

# The **+** WITNESS

DECEMBER 14, 1967

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## SERVICES

### In Leading Churches

#### NEW YORK CITY

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## Story of the Week

### Suits Will Challenge Draft Re-Classification of Clergy

★ The National Council of Churches announced co-sponsorship with the American Civil Liberties Union of three suits challenging selective service re-classification to 1-A of clergymen who turned in draft cards to protest the war in Vietnam.

The ACLU said it has been requested to represent twenty-six young men who have been re-classified by local boards. Seven suits were filed in federal district courts in early December.

One plaintiff whose suit is co-sponsored by the NCC is the Rev. Henry Bucher, 31, field director of the university Christian movement and a staff member of the NCC's department of higher education. His case is against a local board in Camden, N. J.

The Rev. Paul Gibbons, 34, chaplain for the united ministry at Cornell University and Father David Connor, 30, associate Catholic chaplain at Cornell, are the other two.

Gibbons, a minister of the United Church of Christ, is challenging re-classification by a board in White Plains, N.Y., and Connor a board in Geneseo, N. Y.

At a news conference, the Rev. Dean Kelly, director of religious liberty for the NCC, said the NCC was co-sponsoring the suits because "our general board

has urged that conscientious dissent should be protected rather than punished in a free society."

An ACLU statement noted that all but one of the cases in which it is involved have resulted from re-classifications of draft statuses since the October 26 memorandum from Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, national selective service director, advising local boards to review the classifications of persons delinquent in relation to the selective service act.

The memorandum was issued following mid-October anti-war demonstrations in which several thousand draft cards were returned to federal authorities. A provision of the selective service act levies penalties of fines or imprisonment for non-possession of draft cards.

Kelly's statement said that "presumably" the three were willing to pay the penalties for non-possession of the card. "But," he continued "they are not properly subject to re-classification and possible induction as punishment for peaceable orderly dissent. To make service in the armed forces equivalent to penal servitude is to discredit the young men who are in the armed forces and the nation which they serve."

Kelly was joined in questioning the legality of using re-classification as punishment by

John de J. Pemberton, executive director of the ACLU.

The ACLU official called attention to a letter sent November 28 to presidents of 1,000 private colleges and universities pointing out the "intimidating nature" of Gen. Hershey's memorandum and requesting them to urge the President and the director to rescind it without delay.

Bucher, one of the clergy plaintiffs, attended the press conference. He said he considered the re-classification of a man to 1-A as punishment for protest an "insult" to the men in the armed forces in Vietnam and to the "loved ones of the 15,000 men who have died there."

"For a teacher to assign essay-writing as punishment," he said, "does not instill a love of journalism." Bucher claimed that the illegality of returning a draft card was negligible in relation to the illegality of using the selective service system as punishment for opposition to the war in Vietnam.

In a prepared statement, the NCC staff member noted that his action in returning the card was supported by a "declaration of conscience" adopted by the 1967 General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, of which he is a minister.

The final paragraph of the declaration said: "We must declare our conscience at whatever cost. We recognize that if our military escalation is not reversed, the time may come when

those who dissent because they seek peace will be placed under even greater pressure, and that the possibility of significant influence by the Church on public policy will have disappeared."

Bucher said: "I love my country and I respect law and order, but I love and respect justice more. Following the Presbyterian Church's declaration, I have declared my conscience at whatever cost."

The National Council, Kelly said, does not take a position agreeing or disagreeing with the dissent of the three clergymen. "The National Council of Churches is simply asking the courts to rule on whether they can be punished by re-classification with its possible consequence of military conscription."

Clergy status, he continued, does not give the three "special

rights" in the view of the Council, "but is merely the factor that brought their plight to our attention."

Mr. Kelly said the NCC "has neither supported nor opposed the deferment of clergymen 'in national interest;' that is a determination made by Congress and selective service. But the loss of an occupational deferment is not an appropriate penalty for the return of a draft card."

The American Civil Liberties Union, in January 1966, was involved in suits arising when students at the University of Michigan were re-classified after a "sit-in" at an Ann Arbor draft board. The case was heard in the second circuit court of appeals in New York and the re-classifications were ruled invalid.

Referring specifically to the Arbuthnot report, he said he had delegated much of his authority to the rural deans, the men on the spot, and added: "But the fact is that time and time again they are frustrated by the archaic legal system, a complicated diocesan administration and by the interference, sometimes dictatorial and frequently dilatory, of the Church commissioners" (who manage the Church's capital assets).

Bishop Stockwood said his chief complaint against the report was that it was prevented by its terms of reference from dealing with major issues. The "local unit," he said, must be taken seriously, with considerable powers to order its own life and control its resources of men, money and buildings.

The day when the deanery synod, like the diocesan synod, would have real "bite," would never come unless the Church commissioners are controlled and made to understand that they are the servants, not the masters, of the dioceses and deaneries, he said. "Within the past century the boundaries have been redrawn three times. We have grown together as a family. Is it wise to break up the family and redraw the lines for a fourth time? I would have thought that, as a diocese, we have been pushed around quite enough."

In Bishop Stockwood's view, the Arbuthnot proposals were damaging and unwise. The obvious solution, he said, was to establish a third Church of England province like Canterbury and York. This would be an archdiocese of London. "But for reasons which have not been explained, the Arbuthnot commission was not allowed to consider such a solution," he complained. "I think it a mistake, and I have little doubt that within the next fifty years common sense will

## Reshaping of Diocesan Areas Rapped by Anglican Bishops

★ The alleged "oppressive centralism" of the Church of England was criticized when Bishop Mervyn Stockwood of Southwark attacked proposals for carving up eleven dioceses in southeast England, including his own.

Only a few days earlier he had publicly termed the proposed procedure for reshaping diocesan boundaries "clumsy and hamfisted," while Bishop Robert Stopford of London, whose diocese will also be reduced if the Anglican proposals are implemented, declared the people in his diocese "are not very ready to be pushed around."

This major new row in the Church is building up from the recently-published report of a commission set up by Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury to consider the organization of the Church in south-

east England, where population continues to boom.

Working in three sections under three laymen headed by Sir John Arbuthnot, the commission proposed cuts in the size of the dioceses of London and Southwark — and also Dr. Ramsey's own diocese—and the creation of five new dioceses to make sixteen in all.

Bishops Stockwood and Stopford launched their first criticisms when the report came before the fall session of the Church Assembly for consideration, which was later adjourned until February.

Bishop Stockwood's second attack came when he addressed his diocesan conference and charged that "oppressive centralism" prevented the Church in a particular area from getting on with its job and was a major hindrance to evangelism.



demand that an archdiocese of London shall be created."

Referring to Dr. Stockwood's criticisms, and also those of Bishop Stopford, the New Christian, an ecumenical magazine, wrote editorially: "There is more than a suspicion that the real worry of the bishops of London and Southwark is with the report's actual proposals for the carving up of their kingdoms and that the procedural objections are the first blows of their resistance movement.

