p. 7.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, P. 18.
- <sup>8</sup> Jackie Phillips, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994) p. 7.
- <sup>9</sup> Richard S. Kirkendall, *A Global Power*, (New York, 1980), P. 266.
- <sup>10</sup> Bailyn, *Op. Cit.*, vol. 2., p. 588.
- <sup>11</sup> Gordon Johnson, *Immanuel Church Memories*, (unpublished), Summer 1992, p.1.
- <sup>12</sup> Peggy Tompkins, "Conversation," (11 June 1992).
- <sup>13</sup> *Exodus*, 14: 15. (paraphrase).
- <sup>14</sup> Gordon Johnson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
- <sup>15</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10
- <sup>16</sup> *Almond Tree*, 1 April 73.
- <sup>17</sup> "Summary of Comments at Parish Meeting", (unsigned), 15 September 1971, p.1.
- <sup>18</sup> *Register of Church Services, January 1973 - May 1988*, (Immanuel-Church-on-the-Hill). The pattern of growth did not continue unabated through out the period. In the second half of the decade, the population of the Parish stabilized.
- <sup>19</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p.11.
- <sup>20</sup> Rick Glassco, *Recollections of Immanuel History*, (unpublished manuscript), 15 July 1992, p.1.
- <sup>21</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10
- <sup>22</sup> Jim Papile, "Conversation with the Author", 2 October 1992.
- <sup>23</sup> Warren Phillips, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994) p. 8.
- <sup>24</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.
- <sup>25</sup> *Almond Tree*, 21 January 1972 & 26 January 1975.
- <sup>26</sup> *Almond Tree*, 9 March 1975.
- <sup>27</sup> *Almond Tree*, 25 April 1975.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, (Henry Reeve, translator), (New York, 1964), book 1., pp. 33 - 37.
- <sup>30</sup> Alves and Spelman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 2 - 4.
- <sup>31</sup> The O.P.E.C. Embargo caused the price of all oil based fuels to jump to unprecedented heights. It also played no small part in feeding the Nation's endemic inflation of the period.
- <sup>32</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11 - 12.
- <sup>33</sup> Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.
- <sup>34</sup> Gordon Johnson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
- <sup>35</sup> *New York Times*, Vol. CXXVI No. 43,338, 19 September 1976, Section IV, p. 6.
- <sup>36</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.
- <sup>37</sup> *The New York Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 43,338, 19 September 1976, Section IV, p. 4.
- <sup>38</sup> Gordon Johnson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- <sup>40</sup> Gordon Johnson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
- <sup>41</sup> Norma Smith, "Taped Comments," (Alexandria: 16 January 1994) p. 8.
- <sup>42</sup> *Washington Post*, Vol. 114 No. 227, 29 July 1991, Section D., p. 15.
- <sup>43</sup> Kirkendall, *Op. cit.*, p. 282.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.295.
- <sup>45</sup> Sidney Blumenthal, *Our long National Daydream*, (New York, 1988), p. 312.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 901 - 906.
- <sup>47</sup> Davis, *Op. Cit.*, p.11.
- <sup>48</sup> Barrows, *Op. Cit.*, p.2.
- <sup>49</sup> William Gerhardie, *God's Fifth Column*, (Woodstock, 1991), pp. 342 - 345.
- <sup>50</sup> *Immanuel Church-on-the-Hill: A Parish Profile, December 1983.*, (Alexandria, 1983), p. 1.
- <sup>51</sup> Davis *Op. Cit.*, p.13.



*[The text in this section is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a report or a letter, with several lines of text per paragraph. The content is too light to transcribe accurately.]*



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