

The + WITNESS

JUNE 27, 1963

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AFFIRMATION AND COMMENDATION TO PEOPLE OF ALABAMA

1. That hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions.
2. That there may be disagreement concerning laws and social change without advocating defiance, anarchy and subversion.
3. That laws may be tested in courts or changed by legislatures, but not ignored by whims of individuals.
4. That constitutions may be amended or judges impeached by proper action, but our American way of life depends upon obedience to the decisions of courts of competent jurisdiction in the meantime.
5. That no person's freedom is safe unless every person's freedom is equally protected.
6. That freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved and exercised, without fear of recrimination or harassment.
7. That every human being is created in the image of God and is entitled to respect as a fellow human being with all basic rights, privileges, and responsibilities which belong to humanity.

*From an appeal for law and order and common
sense issued by eleven clergymen in January, 1963
See inside back cover for their April appeal*

MARTIN LUTHER KING MAKES ANSWER

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In Leading Churches

NEW YORK CITY

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For Christ and His Church

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THE WITNESS is published weekly from September 15th to June 15th inclusive, with the exception of one week in January and bi-weekly from June 15th to September 15th by the Episcopal Church Publishing Co. on behalf of the Witness Advisory Board.



The subscription price is \$4.00 a year; in bundles for sale in parishes the magazine sells for 10c a copy, we will bill quarterly at 7c a copy. Entered as Second Class Matter, August 5, 1948, at the Post Office at Tunkhannock Pa., under the act of March 3, 1879.

SERVICES

In Leading Churches

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Sacrament of Forgiveness - Saturday 11:30 to 1 p.m.

SERVICES

In Leading Churches

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Sunday Services: 8 and 9:30 Holy Communion; 11 Morning Prayer and Sermon (Church School); 4 French Service; 7:30 Evening Prayer.

Story of the Week**Martin Luther King Jr. Writes Co-Religionists from Jail**

While confined to the city jail in Birmingham, Ala., the



Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote a letter to eight clergymen who has issued a statement in which they had called

demonstrations in that city "unwise and untimely."

The first part of Dr. King's letter appeared in our issue of June 13. It is concluded in this number.

— Quote —

I had hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but is it possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry? It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth."

All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people

of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of goodwill. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people.

We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hardwork time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy, and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

Opposing Forces

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my non-violent efforts as those of extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community.

One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppres-

sion, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and, on the other hand, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses.

The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and becomes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothingism" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is a more excellent way of love and non-violent protest. I'm grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of non-violence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further con-

vinced that if our white-brothers dismiss as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who are working through the channels of non-violent direct action and refuse to support our non-violent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the *Zeitgeist*, and with his black brothers of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Carribean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promised land of racial justice.

Try to Understand

Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these non-violent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history.

So I have not said to my people "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channelized

through the creative outlet of non-violent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being categorized.

The Extremists

But, as I continued to think about the matter, I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist.

Was not Jesus an extremist in love — "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that spitefully use you."

Was not Amos an extremist for justice — "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ — "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

Was not Martin Luther an extremist — "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a mockery of my conscience."

Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist — "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free."

Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist — "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal."

So the question is not whether we will be extremist, but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists of love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice, or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified. We must not forget that all three were crucified for the same crime of extremism. Two were extremist for immorality, and thusly fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his en-

vironment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

White Moderates

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action.

I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden and James Dabbs have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have sat in with us at lunchcounters and rode in with us on the freedom movement. They have languished in filthy roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who see them as "dirty nigger lovers." They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

The White Church

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of

the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions, I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say that as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some few have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause, and with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

Strange Distinction

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a might struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues which the gospel has nothing to do with," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between bodies and souls, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the exit of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail-light behind other community agencies rather than a head-light leading us to higher levels of justice.

I have travelled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at their beautiful churches with their spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of their massive religious education buildings. Over and over again, I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here?" "Who is their God?" "Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification?" "Where were they when Governor Wallace gave

the clarion call for defiance and hatred?" "Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Body of Christ

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laity of the church. But, be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church; I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred the body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was the thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven"; and had to obey God rather than man. They were small in number, but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end of such ancient evils as in-

fanticide and gladiatorial contest.

Things are different now.

The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

Judgement of God

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again, I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to status-quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true ecclesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, and lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the

faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

No Despair

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America.

Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here.

Before the pen of Jefferson scratched across the pages of history the majestic word of the Declaration of Independence, we were here.

For more than two centuries our foreparents labored here without wages; they made cotton king; and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation — and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continue to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your

statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence."

Police Brutality

I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, non-violent Negroes.

I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you would observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together.

I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.

It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather public "non-violent." But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that non-violence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But, now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly non-violent, as Chief Pritchett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of non-violence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Eliot has said

that there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

The Real Heroes

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes.

They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer.

They will be old oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated busses, and responded to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity; "my feets is tired, but my soul is rested."

They will be young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and non-violently sitting-in at lunchcounters and willingly going to jail for conscience sake.

One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunchcounters they were in reality standing up for the best in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, and thusly, carrying our whole nation back to those great walls of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long, (or should I say a book?). I'm afraid that

it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me.

If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the truth and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with

anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as fellow clergymen and a Christian brother.

Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant star of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of its scintillating beauty.

— End Quote —

Supreme Court Decision Backed By National Council Board

★ Members of the general board of the National Council of Churches overwhelmingly passed a statement opposing devotional religious acts in public schools when it was presented to them for the second time.

