

The **+** WITNESS

APRIL 20, 1961

10¢



**LEADERS OF THE EPISCOPAL
PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP**

OFF-MOMENT photo taken at Episcopal Theological School following a meeting of the executive committee: Left to right: the Rev. Samuel N. McCain, chairman; Bishop Appleton Lawrence, honorary chairman; the Rev. Freedom Wentworth, general secretary; a seminarian; Miss Elsa Walberg, Mrs. Arthur Sherman, vice chairman

THE EPISCOPAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

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SERVICES

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7:30 a.m.; Morning Prayer at noon.
Sunday Services: 8 and 9:30 a.m., Holy
Communion; 11, Morning Prayer and
Sermon; 4 p.m., Service in French;
7:30, Evening Prayer.

Editorial and Publication Office, Eaton Road, Tunkhannock, Pa.

Story of the Week

Varied Program in United States Sponsored by Fellowship

By Winslow Ames
Treasurer of EPF

★ The Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, founded in November 1939, was barely two years old when it had to begin raising big money. The selective service act of 1940, though it provided for alternative service for conscientious objectors, was not accompanied by any appropriation for paying them, and their maintenance in work camps fell upon the historic peace Churches which shared camp administration. The EPF took the responsibility for raising within the entire Episcopal Church the cost (at thirty dollars per man per month) of maintenance of Episcopalians drafted as conscientious objectors and sent to camps run by Friends, Brethren, and Menonites. A large debt, especially to the American Friends Service Committee, remained at the end of the 1939-1945 war, but was cleared before the new selective service Act of 1948 went into operation.

Since then the EPF has been raising money, almost entirely within its own membership, for undertakings which seem to its executive committee to witness to religious pacifism. These have not often been under Church auspices, but they have normally been projects of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation; the EPF is an af-

filiate of the (American) Fellowship of Reconciliation. In many of these undertakings EPF members have worked on the spot, and recently there has been a search for more work to which the physical presence and labor of members could be lent—as for instance in the diocese of Nagpur, India, where two EPF members are now helping Bishop Sadiq.

Some earlier examples included: partial support of the headquarters of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation; initiation of Fellowship headquarters in Austria; aid to the Freundschaftsheim, the Rev. Wilhelm Mensching's international peace study center in Bueckeburg, Germany; aid to

K. K. Chandy's Boys' Town in Travancore, India; subvention of a simplified edition of Richard Gregg's "The Power of Non-Violence" for distribution in South Africa; visiting Japanese prisoners held for trial as war criminals; discretionary funds for the Rev. Arthur Blaxall, who developed a school for the blind in the Transvaal; and help in printing literature for the Buenos Aires Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Conferences

The EPF has regularly held a summer conference at which distinguished workers in the cause of peace, theologians, and an occasional "devil's advocate," have spoken, led meditations, or held debate. Among well-remembered leaders at these conferences, now usually held at Seabury House, have been A. J. Muste; Dorothy Day of The Catholic Worker; Bert Bigelow and Bill Huntington of the Golden Rule; Bishop Sadiq; Bishop Appleton Lawrence (first chairman of the EPF and now honorary chairman); the Rev. John Oliver Nelson, and Canon Wedel. The 1961 conference will be held at Seabury House, Greenwich, Connecticut, 30 August to 2 September. Non-members are welcome if adequate notice is given.

Annual meetings in various cities, usually in January, and a mid-western conference, normally held in March at Orleton Farms, the diocese of Southern Ohio's retreat center, have led,



MRS. HENRY PIERCE is an active leader of EPF

like Seabury House conferences, to occasional publications under EPF auspices. Some of the most demanded of these are "The Inescapable Vitality of Peace" by the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, who recently retired from St. Philip's, Harlem; Bishop Lawrence's "Why An Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship?"; and "Inward Preparation for the Life of Peace" by Douglas V. Steere.

Because of the comparatively small numbers of EPF members in any one locality except in large population centers, there have been few simon-pure EPF activities other than the meetings mentioned; individual members are active participants

in Fellowship of Reconciliation projects and in such other pacifist undertakings as the Walk for Peace, sit-ins and kneel-ins, and work camps.

The EPF has also tried to put before seminarians in all the Church seminaries the theological bases of pacifism and the information necessary to future priests who may need to counsel conscientious objectors. A presbyter and a layman have normally shared the seminary visitations. One of the most effective seminary missionaries for some years was the Rev. Robert Mize of St. Francis Boys' Homes in Kansas, recently elected bishop of Damaraland in South West Africa.

himself but for all young men who find themselves in similar circumstances.

"During this stay in France I felt how the profound work that was done in that country with the help of Andre and Magda Trocme is beginning to bear fruit in a remarkable way."

In France the EPF was able to help Andre and Magda Trocme to maintain the Maison de la Reconciliation in Versailles where for ten years groups of students, young people, educators, pastors, and just people of different national, racial, and religious background have come for weekends or longer, and found hospitality, friendship, and inspiration, and time to confer, discuss, and plan. The Trocmes too traveled widely, carrying the message of pacifism wherever they went. They lived for a month or more in the native quarter of Algiers, bringing a spirit of reconciliation and practical love.

Now they are living in Geneva, where Andre is pastor

Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship Has World-Wide Program

By Kathleen W. Sayre

EPF Overseas Correspondent

★ The EPF is only a small group, but its interests are world-wide, and it channels its influence through selected individuals in Europe, Asia, South Africa, and South America by helping to support them in the work they are doing for the cause that lies so close to our hearts.

Thus, in Vienna, Dr. Hildegard Goss-Mayr and her husband Jean Goss are helped not only to maintain their peace center there but to carry the torch to France, Ireland, Italy, Jugoslavia, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and further afield.

Hildegard has done valuable work in arranging theological study conferences and discussions between leaders of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Churches from the East and the West; and Jean has been deeply involved with the young people in France who refused, on conscientious grounds,

to fight in Algeria. He reports:

"In France my work concentrated on contacts with military chaplains, parish priests, leaders of youth movements and labor unions, using as a starting point our action against the war in Algeria and the Non-Violent Civil Action Movement.

"At the NVCA some fifteen volunteers joined us, who have given up their work and parted from their families until the end of the Algerian war in order to give total service to the NVCA. With their help a camp was opened to receive these young men . . . in which they can truly render service in good conscience.