"This leaves the broader and much more important question of whether the Church of England has come, or is in danger of becoming, excessively centralized. It is certainly true that during the past fifty years Anglicans have shown an increased willingness to formulate common policies on certain matters and to share some of their resources.

"But over a very wide area of the Church's life the forty-three dioceses still reign supreme. As the individual parish is virtually autonomous so is the individual diocese and a little traveling in England quickly reveals that the established Church has plenty of freedom for differing policies and for eccentricities.

"In the case of the Arbutnot proposals it will be virtually impossible for the boundaries to be revised without the ready co-operation of the diocese concerned.

"The blunt truth is that, far from being over-centralized, the Church of England is still too parochial and individualistic in its outlook and structures. There is still precious little sharing of insights and resources and in many important areas of the Church's life there is no semblance of common policy. The real danger is not bureaucracy but chaos."

Ratliff is also a millionaire coal operator in Pike County.

In July, owners of small tracts of land in Pike County stopped one of the big coal companies from tearing off the side of a mountain to get coal.

Ratliff and other coal operators were so angry that they decided to strike hard at the people who, they thought, had organized the small land-owners against them.

Crying "communist" and waving warrants, they raided the home of two workers for the organization, Alan and Margaret McSurely, and of Joseph Mulloy, a field director for the Appalachian Volunteers. Sedition charges followed.

There also followed one of the wildest red-baiting campaigns seen in any state in many years. Ratliff and Burns took to the newspapers, the radio and television, and the campaign platform with the message that "The Reds are gonna get you."

Day and night they attacked the Bradens, who finally wound up in the Pike County jail on sedition charges, but a three-judge U.S. district court freed them. The court said the sedition charge was so vague it violated the U.S. constitution.

Instead of stopping Burns, this made him worse. He plastered the state with stickers and posters saying "Burns In; Bradens Out." On election night, before it was known that he had been defeated, he said that his first act as attorney general would be to "clean out that place at 3210 West Broadway—headquarters of Southern Conference Educational Fund—and run the Bradens out of Kentucky."

He awoke the next morning to learn that he had lost by 18,025 votes. Ratliff had lost by 13,000, despite Nunn's victory by 28,000.

Ratliff lost his own county of Pike by almost 2,000 out of

## Red-Baiting is Losing Strength In Kentucky Declare Bradens

★ The recent election in Kentucky seems to show that red-baiting and witch hunting are losing strength as vote getters. Three fourths of the red-baiters were beaten in the races for top state offices.

The only one elected was Louie Nunn, who eased up on this form of political trickery during the last month of his campaign. He was elected governor on the Republican ticket by almost 28,000 out of 875,000 votes cast.

The three defeated were Thomas Ratliff, Republican candidates for lieutenant governor; Lester Burns, G.O.P. nominee for attorney general, and Christian Glanz, a supporter of George Wallace of Alabama.

Glanz ran for governor on the Conservative party ticket.

Nunn, Ratliff, Burns, and Glanz seemed at times to be running against Carl and Anne Braden, Episcopalians who are executive directors of the Southern Conference Education Fund, a civil-rights organization based in Louisville. They all vowed to chase the organization and the Bradens out of Kentucky.

Nunn first made this promise when he sought the Republican nomination in the spring. He won in the May primary election.

This victory teamed him with Ratliff and Burns, both of who are prosecuting attorneys in mountains of eastern Kentucky.

19,408 votes that were cast. 112 people who voted for Nunn didn't even bother to mark their ballot for Ratliff. The crowning insult was that Ratliff ran worse in his home precinct than he did in the primary election.

Now there is a sign on the door of the fund's headquarters in Louisville which says: "Burns Out; Bradens In."

Alan and Margaret McSurely and Joseph Mulloy have complained to the federal communications commission that they were discriminated against by broadcasting stations in Kentucky and West Virginia. They said that radio stations WPKE and WLSI, both in Pikeville, refused to sell them time to reply to charges made against them on the air by candidates for public office.

The McSurelys and Mulloy were arrested August 11 on charges of sedition, since thrown out by a special U.S. district court at Lexington, Ky. They are now fighting to get back a large quantity of books and personal papers seized in raids on their homes.

They told the FCC that WSAZ-TV, Huntington, W. Va., refused to provide them with time to reply to a half-hour telecast by Thomas Ratliff, the prosecutor in the sedition case.

They said that Ratliff read the report of the grand-jury which indicted them on the sedition charge, but the station has refused to grant them equal time to give their side of the story. This, they declared, is required under the fairness doctrine of the FCC.

The McSurelys and Mulloy said they also complained to the FCC that none of the other stations which carried Ratliff's broadcast have offered them equal time as required by the fairness doctrine.

## RELIGION IN SCHOOLS THEME OF BOOKLET

★ The Minnesota Council of Churches is sending pastors and public school superintendents throughout the state a booklet intended to help them clarify their thinking on the place of religion in the public schools.

Entitled "What can be done about religion in the public schools?" the pamphlet gives specific recommendations on such issues as baccalaureates, Christmas observances, invocations at ceremonial occasions, and absences for religious observances.

It contains excerpts from a report of the American association of school administrators entitled "Religion in the public schools." This report was published in 1964, after U.S. Supreme Court decisions on Bible reading and prayers in the public schools.

Those decisions, discouraged the act of worship or sectarian teachings in the public school, but encouraged school courses about religion.

"We intend to use this booklet," said Gerald C. Fahrenholz of the Minneapolis Council of Churches and chairman of the state council's committee, "among school people and churchmen throughout the state in order to help them clarify their own thinking and be the basis for initiating discussion on the subject."

Reaction to the booklet in the Roman Catholic and Jewish communities has been favorable. Sam Scheiner, an official of the Jewish community relations council of Minnesota, said: "We believe that it is a beginning in the right direction and if followed by public school systems generally, would go far in solving most of our problems in this delicate area of our mutual concern."

Fr. Raymond Luckner, super-

intendent of schools for the Catholic archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis, commented: "These recommendations set forth a policy which, if followed, would be of mutual benefit to children of all faiths."

The booklet recommends:

● School Christmas activities not be religious observances, but that Christmas be presented as "one of many religious contributions to the nation's heritage."

● Baccalaureate services be provided by the individual churches and synagogues, instead of being a mass public ceremony.

● More flexibility in the school calendar to "accommodate the religious obligations" of students and faculty.

## BISHOP BURROUGHS TO RETIRE

★ Bishop Nelson M. Burroughs of Ohio has announced his intention to retire on February 4, 1968. This date is the 16th anniversary of his assumption of the office as well as the first anniversary of the consecration of the man who will succeed him, Bishop John H. Burt. It will also be the 86th birthday of his predecessor, Bishop Beverley D. Tucker.