Strong objections were raised to a first version of the document. Opponents declared it did not sufficiently emphasize the Christian concepts of truth and God and laid too little stress on the validity of religion as a school subject when treated objectively.

It also was argued that the pronouncement gave too broad an endorsement to the U.S. Supreme Court. The first version endorsed the high court's ruling which struck down use of the regents' prayer in New York state.

Presented at an early session during the spring meeting of the general board, action was deferred when the document was turned over to a special committee for redrafting.

The revised statement was passed on a 65-1 vote, with one abstention. Not voting was a representative of Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, who initially had said the Church would "review its present relationship with the Council" if the pronouncement was approved.

While the Greek Orthodox spokesman, Charles Rafael of New York, did not take a stand on the revised statement, neither did he voice objections.

A new preamble added to the document said that American tradition upholds the separation of church and state but that this "does not mean that the state is hostile toward, or indifferent to, religion."

"In present-day American society, with its diversity of religious conviction and affiliations," it stated, "the place of religion in public education must be worked out within this recognition of the prevalingly

positive attitude of the American people as a whole toward religion and safeguarding of religious liberty."

The section supporting use of the Bible as a source book was expanded. In specifying that some regular school subjects require the use of the Bible, the phrase "including those related to character development" was added.

The final version of the pronouncement eliminated a direct endorsement of the Supreme Court's ruling on the regents' prayer. Instead, it stated: "We recognize the wisdom as well as the authority of this ruling."

In both versions, it was said that whether prayers should be offered at special occasions "may well be left to the judgment of the board responsible for the program of the public schools in the local community."

(The Supreme Court's 8-to-1 decision of June 17, holding that "in the relationship between man and religion the state is committed to a position of neutrality", prompted many church leaders to issue statements.

Presiding Bishop Lichtenberger said; "Not having read the opinion of the Court, I have only one comment to make at the present time. It should be understood that the court's action is not hostile to religion. These decisions reflect the court's sense of responsibility to assure freedom and equality for all groups of believers and non-believers expressed in the first amendment to the constitution."

President J. Irwin Miller and secretary Roy G. Ross of the National Council of Churches issued a joint statement declaring that the decision "serves as a reminder to all our citizens that teaching religious commitment is the responsibility of the home and church, not of public education.")

Other Action

In a two-and-a-half day session June 6-8 in New York the 270 - member policy - making general board also

● Called for immediate wide-scale action to swing the full force of the church into the struggle for racial justice, inviting Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders to joint action with Protestants against segregation.

● Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger was named chairman of an interdenominational and interracial commission on religion and race. The new commission will be composed of 25 religious leaders—10 Negro, 10 white, and five members of other minority groups to press for civil rights legislation, to support economic boycotts through non-violent demonstrations, and to "witness to the fact that the race issue is a national moral problem and not a regional one".

● Urged in a separate action Christian support of and participation in "responsible and disciplined" economic pressures when necessary to eliminate injustice based on "race, creed, or national origin."

● Urged in a pronouncement federal oversight of television and radio networks, opposing advertiser control of program content and calling for "drastic reduction" of advertising time.

● Advocated in a pronouncement the full participation of women in economic life, with job opportunities and working conditions equal to men.

● Elected new general secretary of the council — R. H. Edwin Espy, formerly associate general secretary — to succeed the Rev. Roy G. Ross who retires June 30.

● Heard retiring general secretary Ross review 12 years

of ecumenical church life since the National Council's creation.

● Commended to next December's general assembly and its action a revised constitution which looks towards a restructuring of the Council.

● Learned that President Kennedy will address the Council's general assembly next December in Philadelphia.

● Heard a panel of distinguished foreign affairs experts review major issues in foreign affairs.

● Approved a proposed inter-faith project for vocational guidance in the public schools.

The general board will next meet Oct. 17-18 in New York City in a special session to consider new constitutional by-laws in accordance with proposed structural changes in the Council.

CHURCH LEADERS MEET WITH PRESIDENT

★ Five Episcopalians were among a large number of church leaders who met with President Kennedy at the White House on June 17 to discuss civil rights.

Attending were the Presiding Bishop, Bishop Corrigan, director of the home department, Bishop Creighton of Washington, the Rev. Arthur Walmsley, chairman of the follow-up committee for the national conference on religion and race, and Clifford Morehouse, president of the House of Deputies.

The president summoned more than 100 religious leaders to discuss civil rights which he said "merits serious and immediate attention."

It was announced at the White House following the conference that a permanent committee is being set up, headed by J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches.

EDITORIALS

From Law to Liberty

THERE are three spheres in which God operates; in nature, in history and in grace. In each sphere there is the same process. They are closely related but each has its own procedure.

In nature there is the law of cause and effect. There "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."

In history there is an over-ruling of providence by which order merges out of chaos. History is not merely a series of chronicles but God is working his purpose out of the conflicts which men produce. Otherwise there would be no science in history.

In grace there is a personal relationship established between God and man in which man finds an adequate purpose in life and enters into a covenant relation with God; man becomes a partner with God.

In each of these spheres there is a similarity of procedure in which from crude beginnings, through great upheavals, there is an orderly progress. In nature, starting from crude origins, by processes of flood and earthquakes, there has emerged a natural world of great beauty. In history, starting from crude beginnings through revolutions and conflicts there has emerged that which is called civilization. History has had and is having now, great upheavals out of which will spring a better order, called the Kingdom of Heaven.

