

**Interview with Lee Little by Linda Ferreira  
taped at Episcopal Church of All Saints, Indianapolis, IN, Nov. 2022  
Transcribed by Catherine Crouch**

**Lee Little** Fantastic. My name is Lee Little and I am the historiographer of the Episcopal Church of the United States. Starting in July 2022. From November of 2018 to July of this year, I served as the historiographer of the Diocese of Indianapolis under Bishop Jennifer Baskerville Burrows. And I will send you how to spell all of those words in an email.

**Linda Ferreira** Okay, that is great. Can we start way back in time? I would like to know who were the first people known to live on this land where our churches and what Europeans appropriated this land as their own? That story also.

**Lee Little** Sure. So starting in about the late 1790s, the United States started to expand westward. And in that expansion, a series of what were called Indian removal treaties began to occur. So this pushed tribes from further east, further and further west over time. So what did that mean? That meant that the folks that were living in particular areas were pushed out of their homelands from several thousand years ago. So that tribes kept moving that were not initially in that area as their homeland. So it is attested that the native tribes that were living in the Indianapolis area were of the Shawnee and Miami tribes, although there were other tribes in the state in what is now the state of Indiana. By the time Indianapolis was founded in 1820, in 1821, there were members of the Delaware tribe, a Lenape people that were living in this area prior to that and as I said, there were members of the Shawnee Tribe. There were also people living up near Anderson. That was the nearest permanent settlement. So this area at the confluence of Fall Creek and the White River, as we now call them, was really marshy and swampy. And we still see that to the present day with all of the flooding that some of the streets around this this church get on a regular basis when it rains heavily. Additionally, what you'll see was that this neighborhood was uninhabited because as far as we can tell, it was good for hunting and passing through from the north to the south, but there were lots of mosquitoes, lots of mosquito borne illnesses and things like that. So there was not a permanent Native American settlement in this area. That being said, in 1820 and 1821, Europeans...pause so that I can restart that thought...So in 1820, in 1821, the Legislature of Indiana decided to move the capital from Corydon up to some place in central Indiana to accommodate the growing state and what they saw as an economic boom that was going to occur at some point. And they wanted to have a capital that was more centrally located, so they commissioned a team to find a spot for the new capitol, and there were a couple of different options that were chosen. But finally, they decided on this mile square at the confluence of what we now call the White River and Fall Creek with a couple of other smaller water courses running nearby. And so in 1820 and 1821 teams arrived to survey what is now called the Mile Square, bounded by North, South, East and West streets. And shortly thereafter, they sold the land to various visitors. And from that period, the city started to grow until we finally reached what is now the corner of 16th and Central where we presently are today. And that was bought by a series of smaller individuals who owned this particular set of plots that the church and its dependent buildings now occupy. But finally, the church owned this or purchased this lot in 1887 as the city started to expand it northward. Okay.

**Linda Ferreira** So that at that point, native peoples, indigenous peoples had been removed.

**Lee Little** Yes.

**Linda Ferreira** And. This land had been left unoccupied and the legislature chose to make this area the capitol.

**Lee Little** Native American tribes began to be removed in what is now the Indianapolis area, starting in 1818 with what was called the Treaty of St Mary's. This is one of the many different treaties that was signed between the federal and state governments and the native tribes that removed them to places further west. The one was called the Treaty of St Mary's. It was signed in St Mary, Ohio, and it paved the way for European settlement in central Indiana. Though native tribes continued to inhabit other parts of the state until the 1850s.

**Linda Ferreira** So when it comes to All Saints itself, I'm wondering who built this building? Do you know the make-up of the labor force and race or ethnicity? And then where did the money come from?

**Lee Little** So those are two very interesting questions. The first question being, who built the building that is unattested in the literature? It was designed by an English transplant to the Indiana area. He first started in Muncie. His name was Alfred Grindle. He was a member of the cathedral when they started to have these discussions as to what sort of new building. It's his his handiwork. And it's a beautiful building at that. I looked for many, many hours trying to find who the contractor was, who the builder actually was, who the people that were putting stone on stones, putting brick on brick. And I was able to find the name of the contracting company. I was unable to find the name of anybody that was involved in construction. And I don't particularly want to conjecture on that, but if I had to, Jungclaus-Campbell has been around in Indianapolis since that time and before, and they were very prolific in building churches and other large scale buildings like this. So if I had to guess but I don't know, they would be the the contractor, and I'm not sure as to the makeup racially or ethnically of their workforce. The second question is where did the money to create this structure come from?