"I think it wise now to give the primary and full responsibility of leadership into hands whose competence and vitality are so evident" wrote the bishop in a letter read December 3 to the 119 congregations of the diocese. "No time ever seems quite right to leave an active and happy ministry which, without interruption for sickness or sabbatical has lasted almost forty-three years, and which ever-increasingly has surrounded Mrs. Burroughs and me with beloved companions. I must confess to some degree of wistfulness as the diocese enters what I am sure will be the most exciting period in its history."

# EDITORIAL

## Brought Joy to the World

THE GOSPELS record the life of Christ. The creed epitomizes his life. The Christian year commemorates the specific events. Why? Because the Church believes that Christ is the way, the truth and the life. In this particular the Christian faith differs from all other religions and philosophies. It is founded upon the belief that God entered into personal relations with us when "the word became flesh and dwelt among us."

Christian teaching is saturated with the idea that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life" for "in him was life."

It is this fundamental idea that has made the gospel so dear to children and to humble folk and so difficult for those who would substitute a realm of ideas for one of relationships. We are to love God because Christ is the revelation of God to man. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Thus it becomes possible to love God as well as to believe in him. It is the Christ that has made God loveable.

To the intelligentsia God is merely a force, a thing to be demonstrated. To the humble and meek he is a person to be loved. And so love and not analysis is the fulfilling of the law. It is not difficult for the child to put love first, but it is the tendency of scholars to substitute rationalizing for love.

"I thank thee O Father," said the Master, "because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes." Which is another way of saying that if you are to find God you must put first things first and so put love before reasoning.

Since our religion is primarily the love of a person the Church has set forth one day in the year to commemorate Christ's birth, and that day has inevitably become a children's day and also a day in which adults become as little children. One wishes that it might be kept as a day for bringing joy to children, and that it had not been secularized and commercialized. The world is prone to take whatever Christ gave and to snub the giver. Witness the secular Christmas cards in which Christ is carefully left out. Note the Christmas festivities in which there

is no place for Christ in the inn. Observe the lavish gifts which prosperous adults bestow upon prosperous adults. All of this is quite foreign to the spirit of Christ.

The world keeps Christmas by leaving Christ out, and consequently the world misses the joy that it is always seeking and never finds. Surely the Christian will select this day on which to do that which the Lord has commanded him to do. It surely is not Christmas without Christ's mass, for it is that which gives its name to the day.

Surely the Christian will be eager to do something for the poor on that day for the Master said that if "we do it unto the least of these we do it unto him."

Surely the Christian will see to it that he takes his part in making children happy on that day, for in their glee "their angels do behold the face of their Father which is in heaven."

Now this all means very little to the rationalist to whom Christ is merely Santa Claus; his birth is a myth and angels are the fictions of superstitious people. Yet the imagination is as legitimate a part of man's personality as the intellect and far more interesting. A man without imagination is less than human.

It is perfectly true that Christ was handicapped in teaching the things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven by the limited vocabulary of his immediate hearers. It may be therefore that he taught them as children are taught, through the imagination. What can be more unattractive than a child lacking in imagination.

The whole realm of art and poetry and music is a development of the imagination and far more attractive than a world of microbes, electrons and syllogisms. It may be that much of holy scripture is the use of oriental imagery, but if so the symbols represent realities beyond the letter, whereas the literalist is debarred from any vision beyond the facts that are already observed, and therefore incapable of progress.

It is true that the date of the nativity was probably selected about the beginning of the 3rd century and Christ may have been born on some other day than December 25th. But the joyous reality is that Christ was born and that his nativity brought joy and love into a drab and dreary world.

We are to judge causes by their fruits. That

is tenable which produces the desired results and so we keep Christmas day as the feast on which we show our gratitude to our heavenly Father for the gift of Jesus Christ to a self-centered world.

It is better for us to observe the day regardless of its literal accuracy than for the selfish world to let the year go round without praising God for the birth of him who brought peace on earth to men of goodwill.

# CHRISTMAS WEEK AT MOSQUITO MARSH

By Hugh McCandless

*Rector of the Epiphany, New York*

## STORY TOLD AT THE FAMILY SERVICE ON CHRISTMAS DAY, 1966

MY FRIEND, Squadron O'Toole, has lots of cousins who come from New England. Some of them are complete non-conformists, and others are rigid conformists. But most of them are Independents, who either require conformity, or refuse to conform, as the occasion suits them.

Everyone wondered how on earth Cousin Strengthened O'Toole, who was pure non-conformist, ever got together with his wife, who was pure conformist. (She was O Be Joyful Brewster before their marriage.) But their relationship was not so much like a civil war as like a series of horsetrades, with each side appreciating and enjoying the unprincipled shrewdness of the other.

Years ago, someone left Cousin Strengthened some rough tidewater land on Barnegat Bay, complete with a large abandoned farmhouse. He went down to look it over, and disappeared for ten days. Cousin Joyful was used to his tricks, so she called the Missing Persons Bureau, and they sent their operative, Mr. Ellsworth Blodgett, out to find him. Mr. Blodgett himself was missing after that, so they sent a second man out. The second operative found Cousin Strengthened and Mr. Blodgett putting up signs all over the place. The signs said "Mosquito Cove Fish and Shoot Association," and "Members Only," and "Private. Keep Out." and "No Trespassing. This means you." and "Beware of the Very Large Dogs."

Somehow, these signs attracted more people than they kept out. The first visitor was a man from the State Health Department, on the grounds that they must be running a sort of hotel. The house was filthy, because Cousin

Strengthened and Mr. Blodgett had been too busy making up plans and rules for the Fish and Shoot Association to clean it up. But Mr. Blodgett, being a government man, knew just what to do. He sent Cousin Strengthened out to stall the inspector by encouraging him to complain about the difficulties of his job. In the meantime, Mr. Blodgett raced around the house putting "Out of Order" signs on everything, like the ice-box, the stove, and the sink. There is no use inspecting things until after they are repaired, is there?

### Keeping Cousin Joyful Away

IT CERTAINLY PAYS to have a government man on your team. It gives you much more room for non-conformity. The Health Department man wanted to join too, but they sized him up as much too organized and systematic. They were sure he would always be looking for something to worry about, the kind who couldn't leave well enough alone. So they said their list was full up, and he would have to wait for one of the members to die.

The name "Mosquito Marsh" was Cousin Strengthened's idea. Actually you can't tell in the late fall if a place has mosquitoes or not; but he knew the name alone would keep Cousin Joyful away, because mosquitoes poisoned her.

The man next door, who was trying to develop thirty acres of swamp into something he called Lido Biarritz Luxury Shore Estates, said he would sue them if they kept the name "Mosquito Marsh." But they said they would send the Health Department to check his drainage.