"This group of volunteers started out working in flooded areas. It was there that Pierre Boisgontier was arrested. He was one of the first soldiers who refused, in the name of his conscience, to participate any longer in the Algerian war and who sought a truthful solution that could be valid not only for



LEADERS: Bishop Lawrence, honorary chairman of EPF, and Bishop Sadiq, whose work in India is aided by the Fellowship

of the Church of St. Gervais and Magda is teaching. Both are active in the Swiss FOR.

In Germany Pastor Wilhelm Mensching was helped to carry on the program at Freundschaftsheim which he founded. He maintained his pacifism throughout the Hitler regime and the war, and kept the love and respect of his parishioners, his neighbors, and even of the Nazi Burgomeister.

Professor Siegmund Schultze (perhaps the leading veteran of pacifism in Germany and formerly a chaplain to the Kaiser whose friendship saved him from a death sentence in the first world war) has suffered long periods of illness in the last few years, but our support enabled him to aid young refugees from eastern Europe, helping them to get professional training and find jobs.

In Hawaii our friend and long time member, the Rev. Shelton Bishop, is chairman of the Honolulu FOR and has been able to help them to carry on, and last year to give aid to Earle Reynolds of the Phoenix when he left there for Japan where he is teaching in Hiroshima, and who writes: "The \$50 is almost four times my monthly stipend as guest professor at the Women's College of Hiroshima" and tells of the happiness he and his family have found, living as a part of the Japanese community.

India

In India K. K. Chandy is grateful to the EPF for help in maintaining Kerala Balagram (a home for destitute and delinquent boys) and his Ashram's Gurukul, a training school for theological students and other Christian workers, offering them courses with a pacifist background which they do not get in the regular Church-supported schools. He says:

"The Gurukul . . . is struggling

in connection with finance. The trainees, most of whom are from lower middle class families, are not in a position to pay for their expenses at the Gurukul. None of the theological institutions in India help give a pacifist background and training; the training given in such centers, on the other hand, is often from the non-pacifist point of view. There is therefore a great need to equip this institution so that it might become a center for such training. Candidates for the ministry and for Christian work generally have to be attracted for a period of training here, before or after their regular theological or other training in institutions sponsored directly by the Church."

He speaks with particular affection of our member, the Rev. Artley Parson, who donated the ground and buildings for Gurukul in memory of his wife.

Bishop Sadiq, of the diocese of Nagpur, is grateful for the material help as well as the prayers of our members. He writes of his joy over the arrival of the Rev. Richard Fenn and his family, and Miss Eleanor Eaton (both members of EPF) to work in the diocese of Nagpur. We remember the inspiration he gave us at the Seabury House conference a couple of years ago and bear



A. J. MUSTE chats with an EPF member at an annual meeting

him with affection in our minds and our prayers.

Japan

The Japanese FOR, whose chairman is Professor Iwao Ayusawa (of the International Christian University in Tokyo), and secretary, Paul Sekiya (son of a former member of the imperial household), are grateful for the help from the EPF which has enabled them to carry on the monthly publication of their magazine YUWA, which issued its 100th number in December.

At the recent annual conference, the main topic of discussion was the US-Japan security treaty. "Why we have to oppose the treaty — By what methods are we to oppose it — and alternatives to the treaty."

South Africa

In South Africa the Rev. Arthur Blaxall has valiently carried the pacifist torch in the tense and frightening situation there. He writes:

"Life is hectic — I am sure it is as bad with you, but we in Africa seem to think we are all run off our feet more than other men. I must say that in my thirty-eight years out here I have never known so much real activity . . . The terrible happenings at the beginning of the year seem to have woken people with a sense of shock."

Our help has enabled him, in various ways such as car upkeep, reasonable travel conditions, emergency assistance, etc. to carry on his self-sacrificing labor with an efficiency that would otherwise be impossible.

He speaks of his joy in meeting Bishop Mize and the Rev. Edward French (both EPF members) and draws attention to the fact that there are now three pacifist bishops in the Anglican province of South Africa.

He attended, as an observer, the recent conference of South

African Church leaders organized by the World Council of Churches, and speaks of it with some encouragement.

After January 31, Mr. Blaxall resigned from his position as secretary of the South African Christian Council and gives full time to FOR work as IFOR secretary for Africa South of the Sahara.

South America

In South America also, we have a part in the promotion of the Argentine magazine "Re-

conciliation." Dr. Daniel-Lura Villanueva, the editor, writes that they are now able to raise 40 per cent of the cost in Argentina, that the information, news, and articles are well received, and that they are planning to increase the circulation from 2,500 to 3,000.

Thus are we in the EPF privileged, not alone with material aid, but with our prayers for these pioneers, to have a part in the world-wide quest for peace.

Boyd Resigns College Position In Controversy with Bishop

★ Malcolm Boyd, chaplain of Colorado State University has strongly defended his ministry to beatniks and said he received "incredible, overwhelming reaction" when he resigned after criticism by his bishop for holding in night "espresso" religious services.

He quit his university post effective July 31 after Bishop Joseph S. Minnis had chided him for his efforts to bring religion to beatnik groups. Allowing use of bongo drums at "espresso nights" which he organized at a converted garage, he has accused modern religion of a "smugness and snobbishness" which he said was repelling young people.

Bishop Minnis, in his regular column in the Colorado Episcopalian, official monthly of the diocese, did not mention Father Boyd by name but the target of his criticism was clear when he asserted that the playing of bongo drums "with doleful countenance or enraptured twistings of the body have no place in the worship of the church."

He added: "Likewise, I object to the association of our

sacraments with the secular so-called espresso sessions and I think that no sacrament should be administered to anyone who has been drinking alcoholic beverages or who is under the influence of dope of any kind."

Bishop Minnis mentioned "a publicity man . . . a propagandist" and defined beatniks as young people who "seem to have a language comprehensible only to themselves and who are given to the non-practice of bathing and the wearing of beards and black leotards."

Emphasizing that he had not heard formal confessions or given absolution in taverns, Boyd insisted that all he had done was to provide pastoral counseling "beyond our church buildings." And of the calls he had received since his resignation, he said, "not one of them has been in the way of a negative reaction. What is encouraging to me is that many of the callers have grasped what I believe is the real meaning of the controversy."

He said there were two real issues: "First, the exclusiveness of the church. Is it supposed to

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

CAN MODERN MAN FACE THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES OF SIN AND REDEMPTION? down, peacock's feathers

Revised Edition
**Studies in the
Contemporary
Significance of the
General Confession**

by

D. R. DAVIES

"Wherefore good people, let us beware of such hypocrisy, vain-glory, and justifying of ourselves. Let us look upon our feet; and then, down peacock's feathers . . ."