**Lee Little** The second question is, where did the money to build this structure come from? And there are two main sources of that money. One was a bequest from the estate of Bishop Knickerbacker, who had died in the 1880s, and he had money from Sioux City. Sorry. Let me start back. Sioux Falls, not Sioux City. Okay. So. So the question of where did the money to build the structure come from is answered in two parts. The first part coming from a bequest by Bishop Knickerbacker's estate. He was Bishop of Indiana in the 1880s, and he had money that his estate had obtained from the sale of property in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The provenance of that land, as far as I understand it, is that the Native American tribes were cleared from that area in the 1850s and he was one of the buyers from the public domain. So the federal government held that land for about 30 years after the Native American clearance from 1854 to about 1884, and so he was the purchaser from the government, but he himself did not do any sort of Native American clearance to obtain that land. So there was a period during which he... or sorry...when I pause like that, do I need to start then at the very beginning, or can I do things okay? Okay. So after Bishop Knickerbacker died, his estate had this money from these lands in Sioux Falls. He was not the purchase, purchaser from the Native American tribes. He was a purchaser from the government instead. There were a number of Episcopal clergy that had purchased land around an Episcopal school in Sioux Falls, and so he was not alone in being a clergy person who obtained land in Sioux Falls at the time. I believe the school closed in the 1980s, so that's where part of the money came from, this Knickerbacker estate. The other part of the money is from the Dallas Root. Sorry. The other part of the money that helped to fund the construction of this building was from the Dallas Root Estate. He had purchased a number of parcels of property in Cross County, Arkansas, in about 1886. Today, the land that Root sold to help fund this building appears to be farmland. I have not done enough research into the history of Cross County or into the history of these particular lands, other than simply identifying them, to know if slaves ever tended the land. It seems to me as though Route served as sort of an absentee landlord. More than anything else, these may have been speculative properties, but there's nothing to connect the purchase or sale of these particular lands in Arkansas to slavery. It was 30 or 20 or so years after the Emancipation Proclamation. So he would have been quite a bit later compared

to when slaves would have been in Arkansas. So it was about a 50/50 split between the funds that the Knickerbacker estate and the Root estate were able to contribute to this building. Another issue of note with the Root family is that our main baptismal font at the front of the church is dedicated to the memory of one of Root's young sons who died when he was a child. So we still have that from the 1860s, and I think it's a really fitting thing that we have this baptismal font dedicated to the memory of this person that was a founder of the church.

**Linda Ferreira** So I'll go on to questions about other elements of the church itself. I understand that this Jesus above the altar came from another church and that when it came it was another color. So I'm both curious about what the color was, how that colors changed and how this transformation happened.

**Lee Little** So when we're talking about the main crucifix in the high altar here at All Saints, it is a very imposing sculpture. It's just such a striking presence in the space. You know, you have this very stark brick space that has one single appointment, and it's a very affecting visually presence in the space. The story that I have been told and read from Father Gordon's book is that the crucifix came from what was called St George's Episcopal Church on the near South Side. The church, St George's, is still standing and it was most recently an Eritrean Orthodox Church, but it's at the corner of Church and Morris Street on the near South Side. That neighborhood was cut off when the interstate came through. And so in 1959, St George closed and were moved further south to become St Timothy's Episcopal Church. That is a very, very small space. It's about as small as what we see here in the Michael Chapel. And so having a gigantic crucifix in that small space leads me to believe personally, although, again, this is just conjecture that something else... It may have come from somewhere else, but that is the story that is attested in the literature. So the story of how it came here is that when St George closed in 1959, the Reverend Earl Conner, who was involved at St George and then in other manifold ministries around the diocese during his tenure, he was involved with Episcopal Community Service Ministries and also at All Saints, because we were the parish that was attached to that. What wound up happening is that he said, "You're going to need a new apse soon and you're going to need something in the apse. So Reverend Conner said, we have this big crucifix. I think it would be perfect. So from about 1959 to 1964, when the new apse here at All Saints was constructed, they likely had in storage until the new apse was constructed and it was placed there. There's a really striking picture of the dedication mass where Bishop Crane is at the high altar. You can see the cross, the crucifix in the picture of him elevating the host. It's a very striking image.

**Linda Ferreira** And can you speak about the color of the crucifix?

**Lee Little** The color of the crucifix? I am not entirely sure. The documentation does not attest to that. What I imagine happened is that it was very white in its coloration because the Congregation of Saint George was a very white congregation. And so they were looking for a depiction of Christ that matched their understanding of Christ. And so when it came here, the parish at the time of All Saints was integrated, and there were members that were black, that were white in this parish. And so they stripped the white paint off. And that is, as I understand it, basically what we see today is this stripped corpus of Jesus on the cross.

**Linda Ferreira** That's very interesting, so moving from that to another element, can you tell us the story of the Mary altar, how we received that altar, what the story is behind it?