Cousin Strengthened collected some suitable members, and Cousin Joyful collected their wives



to make cretonne curtains and things like that. But the members themselves met in haste, and composed a masterful letter refusing this kind offer. They said that the ladies were Good Christian Women. If there's anything a good Christian woman hates to be called, it's a Good Christian Woman. It sounds so sensible-shoe. So there was no more of that curtain business.

The watch-word of the Association was "Flexibility." The motto was: "Sometime we must get some system around here, but in the meantime let's play it by ear." All questions from outsiders were met by one of two set answers. The first was, "I don't know. Some of us had a meeting a little while ago, and changed all the rules, but I forget what we decided." The other was, "I don't know. Nobody ever tells me anything." The members always greeted each other by laughing in a helpless sort of way.

### Creative Minds

LAST CHRISTMAS, the members decided that younger relatives should be introduced to the Mosquito Marsh Association, to assure the carrying on of the unique and noble traditions of the place. So Squadron and his father were invited to the Annual Boxing Day Boar's Head Festival on the two days after Christmas. Actually, it was their First annual boxing day boar's head festival. But it sounded a lot better without the word "first" in it; and they never ever had a second annual anything anyway. "It is not that we are disorganized in the Fish and Shoot Association," Cousin Strengthened used to say. "We just keep re-organizing, because we have creative minds."

It was all going to be very simple. Every man was asked to bring the thing he cooked best. So Mr. O'Toole took steaks, because his steaks had always been praised by guests; and a bottle of Bourbon, which does not require any cooking at all. Squadron took the makings of French Toast, and lots of Coca-Cola.

Mr. Blodgett confidently asked his local butcher for a boar's head, and was told to go away. He went to a gourmet shop. They said what he wanted was called bath chaps, and he could try the nearest sausage factory. The sausage factory told him that what he meant was just good old hog-jowls, and they gave him a couple of buckets full.

Cousin Strengthened drove Squadron and Mr. O'Toole down on the day after Christmas. They drove in past a sign that said "No Vehicles Past

This Point." and then past a sign that said "Private Cars Only." They turned left at a sign which said "Go Right," and parked next to a sign that said, "No Parking Here." They entered the house through a door marked "Use Other Entrance." When Squadron asked why they did not use the other entrance, Cousin Strengthened said it had been nailed shut some years ago.

### A Crowded Kitchen

THE KITCHEN was about big enough for two small women to work in, if they were used to each other's ways. Now it held fourteen men and boys and their provisions. It turned out that every man had brought steaks, and every boy had brought French Toast. Christmas had been on a Saturday, so all the stores were shut tight for two days. It also turned out that someone had forgotten to drain the water pipes, so they were frozen. "If somebody forgot, it means that everybody forgot," said Squadron helpfully, for they were all getting awfully indignant at the mysterious somebody. But the others all agreed that such a simple thing should not be everybody's responsibility.

Mr. Blodgett looked for some snow to boil his delicacies in, but there was practically no snow last year. So he fried them instead, in a huge pan. But a lively discussion started about which was the most unappetizing name, bath chaps or hog jowls, and he became so interested he burned his first batch to charcoal. Nobody urged him to try again; but they had the Boar's Head Ceremony anyway, marching around and singing, solemnly bearing the big frying pan filled with black grease.

So their diet for dinner that night and breakfast the next day was steaks and French Toast and a few baked beans. (Mr. Blodgett, always resourceful, had cleverly traded four steaks to a fisherman for two small cans of beans.) They all suddenly decided to leave before lunch the next day. Squadron had brushed his teeth in Coca-Cola, which tasted funny. Mr. O'Toole brushed his teeth and shaved in Bourbon whiskey, and he smelled awful. When they got home, they took baths before dinner and after dinner, and they praised the Creamed Turkey to the skies. Parties like the First and Last Annual Boxing Day Boar's Head Festival of the Mosquito Marsh Fish and Shoot Association are memorable occasions, but sometimes it is nice to get back to law and order.



## Plan Carefully

DO YOU ever stop to think that Christmas itself was not just a sudden impulsive move made by God? It was planned aeons and aeons ago, as Isaiah saw in his vision of the Great Council of Almighty God. The archangels flew around the Throne, and above the calling and crying of "Holy, Holy, Holy," the Great Voice said, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" It would

have to be done at infinite cost to the Infinite God, and even the All-Knowing One would have to plan it fully and carefully.

And yet, even with all this forethought, there is still the possibility that Jesus would be born and live and labor and suffer in vain, for the rest is up to you and me. Let us plan our own lives very carefully, so that as far as we are concerned, He will not have come down to us and spent His strength for nothing.

# THE CHALLENGE OF CHRISTMAS

By **Kenneth E. Clarke**

*Rector of St. Thomas, Terrace Park, Ohio*

## TO RELEASE POWERS OF LOVE SO THAT WE MAY SERVE OUR FELLOWS

MOST PEOPLE who have travelled by air would probably agree that it can be, and often is, an exciting and exhilarating experience. Gliding along through the billowy white clouds gives one the sense of being above it all. The landscape below and everything on it appears diminutive and artificial — as if it had been laid out by a great giant as a playground for his puppets. It looks neater and nicer than it is. At any rate, it was probably some such reaction which caused the gentleman seated next to me on the plane on one occasion to remark: "This must be the way God sees it, don't you think?"

That's one point of view. Now let me give you another. When St. Matthew quoted Isaiah's prophecy, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel", he went on to explain that this means God with us. How grateful we are for that brief explanation, for it makes it clear that God's view is quite the reverse of what my partner in the plane imagined. Instead of looking at life from the top down, he sees it from the inside out.

This is not simply the story of Christmas, but the story of the entire Bible. From beginning to end, it depicts God as being "mixed-up" in the human predicament. In the Old Testament, for example, we see him taking the side of an oppressed people in the land of Egypt; arguing with one who wanted to escape from the re-

sponsibility of leadership; tabernacling with a bunch of nomads in the wilderness — providing manna for their bodies and law for the ordering of their lives; endorsing a king to rule over them when they settled down in the promised land; and later on rebuking another king for his adulterous conduct.

So it goes all through the Old Testament — people's oppression and hunger, the plight of a childless woman, a man's search for a wife, sibling rivalry, a prophet's depression and feeling of inadequacy, the healing of a child and the cleansing of a general — these are but a few of the situations in which the people of the Old Covenant discovered God was with them.

### On-Going Action

IN THE LIGHT of all this, the Bethlehem scene is just what might have been anticipated, and there were a few — three wise men and some shepherds who were ready. Indeed, the story of Jesus' birth was but a foreshadowing of his entire life which was lived as it began by turning rejection into rejoicing, humiliation into glory and suffering into victory. Here, within the span of a few years was the culmination and consummation of Israel's history and hope. God, who had over and over again revealed himself in the lives and affairs of his chosen people, summed-up the meaning of his activity in the life of a particular man in one place so that all

men might better perceive his on-going action at all times and in all places.