— "The Misery of Man"
Book of Homilies

Originally published in 1944, this **Down, Peacock's Feathers** has received much recognition both here and abroad. It remains virtually the only book on the General Confession. Through careful explanation and instruction, Davies leads the reader to a deeper understanding of this vital document, and ultimately to a more meaningful participation in worship.

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COMMUNITY OF FEAR

By

HARRISON BROWN

JAMES REAL

A PAMPHLET PUBLISHED BY THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, WHICH IS NOW THE MAIN ACTIVITY OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. ONE OF THE AREAS OF STUDY IS WAR IN RELATION TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. THE WITNESS IS RE-PRINTING THE STUDY IN ITS ENTIRETY OVER A NUMBER OF WEEKS.

The Arms Race

The Effects of Nuclear Weapons

FOR fifteen years we have been in the largest and most frantic arms race that the world has ever known. During this period the Soviet Union and the United States have recognized that war between them is a possibility. Under the circumstances each nation has attempted to put itself in the position of winning the war should it come. Actions have brought reactions, which in turn have brought new actions. Military expenditures in both nations have increased to staggering size. With the mobilization of science and technology, capabilities for destruction have increased explosively.

When World War II came to an end, the United States alone possessed the atomic bomb. This new weapon had come into existence as quickly as it did because of the fear that Germany, with many competent scientists and engineers available, might "get there first."

The atomic bomb created an imbalance in military capability which the Soviet Union was quick to appreciate. It is likely that the discussions of the Baruch proposals failed in 1948 in large measure because the Soviet leaders foresaw that were they to enter into such an agreement, the imbalance in nuclear military technology might be perpetuated.

The Russians pursued the new technology, and by 1951 they had tested three nuclear weapons. We in turn pursued the possibility of thermo-

nuclear devices and carried out our first test of such a device in 1954. By 1956 our own thermonuclear bomb had passed into the third generation, and the Russians were manufacturing their own variety.

During this period nuclear devices were not only made larger—they were made smaller as well. A variety of flexible, efficient fission bombs were developed for tactical use, and the United States announced that it intended to utilize such weapons should a war start. The Soviet Union followed suit.

By 1956 a revolution was taking place in the means of delivery. In the United States the B-47 had come and gone, and the B-52 was in production. The Russians had substantial numbers of long-and medium-range bombers — Badgers, Bears, and Bisons. But even more important, a variety of missiles had entered the picture. Soviet successes in the missile field led to the establishment of intensive programs in the United States on the Atlas, Titan, and Thor.

The development of a Soviet strategic bombing force led the United States to build the DEW line, establish a radar system in Turkey, add a new series of fighters to the Air Defense Command, and develop a series of missiles for air-defense purposes. The first nuclear warhead for air-to-air rockets was tested in 1956. In 1958 we delivered the first nuclear warheads to the

Thor bases in England and subsequently to Western Germany and elsewhere within the NATO sphere.

The development of Soviet ICBM's led to the use of the U-2 in order to ferret out Soviet bases, to the establishment of alert and dispersed SAC operations, and to the development of the Polaris missile designed to be carried by the nuclear-powered submarines.

Improved missile capabilities led to the development of earth satellites, first launched successfully by the Russians, then by the U.S. Realization of the vulnerability of our SAC and missile bases to a "first strike" is now leading to the development of Atlas bases capable of withstanding explosion pressures of twenty-five pounds per square inch and of Titan bases capable of withstanding 100 pounds per square inch. A ballistics missile early warning system is now being put into operation.

Today the arms race continues. Military expenditures in the United States corresponding to about 10 per cent of our gross national product are met by expenditures in the Soviet Union corresponding to perhaps 25 per cent of her gross national product. Production of nuclear explosives continues at full speed, and it is estimated that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. together possess explosive material corresponding to about 30 billion tons of TNT, or about ten tons of TNT for every inhabitant of the world.

As the technological competition continues, it seems clear that sometime in the mid-60's ballistic missiles will form the bulwark of the striking forces of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Bases will become increasingly hard. Guidance will become more accurate. A variety of military satellites will emerge. Bombs, missiles, and satellites will become less expensive. But above all we can expect in the years ahead many more "break-throughs" which will lead to a number of startling and unexpected military developments. Even less expensive and more efficient methods for the destruction of large segments of life and the products of human intelligence are almost certainly within our grasp.

THERMONUCLEAR weapons range in explosive force up to somewhat more than twenty megatons, corresponding to 20 million tons of TNT. These heavy bombs can be carried by B-52 bombers. The sizes of bombs that can be carried by missiles are at present smaller. Minuteman and Polaris will probably be able to

carry one-megaton warheads by the mid-60's. Soviet ICBM warheads and Atlas and Titan will probably be able to carry warheads ranging from five to ten megatons.

When a ten-megaton warhead is detonated, roughly a third of its total energy is released in the form of heat and light. The bomb material and surrounding air are heated to extremely high temperatures, and the resultant fireball grows quickly to a diameter of about three and a half miles. The heat flash persists for about twenty seconds and on a clear day can produce third-degree burns out to about twenty miles and second-degree burns out to a distance of twenty-five miles from the explosion. A ten-megaton burst in the atmosphere thirty miles above the earth could set fire to combustibles over 5,000 square miles on a clear day.

A surface burst of a ten-megaton bomb would produce a crater about 250 feet deep and a half mile wide. The zone of complete demolition would be about three miles in diameter. Severe blast damage would extend to about nine miles from the center of the explosion, and moderate to major damage would extend out to twelve miles, or over an area of 450 square miles.

It is likely that firestorms will result from a thermonuclear burst over a large city. A firestorm is a huge fire in which cooler air is drawn to the center of the burning area, elevating the temperature and perpetuating the conflagration. Winds reach hurricane velocities. The holocaust consumes the available oxygen in the air with the result that persons not burned to death may die of suffocation or of carbon monoxide poisoning.

The explosion results in the instantaneous emission of nuclear radiation in quantities that can be lethal at distances up to two miles, but since persons in that area would be killed anyway by the blast and thermal effects, this is not an important factor. Far more dangerous is the radiation from radioactive products which are produced in the explosion and which are scattered over the countryside as "fallout."