**Lee Little** Do you want the altar and the shrine or just the altar? Okay. So the altar in the Mary Chapel derives from when St Paul's Episcopal Church, which is now at 61st and Meridian, was located at New York and Illinois Street downtown. They moved from that location in 1946 from their old building, which was shortly thereafter demolished, to its present location up on the north side. When it was

downtown, there were some very, very hard hitters politically that were members of the church. So Vice President Thomas A Hendricks was a member of the vestry there when he died. And when he was Vice President, he was a known war Democrat and a segregationist and just a not very Christ like person, I would say, in terms of his politics. He died in 1885. The founding rector of St Paul's is a man named the Reverend Horace Stringfellow. He was a Virginian and he was rector of Christ Church from about 1861 to 1864, when he was run out of town for ministering to Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, which is not far from where we are now. He went and served as a chaplain in General Robert E Lee's army, and then returned back to be the founding rector of St Paul's. After he left St Paul's in about 1869, he went to serve as rector of St John's Montgomery, Alabama, which is where Jefferson Davis, who was the president of the Confederacy, where his funeral was, which is just all very interesting. And Reverend Stringfellow wound up dying in about 1890. So we have these two heavy hitters. We have Thomas Hendricks, the former Vice President, and Reverend Stringfellow dying within about five years of each other. The people of St Paul's were in need of a new parish house, so they built a parish house that was dedicated to Thomas Hendricks. That was the name on the front door of the Thomas, a Hendricks Memorial Parish house.

**Lee Little** So. Vice President Hendricks and Reverend Stringfellow died within five years of each other, and the people of St Paul's were looking for a way to commemorate them. So the parish house was named the Thomas Hendricks Memorial Parish House. Within the parish house, which had meeting rooms and offices, there was a chapel. The chapel was dedicated to the memory of Horace Stringfellow, and it was called the Stringfellow Memorial Chapel. Each chapel, as you may know, needs an altar to have the... the Eucharist at half services at. And, so, the altar that we see today in the Mary Chapel is donated by the Holiday Family of Holiday Park of Indianapolis, who were members of St Paul's to the memory of their daughter Louisa, I think. And so, this altar dedicated to the memory of this dead parishioner in the chapel named after this dead rector in a building named after a dead vice president, was at St Paul's from the time that it was dedicated in about 1890, and it made the move all the way up to their north side location and was re-homed in our Mary Chapel in about 2010. I am not sure of the circumstances as to why there was a story that St Paul's donated some money to a capital campaign, and one of the strings that was attached to the donation was this altar must come with it. So we have had that in our Mary Chapel for about 12 years now.

**Linda Ferreira** So I'll back up first and ask when Stringfellow went to be a Confederate chaplain and then returned to the diocese, was he supported by the bishop in these choices? And what was the bishop's position before the war in terms of preaching on abolition?

**Lee Little** The bishops, in terms of their support of Stringfellow and in support of abolition, were relatively silent in the official, the official documentation. What you do see after the war, not only in Episcopal circles but all over, was a desire for national unity following the fracturing of the Civil War. So, St Paul's, in 1871, its first building downtown was consecrated by the bishop at the time, I believe that was Bishop Talbot, gave a sermon talking about how there in Christ is no East or West, North or South. There is only one body of Christ. I think that there was a lot of work being done at the high church levels, at the national church level to reinvigorate a sense of unity rather than make political stands about anything, including about the evils of slavery. I think that's a big failing on the part of some of the bishops. But I understand from a... an administrative point of view, not wanting to lose members in an already small denomination in the state. In terms of support for Reverend Stringfellow leaving, there's also no official documentation. I think his life was at risk, honestly, so he sent his family to Canada and he went back to Virginia to serve his home state during the war. There is no sort of attestation in the official documentation at the time, but when he died, the clergy that remembered him from Indiana were glowing in their, their praise of him as a figure. So it's a complex legacy. And I think there was a lot more desire for, like I said, unity at the expense of taking a stand for what is right.

**Linda Ferreira** That's very helpful. So I'm going to continue with this thought. So we recognize as a church that this altar has a history very aligned with supporting slavery and supporting the Confederacy. It raises for us the question - once we're aware of a racialized history of an item, once we're aware, this may be deeply offensive to many people, "What choices do we make?" This brings me to ask you what have you learned so far about what other churches have done when they face a renewed awareness of the complex symbols that they have in their own parish.

**Lee Little** So in terms of faith communities dealing with these reckonings that we have had over the past two years, but stemming back even before that, as we have this realization that, oh, we are part of systems that have impacted people in a very negative way. There has been a desire and a drive among Episcopal churches, particularly those in the South, to engage with the history first, so to tell the story of how and why and what they were doing during the past. So one example that springs to mind is the former Robert E Lee Memorial Episcopal Church. I can't remember where in Virginia (Lexington, VA) it is, but they recently underwent a name change as a designation, as sort of a reversion almost. So in the 1910, I believe they were called, renamed from Grace to the Robert E Lee Memorial Church. And then about a century and some change later, they changed their name back as a mark that they had done the work that they needed to do and changed the name back to what it was. Remove that (name) as a symbol of when you walk in the door of this church, here's who you're honoring. At the same time, it's difficult because changing a name is different than changing an item. And I'm not entirely sure, and nothing springs to mind as to how other churches have dealt with physical items other than simply removing them or discontinuing their use. I'm sure that it has happened, but I'm not aware of anything in particular.