Truly, he was Emmanuel — God with us, for in him we see, as in no other, life grounded in love — responsive to others' needs rather than restricted to self, ready to reform rather than retreat, open to sinners as well as the righteous, given to forgiveness rather than requital, involved not inverted and in all ways self-spending rather than self-saving. Thus, at the heart of our Christian conviction lies the belief, as Emil Brunner has said, that: "In him God's will, God's world plan, God himself, whom we do not apprehend but can only surmise, became manifest — and because we see God in him, we also see ourselves anew — in truth — as created in God's image but as sinners who have defaced it."

### Understanding Man

IF WE ACCEPT this conviction, what are the consequences? They are twofold — one has to do with our outlook on life and the other with the way we live it.

In regard to the first, it may be said that all through the ages there are basically only three ways of understanding man.

The first is the intellectual view. According to this understanding, the essence of man is found in his mind, and his main pursuit therefore is regarded as the pursuit of knowledge. If man only know the right, it has often been assumed, he will do the right.

The second view, the naturalistic one, is most popular today. According to this understanding, man is simply an organism, a biological and psychological animal, which acts and reacts to his environment. Man's energy, therefore, ought to be given to learning how best to adjust to his environment and to mastering the skills which will assist in this regard.

The third view is the personalistic. Here, the essence of man is seen in his personhood. This does not deny that he has a mind or is an organism with a need to adjust to his environment, but it goes deeper. It regards him as a person who can discover himself only in relationship to other persons. Each man is held to be unique, different from every other; and in all, there is seen the possibility of self-transcendence which means we can have a faith and act on the basis of an ultimate concern.

Clearly, the conviction that the spirit of God was uniquely revealed in Christ leads us to this

third view of man. No other understanding or interpretation of human nature is consistent with faith in him as the truth concerning both God and man. Furthermore, nothing so assures this understanding of man as faith in him.

### Being Involved

THE SECOND consequence of the Christian conviction is found in the endeavor to live as we believe. One of the ancient father's of the Church said: "We must believe in order to understand." I would add to this by saying: we must become involved in order to believe. In the gospels Christ did not begin by asking men to believe in him, but by calling them to involvement with him. As one person has observed, he seems to have had a preoccupation with verbs: come, follow, taste, see, love, take, suffer, become.

To put it in the vernacular, the discovery of the God who is with us depends on our getting with it. We must be willing to try on his style of life for size before we can know whether it satiates or saves. As Professor Dodd pointed out: "God's gifts are never given like presents in a Christmas stocking. They are always challenges we must take up."

Individually this means taking up the challenge of each other's lostness and loneliness, lust and unlovableness, pride and prudery, prejudice and prurience, failure and frustration and rebellion and resentment. Collectively, it constitutes a call to put the whole body of the Church in the forefront of the struggle for justice, for we may be sure that wherever there is release from oppression, alleviation of privation and poverty, exposure of bigotry, deflation of self-righteousness, sanctification of the common and transmutation of the vulgar, he is there in the midst of it.

Lewis Carroll, in one of his fantasies, painted a word picture of a lock running hither and thither looking for someone. "What do you want?" someone asked. "I'm seeking", said the lock, "for someone to unlock me."

The challenge of Christmas is to become involved. The promise of Christmas is that, if we do, there is one who can unlock us — releasing our powers of love, opening us up to one another in service, and giving us courage to risk humiliation and suffering.

After all, as Chrysostom said: "He became what we are so we might become what he is."

# Out of Darkness, Light

## A CHRISTMAS MEDITATION

By Gardiner M. Day

*Contributing Editor of The Witness*

THE LEGENDS which cluster around Christmas are told against a background of darkness. The shepherds saw the Heavenly Host illuminating the sky at night. The astrologer wisemen discovered the Star of Bethlehem at night. It was a dark moment when Joseph and Mary arrived in Bethlehem and found that there was no room in the inn and were relegated to a dark stable. The mood of Herod was a dark and sinister one in his desire to slay a potential rival. It was a dark world historically speaking. Caesar Augustus, the dictator of the Roman Empire, had like most dictators both ancient and modern fought his way to power through a sea of blood. Herod kept his position as King of Judea by periodic purges. Annas and Caiaphas, the high priests, were notorious for the corruption of their rule of Jerusalem.

A modern historian has put it: "To the outward eye it was a splendid world, in which the arts of life had been developed to minister to the luxury of the few, and the safety, if not the welfare of the many . . . ." Yet it was also a world dark with cruelty and oppression, dire poverty and large scale unemployment. Little thought was given to the poor and the needy, to the cripple or the orphan and the aged and the unwanted children alike were readily put out to die.

It is little wonder that St. John writing 75 years after the birth of Christ could accurately declare: "In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." Or as in the Goodspeed translation: "The light is still shining in the darkness for the darkness has never put it out." Phillips Brooks echoed this thought when he said: "Yet in thy dark street shineth, the everlasting light; The hopes and fears of all the years, Are met in thee tonight."

### Unbelievable Story

AT CHRISTMAS we celebrate a twofold miracle. The first miracle is that this Baby should turn out to be the Christ of God. Suppose that Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, or anyone else had suggested in advance that this Baby born to a Jewish peasant family in a stable in a little

known village in one of the fringe provinces of the Roman Empire would be the Son of God. No one would have believed the story. They would have said, "It's ridiculous, impossible, incredible." Had they prophesied that this Man who lived his entire life of only 33 years as an itinerant teacher and healer in the towns and villages of Galilee and Judaea would be so remembered that the celebration of his birthday some 1900 years later would cause traffic jams in our cities, people would say, "You're crazy. Utterly impossible". I say the first miracle is that this Baby turned out to be the Christ of God.

The second miracle is that the light is still shining in the darkness and has never been put out. Jesus' contemporaries tried to put out the light. They nailed Jesus to a Cross and then they sealed him in a tomb, but the light still shone. Roman Emperor after Roman Emperor tried to put out the light but the more they persecuted the followers of Christ, the more the light grew and shone brighter. Before the year 1000 the Mohammedans destroyed the Churches in Northern Africa and the Near East and undoubtedly thought they would quench the light, but they did not. The light still shines in the darkness. In our own day, first Nazism and then Communism have tried to put out the light but it still shines and even behind the iron curtain.

1900 years ago Caesar Augustus, Emperor of Rome, was the most powerful and influential person in the world. One would have expected his light would shine from generation to generation. But now he is all but forgotten except by historians while this Babe of Bethlehem now is not simply remembered but claims the allegiance of millions of followers who strive—now strongly, now weakly, now effectively, now ineffectively — to carry his spirit of reconciling love into every phase of their lives.