In grace, there are the crude beginnings of Judaism and the advent of the Christ resulting in many martyrdoms and much tribulation looking toward a new Kingdom operating under a higher principle.

It would seem that as we contemplate these processes that there are certain conclusions that we can draw.

First, that a universe in which there is no mind to plan and no eye to see is unthinkable. So far as human observation carries us, we cannot think of any orderly process without a background of intelligence and purpose.

Second, that this is a coordinated universe in which the same Creator who planted a hunger also created the satisfaction of that hunger. "Like as the hart desireth the waterbrooks, so

longeth my soul for thee O God!" He who made the thirst created that which would satisfy the thirst. So if we ask for bread he will not give us a stone.

Third, that this is a purposeful universe which will not end in an ash-pit or a cemetery, but in some adequate purpose that will justify its existence.

Fourth, that the same God who never deceives man's intelligence in his search for truth will also never betray man's love in his desire for righteousness. By the same token, we find a process in revelation similar in kind to the order in nature.

First in the Old Testament is the revelation of God's holiness; of the moral law and of the deadliness of sin. In addition the ritual of the temple and the works of the prophets looked forward to the coming of the Messiah.

Christ could not have come to Athens, they would have laughed at him; nor to Rome, they would have imprisoned him. He must come to Jerusalem where they crucified him but where there was a remnant who would accept him.

The salutation of John the Baptist, "Behold the Lamb of God," was the culminating climax of Hebrew expectancy. As God revealed himself as law in the Old Testament so he revealed himself as love in the gospels. As God reveals himself as truth in the universe and as beauty in nature, so he reveals himself as love in the Christ. It was only through a person that love could be revealed. When Christ finished his ministry, he told his disciples to await the coming of the comforter who would impart eternal life to those who received him.

In the Acts of the Apostles we learn of the Holy Spirit who is the Lord and giver of life. In the epistles we read of the church which Christ founded as the vehicle of his grace and pillar and ground of the truth, purchased with his blood and to be presented to the Father, a glorious church.

To this church we give our loyalty, as it is the body of Christ; in it we labor with him and through it we seek the glorious liberty of the sons of God without entering into controversy as to just what the church is. We find that the Christian faith is founded on law, animated by love, guided by the Holy Spirit asking for our

loyalty and inviting our labor, that we may obtain the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

It is a reasonable hope that God has not deceived us but rather has provided for us a way of life eternal.

There is an orderly procedure: law, love, life, loyalty, labor and liberty.

Talking It Over

By W. B. Spofford Sr.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of Churches performs a service by making available authentic information on the attitudes and practices of Communist parties with respect to the life, work and vital concerns of Christians and peoples of other religions in Communist dominated countries.

The translations in this four-times-a-month service are by Episcopalian Paul Anderson and his associate B. S. Hruby.

Each translation is prefaced with the source and a comment by the American translator. Thus:

USSR — Bakinski Rabochii (The Baku Worker), Baku,
February 28, 1963.

(COMMENT: Bakinski Rabochii is the daily organ of the Communist party of Azerbaidzhan. The leaders of the Soviet Union are very much concerned about the moral posture of youth in their country because of the increase in juvenile delinquency. The problem of "moral codex" and of "Communist ethics" has been recently discussed in articles and lectures dealing with the situation of Soviet youth. On the other hand Communists in the Soviet Union criticize in their peculiar dialectic way the immorality of youth in the west and particularly in the U.S.A. The following article is a typical sample of Soviet views on American teen-agers.)

PORTRAITS FROM THE "FREE WORLD" — THE TRAGEDY OF YOUNGSTERS

The scene is the United States, the time — the nineteen-sixties, the actors. . . . One of them is here before us (see the picture below) [a picture of a very young girl applies mascara before a

mirror], however, not on the scene of a theatre, but in real life, because this is not a figment of imagination of some playwright, but very bitter reality of that notorious American way of life.

However, let us look at the picture. For the Americans it is not sensational at all, and the tragedy begins right here. We do not know the name of this 11-year old little girl who uses the entire cosmetic "arsenal" in order to become "beautiful". And it does not matter at all what her name is. Much more important is the fact that in the USA there are hundreds of thousands of such girls as she. American statistics impassively testify that the majority of ten-year old girls use lipstick; at eleven years of age they attend receptions for adults, and at twelve they have their "steady boyfriends".

Even more than the official statistics, manufacturers of perfumes and cosmetics could confirm this matter. They do not hesitate to spend millions of dollars to engage the ever-present advertising to assist them in awakening a woman in ten-year old children.

In many states, persons under age can contract marriage. As a result, the "sacrament of marriage" is administered to many 16, 15, and even 14-year old girls and such marriages are increasing rapidly. At the same time, a great many of these grown-up children become mothers very fast.

Physicians are alarmed about the physical exhaustion of the underdeveloped bodies of these "young marrieds". However, much more alarming is the inner devastation of the young generation which is being mutilated by the bourgeois system.

My own comment on the above — whatever the American translator means by "their peculiar dialectic way" — is that the Soviet writer came up with a rather accurate picture of many teenagers in the U.S.

I won't labor the point by spelling it out by quoting reports of studies made by many agencies. It is summed up perhaps by this bit from the New Yorker:

"Excerpt from a letter by a fourteen-year-old girl reporting to a friend on the gifts she received after graduating from junior high: 'And Grandma gave me a diary. It is a nice diary, but it is awfully late to start a diary now. Everything has happened.'"