**Linda Ferreira** Are you aware of other institutions, universities, municipalities, businesses who have altered the items, altered or marked or re-consecrated or...

**Lee Little** One example from our, our local context that comes to mind is the former Confederate Burial Mound marker that was at the former Greenlawn Cemetery, now, where the Victory Field is for our minor league baseball team. That's where the prisoners who died at Camp Morton were buried. There was a burial mound that was marked with a pretty large burial plinth with all of their names and their home states on it. That was placed there in about 1910, so during this retelling of Southern Civil War history, this revision of the history that was occurring at that time, later on, it was moved down to Garfield Park, where it stayed sort of unnoticed until about 2020, 21, 2020 or so. So within recent memory and in the context of all of these conversations that have been going on, it was attacked by a man with a hammer. And, so, the city said, we don't actually own this; it's on permanent loan from the organization that put it up. And, so, we need to put it in storage so that it doesn't become this flashpoint for protest and for vandalism. So they divide it up and they have put it somewhere in city storage. So the spot where it was still is vacant. That's one example of many that has occurred at an official level. I do think that there is a desire to engage with the history. So, I'm thinking of IUPUI, which decimated the vibrant middle class black neighborhood that it now sits on. They are trying to engage with what was on those particular parcels, who lived there, what was going on, what sort of culture existed in the neighborhood? Are they doing a good job? Maybe. Maybe not. But they're engaging with it at least .

**Linda Ferreira** They are acknowledging whose land this belonged to, and in a way, there is a confession because they're confessing that the neighborhood was devastated, more than once. And you're raising the question, what more... what next? As historian, are you in conversations at the national church level or at the diocesan level about the kinds of proposals being made for the what next?

**Lee Little** One that...so, at the national level, these conversations certainly are going on in the church. A couple of things that come to mind: there are resolutions from general convention from this past year talking about the Indian schools, the Indian boarding schools, and the evils that were perpetrated upon innocent children.

**Lee Little** At the national level. There are conversations going on as to how do we deal with these symbols that we have in our buildings, that we have engaged in, in our actions and what we have failed to do? One that comes to mind from general convention from this past summer is the work that is going to start on the Indian boarding schools that existed throughout the country for much of the 18th, 19th, and then currently into the 20th centuries. Engaging with how the Episcopal Church inflicted these evils upon people that were of native descent. And what does that actually look like? So that's sort of one of the broad strokes drives that is going to be starting. I know that a lot of the dioceses around the country have started to pass resolutions like what the Diocese of Indianapolis has at the past several diocesan conventions. That being said, the work is slow. I believe some parishes are doing more work at a quicker rate than others. What I would love to see and what I would like to in my national capacity put into play is a form for a racial audit of our spaces similar to what we did here, where we're actually looking at the different objects in our churches, not just the physical.

**Lee Little** One initiative that I would like to implement at the national level, although I'm not entirely sure if it will be implemented at all of our parishes across the country, is a racial audit similar to what we did here at All Saints. So what would that look like? It would involve people.

**Lee Little** In my national capacity, I would like to implement a racial audit system so that folks that are in these parishes across the country can do similar to what we did here at All Saints a couple of years ago, and walk through their parishes, walk through the buildings that they own and inhabit and love and really investigate and interact with the symbols, not just the corpus of Christ on the cross, but also the stained glass windows, the people in the columbarium that they have these different symbols around our church because we are a church of symbols. I'm pausing because I can. We are a church of symbols. So the symbols that we have on the walls of our buildings tell us a lot about who we are and how we have changed over time and who we have told ourselves that we are over time. So here at All Saints, I think that the racial audit went very well and we had the opportunity to really interact with the symbols that we have for better and for worse, but(to) start to have those types of conversations. I'd love to see every single parish in our denomination do that. I know that that is a very tall order, but I think that it is work that needs to be done and somebody needs to start it.

**Linda Ferreira** Can I chat in, in between. Do you have next thoughts about once that... back to the same question, is there any general conversation or is it yet to be had about the disposition? Do we store things? Do we get rid of them? Do we transform them? Do we reconsecrate them? Do we, you know, do we have a history as big as the older (one) so that they...so the, the story is there... that... all that kind of... is there already a conversation about this?

**Lee Little** Not particularly that I'm aware of.

**Linda Ferreira** So it is a needed...

**Lee Little** Yes.

**Linda Ferreira** Conversation about next time?

**Lee Little** Yeah. Because it's much easier to have a conversation about the name of something than to actually go through and say, okay, where did this come from? Why is this in this particular spot rather than Robert E Lee was a Confederate general, therefore, we need to change our name. And a lot of the time you don't know where something comes from unless there is a plaque on it. And a lot of the times the plaques are missing.

**Linda Ferreira** That was even noisier.

**Linda Ferreira** Before it...before we start again, do you know anything about, you know, when slavery was over and there were black folks were moving into Indiana and there was lots of violence against them and even against the people that were already lived here. Do you know anything about the church's response? Okay. So I may be able to ask that later.