More than 200 different radioactive species are formed in the explosion of a thermonuclear weapon. These attach themselves to the inert debris which is swept into the air by the explosion and which forms the familiar mushroom cloud. The heavier particles of debris fall back to earth within the first hour or so. The lighter particles are carried downward and, depending upon the

wind conditions, will be deposited over an area fifteen to thirty miles wide and 100 to 500 miles long. A thermonuclear bomb exploded at low altitude deposits about 80 per cent of its fallout locally in this manner. The balance is injected into the stratosphere and is distributed globally. About one-half of the fission debris carried into the stratosphere of the Northern Hemisphere falls to earth within a year.

The local fallout from a ten-megaton explosion

could, if spread uniformly, produce lethal levels of radioactivity over about 5,000 square miles of land. Thus, in the absence of some protection from radiation, there could be many deaths far from the center of the explosion. Indeed, in the event of a large-scale thermonuclear attack and in the absence of radiation protection, far more deaths would result from radiation effects than from heat or blast.

(Next week: *Ten Megatons on Los Angeles*)

Nuclear Revolution and Isolated Clergy

By John Nevin Sayre

*Secretary, North American Committee,
International Fellowship of Reconciliation*



SIR Charles P. Snow, the gifted scientist and novelist, in his recent book, *Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, has pointed out the general failure of literary intellectuals and scientists to communicate across a gulf of mutual incomprehension. This, he feels, is a most serious matter for the world community because the scientists do know and the intellectuals do not know, the facts of the scientific revolution which especially in the last thirty to forty years is changing the life of human society at an accelerated and furious pace. This revolution which Snow dates from "the time when atomic particles were first made industrial use of", he believes compares in magnitude with the cultural revolution from agriculture to industry.

There was no stopping the industrial revolution but the extreme hardships of the transition

which it imposed on the working classes of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries might have been greatly mitigated if the intellectual elite had been more aware of what was going on and put their brains into the human side of revolutionary change.

This article is addressed to the clergy and the first point that I would make is that most of us are not awake to the meaning of the present nuclear potential following upon the breakthrough of the atom. It will change things vastly more than did the industrial revolution and we have a shorter time to adjust to it.

Already it has produced the threat of H-bomb

PICTURE taken at the annual conference at Seabury House: the Rev. Samuel McCain; the Rev. Artley Parson; Mrs. John Nevin Sayre, who has an article elsewhere in this number; the Rev. John Nevin Sayre, author of this article

war. It drives rapidly toward massive unemployment and over-population. Its trend is to widen the gap between rich and poor, between Have and Have-Not nations.

However, these consequences are not inevitable for the nuclear revolution also holds great promise. It can become in Professor C. A. Coulson's phrase "the wheels of civilization," a great civilization, but he adds only on the condition that man's spirit "sensitively, imaginatively, co-operatively, even gropingly plucks out of this possible disaster — peace."

Since peace is the most urgent problem posed by the nuclear revolution, this brief article is limited to the totally new view of war that now is required of the clergy and those who would play any part in the prevention of atomic holocaust.

In One Second

WHAT happened at Hiroshima? Dr. Warner Wells, of the North Carolina School of Medicine, the editor and translator of Hiroshima Diary who spent three years in Hiroshima studying the effects of the bomb on the human life of the city, sums it up in this sentence: "In one second, one plane delivering one bomb destroyed one city." His article in the November Bulletin of The Atomic Scientists goes on to state:

To many of those killed death came in three ways: the concussive effect of the blast, the searing result of sun-hot heat, and the invisible mysterious, time-charged particles of radioactive energy. Minute particles of glass riddled human flesh; granite columns became molten on their surfaces and dripped like wax candles; several hundred children in a school yard disintegrated and became a fragment of the hot ashes carried into the stratosphere.

In all, tens of thousands were killed, more thousands were grievously injured. For those who survived there were no homes, no food, no shelter, no clothes, no drugs, no doctors or nurses, no light, no water, no communications or means of transportation. Pillage and anarchy replaced law and order. Returning residents were stunned to find no vestige of home or family, no token to memorialize things past.

This, which really happened fifteen years ago, is dwarfed by what would happen with nuclear bombs today. Professor Reinhold Niebuhr is his Forword to the pamphlet Community of Fear, by Harrison Brown and James Real, issued by the

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, says that the pamphlet "should be read and pondered by every thoughtful American," that "it will dispel many illusions". Among them, he cites the old slogans of "bargaining from strength" and "arms to parley" and "detering attack by the prospect of massive retaliation".

The pamphlet (currently appearing in The Witness) points out that if we represent on a scale the explosive power of a pre-Hiroshima World War II block buster by setting on end a one-foot ruler, the Hiroshima A-bomb would be represented by the height of the Empire State building; and a twenty-megaton bomb, (many of which we now have) by the height of the orbit of Sputnik I. "One thermonuclear bomb releases more destructive energy than that released by all of the bombs dropped on Germany and Japan during World War II."

Meanwhile, the arms race continues and "it is estimated that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. together possess explosive material corresponding to about 30 billion tons of TNT, or about 10 tons of TNT for every inhabitant of the world."

There can be no disputing the fact that in the fifteen years of this development of nuclear weaponry the Churches of the world have developed no comparable increase of spiritual non-violent force. With few exceptions, they have been isolated and insulated by containment in the shell of traditional conceptions of war dating back to St. Augustine and the Council of Arles in 312 A.D.

Not only have the Fundamentalists been insulated by their emphasis on Scriptural inerrancy but also adherents of the Neo-Orthodox way of thought have for the most part been sealed off from understanding what nuclear war means. Other media of insulation have been over-attention to ecclesiastical tradition and ritual, the cold war propaganda against Communism and the fact that we are all so very busy with a multiplicity of jobs. This, too, is a by-product of the scientific revolution.

But for whatever reason, the stark fact is that we have not perceived how the revolution of nuclear weaponry is radically undermining the moral standards for ourselves and our country which we formerly strove to uphold. We are caught in the plight of the Pharisees whom Jesus denounced as "blind guides" for, being immersed in their traditions, they passed over justice and the love of God.

The New Realities

NOW if the clergy and the Churches are to awaken from sleep in the sixteenth year of the Nuclear Age, it is essential, first of all, that we should break out of the "thought barrier" of traditional conceptions of war which blind men to the realities of the present and foreseeable future. War as it has been will be no more, except in backward regions of the earth. Wherever the scientific revolution has penetrated — and it is in fact over-spreading the world — what we have to contend with is not war but preparation for thermonuclear suicide. The Church must not surrender its judgment on this to the guidance of military specialists and governments.