MARKS OF A GOOD MINISTER

By Benjamin Minifie

Rector of Grace Church, New York

PRIEST, PREACHER, PASTOR ARE COM- BINED IN THE JOB OF BEING AN EFFECTIVE CLERGYMAN IN RUNNING ANY CHURCH, LARGE OR SMALL

WE ARE MET to ordain a young man a priest or presbyter in the church of God. This week I read over the charge which a bishop once addressed to me many years ago and which Bishop Lawrence will address to our friend this very hour.

As I read it, I thought to myself, every clergyman should go back to the ordination service from time to time and review his ministry in light of what was promised and expected and hoped for in the beginning. I thought, too, that the Prayer Book sets forth the mind of the church better than any sermon can possibly do.

We are concerned here with the sacred ministry of the church. But should it not be said (at least in parentheses) that as Christians and churchmen every man and woman in this congregation also has a ministry? Being a teacher or a carpenter or a nurse or a lawyer or a home-maker can be a ministry, indeed was meant to be a ministry, when we do it day by day with something at least of the motive of serving God and serving the common life — not just on Sundays but in the place where we live and work day by day.

Bishop Tucker used to say that every human occupation is either a racket or a vocation depending again on one's motive. It's a racket if we do it only for our own gain and glory. It's a vocation if we do it partially at least to the glory of God, as something we offer up unto him, and if we do it, too, for the benefit of our neighbors, as our contribution, however humble and modest, to the welfare of the world.

In the sight of God, then, each of us has a ministry, and not only those who have been made bishops and presbyters and deacons.

How About a Layman?

SPEAKING OF THIS, I've sometimes thought that a lay person might well be the one invited to speak on an occasion like this, to put into

simple and forthright words what the people in the pews look for and expect in one who is being ordained to the sacred ministry of the church.

Is it not true that above all we want the man who is to stand before us with the word of God to be a man of God himself? One who says his prayers, one who is honest and sincere in his Christian convictions, one who is truly committed to the cause of Christ? At the same time we want him to be natural, to be the kind of person we can go to and talk with easily and who will listen to us with understanding.

Wasn't this the way of Jesus himself who walked closely with God and yet at the same time was so completely natural? We read that he was a favorite dinner guest, and that all sorts and conditions of people sought him out because he was so approachable.

We are not saying that a clergyman must be a paragon of virtue. I'm sure my own congregation knows otherwise. Without exception all of us are sinful men in whom there is, yes, a daily conflict between self-will and a higher will. And as we are reminded in the gospel, even after we have done our best, we are still unprofitable servants whether we are priests or bishops or otherwise, and this knowledge should keep us healthy and humble.

St. Paul once wrote that in his body he bore the marks of the Lord Jesus. He meant outward marks, scars of injuries received at the hands of violent men who opposed his preaching of the good news. But there are other marks of the Lord Jesus: compassion is one, caring for people is another, and truth and hope and joy and humility and reconciliation and righteousness of life. And it seems to me that a minister of his church should show forth in his life some of these same marks, the marks of his Lord and Master.

Bishop Sherrill used to remind his clergy that spirituality is a much misunderstood word. Some

people think that a spiritual person is one who is absent-minded and forgetful. He's hardly ever on time and he's usually unprepared, somebody who walks around with his head in the clouds and is not very effective.

The Mind of Christ

THERE ARE many varieties of human nature and temperament, of course, but I think of a spiritual person as one whose prayer and aspiration is above all to have the mind of Christ. At the same time, and because of this, if you will, he is diligent, he works hard, he is responsible, he answers letters promptly, he keeps appointments, he is considerate and courteous because love is this way, there is order and discipline in his life, he is someone you can count on. In my book this is at least part of what it means to be a spiritual person, and of what we might hope and look for in a clergyman.

Well, if a man has some of these marks or qualities we have been talking about, if his life is a committed and dedicated one with Christ as the prize, the way and the truth — and incidentally this commitment can never be a static, once and for all decision — it must be renewed and re-enforced over and over again, yes, in a daily sense, in prayer, in study, in the fellowship and worship of the church, then I have the feeling the rest will largely follow.

For example, as a priest such a man will conduct the services of the church in such a way that he himself will not come between the worshipper, will do it with great reverence and yet in a natural voice. Quite rightly the church insists that the worthiness or unworthiness of the priest does not affect the validity of what he does in the chancel, but at the same time we would all agree that the manner and the person of the cleric do make a difference.

Some men help to make us conscious of the presence of God when we come to church; other men tend to make us conscious of themselves — and is it not to a large extent a matter of a man's being deeply mindful of where he is and both humbled and inspired himself, of his having so prepared for the service that it can never be said there was anything casual or perfunctory about it, as though he had waited till the last minute to open the Prayer Book and chosen the lessons without much care and imagination? Someone once said the great Dr. Huntington of Grace Church in New York approached the lectern to read the word of God as reverently as other men approach the holy table.

The Sunday hour of worship can be a vain repetition of words, or it can be the great hour of the week, the hour that redeems and transforms all the others, and whichever it is depends partially on what you and I bring to it, but it also depends not a little on the parish minister, on his being sensitive and one in whom we sense something of the spirit which is given to those who truly ask and seek.

Being a Pastor

BUT A CLERGYMAN is more than a priest who conducts church services and administers the sacraments of Christ. He is also ordained to be a pastor who goes in and out among the people, seeking after them, getting to know them in their own homes.

