

Orthodoxy in America

LECTURE SERIES

IN THE WORLD, NOT OF THE WORLD,
FOR THE SAKE OF THE WORLD:
ORTHODOXY AND AMERICAN CULTURE

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Permit me to use a visual epigraph to introduce this lecture: a *Life* magazine cover photograph of Archbishop Iakovos standing next to Martin Luther King, Jr. at a civil rights demonstration in Selma, Alabama. How this extraordinary juxtaposition came about requires some historical explanation.

In January of 1965, African-American residents of Selma, Alabama and surrounding “black belt” counties took the first steps in a campaign to gain the right to vote, a right denied them by a system of apartheid that had prevailed in Alabama for as long as they could remember. Mobilized by civil rights workers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), increasing numbers of local black people risked their jobs, their homes, their physical safety, and their very lives for merely registering to vote. Rejected time and again by white registrars, they joined together in marches and peaceful demonstrations to protest their disenfranchisement, a persistent reminder of the intransigent rule of white supremacy.¹

On February 17, Alabama state troopers, wielding billy clubs, attacked a group of marchers in nearby Marion. “Negroes could be heard screaming and loud whacks rang through the square,” reported a *New York Times* correspondent from the scene. When 26 year old Jimmie Lee Jackson rushed to protect his mother, Viola, and his 82 year old grandfather, Cager Lee, from being beaten, a trooper shot him twice in the stomach. He was taken to Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma where

he died on February 26. In response to Jackson's death, SCLC leaders conceived a plan to march from Selma to the state capitol of Montgomery, a distance of fifty-four miles. On Sunday, March 7, a group of marchers started across the Edmund Pettus Bridge toward Rt. 80 — the highway to Montgomery. On the bridge they were met by a large contingent of Alabama State troopers and local police. After warning the marchers to disperse, the police charged the crowd with tear gas and billy clubs. Newspaper and television pictures of “Bloody Sunday,” as the event came to be known, stirred outrage across the nation. Martin Luther King, Jr. issued a nation-wide call for religious and civic leaders to come to Selma to participate in another march, scheduled for Tuesday, March 9.

Among the hundreds of clergy responding to King's invitation was Reverend James Reeb, a 38 year old Unitarian minister, who worked as a community organizer for the Friends Service Committee in the inner city neighborhoods of Roxbury, Massachusetts. Reeb not only worked to improve housing in poor black neighborhoods, he insisted on living there as well, with his wife and their four small children. ² The second march was brief. Due to a temporary restraining order prohibiting a Selma to Montgomery march, King decided to march only to the point of confrontation with the police. Facing the state troopers and police forces again on the Pettus Bridge, the marchers turned and retreated to a mass meeting at Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church. There King asked those who had come from afar to remain until a final decision on the legality of the march to Montgomery came down from the court.

That night Reeb, and two other Unitarian ministers, were attacked by three white men outside a Klu Klux Klan hangout in Selma. Clubbed to the ground, Reeb suffered a massive concussion. His death two days later prompted a national uproar. President Lyndon Johnson went on national television to decry Reeb's murder as an “American tragedy.” And in response to the public pressure, the Administration finally sent a voting rights bill to Congress. On Monday, March 15, a memorial service for James Reeb was held at Brown Chapel. White officials denied permission to hold memorial services at the courthouse, which would

have symbolized the cause that cost Reeb and Jimmy Lee Jackson their lives. As the congregation waited for King to arrive for the service, distinguished leaders, who had gathered from around the country (including Archbishop Iakovos) eulogized Reeb and linked arms to sing “We Shall Overcome” and other movement hymns. The Archbishop spoke briefly about the meaning of Reeb’s death.