This will become clear as soon as we do our thinking by means of words which represent the new realities, and discard the traditional words and slogans which were coined in an era forever past. Let me illustrate four of them:

- The Just War. All the former justifications and attendant dogmas cannot apply to war on the pattern of Hiroshima. Noting that the power of the nuclear bomb has been multiplied over 1,000 times since then, the next military encounter cannot be a "just" process. It would be thermonuclear murder.

- War to make the World Safe for Democracy. Woodrow Wilson used that slogan but the consequences were that two world wars spawned the totalitarianism of Hitler and Communism. No democracy at all can be expected to survive an atomic conflict. This "war" would unleash the mass death of cities and give us military dictatorship for keeps.

- Balance of Power. Once upon a time this worked after a fashion, but it won't go on balancing much longer. Hear what General Omar Bradley said to the pupils of St. Albans School:

In this armament race of H-bombs, guided missiles, and sputniks, we are building our civilization on a house of cards — electronic cards. The more we build, the more the other side builds. We are putting into jeopardy the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings. The present stalemate of terror cannot indefinitely continue. Pretty soon one side or the other will give things a fatal push to the point of no return.

When Sir Charles P. Snow addressed the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York last December, (Witness, 3/2 and 9) he admitted that the U.S. would take

some risks in bargaining with Russia. On the other hand, he asserted that to continue in the present arms race will not be just a risk but will surely provoke disaster. This hard-headed scientist told his conferees what would happen:

The nuclear arms race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. not only continues, but accelerates. Other countries join in. Within at the most six years, China and several other states have a stock of nuclear bombs. Within, at the most, ten years, some of these bombs are going off. I am saying this as responsibly as I can. That is the certainty.

So "balance of power" in our Nuclear Age means walking on a tight-rope that will break.

- Deterrence of the Enemy by Threat of Massive Retaliation. On the board of the nuclear gaming table unless the U.S. is bluffing, and irrespective of whether the atomic push is set off by Russia or by us or by accident, the U.S. will be obliged to ask its citizens to support these actions:

- Mass incineration of Russians or Chinese.

- Participation in launching nuclear hell upon friendly and neutral peoples, most of whom will have had no voice in the decision of war or peace for them.

- Consent to such a risk as George Kennan asked the students of Princeton Theological Seminary to look at when he said:

Here our main concern must be to see that man, whose own folly once drove him from the Garden of Eden, does not now commit the blasphemous act of destroying, whether in fear or in anger or in greed, the great and lovely world in which, even in his fallen state, he has been permitted by the grace of God to live.

You see the moral and religious issues which emerge cannot be surrendered to the authority of the technicians' calculated risks nor can the Churches here play handmaid to the state without violating their vocation to be Holy, Catholic, and Christian.

Once we come out of the war tradition of the past, shot through as it is with habit, patriotism and poetry, we can no longer pray like Kipling's Roman soldier:

Mithras, God of the morning, our
trumpets waken the wall!
Rome is above the nations, but
thou art over all!

Now as the names are answered,
and the guards are marched away,
Mithras, also a soldier,
give us strength for the day.

We are not servants of Mithras but of Jesus
and we do not live in the time of Rome.

Sometimes it is said that the scientific revolution resulting in the build-up of immense organizations of industry and commerce and militarism and ever more powerful nation-states, has so circumscribed the liberty of the individual that there is nothing of importance that the individual can do in a situation such I have been describing. Such a view, however, fails to take into account the power of God's spirit coursing through even a single man or through a minority group of committed individuals.

We should not underestimate this spiritual reality nor forget that a rising tide of human longing in the hearts of masses of people has now and again produced a revolution and that revolutions have generally taken the world by surprise. It might be so today in the longing for world peace but whether or not the hour for this is at hand, the Christian when he sees truth is under obligation to his Lord to make a personal choice for truth in his own heart and then do his best to make his light shine before others by his words and his deeds.

Helen Keller who in the second year of her life was stricken by an illness that left her permanently blind and deaf, many years later wrote with her own hand in my wife's Memory Book this sentence:

I will not suffer my eyes to see darkness
Nor my eyelids to shut out the light.

The Call of Peace

By Samuel N. McCain

Chairman of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship

CALLS come from many sides these days for radical action. The call comes to our nation and world that all racial segregation be eliminated now. A call has recently been heard that four great communions of our land unite. And a call is being heard over and over again in many different ways that men and nations abolish war forever as a means of seeking to solve international disputes.

In the midst of such urgent voices the Church itself is called upon to awake to a newness of life, that she may lead today rather than follow. The peoples of the world are seeking the clear voice of a leader. May the Church heed this urgent call to speak up and take action! She must rise this day to a new sense of service in our Lord's name, divesting herself of any and all reliance upon and support of war and the weapons of war in the maintenance of international relationships.

The Church should at this time openly confess before the world that she has fallen into error—the error of accepting and condoning the world's ways of settling disputes and of maintaining order. She should confess that when she took up the sword at the time of Constantine she then departed from the way of the Prince of Peace. She should confess before the peoples of the world that when she undertook to recapture the Holy Land by means of the Crusades she erred most grievously.

No longer can she leave the witness of the way of peace to the historic peace Churches alone. No longer can she serve God and Mammon. She must now unequivocally align herself on the side of peace if her witness is to be heard and respected by man. As she takes a strong stand she may be greatly surprised at the reaction of men and nations. The world at this critical time is ripe and ready to accept a radically new approach to international relations. Just this last October the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, James J. Wadsworth, said:

"We want a world in which nations no longer have power to settle differences by force of arms, a world in which international order will prevail, a secure world in which all people will be free from the fear of war. In short we would like to see total disarmament of all nations under law. In my personal opinion, if we were to start now and work at good speed, the step by step process to this goal could be completed in the neighborhood of, say, five to six years, and with good faith and a real sense of urgency on both sides, it could take even less."

Even as once the Church came to see that she could no longer tolerate or be a part of slavery with all its lack of "reverence for life", so too in this second half of the 20th century the Church should be the first to rise up to proclaim before all the world that she no longer can tolerate the ways of war, and that henceforth she will seek to live according to the ways of the Prince of Peace.