He will want to do this, it seems to me, despite all the other demands upon his time, because he represents one who called himself the Good Shepherd and went out into the highways and byways in search of, as Henry Sloane Coffin once said were three of Jesus' favorite words, the least and the last and the lost.

A clergyman I respect and honor very much tells seminarians that nothing they will ever do in their ministry will be more rewarding and fruitful in its results than faithful parish calling, done systematically season in and season out.

I know that some people, both clerical and lay, question its value and importance, and I've had moments when I was uncertain and doubtful myself, but how else can a parish minister ever come to know his congregation except by taking the time to visit them. And how many times when I've been stale or discouraged has an afternoon or an evening of pastoral calling revived my own faith and restored my perspective. And how often an ordinary house call has turned into an hour in which the other person poured out his doubts and questions or really opened up and shared some problem or trouble, yes, some barrier or obstacle that explained why he did not come to church.

If nothing else, a clergyman's going out to call on someone who is sick or bereaved or whose children have been absent from church school can be one way of saying that God cares.

Jesus said the Good Shepherd calleth his sheep by name. He does so because he knows them individually, he knows what each of them is up against in spite of outward appearances, he is a faithful pastor.

The Word of God

AND THEN last of all, a man is ordained to preach the word of God. He is to be a prophet as well as a priest and a pastor.

A former dean of one of our theological seminaries once said the Episcopal Church has always been wary of the platform performance, of the prima donna in the pulpit, of the sermon becoming the be-all and end-all of public worship as it is in some traditions. Ours is a service in which the accent is rightly on the worship of God, in which praise and confession and the remembrance of God's mighty acts, prayer and the offering up of ourselves are inherent in Morning Prayer and the Holy Communion. But this is not to say that preaching is not important, that it is to be slighted in any sense, as can and does happen in our church.

Preaching is sacramental. In Phillips Brooks' definition, it is God's truth mediated through human personality. It is or it should be a means of grace. And it is apparent to all that people respond to good preaching and stay away when it is poor and obscure.

Every clergyman can hardly be a Harry Emerson Fosdick to whom my parents listened religiously every Sunday afternoon when I was a boy and millions of other Americans as well, but every clergyman can be understandable and make sense to those who so often come expectantly and hopefully. And he can be so if he himself will take very seriously the importance of the sermon and make it the first work of the week, something thought and prayed about and labored over well beforehand. Out of this, I'm persuaded, will come effective preaching and preaching with passion, even from those of us who do not pretend to be eloquent spokesmen.

We live in a day of mounting racial tension in America. If non-violent means should fail to get our Negro citizens the equal justice they demand, then violence is inevitable in this decade of the 60's. We live in a world poised on the brink of suicidal catastrophe. We live, too, in a society, at least in our great cities, which is more and more secularized, that is, where the masses of people ignore or have almost forgotten the existence of God.

And we also live in a time when the ancient faith of the Church, our most precious heritage and the source of our noblest idealism, the basis of our belief in the transcendent worth of the individual man, the inspiration of the humane virtues and the sanction of the moral law, yes, then the faith of the Church must be expressed and

preached in contemporary terms, in language and symbol understandable to modern man. Great, great indeed is the burden on the preacher of the eternal word of God in the world of today and tomorrow, and great indeed is the opportunity, but he whom we ordain will not stand alone, none of us stands alone. In all our work and witness and ministry done in his name, we are promised the grace of God and the saving, strengthening gifts of his spirit.

Frank, I have been speaking to myself tonight even more than to you. I know that I speak for all your friends and loved ones, indeed, I speak for the blessed company of all faithful people when I say we wish you well in the sacred ministry of the church of God, and we hope and pray you will ever live as becomes your high calling.

We ask but we already know that God will bless you in the church of him who came as a serving man. May you have many years in this ministry. May they be rich and abundant years.

Detergical

By Corwin C. Roach

Director School of Religion, Fargo, N. D.

ONE OF MY STUDENTS became confused on an examination and coined a new term "detergical" in place of "liturgical". I can understand why. Certainly for the average American, detergent is a household word whereas liturgies is quite unfamiliar. A recent study indicated that pre-school children were familiar with the word detergent before they had learned to read. The soap opera has become daily fare in many homes. I doubt whether many adults on the other hand ever heard the word liturgical.

It was quite different in antiquity. The Greeks for example knew nothing about ordinary soaps, let alone the newer cleaning agents. They had to rub down their bodies with oils. As for their clothes, a good stiff pounding on the rocks by the side of the stream took out the excess dirt. Cleanliness as we conceive it was an unknown art.

Yet the word liturgy was a very well-known term. It was used in the classical Greek age for the contributions made by prominent citizens for the public good. This included presenting the great tragedies in times of peace or equipping a ship for service in times of war. Incidentally

their drama makes our modern variety, tv or Broadway, look pretty sad.

Religion is concerned with cleansing. Such a Psalm as the 53d makes this clear. Witness also the sacrament of baptism. However religion is more than a rite of purification. It should go beyond the detergent to the liturgical. Like that perplexed student we confuse them at our peril.

The etymology usually given for liturgy takes it from two words, meaning, people and work. Liturgy then is the work of the people of God for the service of mankind. Its primary reference today is to the worship of the church, but worship has its broader implications in the life we lead. To live liturgically in a very real sense is to include both God and man. It was Wycliffe, centuries before Lincoln, who described the Bible as "for government of the people, by the people, and for the people". This is what we should mean by liturgy, too.