**Lee Little** Remind me of the current question because I liked that one.

**Linda Ferreira** But the current question is you're going to... you're already talking about a national request for racial audit. And I said, Is there a conversation about the various options.

**Lee Little** At the national level? We have not had the opportunity to talk about the options for re-use or disposal or anything like that of potentially questionable items in our parishes, because we have not started to have the conversation in the first place. So before we can get to what to do with them, we need to be able to talk about them and interact with them.

**Linda Ferreira** So that is a conversation that is yet to come.

**Lee Little** Correct.

**Linda Ferreira** About what can we do I'm going backwards in time a little bit.

**Linda Ferreira** (unclear speech) I wanted to make sure we return to your discussion of is the general area in which St Philip's was created. So I'd like the history of St Philip's being created essentially as a black church as I understood it. And, second, are there other things that the church has participated in to help rectify the, the destruction of that economy and the increased segregation that happened as a result of the freeway going through that neighborhood?

**Lee Little** So first, let's talk about the history of St Philip's. St Philip's is the historically Black congregation of the Episcopal Church in Indianapolis. It is one of two historically Black Episcopal churches in the state. There is St Philip's in Indianapolis and there St Augustine up in Gary in the northern dioceses of Indiana. In Indianapolis, St Philip's had a couple of false starts. There was one in the 1880s, one in the 1890s. Both of those were under the guidance of Christ Church. And then in 1901, St Philip's was started as a mission of St Paul's Episcopal Church when it was downtown. For a while they actually worshiped in the Stringfellow Memorial Chapel, using that altar that you see over there in the Mary Chapel. And in 1903, their first of two buildings were constructed. It remained one of the largest parishes of the Episcopal Church in Indianapolis for many, many years. But it was still in what was called mission status. It was not self-governing and reported to the bishop and his staff rather than being a self-governing parish. So from 1901 to 1954, it was a mission. In 1954, following the Supreme Court's decision of Brown versus Board of Education, there was a, a spirit of racial reconciliation at that time. So many, many Black churches around the denomination were allowed to exit mission status and gain full parish status. So they were self-governing. They had a rector. They had their own governing

council at that time. And so from 1954 to the present, St Philip's has had a rector and its own self-governance on the vestry.

In terms of the dioceses or the church across the nation dealing with the effects of the interstates. I think it and other urban clearance sort of drives. It's a patchwork. Some of the urban clearance and neighborhood renewal sort of projects were done under the guidance of Episcopalians, not the church, but people who were faithful to the denomination. For instance, in Indianapolis, the redlining maps, which were racially based restrictive zones as to where Black people could and couldn't live and get mortgages in the city of Indianapolis. Those were approved by the administration of Reginald Sullivan, who was mayor and senior warden of St Paul's at the same time in the 1930s. There's been a little bit of recognition of the impact of these clearance sort of drives, so like IUPUI and the interstates in Indianapolis. But we are still, I think, a long way off from acknowledging those sort of structural and infrastructural sort of approaches that displaced tens of thousands of people across Indianapolis and the millions of people across the country. And I don't think that the church is ready for that type of conversation quite yet.

**Linda Ferreira** Say a little about that: not ready for...even though it's a perfectly obvious, responsible thing to do? What kind of pushback do you think would happen if a local bishop or the national bishop required those conversations right now?

**Lee Little** I think a lot of people would not engage with it. A lot of people would not engage with the conversations around the impacts of interstates and other urban clearance initiatives, because it seems like it falls outside...it seems like it could...those conversations may be viewed as falling outside of the purview of a faith community. I tend to believe that everything is connected and everything should be rooted in faith. So, a conversation about public transportation is a... has the opportunity at least to be a faith-based conversation. A conversation about the impact of the interstates has the opportunity to be a faith-based conversation. I think that that particular view, though, is rare. Some people just want to be a butt in a pew, and that's fine. But I believe that we are called to more. We are called to engage with our neighbors in a way that is centered on the gospel and loving... and repentant for the structures that created clearance of the strong Black neighborhood in the Indiana Avenue area.

**Linda Ferreira** So you would say one pushback or defense against the conversation would be to say that that someone could say or many someone could say: that's political. That's not a faith-based conversation. And you're suggesting that the counterpart to that is that we're called to look at the impact of our political choices as well as the impact of our personal action.

**Lee Little** Absolutely.

**Linda Ferreira** So I'll shift to just some questions about the church itself. Do you know when the "Everyone Is Welcome" sign went up?

**Lee Little** The "Everyone Is Welcome" sign, I believe was affixed to the front doors in the mid 1950s (as the) neighborhood surrounding All Saints had to shift. So there were more Blacks.