I came to this memorial service because I believe this is an appropriate occasion not only to dedicate myself as well as our Greek Orthodox communicants to the noble cause for which our friend, the Reverend James Reeb, gave his life; but also in order to show our willingness to continue this fight against prejudice, bias and persecution. In this God-given cause, I feel sure that I have the full and understanding support of our Greek Orthodox faithful of America. For our Greek Orthodox Church and our people fully understand from our heritage and our tradition such sacrificial involvements. Our Church has never hesitated to fight, when it felt it must, for the rights of mankind; and many of our Churchmen have been in the forefront of these battles time and again ... The ways of God are not always revealed to us, but certainly His choice of this dedicated minister to be the victim of racial hatred and the hero of this struggle to gain unalienable constitutional rights for those American brethren of ours who are denied them, and to die, so to speak, on this battlefield for human dignity and equality, was not accidental or haphazard. Let us seek out in this tragedy a divine lesson for all of us. The Reverend Reeb felt he could not be outside the arena of this bitter struggle, and we, too, must feel that we cannot. Let his martyrdom be an inspiration and a reminder to us that there are times when we must risk everything, including life itself, for those basic American ideals of freedom, justice and equality, without which this land cannot survive. Our hope and prayer, then, is that we may be given strength to let God know by our acts and deeds, and not only by our words, that like the late Reverend James Reeb, we, too, are the espousers and the fighters in a struggle for which we must be prepared to risk our all.”³

Eventually King arrived and delivered the main eulogy. Just as he finished speaking, Ralph Abernathy announced that the U.S. District Judge of Mobile had ordered Sheriff Jim Clark to permit a march to the courthouse. As the congregation moved to exit the crowded church, King and the Archbishop (who had met briefly in Geneva ten years earlier) shook hands. Iakovos “wore a frozen look. [Perhaps not knowing what was next.] A small black girl took him by the hand and said not to worry.”⁴ At 5:08 pm the crowd of some 3,500 began the procession to the courthouse, which Clark had locked, and a twenty-minute memorial ceremony was held on the front steps, with King laying a wreath for voting rights martyrs Reeb and Jackson. A photographer captured the ceremony for the next cover of *Life*. (In his biography of Iakovos, George Poulos, noted that some southern Orthodox took offense at this picture of their Archbishop fraternizing with civil rights agitators.)

Years later, the retired Archbishop Iakovos told King biographer Taylor Branch that he had decided to go to Selma “against the advice of his clergy and staff, who worried correctly that he would be called traitor to the quest of marginalized Greeks for full acceptance as Americans. Not a single member of the Orthodox community, he reported, appeared for scheduled events at his next stop, and he found himself alone in a Charleston hotel room ... telling hostile callers nationwide that he was compelled to go to Selma by formative memories of Greek suffering on his native Aegean islands under harsh occupation by the Ottoman Turks.”⁵

Black demonstrators deeply appreciated the presence of white religious leaders in Selma, even though they were keenly aware of the disparity between the national outpouring of publicity and grief over the death of the white James Reeb and the sparse attention devoted to the death of the black Jimmie Lee Jackson. A few days after the memorial a Federal Court Order was issued permitting the march to Montgomery and the nation watched as white and black Americans joined in the “high water mark” of non-violent southern protest in the Civil Rights Movement. That movement, described by King, Thomas Merton, and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel (who marched), as a *kairos* moment — a time of special divine

providence — has served as a paradigm of religious activism for social justice in the public square, “the arena,” as Iakovos called it, alluding to those ancient arenas where martyrs died for the faith. Though many saw it as merely political, King, and those who agreed with his vision, interpreted the movement as a moral struggle, a “God-given cause,” as Archbishop Iakovos put it, to achieve social justice for those denied “human dignity and equality.”

As much as his words, the Archbishop’s **presence** at Selma was, as his critics perceived, a powerful symbol of an Orthodox commitment to social justice. His explanation of what brought him to Selma employs several resonant terms which bear closer examination and contextualization in the tradition for which he stood. Accustomed to the charge that American Orthodoxy’s commitment to social justice is thin, many were then and presumably are now surprised at the visual epigraph with which I began. I would like today to look at some very old themes within the Orthodox tradition that not only justify Archbishop Iakovos’ presence in Selma but also offer instruction for contemporary Orthodox and other Christians about the relationship between Religion and American Culture. Perhaps a recovery of these ancient themes of concern for the poor and the oppressed might usefully serve a new generation concerned to articulate a contemporary Orthodox social justice witness.