Religion has its positive and creative, as well as its cleansing aspect. We misunderstand its whole nature when we think of it in purely negative, detergent and deterrent terms. I am reminded of a sentence of Whitehead, "But if men cannot live on bread alone, still less can they do so on disinfectants".

- POINTERS For PARSONS -

By Robert Miller

WHEN WE PARSONS are living and working in the religious atmosphere of our churches our faith is seldom challenged even though not everyone in our congregation shares it. However, most of our hearers do, and even the sceptical expect us to preach it. In the service we are one with the worshipping congregation and with it we are lifted nearer to the presence where there is, not doubt, but certainty.

We can rejoice in such experiences and draw strength from them, but it would be dangerous if it led us to make assumptions about the acceptability of the faith. It is still foolishness to the Greeks many of whom are humanists. We are apt to assume that this is a Christian country, and we are doing it a great service which it recognizes by such things as the respect it gives us and the tax exemption it allows the churches.

Suppose our environment changes, and we find ourselves among men who do not believe in God, let alone the God and Father of our Lord

Jesus Christ. They regard him rather as the projection of man's fears and yearnings than as the lord and giver of life. To them God suggests the primitive rather than the ultimate. Jesus is a great teacher who got himself embroiled with the authorities and suffered a horrible death as the result. As for the resurrection, well, another of those legends that men delight to tell. It flatters our vanity and outrages our reason.

No longer are we drawing strength and comfort from our fellow believers for we are thrown on the defensive, and asked to give to the scornful a reason for the hope that is in us, a hope that is more at home in the secret places of the soul than on Mars Hill, a hope that is confirmed rather by experience in the way than by logical proofs. We are tongue-tied when we would gladly be eloquent, and we realize that the arguments that were so convincing in our sermons have no validity in the world.

Yet it is good sometimes to expose ourselves to the sceptic, humbling though it might be. It reminds us of the uselessness of "persuasive words of man's wisdom" and we come to see how great a blessing we have in the fellowship of Christians, in the communion of the saints. It is here that we most readily feel the presence of the spirit, life-giving and powerful. We have nothing to gain from the world. Again and again it offers its kingdoms, but no one can ever possess them. We plead often for its understanding, but it cannot understand a faith that brushes aside its values as false, that scorns its promises and that obstinately seeks a heavenly kingdom and a city that hath foundations.

Indeed, it is more natural for us to be persecuted than respected, something we easily forget in this happy land. After all, it was the world that crucified the Lord of Glory.

SO YOU'RE CALLING A RECTOR!

By Robert Nelson Back

Bishops will want a supply on hand to send to vestries about to call a rector. Others will find it a most valuable leaflet, whether or not their parish faces the task

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Fallout Shelter in Cathedral Washington Dean Testifies

★ Should the U.S. government spend \$300-million next year on civil defense? If the answer is yes, then the next question is whether \$175-million of the total should be used to spur construction of community fallout shelters in public and non-profit institutions?

Both questions are being argued before a sub-committee of the armed services committee of the House of Representatives.

Philip Kelleher, counsel for the sub-committee, opened the hearings with a 90-minute report. In view of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, he said, are not shelters "a gamble and a poor one at that?"

Pointing out that the program advocated by the administration is aimed exclusively at fallout protection, Kelleher requested answers to these questions:

● Does not the shelter program fail to shield against blast, heat and fire — the immediate effects of a nuclear blast?

● Isn't it uncertain that the administration's "minimum shelter standards" would actu-

ally provide a shield against fallout?

● How would those lucky enough to escape immediate death survive in a barren and devastated environment?

The lawyer devoted much of his criticism to the possibility of a "fire storm" accompanying the blast which would either roast or suffocate persons in shelters. He also said that shelter occupants would be endangered more than those in the open air by chemical and biological weapons.

At the conclusion of Kelleher's report the chairman of the sub-committee, Edward Hebert of Louisiana, said the objections stated in the staff report "are those that are most prevalent throughout the country. The purpose of presenting them here is to have them answered."

Many Witnesses

Many witnesses testified, including General Wheeler, army chief of staff who, on behalf of the joint chiefs, urged "an adequate civil defense system."

Don Sagnolo, national com-

mander of a veterans organization, told the committee that a "strong civil defense program could well prove to be the Noah's ark of the sixties."

The defense program, as advocated by the administration, proposes that such public buildings as schools, hospitals and jails be provided with fallout shelters.

Dean Francis B. Sayre Jr. of Washington Cathedral would also include churches. His testimony, presented to the committee on June 5, 1963, follows in full:

— "Quote" —

Mr. Chairman:

I am grateful for the opportunity of appearing before this Subcommittee to offer my views on the importance of an adequate civil defense for our people.

It seems to me that the government and citizens together have a clear-cut responsibility to prepare for the protection of our populace in case of a conceivable attack by military forces from outside, or even for that matter, in the case of an unforeseen disaster of any kind. The logic of such preparation would appear to rest upon the same prudent wisdom as that of preventive medicine. If there

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Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, New York

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is any possible chance of disaster befalling our people, then that fact alone justifies all possible preparation to minimize its lethal effect when it occurs.

It is idle, I think, to raise questions regarding the ultimate morality of war and peace when we are considering this matter. This may indeed be an interesting question, but is on another plane from the practical questions that this Committee is discussing just now. Given the situation of the world today, which is divided into competitive camps and hostile ideologies, we may assume that we are at least in some sense already engaged in a kind of war, whether we approve of it or don't. It is a war of survival. It is a war which will determine how human life will be organized within and among nations. It is a war which will ultimately determine what prin-

ciple shall prevail in the structure of human society.