Racial Conflict: Crisis in the Soul



By **Arthur E. Walmsley**
*Secretary, Division of Christian Citizenship,
National Council*

THE spring of 1960 brought with it a new phase in the history of Negro-white relations in America. There was, to be sure, nothing new in the methods of the sit-in demonstrators. Groups such as the Committee on Racial Equality had as early as the 1940's used the sit-in technique, non-violent resistance and picketing to test and break down patterns of discrimination in restaurants and other accommodations. The successful Montgomery bus boycott had demonstrated to Negro and white leadership alike the effectiveness of mass resistance to segregation, and the ability of the Negro community to organize itself. The new and compelling factor in the 1960 student demonstrations can best be described as a moral eruption, an impatient and uncompromising demand to be recognized as human beings, an appeal addressed not to the mind but to the conscience. There are many unresolved questions raised by the sit-ins: the legal authority of proprietors to select their clientele, the long-term effect of hastily-written trespass laws, the wisdom of invoking non-violent demonstrations as a method of protest under different circumstances. But one scene from last spring summarizes the importance of the sit-ins better than a long analysis. It is the stricken expression on the face of a segregationist newspaper

editor confronted on a tv panel by one of the demonstrators, who was saying: "For a long time we have been appealing to your mind. Now we are appealing to your heart, your religion, your soul."

Many white churchmen have been scandalized by the sit-in movement. Actually, we should sing a Te Deum for it. No other development in recent years has so clearly forced us to face ourselves, our attitudes and patterns of behavior, in moral terms. Following the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, and the promise it gave of a rational, legal, and deliberate end to enforced segregation in the public schools, an abortive effort was made, through interposition and school closure laws, to negate the effort to break down segregation through the courts. Interposition collapsed, but a subtler form of avoidance of the law of the land was invoked. Token desegregation, adopted by the segregationist as a means to circumvent the law, offered a psychological mechanism for the great majority of white citizens and churchmen through which the fundamental human and moral issues involved in racial segregation could be avoided. "Moderation," reconciliation, exhortations to practice Christian charity and "good" race relations were the by-words which the Churches held aloft as we stood

by in perplexed helplessness in crisis after crisis created by the lawless and the sick. The "moderate" approach is paternalism updated; its only counsel is the plea not to "move too fast"; its failing, the inability to see that the real issue is moral, and that solutions are to be found only by taking the claims of the segregated seriously.

The facade of well-intentioned moderation has been shattered. Issues of inter-group relations can no longer be treated simply as occasions for collective bargaining, no longer discussed in terms of abstract principles of justice involving school desks, job opportunities, and a decent place to live. The sit-ins confronted white Americans with fellow citizens, human beings no longer content to remain invisible. In a true sense, the issue has been joined for the first time; it is an issue of common humanity, of recognition in terms not of "equality" but of manhood. It is the demand to be recognized within individual potentialities, and as a child for whom Christ died. It is theological and moral.

What, then, of the behavior of the Churches in respect to the racial crisis?

What of the Churches?

THERE can be no question where the Church "stands." The preponderance of Christian leadership around the world has long since repudiated a racist anthropology. Indeed, that tragic exception, the Dutch Church in the Union of South Africa, finds its support of apartheid today seriously challenged by a distinguished group of its own theologians. Every major Church body in America, including the Southern Baptist Convention, has repeatedly opposed discrimination on the basis of race or ethnic origin, and resolutions of recent years have made clear that such opposition applies to concrete areas of school desegregation, discrimination in public accommodations, and restrictive covenants in housing. "Let him who hath ears, hear!" On perhaps no other major social issue has responsible Church leadership spoken with such a clear and unequivocal voice.

How then account for the failure of the Churches (aside from the all-Negro communions and congregations) to provide decisive leadership based on clear teaching? How then account for the theological and moral veneer applied with alacrity to tokenism? It is a temptation to look to the sociologists and social psychologists for answers. Such a book as *Christians in Racial*

Crisis, by Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew (Public Affairs Press, Washington, 1959) provides abundant documentation of the scant leadership given in situations of racial tension. Its careful analysis of the Little Rock of 1957, along with similar studies of other communities facing social change, provides us with empirical data concerning the ways we are failing. And the social scientist's evaluation of the Church as a social institution can, to some extent, assist us to observe why we are failing — what are the forces of resistance to change within the institutional Church. It would be folly to ignore the diagnoses of social science, or the counsel to be had in projecting constructive patterns of leadership.

Our failure, however, is basically a problem of belief.

Clergy and Laity

BY BELIEF, I do not mean bad doctrine. The overwhelming majority (although not all!) of our bishops and clergy would stand behind the resolutions of Lambeth and General Convention as authoritative. Large segments of the laity do not. Some are ardent segregationists. A strident and increasingly organized core have disrupted many parishes and some dioceses, imposing financial and other sanctions to maintain the status quo. On the basis of this, it might be argued that the clergy's "better" theology is responsible for more consistent behavior in the area of race relations. Such a statement is as irrelevant as it is presumptuous. Put it down that there is a good measure of ignorance, invincible or willful, of basic doctrine in the Church, and that the paralysis of the Church in many places stems from an unhappy separation of leadership from laity.

But the crisis of belief is more basic than this. Aside from a courageous and lonely voice here and there, patient work — largely behind closed doors—by some clergy in crisis situations, a handful of bi- or multi-racial congregations, and a plethora of good resolutions, the Churches have exerted little leadership in the midst of racial tension. Our failure is rooted, I believe, in a basic confusion we Christians share with the rest of Western civilization, a crisis in our belief about man himself. The crisis is expressed in the apathy we display in the midst of the most crucial moral and social issue of the century in America. As with individual men and women, apathy is an outward expression of an inner

struggle. We have difficulty seeing the human issues involved in racial tension, seeing the brother for whom Christ died, because we are in fundamental doubt about our own humanity. At the present, the problem is sharply focused in the South, where the process of urbanization is rapidly undermining an old economic and social order, and where the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, image of man is most in jeopardy. But the image of man which Western civilization has fostered has been bent and twisted everywhere. As Archibald MacLeish cogently summarized the nature of our crisis in the Christmas, 1960, New York Times Magazine:

... Our crisis, ... like all historical crises, is a crisis in the human situation, not a crisis in a laboratory or on a launching pad, or even in the office of a chief of state. Human intelligence has made certain discoveries culminating, over the course of forty years, in fantastic acts of mind which have changed everything, including — and this is the most crucial and the most critical of all the changes — the human mind itself. In altering the universe which mirrors us we have altered ourselves as figures in the mirror. And it is this alteration of the universe and of ourselves which has produced the problems which bedevil our time Our crisis is man, the new man in whom this new knowledge is carried — along with the old ignorance which was there before: the new scientific man who knows but does not know, who can but can't, who will but won't — and who is dangerous to himself and others because he has lost his relation to his own reality in losing his relation to a world he thought he knew

It is on our conviction about man that we Christians are being tested, not what we profess about God. To be sure our theology of man is derivative from the Christian revelation about God. But the non-believing world (and our Lord!) measures our belief in God by the expression it finds in our behavior towards our fellow men. In fact, the world really does not care a fig what we believe about God.