### Darkness Today

THE DARKNESS of the world has rarely, if ever, been greater than it is at this Christmas 1967. Today there are more homeless human beings, more refugees and orphans, in our human family than ever before. Nor can we forget that we, through our government's policy, are responsible for thousands of refugees in Southeast Asia, and for 150,000 civilian casualties each year in that area according to a recent statement by a U.S. Senator.

While in some countries including our own,

there are areas of almost incredible affluence, in many parts of our world again including the USA, thousands of people are compelled to live in poverty and misery. Despite this fact Congress did not vote O.E.O. funds until some of the anti-poverty employees had to live in jails because appropriations to cover their salaries had not been passed and before the Christmas adjournment Congress voted the lowest appropriation for foreign aid in twenty years. Is it any wonder that the gap between the "have" and the "have not" nations and people is increasing with terrifying speed.

Furthermore, where there is poverty and misery, inevitably there will be violence. Whether in Africa, Asia, South America or our city ghettos, wherever the poverty and misery breeds frustration, hopelessness and despair, violence will break out. Some people will label it Communism, but actually it is more accurately recognized as human reaction to intolerable conditions and the apathy of those with the power to change these conditions.

We who thought we lived in an age when the devastating and annihilating aspects of nuclear power made war obsolete as a means of settling international disputes, now find ourselves in a situation in which the number of combatants is increasing, the number of victims is increasing, and the number of refugees and orphans is increasing, and the danger of a world conflagration is growing, while the frustration and powerlessness of the lovers of peace around the world has become a cosmic tragedy.

### To Find Hope

THE MORE we as a nation are engaged in the vicious violence of war, the more we become accustomed to the death and destruction of human beings, the deeper becomes the black out of sensitiveness and understanding everywhere. Is it any wonder that many men readily accept the idea that God is dead. Yet on Christmas, when we celebrate the birth of him who is called the Prince of Peace, we cannot forget that day after day since February 7, 1965, with but few pauses, we, the most powerful nation in the world have been dropping tons of bombs upon a small country, North Vietnam, whose area is approximately that of the state of Oklahoma, but whose population is about eight times as large.

In the darkness of our world, where can we find hope? Christmas reminds us that it was

the darkness of the world in the form of the blindness of men that shunted the holy family into a cold dark stable; yet it was when the world was at this low ebb of discouragement and despair that hope was born. It was when men's minds were dark with fear and hatred that love was born. It was when the legions of Caesar ruled the world and the cruelty of Herod terrorized Judaea that the Prince of Peace was born. It was when the night was darkest that the light of the Son of God shone forth and St. John could declare: "In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light is still shining in the darkness for the darkness has never put it out."

## Conversation at Christmas

By Thomas V. Barrett

*Professor at Church Divinity School of the Pacific*

Adam: I have always wanted to know everything  
Good and bad, false and true.  
I have always wanted to master the  
Universe!  
Stand back, now, stand back!  
While I shoot this rocket to the moon  
I want pictures of the green cheese, and  
The next rocket will have sponge-rubber  
Seats  
For passengers weary of the seedy earth  
But not ready to leap off the Golden Gate.  
Line UP!

Job: Look out Adam; just WAIT!  
The earth is full of pain already.  
You cannot know it all, you "Knowitall".  
Your bombs, missiles, rockets,  
Firecrackers fall down  
Upon your children, and your children's  
Children.  
Isn't it rather meaningless?  
Why try to reach the moon  
And spend your dimes on such  
Romantic venture?  
Leaving a world in smog, fear, ghetto life  
Shrieking families and unresolved discords  
Your intellect might do something to  
Alleviate.  
Can you not see I am in anguish,



And all my family suffers from your  
Pride?

God: Will you never be satisfied to know  
There is a mystery you cannot enter?  
Will you never be satisfied to wonder  
By the light of the moon?  
Will you not be willing to see the Light  
Given and to walk by it without  
Desiring to conquer it?  
Accept the place of your habitation  
And make it fair.  
Will you never believe the world turns  
On the wheel of love both in my land and  
Your land?  
Can you not understand that since  
You have no real talent to find life  
In outer space,  
I have come with Life into the earth?

## He Descended Into . . . . .

By Wm. B. Spofford Jr.

*Dean, St. Michael's Cathedral, Boise, Idaho*

RECENTLY, there have been two powerful movies emphasizing the reality of Incarnation, on our screens. One of the advantages of living in a non-megapolitan city in the west, is that we tend to get the screen offerings a bit late. If we choose, after reading the metropolitan critics for dailies, weeklies and monthly journals, we can separate the wheat from the chaff, artistically. This saves both time and money!

In both cases, the films deal with an individual deliberately entering into the lives of people who are living in turmoil and hell and making a difference. And, isn't this after all, what we mean by the Christmas fact of the Incarnation of Jesus.

The first picture is *To Sir, with Love*, in which a black school-teacher, sensitively portrayed by Sidney Poitier, becomes a teacher in a rag-tag-and-bobble school near the London docks. In a sense, he enters into hell, since the school is made up of lost, confused, lonely, undisciplined and selfish people. The students are wild ones, knowing little of cooperation and love and beauty. The faculty are, by and large, without vision or, at least, had lost the vision which they had possessed when they were entering the profession of teaching. Hell, perhaps, is the condition where visions are wiped out.

At cost to himself — humiliation, frightening anger, disappointment, loss of a promising career as an engineer — the teacher gives himself to the school. And, as a result, the young men start to see visions and the old men dream new dreams. He becomes the man for others, which is, assuredly, a contemporary title for the Christ.

The second film stars Paul Newman as Cool-Hand Luke who, having cut off the tops of a town's parking meters while drunk, is thrown into a chain-gang camp in one of our states. There, in the brutal company of lost men and in the even more brutal control of god-fearing sadists, he insists on freedom, individuality and involved living. It is a brutal film, certainly, but it also has a Christmas idea in back of it. At the end, Luke is shot down and destroyed by the calm, bland, and almost sightless and faceless powers of evil. But one leaves the darkness of the motion picture palace with the feeling that the powers of hell have not prevailed against him.

The photography in this particular film is outstanding, with wide vistas of southern landscape, reminiscent of some of the great paintings of our mid-western artists. The shots truly portray the beauty of God's creation and the evil of man's sin.

Is this Christmas? I think yes. Just substitute a stable and a manger for a crumby school-house or a degenerate, wire-enclosed prison camp. The scene turns out to be the same, whether biblically or photographically, and, in a sense, you've got the world into which Christ, "the man for others", comes.

Praise be to Almighty God, and celebrate that fact. When he came, we say, he descended into . . . . .

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## So You're Calling a Rector!!