The distinction between offense and defense becomes less and less meaningful in the conflict of our time. In cold war the battle is waged by the very character of our society: by the integrity of a people's moral resource, the viability of a nation's economy, and the legitimacy of the effort to fulfill men's aspiration. In hot war, the devastation of holocaust would overwhelm such niceties as national frontiers or the academic question of who drops the bomb first, or the different status of civilians and combatants. In either case, cold war or hot, offense and defense become obsolete terms. The war in which we are engaged is total. The army is the whole society in its very being. There is neither respite nor privileged sanctuary in the conflict.

This being the case, then the strategy required must be commensurate. It cannot afford to ignore any sector. If it is the responsibility of a commander of troops to take precautionary measures for the defense of his soldiers, by the same token equivalent steps are required for the protection of civilians. Responsibility is the same on defense or offense, in the civilian as well as the military. Any commander who did not take such steps, in either sector, would be deficient in his clear duty.

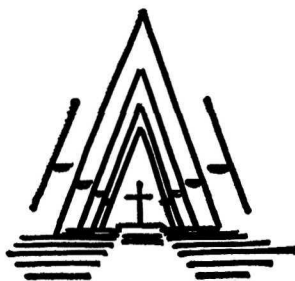
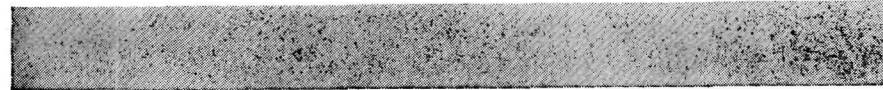
It is upon this logic that a program for civil defense rests. And it is for this reason that leadership cannot be left to local initiative. If the military strategy of our national power is of such a dimension as to require the leadership of the Federal government, then so does the civilian strategy of defense. Both are on a scale for which no lesser resource is adequate.

As an illustration of these responsibilities as they work out in practice, I would offer the case of the Cathedral in this city for which as Dean I am responsible.

Washington Cathedral is surrounded by its cathedral schools, attended by some 1200 children. Beyond its own proper grounds is a teeming residential community in northwest Washington, where a great many people live. And to the Cathedral come upwards of a half million visitors each year, and an equivalent number of worshippers of all faiths.

If thick walls and subterranean chambers promise any kind of shelter at all, then Washington Cathedral is among the best; if not in the case of a direct hit by a hydrogen bomb, then at least under any other condition.

To these children, neighbors, worshippers and visitors I, as the minister in charge of so



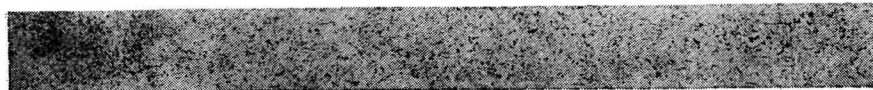
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massive a church building, feel a direct responsibility to offer such protection as I can.

As a citizen I may have opinions about our international policies. As a Christian, I may decry the choice of instruments which nations choose to advance their national aims. But in the realities of the situation where for better or for worse I find myself, I have no choice but to arm my church for human safety.

This I could not do alone. The resources either of the Cathedral or any other church I know are wholly inadequate to be able to equip the premises with the means to sustain life for any time in case of disaster. For this assistance is required.

I would like to say to the Committee, Mr. Chairman, that when Russian missiles were set up in Cuba, I was grateful to the Federal Civil Defense organization which helped my staff to stock the Cathedral crypts with food, water, blankets, and other items now installed there. I am not the least ashamed of our action in flooding one area in the church basement to provide potable water in emergency. We have installed generators, geiger counters and all the rest, and have conducted civil defense drills by way of what you might call precautionary insurance.

All this I believe to be only simple prudence on the part of a civilian commander, and I urge that through appropriate legislation, the Federal government give every assistance to such efforts throughout the country.

There is one further aspect of this whole question which I

think it would be appropriate for me to touch upon, since it relates to my own concern with the human spirit. I refer to the potential danger, in time of sudden disaster, of panic. I am persuaded that panic can be a worse danger to our people even than physical mutilation.

One way of defining panic is as a lack of faith, lack of calm confidence, lack of the inward certainty that, come life or death, all is in the hands of God and His hands are good.

The best, and indeed only way, of forestalling panic is to strengthen the spirit beforehand — to prepare in our lives and hearts the kind of spiritual assurance that will endure. This we may do only if we are willing to steadfastly face any issue that may confront us. Faith is never built by blinking unpleasant or fearful possibilities. Panic will be minimized, in case of nuclear attack, only if we honestly face the dreadful possibilities now, instead of avoiding the thought. And I would suggest that the best way of tempering the metal of our spirit is to set about the physical task of anticipating for any eventuality. Body and soul go together, and as we prepare to defend the one, so we may succeed in strengthening the other. Apathy or escape from the dread exigencies that could befall will only weaken us irretrievably, leaving us not only from the havoc of bombs, but from the far more deadly danger of panic and inner disorganization.

It seems to me essential that

we prepare to defend ourselves from both the outward or the inward threat and that these two enterprises go inevitably together. Panic is avoided only by a faith deep rooted and long cherished. And this in turn may well be nourished by the very act of taking those plain steps of foresighted defense which any prudent commander would advocate.