Ground of Salvation

WHAT we Episcopalians believe about God was recently reaffirmed in the Pastoral Letter on the creeds. How we interpret that belief and understand its relevance for the new

man of the new scientific age is another matter and a mark of our confusion. What we believe about man and his place in this new world of ours, what we experience of God within such a world, cannot be uncovered except within the every day life of the world. That is why the area of racial tension is so crucial for American Christians. If there is one frontier on which our world mission is being judged, it is what we Christians of Caucasian background do with this crisis in our soul. If there is one "problem" of social change which infuses all American life—housing, employment, citizen rights, accommodations, education, family and sexual mores—it is this. It is not some religious act which makes a Christian what he is, but participation in the life of the world, and through that a participation in the suffering of God at the hands of the Godless world. Who can say what is the price in hardened hearts and blunted consciences in the Church's failure to see that its espousal of every form of suffering—especially the indignities heaped on fellow men — is the grounds of its salvation? In America today the discovery of our unity in Christ across the lines of natural differences is not just a challenge to a prophetic ministry — it offers a means by which man the impotent observer may become man in a new relationship to his social structure, his fellow man, and himself.

Life for the Christian is always an encounter. It is only in the midst of life that we discover who we are as the children of God and what it is we are called to be and do. To permit ourselves the luxury of treating "race relations" and "Christian social witness" as abstractions is to stand outside life; it is to treat the human situation as something external to the observer. To avoid involvement in the tensions brought about by social change is to deny God's world; it is to treat the sufferings of Christ in his brethren caught in social change as a stage play. It is to abstract the divine-human encounter from the world God has made.

Christians have a last chance in race relations. At a period in our history when the issue has been joined in our terms, as a problem of faith and morals, we are being tried as never before. We dare not fail.

Demands of Love

ONE further word. If it is a dangerous tendency in the contemporary Church to treat our understanding of God as a matter of proposi-

tions rather than an encounter in the midst of life, so it is a parallel failing to reduce the ethical content of our encounter of God to a system of ideals. Christian love is not a "principle" of Christian behavior; love is active will and behavior, bestowed on real people in a real world. Christian love is ever strategic, in that it concerns means as well as ends. It is not enough for Christians to be "concerned" about desegregation and our role in areas of tension. The radical demand of Christian love involves a preoccupation with means as well as ends. Good intentions not

backed up by hard-headed thinking, careful planning, and advice from competent students of social process are not only meaningless but frequently act as an obstacle to decisive action.

The Christian-cum-Gandhi methods of non-violent direct action, used with great effectiveness by the student demonstrators, might well offer a basis for study and planned action by which the Churches of the land themselves undertake a witness to the unity in Christ which is our claim and our high privilege.

Good Study Material Available For Group Discussions

By Freedom Wentworth 2nd
General Secretary of EPPF

★ One of the sad facts of life is that the Christian Church at the local level is doing little to stimulate thought about the problem of war. It is the contention of this article that the Christian pastor has a duty to bring before his congregation the various attitudes held by Christians regarding war and the use of violence. I try my best to follow this practice in my own parish. I am a convinced pacifist, but I would consider it immoral if I did not present to my people the different Christian attitudes concerning war and violence.

How many Episcopalians are aware of the fact that the pacifist position is seriously held within the Episcopal Church? My experience prompts me to say very few! Whenever I address a church group on the pacifist position I find amazement overcoming many persons. An Episcopalian who is a pacifist! What a revelation! I find people are genuinely taken back by the realization that pacifists exist within the Episcopal Church, and that there is an organization called the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship. To my way of thinking, this is a serious indictment of

our denomination. We are living in an age of the hydrogen bomb. Should not the subject of pacifism and conscientious objection be seriously studied and discussed at the local level?

We are told that Christians are called upon to make responsible decisions based on their faith. Responsible Christian decision is possible only when the gospel implications are totally presented. Young men of military age should be counselled concerning war and its implications for the Christian. I would wager that most young men entering the service have not been given an opportunity by their pastors to consider the pacifist alternative to war. We just slap them on the back and wish them "good luck." Our laxity in this regard is inconsistent with the 1930 Lambeth Conference resolution which states: "War, as a method of settling international disputes, is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord, Jesus Christ. We believe that as the Christian conscience has condemned infanticide and slavery and torture, it is now called to condemn war as an outrage on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all mankind."

It is regrettable to find the

vast majority of Christians, with whom one comes in contact, so uncritical and accepting of the arms race and military might. Christian pastors are morally obligated to move their people beyond the mere acceptance of status quo. Creative thinking and adventurous exploration must return to the Church.

Professor C. Wright Mills in his essay "A Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy" (The Nation: March 8, 1958) writes: "If there is one safe prediction about religion in this society, it would seem to be that if tomorrow official spokesmen were to proclaim xyz ism, next week 90 percent of religious declaration would be xyz ist. At least in their conforming rhetoric, religious spokesmen would reveal that the new doctrine did not violate those of the Church. As a social and as a personal force, religion has become a dependent variable. It does not originate; it reacts. It does not denounce; it adapts. It does not set forth new models of conduct and sensibility; it imitates. Its rhetoric is without deep appeal; the worship it organizes is without piety. It has become less a revitalization of the spirit in permanent tension with the world than a respectable distraction from the sourness of life. In a quite direct sense, religion has generally become part of the false

consciousness of the world and of the self."

Plea to Clergy

My plea to the clergy is: share with your people the total attitude of Christianity toward the question of war and violence. Make available to your parish, books and pamphlets on the pacifist position. Dare to bring speakers sympathetic to the pacifist belief into your church. If your parish has a library, and you are interested in a broad program of Christian education, you may obtain intelligent pacifist books from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. I especially recommend two books for your consideration: "The New Testament Basis of Pacifism and the Relevance of an Impossible Ideal" by G. H. C. Macgregor, and "The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism" by Charles E. Raven. A host of pacifist pamphlets may also be ordered from Fellowship Publications. There is one tract which I believe every pastor should make available to his young men; this tract is entitled "Christian Choices Regarding Military Training." It is very objective, and would help stimulate that awareness which is essential to responsible decision.