**Lee Little** The "Everyone Is Welcome" sign was affixed above the front doors in the mid 1950s. The neighborhood surrounding All Saints had started to shift to include more People Of Color, and so there were more People Of Color to minister to in the neighborhood. So this idea of everyone included, not just the wealthy folks who still lived in there, you know, in 70 year old houses at that point, but also the people that were moving in to the neighborhoods north of 16th Street. So we started to see this inflection point where the Congregation of All Saints started to integrate. And so that is when that sign



arose. If I had to guess, it would be after the Brown versus Board of Education decision in 1954, since it dates from the mid-fifties anyway.

**Linda Ferreira** Are you aware of the history of the consultant that the diocese recommended to All Saints and All Saints used when the decision confronting All Saints was: will we close because we're too small and poor? And we'd already decided not to move north like the other parishes. And the consultant said, "We need to respond to the needs of the neighborhood." Just what you were referring to right now, and that's when we started expanding into all the social services under... largely under Carthy and Jack Eastwood. But do you know anything of the history of that consultant and the diocesan response to those social justice needs?

**Lee Little** I know specifically talking about the consultant, no. But I do know that All Saints was targeted for the headquarters of Episcopal Community Services because we had a large amount of property in what was called the inner-city area, so we could house a lot of different ministries in one campus. And we had a very large church attached to it. So that's sort of where all of this developed from. And so for a long time, All Saints was sort of the liturgical Ministry of Episcopal Community Services, rather than being a parish with a strong Episcopal or a strong community ministry.

**Linda Ferreira** Oh, that's helpful. Say it again. So it was the it was the parish attached to the Episcopal Community Services.

**Lee Little** Yes. So it was sort of the liturgical wing of Episcopal Community Services rather than being the guiding force behind Episcopal community services, if that makes sense. So the diocese was running ECS, Episcopal Community Services. And All Saints just happened to be attached.

**Linda Ferreira** That makes sense of why the parishioners at that time, particularly the Black parishioners, but white parishioners, too, didn't know where the church ended and the Episcopal Social Services began. They were all mixed up together.

**Lee Little** Yeah. It it's fascinating, isn't it?

**Linda Ferreira** Related, but not related in time. About 2020, the Black Lives Matter sign went up on our parish outdoor wall. Do you know how that got decided? And do you know how it got decided to come down?

**Lee Little** I do happen to I was speaking with the person who had the idea earlier today about it. So in 2020, following the murder of George Floyd, The Vestry of All Saints, led by Kate Bacon, who wound up becoming senior warden, said that we need to take some sort of stand on where we as a parish are in regards to these issues. So Kate found a source for a Black Lives Matter banner that then would actually give money back to the Black Lives Matter organization. So it wasn't just coming from Amazon, it was coming from an official organization that would use the funds. And I remember coming here on a Saturday and seeing her and Frank Smith affixing the banner to the side of the parish hall. Over time, then the banner, because it was outside in all kinds of weather, became sun bleached and just not in good repair. So the decision was made to take it down and it has not been replaced yet. It was not an ideological decision. It was just a, "it doesn't look good anymore on the side of our building". And we want to represent this in the best way we can, so it needs to come down for now.

**Lee Little** I believe that the parish was informed that the Black Lives Matter banner was going to be put up. I am unaware of whether or not the parish was informed of it being taken down.

**Linda Ferreira** Do you know how we received or procured the Stations of the Cross?

**Lee Little** Those stations are so ugly. The Stations of the Cross are attested as early as 1956. That would be under Father Cirlot. He was particularly high in his Anglo Catholicism, so trending more towards Roman Catholic practices. And the Stations of the Cross are a very Roman Catholic practice, particularly during Lent. 1956. That really fits with a lot of the designs of Roman Catholic Church architecture and design and aesthetics generally. I don't know where they came from. I wish that they would go away and be replaced with something more fitting for the space. Because I think they're an important addition as a piece of liturgical artwork, but they do not fit the rest of what's here.

**Linda Ferreira** And there are spectacular ones that invite very different eyes to identify with the characters in the story.

**Lee Little** Yes.

**Linda Ferreira** Likewise. Can you talk about our Mary statue?

**Lee Little** The Mary statue in our Mary Chapel is technically called the Infant Christ in the Arms of his Mother, because to call it the Virgin Mary or the Blessed Mother Holding the Infant Christ would have been far too Catholic at the time. It is a memorial to Father Cirlot, who died in 1957. It was installed and consecrated by the rector, Father Carthy, I believe, who followed Father Cirlot shortly thereafter. And it has remained basically the same ever since.

**Linda Ferreira** You know. Do you know its various locations since 1956 within the parish, within the sanctuary?

**Lee Little** I do not.

**Linda Ferreira** Are you aware of in our history, this parish history, times of racial flare ups or racial conflicts inside the parish or in the very nearby neighborhood?

**Lee Little** Racial flare ups in All Saints itself I am not aware of. Most of the flare ups within the congregation had to do with issues of women's ordination and sexuality rather than with race in the surrounding neighborhood, though Bobby Kennedy in the mid-sixties gave his famous speech on the occasion of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King within walking distance, easy walking distance from the parish.