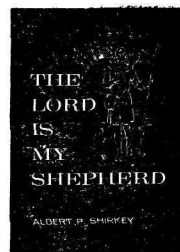
— "Un-Quote" —

At least one other clergyman testified before the committee. The Rev. M. Guy West of the Church of the Brethren declared that "civil defense develops a false sense of security and fosters the idea of the inevitability of nuclear war."

FORMER PREMIER SPEAKS IN NEW YORK

★ The Honorable Norman W. Manley, former prime minister of Jamaica, West Indies, spoke to an overflow audience of 1500 persons at St. Luke's Church, New York, on June 9th.

The meeting was under the auspices of the Jamaica Progressive League and The Jamaica Benevolent Society. The purpose of the meeting was to rally public support for pro-



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posed changes to the Walter-McCarran Act affecting immigration.

Mr. Manley in his remarks stressed the injustice of the present quota system which permits each year only one hundred Jamaicans to immigrate to the United States. As the newest of the independent nations in this hemisphere, Jamaica should receive the same non-quota status afforded such countries as Panama, Costa Rica and other Central and South American nations, he said. A resolution calling for an amendment to the present law was adopted at the meeting. Commenting upon current international affairs, the leader of the opposition in Jamaica stated that his country feels itself in close sympathy with the new nations of Africa. Mr. Manley also brought words of support to the Negro groups which are struggling for the rights of their people in the south and the north of the United States.

The rector of St. Luke's is the Rev. David Johnson, a member of The Witness editorial board.

PLAN PEACE CONGRESS IN PRAGUE

★ Two hundred churchmen from 28 countries including one lone American — attended a meeting here of the executive committee of the Prague peace movement called to discuss the theme and agenda of the second All-Christian World Peace Congress to be held at Prague in June, 1964.

The American was John Heidbrink of Nyack, N. Y., associate

secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Speaking on behalf of the Fellowship, he apologized for the absence of Professor Milton Mayer of Carmel, Cal., who, he said was to have represented the F.O.R., but was denied a passport by U.S. authorities. Mayer previously had spent some time in Prague as visiting professor in the Comenius theological faculty.

It was announced that the theme of the congress would be, "The Salvation of Man," and that several organizational meetings would be held in several countries before opening of the assembly.

Read at the meeting was a message from Patriarch Alexei of Moscow, supreme head of the Russian Orthodox Church, appealing to all Christians to work for peace. It was brought in person by Archbishop Nicodim, head of the Russian Church's department of foreign church affairs.

Leading speakers at the meeting included the Rev. Mr. Schamuch of the Canadian society for nuclear disarmament, who called for closer col-

laboration with the Christian peace conference. He also invited Professor Joseph L. Hromadka, dean of the Comenius theological faculty, to visit Canada.

The Rev. A. Jackson of Liberia stressed the need for mutual aid among churches in the struggle for world peace.

Another speaker was the Rev. Paul Fernandez Ceballos, spokesman for the Cuban movement for peace.

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- BACKFIRE -

George M. Murray

Bishop Coadjutor of Alabama

Since you plan to devote a large part of the current two issues of the Witness to reprinting a statement of Martin Luther King, Jr. which was made in response to earlier statements by religious leaders having responsibility in Birmingham, I felt that perhaps you might be interested in having copies of the two earlier statements made by those to whom he addressed his statement. They are enclosed.

Statement of April, 1963

We the undersigned clergymen are among those who, in January, issued "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense", in dealing with racial problems in Alabama. We expressed understanding that honest convictions in racial matters could properly be pursued in the courts, but urged that decisions of those courts should in the meantime be peacefully obeyed.

Since that time there had been some evidence of increased forbearance and a willingness to face facts. Responsible citizens have undertaken to work on various problems which cause racial friction and unrest. In Birmingham, recent public events have given indication that we all have opportunity for a new constructive and realistic approach to racial problems.

However, we are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens, directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

We agree rather with certain local Negro leadership which has called for honest and open negotiation of racial issues in our area. And we believe this

kind of facing of issues can best be accomplished by citizens of our own metropolitan area, white and Negro, meeting with their knowledge and experience of the local situation. All of us need to face that responsibility and find proper channels for its accomplishment.

Just as we formerly pointed out that "hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions", we also point out that such actions as incite to hatred and violence, however technically peaceful those actions may be, have not contributed to the resolution of our local problems. We do not believe that these days of new hope are days when extreme measures are justified in Birmingham.

We commend the community as a whole, and the local news media and law enforcement officials in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations have been handled. We urge the public to continue to show restraint should the demonstrations continue, and the law enforcement officials to remain calm and continue to protect our city from violence.

We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham. When rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and in negotiations among local leaders, and not in the streets. We appeal to both our white and Negro citizenry to observe the principles of law and order and common sense.

Signed by: C. C. J. Carpenter, Bishop of Alabama; Joseph A. Durick, Auxiliary Bishop, Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham; Rabbi Milton L. Grafman, Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham; Bishop Paul Hardin, Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of Methodist Church; Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of Methodist Church; George M. Murray, Bishop Coadjutor; Edward V. Ramage, Moderator, Synod of the Ala-

bama Presbyterian Church in the United States; Earl Stallings, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Birmingham.

Editor's Note: We are glad to publish the above and also to feature on the cover the Affirmation and Commendation which was issued in January, 1963 and signed by eleven Alabama religious leaders.

The letter from Bishop Murray is dated June 14 and reached us after we had gone to press with the second part of Dr. King's reply.

It is our opinion that Dr. King's letter may well prove to be historic — indeed several readers, having read only that part which we printed June 13, refer to it as a classic.

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