The particular theme I want to elucidate from the Archbishop’s brief eulogy to James Reeb is **presence**. He refers to his felt need to be present with those suffering oppression and denial of rights and dignity due to his experience at home on the island of Imbros. Analogy of experiences is a strong motive for identification, but I think there is a deeper and more profound meaning to presence, with implications for the struggle against social injustice and oppression represented by Selma. The theme of presence with the poor resonates within ancient Orthodox teachings on poverty, the person, and the responsibility of the Christian community for social justice and should serve as a resource for us in our contemporary struggle to live the perennial tension of Christians who live in the world, but not of the world.

In the stories and sayings of the ancient Desert Fathers, we find several episodes that exemplify the responsibility of Christians for the poor. Let me read two: “St. Serapion once gave his cloak to a poor man, and as he walked on and met another who was shivering, he gave that one his tunic, and then sat down naked, holding the holy Gospel, and on being asked, ‘Who has taken your clothes, father?’ he pointed to the Gospel and said, ‘This is the robber.’”⁶ Another time Serapion “sold his book of the Gospels and gave the money to those who were hungry, saying: I have sold the book which told me to sell all I have and give to the poor.”⁷ Two comments: note the radicality of these object lessons, which carry a “foolishness for Christ” tenor about them. Serapion gives up all his clothes and sells, of all things, the Gospel book! Note also that both acts of charity are impelled by that very Gospel.

As is well known, early Christian theologians used Greek rhetoric, philosophical terminology, and thought to explain Christianity; they also, like the desert fathers just quoted, interpreted Hellenic culture in light of the Scriptures, radically changing, in the process, the late antique understanding of poverty and the poor. Peter Brown, my colleague at Princeton, argues in his book, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*, that “a revolution in the social imagination” occurred between 300 and 600 C.E. “closely associated with the rise to power of the Christian bishop as an increasingly prominent leader in late Roman society. For the Christian bishop was held by contemporaries to owe his position in no small part to his role as the guardian of the poor. He was the ‘lover of the poor’ *par excellence*.” [What a wonderful Episcopal title that is — “lover of the poor!”] Judaism served as both “mentor and rival” to Christianity in offering social services to the poor in the late Roman world, a fact noted with chagrin by Julian, the last pagan emperor, in a letter he wrote in 362 to a pagan priest: “For it is disgraceful that, when no Jew ever has to beg, and the impious Galilaeans support not only their own poor but ours as well, all men see that our people lack aid from us.”⁸

Brown stresses the novelty of this development: “In fact, in devoting so much attention to the care of the poor, Jews and Christians were not simply doing on a more extensive scale what pagans had already been doing in a less wholehearted

and well organized manner. Far from it ... '[L]ove of the poor,' was a relatively novel virtue. As for organized 'care of the poor' — this was a practice that cut across deeply ingrained and still vigorous traditions of public giving from which direct charity to the poor was notably absent."⁹

It was the Cappadocian Fathers, St. Basil of Caesarea, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus who elucidated this novel virtue and its centrality to the life of Christians. As Fr. Brian Daley points out: "A significant part of their new role as shapers of a Christian Hellenism was, for the Cappadocians, an active concern for the poor and marginalized in their society, and an active attempt to use all their powers of thought, speech, and political leadership in persuading their wealthy and influential fellow-citizens to expend a large portion of their possessions and personal energy in caring for them." The concept of philanthropy — "active, practical love for one's fellow human beings, expressed in kindness and benevolent action appears strikingly often in their letters and non-dogmatic discourses."¹⁰ Philanthropy was not a new concept, but part of Hellenic ethics, long expected of gods and kings. The Cappadocians promoted Christianity "as 'the true philosophy,' precisely because it ... laid such stress on hospitality and the care of the needy ..."¹¹

Around the time of a severe drought followed by famine in the year 369, Basil, not yet a bishop, delivered three homilies on wealth and possessions, stressing the theme of property as something entrusted to us rather than something we permanently own. In the first homily ("On Greed") he preached on the parable of the rich fool from Luke 12:16-18. In words that have become justly famous for their rhetorical power he asked:

*Who, then, is greedy? — The one who does not remain content with self-sufficiency. Who is the one who deprives others? The one who hoards what belongs to everyone. Are **you** not greedy? Are **you** not one who deprives others? You have received these things for stewardship, and have turned them into your own property! Is not the one who tears off what another is wearing called a clothes-robber? But the one who does not clothe the naked,*

*when he was able to do so — what other name does **he** deserve? The bread that you hold on to belongs to the hungry; the cloak you keep locked in your storeroom belongs to the naked; the shoe that is moldering in your possession belongs to the person with no shoes; the silver that you have buried belongs to the person in need. You do an injury to as many people as you might have helped with all these things!*¹²

Another homily (“Against the Wealthy”) delivered that same summer of 369 explicates the Gospel story of the rich young man in Matthew 19. Here Basil presents the tendency of wealth to feed the ever-spiraling need to gain and maintain dominance over others:

*[S]o those who progress to great power take on, at the expense of those they have already subjected, the ability to do still greater injustice; the growth of their power becomes a superabundance of wickedness ... Nothing can withstand the force of wealth; everything bows to its tyranny, everything trembles before its lordship; each of those who has suffered unjustly is more concerned not to experience some new evil, than to bring the perpetrator to justice for what has happened before. He drives away your yokes of oxen; he plows and seeds your field; he harvests what does not belong to him. And if you speak out in resistance, you are beaten; if you complain, you are held for damages and led away to prison ...*¹³

It doesn't take much imagination to hear 20th century sharecroppers and tenant farmers from Alabama shouting “Amen.”

Directly addressing the rich young man rhetorically Basil contends that the young man's failing is his treasuring of possessions over love of God and love of neighbor:

If what you assert was true that you have kept the command of love since your youth and have distributed what you have as much to others as to yourself, how is it you have this excess of wealth? For care of the needy consumes our wealth, when each person receives a small amount to meet

*his or her own necessities, and all divide up what they have equally and use it for those in need. But you seem to have 'many possessions.' How is that? Is it not clear that you have considered your own enjoyment more precious than the comfort of the masses? Surely the more you abound in wealth, the more you are lacking in love!*¹⁴

Daley concludes that “Basil’s homilies of the summer of 369 deal with themes of what we would call today social justice and economic equality ... [They were] not intended as essays in political theory, but as responses to a crisis ... Yet one can detect in them ... hints of an ideal of human society and of the dignity of the human person that had ... roots in Hellenic philosophy, but that found new motivation and explanation in the Christian Gospels.”¹⁵

St. Gregory Nazianzen tells us that Basil enacted the Christian social vision he preached by establishing a hospice and soup kitchen on his family’s country estates for all those suffering during the famine brought on by the drought of 369. Eventually Basil, now as bishop, developed a large complex of apartments for the bishop, his guests, needy travelers, and the poor. “Here the sick received medical and hospice care ... The poor who could work were employed or trained in various trades.”¹⁶ The Basileaias, as it came to be called, puts us in mind of the elaborate social welfare service structures established centuries later by St. John of Kronstadt in the 1870s and by St. Maria of Paris in the 1930s.

Basil’s younger brother Gregory of Nyssa and his lifelong friend, Gregory of Nazianzus, also delivered major homilies expounding in detail the requirements of a Christian philanthropy. Gregory of Nyssa’s two homilies “On Loving the Poor” and Gregory of Nazianzus’ Oration 14 were perhaps delivered in Caesarea during the same years Basil was developing his social program.

St. Gregory of Nyssa, in “On Loving the Poor,” which one scholar thinks may have been given at the beginning of Great Lent, argues that fasting is meaningless unless extended to acts of social justice:

There is a kind of fasting which is not bodily, a spiritual self-discipline which affects the soul; this abstinence [is] from evil, and it was as a means to this that our abstinence from food was prescribed. Therefore I say to you: Fast from evil-doing, discipline yourselves from covetousness, abstain from unjust profits, starve the greed of mammon [and] keep in your houses no snatched or stolen treasure. For what use is it to touch no meat and to wound your brother by evil-doing? What advantage is it to forgo what is your own and to seize unjustly what is the Poor's?"