**Linda Ferreira** So that was a time of great racial tension in this area.

**Lee Little** Yes.

**Linda Ferreira** Do you know anything about what actually happened? I'm aware there was no rioting and that was attributed to that speech, but I don't know what else happened.

**Lee Little** I think that attributing the lack of rioting in Indianapolis to Bobby Kennedy is intentionally and incredibly paternalistic to the Black community because an outside force, like a very famous politician coming in and saying, "No, do not riot." or giving a speech of some kind. It speaks more to - less about the Indianapolis Black community than it does perceptions about it. I think that there is a lot I'm not going to speak on that because that is just conjecture and it's easy to wade into something that is very. Very sticky. But I do not think that his speech is the thing that kept the community from rioting.

**Linda Ferreira** Actually, that's a very valuable to say when I read the newspaper articles about that at the time. Uh, and what else was going on? There was enormous Black leadership at the time and very active social justice work and economic work being done right in this area.

**Lee Little** Yeah. So, there were multiple leaders of Black congregations within very easy walking distance from here that had gigantic political, religious and temporal sway among the community. And I don't think that calling Bobby Kennedy the savior of Indianapolis at that time does any of those figures, including the Reverend Dr. Andrew J. Brown, Benjamin Davis and a number of others at these other Black congregations, it does not do them any favors, and it doesn't paint them in a light that is respectful.

**Linda Ferreira** I'm returning to the redlining and the neighborhood divides: can you give us any history on our parishioner, Dr. Frank Lloyd, who ended up being president of Methodist Hospital, Black parishioner, but who also started a bank to counteract redlining. Mm hmm. Can you speak to any of that history?

**Lee Little** So, Dr. Lloyd, he, as you said, started this bank because white banks would not loan to Black customers. They wouldn't even engage in business with them. So there needed to be some sort of community -based bank to be able to provide loans and necessary financing to Black customers to be able to start to build generational wealth within the community. The specifics of the bank I'm not particularly clear on; that sort of goes beyond the, the All Saints history. But he was a beloved figure, not only at All Saints and at the diocesan level, but in the community at large. And I think that speaks to the ultra-centered social concern drive that All Saints has had for many, many decades at this point, that we're fed here on Sunday to go out and do the work that we're given to do.

**Linda Ferreira** Do you know whether his bank had anything to do with the church's efforts, particularly Father Eastwood securing a home for Annie May Green? Do you know that?

**Lee Little** I do not. Okay.

**Linda Ferreira** And do you know anything about the history of All Saints participation and the program that built the four houses at the end of the block?

**Lee Little** I've only heard tell of it. I don't know too much and I wouldn't be able to speak on it.

**Linda Ferreira** Okay. Do you know whether All Saints included Ku Klux Klan members at the height of the Klan movement in Indiana?

**Lee Little** As far as I am aware, there were no members of the clergy of the dioceses that were members of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s or before or since. I have not taken enough time to look at the parish rolls and compare that to the list of about 12,000 from the newspaper at the time that released all of their names and addresses. But I'm sure that there would have been a number of Episcopalians on that list...just statistically, there would have to be. But I'm not aware of any All Sainters who were active members of the Klan.

**Linda Ferreira** Okay. We have both records, so there is the possibility that we can figure that out.

**Linda Ferreira** Were you aware of any resistance or fallout when Nan Peete came as our first Black rector?

**Lee Little** She was not... So... Reverend Nan Peete. She was the first Black woman to be a rector of any Episcopal church. The first Black woman to be a rector of an Episcopal church anywhere in the country, which I think, you know, we have a lot of firsts when it comes to women in the ordained leadership here at All Saints. There was not, at first, any pushback to her, but when she began to agitate for the rights of the homeless that were staying here on campus is really when she came into trouble with the Old Northside Neighborhood Association.

**Linda Ferreira** Okay. So, the neighborhood association pushed back. Was there any record of conflict within the church about housing the homeless? I just I don't I haven't heard that so far.

**Lee Little** I am not aware of any internal conflict within the parish relating to housing the homeless. At the same time, there was a lot of conflict about human sexuality in the parish. And so, there's record of people leaving related to that, but not directly related to the homeless. It was a time of great upheaval.

**Linda Ferreira** Beginning with Father Carthy and then Jack Eastwood and Mother Nan Peete, we are a very social, social service focused congregation. And much of that time we were a Mission Church, so we were helped financially. What have you...what can you tell us about where the diocese and where the National Church came up with the money to support all these programs? And has the diocese and the national church continued at the same level? And if so, where is that money now going?