**Robert Nelson Back**

*Rector of St. Luke's, Darien, Conn.*

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## RUSSIAN CHURCHMEN CALL FOR PEACE

★ A team of Russian Orthodox Church leaders concluded a 21-day visit in the U.S. as guests of the Church of the Brethren by signing with Brethren representatives a joint communique calling for immediate steps toward peace in Vietnam.

Among the steps called for in the communique were an immediate end of U.S. bombing in North Vietnam, a general ceasefire, and withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country.

Signing the statement were Metropolitan Nicodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, chairman of the Moscow patriarchate's department of external Church relations, and Alexei Buevsky, the department's secretary.

Brethren signers were W. Harold Row, executive secretary of the denomination's service commission; and Norman J. Baugher, general secretary of the general brotherhood board.

The communique noted there was "some difference regarding the present situation," but agreed that steps should be taken toward allowing the Vietnamese people "the fullest opportunity to determine their own destiny without any interference from the outside."

"We join," the Church leaders stated, "in praying for peace for the long-suffering people of Vietnam."

The Russians and representatives of the National Council of Churches explored questions on international affairs — particularly the Middle East — and the state of religion in the USSR at an informal luncheon in New York.

Host for the luncheon sponsored by the NCC's division of Christian unity was Bishop Lauriston L. Scaife of Western New York who presented Metropolitan Nicodim with a sculptured cross made by an NCC staff member.

tured cross made by an NCC staff member.

About 100 persons attended, among them R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the NCC; Eugene C. Smith, executive secretary of the U.S. conference for the World Council of Churches; Robert C. Dodds, director of the National Council's office of ecumenical affairs; and Paul B. Anderson, interpreter, who is adviser to the NCC on Eastern Orthodox affairs.

## CHURCHES IN ENGLAND WILL BE SHARED

★ Legislation to provide for the sharing of Anglican churches with other denominations will be prepared by a special committee to be set up by the Church assembly and may be effective within two years.

This was one of the major outcomes of the assembly's fall meeting of bishops, clergy and laity. The assembly had before

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it a report by Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury and Archbishop Donald Coggan of York which called on it to appoint a committee to prepare such legislation in consultation with the Church commissioners, who manage the Church's assets, and representatives of other Churches.

This report had already been received in October by the convocations of the two provinces which asked the archbishops then to initiate action leading to legislation in the assembly. The assembly did so after the report had been introduced by Bishop Robert Stopford of London, who said a bill might be produced within two years.

The Archbishops' report was accompanied by a draft bill which not only provided for the sharing of churches but also, in certain instances, for joint ownership. It was stated that this draft had been seen by representatives of the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist Churches and that they were "generally in favor of it."

## **BEXLEY AND ROCHESTER ANNOUNCE MERGER**

★ The first legal step in the establishment of the Rochester Center for Theological Studies (Witness, 10/12) was revealed with the announcement that Bexley Hall and Colgate Rochester Divinity School will formally affiliate in September, 1968.

Bexley students, faculty, library, and financial resources will move to the Rochester campus before the school term opens.

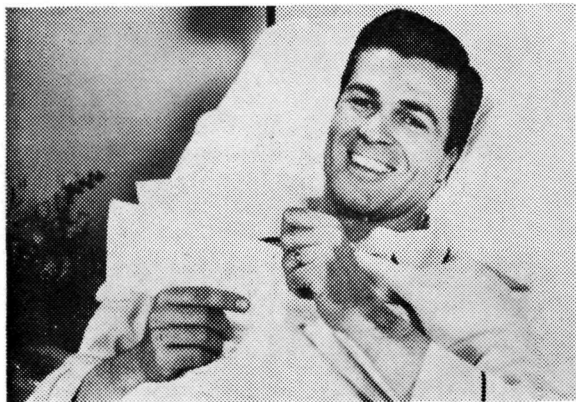
The proposed center will also include St. Bernard's Roman Catholic Seminary. In addition, conversations on affiliation are underway with a number of other Protestant divinity schools.

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Each Adult 65 to 75	4.15	45.65
Each Child 17 and under	1.15	12.65

NOTE: For children under 18, you pay half rates—and get half benefits. When they reach 18, simply write us to change to full rates and full benefits that apply for conditions contracted after that time.

up to 52 weeks (\$5200)—of hospitalization for each covered member of your family over 18 paying full rates. Half rates and half benefits apply to family members under 18. So our Plan fills the big gap in Medicare which provides only for the elderly.

2. We cover both sickness and injury. Our Plan covers hospitalization for every conceivable kind of accident and sickness except: pregnancy, childbirth or complications of either; pre-existing conditions; intoxication (of a covered person); unauthorized use of narcotic drugs; mental conditions; injury or sickness due to war or any act incident to war. Hernia is considered a sickness, not an injury. Confinement in a government hospital is not covered, nor is any person covered while in armed services of any country (but in such cases, a pro-rata refund of the premium would be made).

3. We pay \$5000 auto accident death benefit. If you die within 60 days as the result of an accident to any automobile, in which you are riding or driving, we pay \$5000 to your beneficiary.

25¢ is all you send with application below for first 30 days coverage

## MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

Read over your policy carefully. Ask your lawyer, doctor or hospital administrator to examine it. Be sure it provides exactly what we say it does. Then, if for any reason at all you are not satisfied, just mail your policy back to us within 10 days and we will immediately refund your entire premium. No questions asked. You can gain up to \$5200—you risk nothing.

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BUCKINGHAM LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Executive Offices: Libertyville, Illinois

## 30 DAYS COVERAGE ONLY 25¢

I'm enclosing 25¢ in coin. Please send me your Hospital Income Policy in force for 30 days—just as soon as my application is approved

Please Print Name of Applicant: First Name Middle Initial Last Name  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_ Day \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Height: \_\_\_\_\_ Feet \_\_\_\_\_ Inches Weight: \_\_\_\_\_ Pounds Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
Beneficiary: First Name Middle Initial Last Name  
Relationship of Beneficiary to Applicant: \_\_\_\_\_

## LIST NAME AND ALL REQUESTED INFORMATION FOR OTHER PERSONS TO BE INSURED

First Name	Initial	Last Name	HEIGHT Ft.-in.	WEIGHT Lbs.	Age	Month	BIRTH DATE Day	Year	RELATION To Applicant

## NEXT—PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS—THEN SIGN THE APPLICATION

Have you or any other Family Member listed above had medical or surgical care or advice during the past two years?

☐ YES ☐ NO If "yes" explain fully.

To the best of your knowledge, have you or any other family member listed above ever had or been treated for any of the following: Arthritis, hernia, venereal disease, apoplexy?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Epilepsy, mental disorder, cancer, diabetes?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Tuberculosis, paralysis, prostate trouble?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Heart trouble, eye cataract, disease of female organs, sciatica?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If "yes" explain fully.