Citing Isaiah's complaint, "Why do you fast for strife and contention, and strike the hungry with your fists?" (Isaiah 58:4) he continues:

Let Isaiah too set forth the actions of a pure and sincere fast: Loosen every bond of injustice, undo the knots of covenants made by force. Break your bread to the hungry; bring the poor and homeless into your house. When you see the naked, cover him; and despise not your own flesh. ¹⁷

The Last Judgment scene in Matthew 25, a text that appears repeatedly in the sermons of the Cappadocians, inspired St. Gregory of Nazianzus to reflect in Oration 14:

I am fearful of that 'left hand side' and of 'the goats' ... because they have not ministered to Christ through those in need ... Let us take care of Christ, then, while there is still time: let us visit Christ in his sickness, let us give to Christ to eat, let us clothe Christ in his nakedness, let us do honour to Christ, and not only at table, as some do, nor just with precious ointment, like Mary, nor just with a tomb, like Joseph of Arimathea, nor just with gold, frankincense and myrrh, ... but Let us give him this honour in his needy ones, in those who lie on the ground here before us this day ... ¹⁸

The special identification of the poor with Christ is stated even more boldly in Gregory's sermon "On Almsgiving:" "Do not look down on those who lie at your feet, as if you judged them worthless. Consider who they are, and you will discover

their dignity: they have put on the face (*prosopon*) of our Savior; for the one who loves humanity has lent them his own face, so that through it they might shame those who lack compassion and hate the poor.”¹⁹

Perhaps the most striking and frequent references to the poor in patristic social teaching occur in the sermons preached by St. John Chrysostom after his election as Archbishop of Constantinople, in 398. Chrysostom famously related care for the poor with the Divine Liturgy itself. In his sermons the poor “become the liturgical image for [the] most holy elements in all of Christian worship: the altar and the body of Christ”:

*Do you wish to see his altar? ... This altar is composed of the very members of Christ, and the body of the Lord becomes your altar ... venerable because it is itself Christ's body ... This altar you can see lying everywhere, in the alleys and in the agoras and you can sacrifice upon it anytime ... invoke the spirit not with words, but with deeds. Nothing kindles and sustains the fire of the Spirit as effectively as this oil poured out with liberality ... When you see a poor believer believe that you are looking at an altar; when you see this one as a beggar, don't simply refrain from insulting him but actually give him honor; and if you witness someone else insulting him, stop them, prevent it. Thus God himself will be good to you, and you will obtain the promised good things.*²⁰

Modern Theologians have revisited some of these patristic themes and have found them to be rich resources for interpreting the social mission of Christianity in contemporary society. Listen for example to the words of Fr. Michael Gaudoin-Parker, a Roman Catholic priest, reflecting on St. John Chrysostom's vision of Christian social action as “the Liturgy after the Liturgy”:

Chrysostom sums up the purpose of the sacred liturgy: 'so that earth may become heaven'. These words ... indicate not only his deep sense of awe for the splendour of the sacred mysteries ... but also his emphasis on the power of the liturgy's beauty both to challenge and transform the social conditions

*of our lives through the works of mercy and justice, especially in caring for the poor. Chrysostom's emphasis on the intrinsic relationship between liturgy and life ... presents ... a challenge to the complacency of modern consumerism which is directly related to the false values, materialistic orientation in the systems and structures of Western capitalism as its sterile and destructive by-product. Unless this challenge is taken to heart and brings about the Passover movement of conversion to God the Giver of life — a movement which also means a turning towards serving Christ in the poor — then our recitation of the words of the Lord's Prayer before Holy Communion — 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven' — will surely have the hollow ring of hypocrisy about it; and, far worse, our celebration of the Eucharist will become in effect a perpetuation not of Christ's sacrifice, but of humanity's sinful divisions as old as time and as multiple as legion ... Much depends on the response we make both during this great Prayer and also to its implications in the rest of our lives. Our response is somehow mysteriously a continuation of the Blessed Virgin Mary's 'yes' from Nazareth to Calvary. Much more, however, is offered by the Spirit-filled Word, Jesus Christ, who expressed God's [love] of humanity ... since all he desires is to raise all creation to the Father in a hymn of freedom ... In the joy of praising God for his gift of Christ's mystery of Passover in the Eucharistic Prayer we rediscover with the freshness and innocence of childlike simplicity the world's true value — its worth and reality as the sign of God's nearness in creative love."*²¹