**Lee Little** A big part of funding for much of anything in the Diocese of Indianapolis and in Indiana generally, regardless of the type of ministry, comes from Lilly money. Eli Lilly was a member of the three lily pads, as we call them now, Christ Church on Monument Circle, Trinity at 33rd in Meridian, and then St Paul's up at 61st in Meridian. He was not too fond of All Saints and its high church liturgy and its high church Anglo Catholic practices. But when he died in 1977, there was a lot of money that was given to the diocese from his estate, and the Lilly Foundation and the Lilly Endowment still do a lot of charitable work with the dioceses and then with other organizations that are working in Indianapolis that may have partnerships with the diocese. They also do work at the national level. And then over time, the investment practices of various parishes and of the diocese have allowed various endowments with Lilly Seed money to really grow to a place where ministries can be not self-sustaining in a way where that money is now it's invested. It's I... I'm not entirely sure I know that the sort of inner-city relief sort of programs like you would see back when Episcopal Community Services was still very active in Indianapolis across the country, that the perceived need for those has decreased, even though the actual need has continued. So, a lot of the time what you'll see now is Episcopal Relief Services continuing to do work in disaster areas rather than in an ongoing sense in various diocesan situations. But there are still ministries. It's much more parish based, I think, compared to what it was back then, where you had a centralized hub for all of the activities. It's now sort of ad hoc food programs and community space that's available in the parishes and things like that.

**Linda Ferreira** Given your wider lens for what you are looking at over time and across the nation. Do you have recommendations for how a parish like ours would serve and specifically would serve with a more unified sense of our mission?

**Lee Little** One of the most effective things that has occurred over the past 70 years or so is the decimation of community across the country. And parishes are very, very small communities that have to attempt to serve communities writ large. In our greater context, there are still people living in the houses that surround us, and there's new housing being constructed all the time, but there's not that same sense of community like there was in decades past. I think trying to build community, you know, doing more outward, neighborhood focused outreach, even in a very informal sense of, "Come and see a

tour of the church. You drive past it every day on your way to work, but you've never been inside. Come in and take a look. We have stained glass and an organ. Listen to the organ. Look at the beautiful stained glass." Getting people in and getting people engaged with the work that goes on, not only on Sundays, but then throughout the week, I think can really be helpful. Another thing in that regard is the dwindling numbers. You know, a lot of Episcopalians are tending to be older, which gives more time because they're retired. But at the same time, it's still a dwindling number of people. You can't do - you can try to do more with less, but at a certain point, people become exhausted. And there's only so much that a small parish like All Saints with 100 or so people on a Sunday can do. So, I think trying to rebuild community and building networks, not only in the fact that we are a religious organization, but we're a presence in the neighborhood. We've been here for 140 years at this point. So, I think that we have a unique and interesting opportunity to try to rebuild a community so that people who are in need don't just come to us when they're in need. They come to us always, and we then reach out not only when people are in need, but on a continuing basis that forms good relationship with our neighbors.

**Linda Ferreira** So I hear the opening up of the church. Uh. But you also said go out into the neighborhood or take part in the neighborhood. Do you have anything else to say about? Well, how could we how could we take part better? How could be our three neighborhoods better?

**Lee Little** That's a tough one because the marketplace is quite packed with differing things to do. But, I think just offering...

**Lee Little** The official line is unattested as to why the door between Dayspring and us was sealed.

**Lee Little** I will say that the parish has a very interesting history in terms of what groups we are serving at what particular time. So, if you look at the composition racially of our parish, over time, you will see that it in the forties into the fifties as we lost Cathedral status in 1946, it shifted to a more neighborhood focused sort of parish. So, you see an increase in the number of People Of Color that were coming on a regular basis and attending and getting involved with the Episcopal Community Service Ministries. Then going into the 1980s, we shifted, for whatever reason, from serving the neighborhood to serving a different type of community. As I understand it, it's the community of those that were dying of AIDS. And so starting in the late eighties and the early nineties, not to say that the neighborhood was not engaging with people that were dying of AIDS, but we shifted our focus from the neighborhood and the people that were living here to the people that were dying here. And I think that that has been our legacy for the past 30 years or so, since about the nineties with Father Hanson and his, his cohort at that time. That's been the shift. And we have a really unique opportunity as the neighborhood continues to shift. And as Mother Andrea has arrived to engage with new and exciting different opportunities and ministries in our neighborhood and really ask the question, who is our neighbor and who do we welcome when we say all are welcome?

**Lee Little** So Reverend Stringfellow was the rector of Christ Church at the time, and he was also from Virginia. And he saw it within his ministry to minister in various ways to the prisoners that were being held at Camp Morton. What did that ministry entail? Some would say it was just bringing clothes and food to the people that were incarcerated at the prison camp. Some would also say that it was smuggling mail in and out and bringing in contraband to his fellow Southerners that were incarcerated just around the corner from his church. I'm not entirely sure; it's not attested because, as I said, the obituaries and the praises of him are glowing and effusive when he dies in 1890. There's also a story that he failed to ring the church bells at union victories during the Civil War. So he was not a staunch unionist, which I think is attested in his... his ministry. But he was run out of town, I think, for a variety of factors.

**Linda Ferreira** Any guesses?

**Lee Little** Smuggling in mail to the prison camp. Not ringing the church bells when every other church in town was ringing them on union victories and then also not praying for the President during the Eucharistic prayer.