I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, I and all Family Members listed above are in sound condition mentally and physically and free from impairment except:

Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Applicant's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

X

First Name Middle Initial Last Name

248

Mail this application with 25¢ right away to:

B-1-A BUCKINGHAM LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, 1008 No. Milwaukee Ave., Libertyville, Illinois



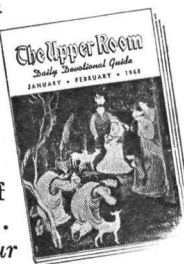
(the year  
of our LORD)

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LORD?  
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## NATIONWIDE PROTESTS AGAINST THE DRAFT

★ A coalition of antidraft, antiwar groups started a week of protests across the country on December 4.

The Episcopal Church got into the news, first in San Francisco where Grace Cathedral was refused as a place for a religious service when draft cards were to be turned in (Witness, 12/7).

In New York the committee had announced that St. Paul's Chapel would be the rallying point for a campus-based antidraft group. However Trinity Parish, of which the historic chapel is a part, refused permission. Banned from this hoped-for sanctuary, about 450 students and older opponents of the Vietnam war went to Brooklyn and held their protest in a Lutheran church. Speakers included Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy who condemned the war as "futile", "horrifying", "immoral" and applauded the youths who dropped their draft cards in collection plates.

Two Vietnam war veterans dropped what was said to be honorably discharge papers into one of the basins.

The pastor of the church, the Rev. Richard Neuhaus, had turned in his own draft card at a previous rally and he told newsmen that unless the government chose "to make a mockery of the selective service act it would have to prosecute those who turned in their cards and signed 'complicity' cards."

The next day in New York more than 2,500 staged a sit-in at the induction center in lower Manhattan. It resulted in 264 arrests. All were charged with disorderly conduct and paroled without bail. Hearing will be held next month.

Elsewhere the protests were generally orderly.

## VIETNAM OFFICIAL SAYS U.S. IS NOT NEEDED

★ A former charge d'affaires of South Vietnam to the United States told an ecumenical conference on world order in Raleigh, N. C., that his homeland could "get along without the Americans. We did it for several centuries."

Tran Van Digh, who represented the government of his country in the U.S. in 1963, said that in order to create a climate for a negotiated-peace the bombing of North Vietnam must cease.

Van Digh said that Vietnam should never have been partitioned and he expressed the opinion that "South Vietnam will never be Communist and will never be a Chinese satellite."

## - BACKFIRE -

**Harry Lee Hoffman**

Assistant at St. Matthew's  
Richmond, Va.

We should offer a UN seat to Red China in return for a negotiated peace settlement.

The specter of the war in Vietnam hovers over the world with no short-range expectation of its end. Americans are becoming very tired of Vietnam. Presumably the world shares this weariness including the Communist bloc.

Nevertheless, weariness is not the same as exhaustion. The resources of both sides to continue the war are adequate for many years — for as long as one side or the other wishes to continue, or until the resources of the Communist or Capitalist societies have been strained to the utmost.

It has been predicted by the American administration that Vietnam will conclude either by

THE WITNESS



a fade-out of the Communist forces or by negotiation, with fade-out being the most probable course. When the fade-out will occur, no one in the administration wishes to predict, although General Westmoreland is optimistic in terms of the next several years. "We are winning the war," he says.

If this is the official line in America, it can also be surmised to be the line in Hanoi. Ho Chi Minh could be telling his people and his Soviet-Chinese backers a similar story of the expected fade-out of American troops. The fact about the matter, however, based on past performance must be that neither side has any intention of fading. Nor do the Communists intend to negotiate when there is nothing for them to negotiate about.

Therefore, we are stuck with a long, costly, ugly war which will drag on until one side or the other loses its will to fight. Included in this prospect is the factor of continued escalation into World War III and nuclear annihilation.

Surely the idea of a limited "Thirty Years War" without suicidal escalation is intolerable for Americans, if not for the world. But equally intolerable is the alternative of defeat or a dishonorable peace. We cannot turn our back upon American commitments to the defense of nations. Both the Capitalist and Communist nations are intent to save their face.

During the past several years, the American people have heard the President repeat emphatically that the administration "will negotiate with anyone at any time and at any place without pre-condition". This magnanimous gesture has been ignored as often as it has been repeated. Unconditional negotiation is a failure. To repeat it again is to have no new ideas.

There is, on the other hand, an alternative to unconditional negotiation which has received

little consideration from either official or other groups of Americans. This alternative is conditional negotiation. Clearly, negotiation always implies conditions. The idea of negotiation without conditions is a logical impossibility and implies unconditional surrender. It is most unfortunate that the administration thought of such an impractical and misunderstood slogan.

We must understand that the only negotiation possible in any situation is always with conditions. The basis is always to offer something in return for something else. In any successful negotiation, both sides must believe they have come away from the bargaining table with a gain.

Having established the idea of conditional negotiation as the only practical way to bring people to the conference table, the question becomes directed to which conditions might be placed on the table for negotiation. Our goal, of course, is peace in Vietnam. But the conditions under which peace might occur need to be explored.

From the American viewpoint, the administration could offer to support seating Red China in the United Nations (concession) if all hostilities are broken off by the Communists in Southeast Asia and especially in Vietnam (gain). From the Communist viewpoint, their offer is to conclude hostilities in Southeast Asia (concession) in return for seating Red China in the UN (gain). On both sides, something is offered, something is conceded and face is saved.

A proposal of this type would certainly arouse considerable opposition within both camps. For the Capitalists, the conservatives who have long opposed admission of Red China into the UN must be faced, as well as anger from Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan. For the Communists, there well may be anger in

Hanoi and among the Vietcong and other Communist groups in Southeast Asia who would believe themselves sold out by Peking and Moscow. But these considerations, painful as they are, cannot be allowed to upset the greater aim — assuming that seating Red China in the UN is enough bait to get action toward peace in Vietnam. An additional inducement might be diplomatic recognition of Peking by the U. S.

Furthermore, the free world would have to press for protection of its interests in Southeast Asia by treaty including the recognition of the present Saigon government by the Communist nations. This would include continuing the reforms which have taken place in South Vietnam since the American involvement. It would also mean a new look by the U. S. at its commitments abroad in regard to such enigmatic nations such as Cambodia.

Regarding Red China's membership on the Security Council of the UN which would also be the case, it would be expected that Red China might become more responsible for world security by a position of responsibility in that body. The role of Nationalist China as an ally of the United States seems to have been negligible both in the UN and on the battlefield up to now.

The point is that we do have something of value to negotiate about Vietnam which can save many lives, and also bring Red China out of isolation into the world community.

**Note:** In offering these concessions to Red China, the United States should not accept rejection. The offer should be proclaimed to the world if rejected and proclaimed repeatedly as proof of Red China's "outlaw" status. Such an accusation would result in a serious loss of face for Red China toward the many developing nations who prize their UN membership.



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