Fr. Ion Bria makes the same connection between liturgy and human rights:

What does sanctification or theosis mean in terms of ecology and human rights? Christian community can only proclaim the Gospel — and be heard — if it is a living icon of Christ. The equality of the brothers and freedom in the Spirit, experienced in the Liturgy, should be expressed and continued in economic sharing and liberation in the field of social oppression.

*Therefore, the installation in history of a visible Christian fellowship which overcomes human barriers against justice, freedom and unity is a part of that liturgy after the Liturgy.*²²

This vision of the transformative power of the Liturgy for the sake of the world was, of course, at the heart of Fr. Alexander Schmemmann's theology. He had a profound grasp of the social meaning of the Liturgy. He understood that the antinomy of Christians being in the world, but not of the world, is for the sake of the transformation of the world and its return as a Eucharistic offering to God, the source of all. As he so eloquently expressed it:

*The Church is left in this world, in its time, space and history with a specific task or mission: 'To walk in the same way in which He walked' (1 John 2:6). The Church is fullness and its home is in heaven. But this fullness is given to the world ... as its salvation and redemption. The eschatological nature of the Church is not the negation of the world, but, on the contrary, its affirmation and acceptance as the object of divine love ... [T]he entire 'other worldliness' of the Church is nothing but the sign and the reality of the love of God for this world, the very condition of the Church's mission to the world. The Church thus is not a 'self-centered' community but precisely a missionary community, whose purpose is salvation not from, but of, the world.*²³

Contemporary theologians have reflected also upon the Trinity as a model of interpersonal communion. It is a fascinating fact that the only iconic symbol of the Trinity in Orthodoxy is the Hospitality of Abraham. As Bishop Kallistos Ware explains:

Every form of community — the family, the school, the workplace, the local Eucharistic center, the monastery, the city, the nation — has as its vocation to become, each according to its own modality, a living icon of the Holy Trinity. When, as Christians we fight for justice and for human rights, for a compassionate and caring society, we are acting specifically in the

*name of the Trinity. Faith in the Trinitarian God, in the God of personal interrelationship and shared love, commits us to struggle with all our strength against poverty, exploitation, oppression and disease ... Precisely because we know that God is three-in-one, we cannot remain indifferent to any suffering, by any member of the human race, in any part of the world. Love after the image and likeness of the Trinity signifies that, in the words of Dostoyevsky's starets Zosima, 'we are responsible for everyone and everything.'*²⁴

In contemporary America we see the enactment of an Orthodox social vision in the development of houses of hospitality, hospices, and organizations for social welfare carrying on into the modern world the ancient tradition of *philanthropia*. A few examples from my own limited experience include: Matthew 25 House in Akron, Ohio, the community of St. John the Compassionate in Toronto, Emmaus House in Harlem, St. Raphael's House in San Francisco, St. Moses the Black Brotherhood, St. Mary of Egypt Parish and Reconciliation Ministries in Kansas City, Missouri. These and others continue to serve Christ who is present in the distressing guise of the poor.

I am haunted by one detail of Archbishop Iakovos' visit to Selma: the moment at Brown Chapel when that small black girl took his hand and told him not to worry. I wonder what the Archbishop thought. Did he perhaps recall Jesus' words: "for of such as these is the kingdom of heaven?" We sometimes forget that children were an integral part of the Civil Rights Movement, filling, for example, the jails of Birmingham and other cities in the South. Two little girls, Sheyann Webb, aged eight, and Rachel West, aged nine, lived in Selma and participated prominently in the daily demonstrations in 1965. (Perhaps it was one of them who took Archbishop Iakovos by the hand, since both were present at the memorial service in Brown's chapel.) Years later they wrote about their experiences, including their response to the death of James Reeb. In Rachel's words:

Me and Sheyann used to walk about the church there and look for some sign that would tell us the Lord was on our side, that He was watching us. We'd look and we'd see a leaf falling, and we'd say that was the sign. And we'd know we were winning. We'd see the moon shining down some nights and we'd say that was the sign. And we'd say we were winning. We'd hear the wind blowing or hear the thunder. That was the sign, we'd say. We were winning. So this night, very late, the night James Reeb died, we were out there with all these sad people, and so many of them were still crying. So we walked about the crowd looking for a sign, because we needed that assurance. And we'd heard somebody – one of the ministers or nuns — say that when a good person dies the Lord hangs out a new star in the night. So we looked up for a shiny new star ... but the sky was full of clouds. And I said to Sheyann, 'There ain't no sign tonight.' And she says, 'Keep lookin' Rachel, 'til we see it.' So we kept standing there, with our heads turned upward like that. And all of a sudden it started raining ... right in our faces. And I yelled, 'Shey, there ain't gonna be no sign.' But she's still looking up like that and all of a sudden she says, 'The rain's the sign. The rain is.' And I looked up again, letting it just splatter all over my face and in my eyes. The sudden way it had started made me agree that it surely must be the sign. So we sat on the steps of Brown Chapel ... shivering and praying there. And we were convinced that this rain meant that even the Lord in Heaven was sad by James Reeb's death and He was joining us in our sadness, in our weeping.²⁵

- 1 The following account of the Selma campaign is drawn from Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); Charles E. Fager, *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, Fortieth Anniversary Edition (Fayetteville, NC: Kimo Press, 2005); Sheyann Webb and Rachel West Nelson, *Selma, Lord, Selma: Childhood Memories of the Civil-Rights Days*, as told to Frank Sikora (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1980).
- 2 Gustav Niebuhr, "A Civil Rights Martyr Remembered," *The New York Times*, April 8, 2000.
- 3 *The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos*, Volume Two, Part 1, 1959-1977, ed. by Demetrios J. Constantelos (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), pp. 198-199.
- 4 Branch, p. 108.
- 5 Branch, p. 106.
- 6 Cited in Verna Harrison, "Poverty in the Orthodox Tradition," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (1990), p. 36.
- 7 From the Verba Seniorum, cited in *The Wisdom of the Desert: Sayings from the Desert Fathers of the Fourth Century*, trans. by Thomas Merton (Boston: Shambhala, 2004), p. 67.
- 8 Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover, VT: The University Press of New England, 2002), pp. 1-2.
- 9 Brown, pp. 2-3.
- 10 Brian E. Daley, S.J., "Building a New City: The Cappadocian Fathers and the Rhetoric of Philanthropy," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1999) p. 434.
- 11 Daley, p. 438.
- 12 Cited by Daley, p. 444.
- 13 Cited by Daley, p. 445.
- 14 Cited by Daley, p. 445.
- 15 Daley, p. 448.
- 16 Susan R. Holman, *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.74.
- 17 Cited by Father James Thornton, *Wealth & Poverty in the Teachings of the Church Fathers* (Berkeley, CA: Saint John Chrysostom Press, 1993), p. 97.
- 18 Cited by Holman, p. 142 and Daly, p. 458.
- 19 Cited by Holman p. 150.
- 20 Holman, p. 62.
- 21 Michael L. Gaudoin-Parker, *Hymn of Freedom: Celebrating and Living the Eucharist* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997) pp. 129.
- 22 Ion Bria, "The Liturgy after the Liturgy," http://www.rondtb.msk.ru/info/en/Bria_en.htm
- 23 Alexander Schmemmann, *Church, World, Mission: Reflection on Orthodoxy in the West* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979), pp. 213-214.
- 24 Kallistos Ware, "The Trinity, Heart of Our Life," in *Reclaiming the Great Tradition: Evangelicals, Catholics & Orthodox in Dialogue*, ed. by James S. Cutsinger (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), p. 142.
- 25 *Selma, Lord, Selma*, pp. 117-118.



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