Episcopalians who are interested in the reason for our denominational pacifist fellowship should read the pamphlet *Why an Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship?* by Bishop Appleton Lawrence. These pamphlets may be obtained from the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, 9 East 94th St., New York 28, N. Y. Pastors and social relations committees interested in the problems and status of conscientious objectors should write to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The pastor's true role is to

enable his people to realize a meaningful and vital faith. Only an exploring and adventurous Church is able to bring this about. The person of Christ takes on new meaning as we explore all aspects of the gospel, and as we seriously study the different forms of Christian practice in history and on the contemporary scene.

Keep Minds Open

Why should our minds be closed to the possibilities of pacifism, spiritual healing, tongues, Christian socialism and communitarianism, to mention only a few? When these forms of Christian practice are explored they most often lead the inquirer to reconsider the grace and power of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. When I

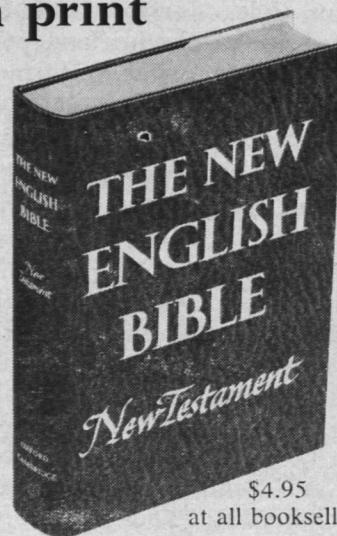
speak to young people on pacifist Christianity this question is generally raised and widely debated: "Do we really believe in the power of God in Christ or are we simply respectable people with lukewarm faith?" This question may just possibly lead to real conversion, and it has been my experience that this question is not asked until a broad picture of Christian implications is presented. If the Church remains respectably complacent, our statistics may not suffer, but our impact and relevancy will. Our program should be conversion through exploration! Concerning the issue of war and peace, will we continue to bless the status quo, or will we do some creative thinking?

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MALCOLM BOYD RESIGNS

(Continued from Page Six)

be a country club for only the 'right' people, the 'good' people, or is it the true body of Jesus Christ?

"Second, the definition of evangelism. Are we going to be a dynamic organization? Is Jesus Christ a revolutionary, radical figure, or must we simply accept and maintain the status quo?"

Boyd said that although his ministry is not specifically to the beatniks "I believe that Jesus Christ loves the beatnik just as much as the more socially respectable front-pew member of a church congregation."

Boyd first stirred controversy last February when he visited a tavern after addressing students at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., and discussed religious questions with bar patrons.

Later he introduced "espresso night" activities at Fort Collins, Colo., during which he allowed bongo playing and poetry reading for what he termed an intellectual and recreational stimulant for college students.

SCHOOL ASSOCIATION ELECTS OFFICERS

★ Recently elected officers of the boys' division of the Episcopal School Association are the Rev. Canon S. W. Goldsmith, Jr., rector and headmaster of Shattuck School, Faribault, Minn., chairman; the Rev. John O. Patterson, headmaster of Kent School, Kent, Conn., vice-chairman; and Hugh C. Riddleberger, headmaster of Trinity School, New York City, secretary-treasurer.

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AKRON RECTOR RESIGNS ON BISHOP'S RULING

★ The Rev. James M. Lichliter resigned as rector of St. Paul's, Akron, Ohio, when Bishop Burroughs ruled that he could not remarry following his divorce in 1958. He plans to marry a widow with two children but told his parishioners he would delay his marriage until his successor is named.

DEAN SAYRE NAMED FOR PANEL

★ Dean Francis B. Sayre of Washington Cathedral has been named by President Kennedy for the 15-person panel charged with ending discrimination in

federal employment and in companies that sell to the government. There are three other religious leaders on the panel.

BISHOP REEVES STARTS SPEAKING TOUR

★ Bishop Reeves of Johannesburg is presently on a speaking tour for the National Council. He will visit 15 cities in a six-weeks trip.

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- NEW BOOKS -

Kenneth R. Forbes
Book Editor

International Conflict in the Twentieth Century by Herbert Butterfield. Harpers. \$3.00

The author of this book is an internationally known historian; the professor of modern history and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He has written, in this mere 120 pages, the most disturbing, challenging and intellectually convincing essay on Christian ethics that has appeared in print for a very long time. It is by no means an academic exercise. The historian performs the amazing feat of sitting in an ivory tower and at the same time fighting on the most difficult fronts of hot and cold wars.

Examining the eras of history which were notable for political revolutions or for threatening attitudes toward the status quo which escaped violence and blood-shed because of radical, but wise, leadership, he proceeds to set forth his thesis that our difficulties today in our search for peace are very largely due to neglect of the potential power that individuals can wield when animated by a militant moral sense, clearly expressed in season and out of season. The present cold war is the direct result of this neglect — a war created by fear and hatred and maintained by ignorance and timidity. What the author means by ignorance is the blind refusal of our political leaders to see and admit frankly the many good things accomplished by Communist nations and people, even though convinced that Communist ambitions have been and are a menace to the West. It should be evident to all of us that without a changed attitude on America's part there can be no reasonable basis for negotiation. The author expresses this fact by saying: "The process of *detente*, which can be hastened or delayed by the conduct of statesmen on both sides, is completely held up so long as each rival party regards the other as a monolithic slab of unredeemed evil."

And again: "One of the primary conditions of any *detente* — whether in the seventeenth century or the twentieth — is the recovery of the realization that the members of whatever may be the hostile party are human beings too, not fundamentally unlike ourselves."

This book by an historian whose

Christianity is a vital reality to him in all his thinking, has given the world an essay which deserves to be read, marked and inwardly digested by every policy-maker — most of whom will be shocked by it. But even the humblest of us need to study it in order to realize what we can do by witnessing to goodness and its power. One is reminded, as he reads this, of the notable article by Lewis Mumford, entitled *The Morals of Extermination* in the October 1959 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

We are living, all of us today, in the poisonous atmosphere of the cold war. We should recognize its nature and cause, as Professor Butterfield sees it: "When we seem caught in a relentless historical process, our machines enslaving us, and our weapons turned against us, we must certainly not expect to escape save by an unusual assertion of the human spirit" and "When the world is

in extremities, the doctrine of love becomes the ultimate measure of our conduct".

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"Lord, we confess to Thee it is because the world lacks love that it is perishing. It is because they lack love that the nations go to war. It is because love is nailed to the Cross that divorce is wrecking homes. It is because fear hath torment that lunacy (mental illness) is increasing in a tide that can only be stemmed by the love which casts out fear."

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