

LIBRARY & ARCHIVES  
CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

# THE WITNESS

NOVEMBER, 1977  
\$1.00

## House of Bishops' Leadership Crisis

Art Walmsley

## Thanksgiving Day Unfair to Indians

Chris Cavender

## Labor Needs Help On Three Fronts

Lynda Ann Ewen

On its third birthday, THE WITNESS is gratified  
for playing a modest role in helping its readers to  
look beneath and beyond the old liberalism in order  
that we may together find, in a progressive spirit, the  
clues to a more just society. And these clues will  
emerge from a more accurately critical understand-  
ing of our present social/political/economic sys-  
tem. That system, like the well-intentioned liberals  
who fought only its abuses, is being weighed in the  
balance, and found wanting. ■



**Letters**

**to the**

**Editor**

## God Calls Peculiar People

I feared the week was off to a bad start when I noticed that I had picked up the shaving cream to clean my teeth, and this fear was later reinforced when the car wouldn't start and a new battery was indicated. Then a conversation with my dentist revealed that we should have to spend a longer time in the chair this morning . . . I was walking to his office and a man my senior by a few years got up from a stoop and said, "Father, may I give you my blessing for this day? I'm sure you give so much of yourself to others and I just thought that it would be good for you to know that someone else cares about you and what you do."

At that moment I knew the day was taking a change for the better. I later came to my desk where lay the June issue of THE WITNESS, read your editorial on homosexuality, and almost screamed for joy!

There are signs aplenty that the Holy Spirit is not only alive and well, but very much active in the Church these days, and that the Spirit's activity did not disappear after Pentecost. After Bishops Moore and Myers shocked the Church back into consciousness (by ordaining and accepting a lesbian), someone asked me what I thought about it. I took it as a mandate to get into the pulpit and speak to my people. I had to say that it was no problem for me; I had a bigger one — trying to make my peace with the fact that God had called *me* to the priesthood, a case of God calling into service "peculiar people," which means all of us.

It seems to me we just haven't got quite used to the fact that God has always done things in rather strange and "unorthodox" ways. If only we had the courage, and trust, like Mary, who, when she got that strange bit of news, could say, "Fine! Let it be as God wants it."

**The Rev. James M. Harvey**  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## (Tainted) WITNESS Praised

Many thanks to you for your courageous June editorial about Bishop Myer's indecision (to license Ellen Barrett). Thank you too for asking Brian McNaught to prepare your October issue on homosexuality. I know that you are aware of the taint of being thus associated with us, and of the victory that thus overcomes the world.

**Dr. Louie Crew**  
Integrity National

## Support Hiatt, Deployment

On behalf of the Board of the Episcopal Women's Caucus, thank you and the Rev. Suzanne Hiatt for the telling and prophetic article "Priests Wanted: No Women Need Apply." The Rev. Hiatt aptly calls to our attention that "we are entering a new and subtle phase" of the struggle to authenticate the ministry of women.

The Board of the Episcopal Women's Caucus is gravely concerned about the issue of the deployment of our ordained sisters within the Church. The Board at its summer meeting committed itself to continuing the full authentication of those women who have been ordained deacon and priest within this Church. We are painfully aware that the General Convention of 1976 was in many ways just another beginning point in the long difficult process of recognizing and affirming the ministry of each of us. While our purpose will always be validating the ministry of women at all places in the Church, we are convinced that we must work diligently to continue to explore avenues in which we can take a more active role in the deployment of our sister clergy. To that end we have begun the exploration of a Caucus Task Force on Deployment.

To the Rev. Hiatt, again, thank you for that prophetic voice that calls us to a "firm, united

and positive effort." We would be part of that effort.

**Susan Skinner, President**  
Episcopal Women's Caucus

## Ministers to 'Scared' Church

The Rev. Wendy Raynor's response to Suzanne Hiatt's June article raised some painfully familiar memories for me. I remember having "problems" with Sue Hiatt at ETS in 1972. She was a bemoaner back then, too. At that time I felt that if I just closed my ears to Sue and my eyes to the church and studied real hard and was a good girl things would work out just fine. As it turned out, Sue Hiatt was not bemoaning then. She was witnessing to the truth, a witness she continues to be faithful to — much to my discomfort and, it seems, many others.

I am glad that the Rev. Raynor is happy in her ministry. I do think that she is lucky. Unfortunately, my experience is closer to what the Rev. Hiatt was bemoaning: I just don't see many qualified women being placed within the church. And not just women. Presently I am working in an alcoholism service with two male EDS graduates. Because of sex, sexuality, and support for the Philadelphia 11, none of us are ordained. But I think that we are all doing ministry and, like the Rev. Raynor, I take pride in it and know that no one can take it away.

Unfortunately, more and more my ministry has less and less to do with the Episcopal Church. My ministry takes me among the poor, the sick, the outcast, the imprisoned and, frankly, I just don't see the Episcopal Church there. As a friend of mine who has been active in the civil rights movement said recently, "I seem to be in the same place, but the church has moved." And now Sue Hiatt still gives me problems. She continues in her

*Continued on page 19*



# THE WITNESS

Subscription rates: \$9.00 per year; \$1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Morris Arnold, Joan Belknap, Robert L. DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, Barbara Harris, John Hines, Brooke Mosley, Charles Ritchie, Helen Seager. Copyright 1977 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A.

Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; Mary Lou Suhor, Managing Editor; Robert Eckersley, Peggy Case, Mary Ann Faix Nolan, Susan Small, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067.

## WITNESS-ing: Requiem and Reveille

Robert L. DeWitt

THE WITNESS was reborn three years ago. At that time there was in the Church a growing repudiation of social liberals. By "social liberals" we mean those who are convinced that the Church should support causes which promise to right wrongs, but who have no underlying theory concerning the basic source of those wrongs. Too often, therefore, social liberals have been characterized as being well-intentioned, but naive.

The last two decades have shown ample evidence of this. Those years were marked by a bewildering succession of crises in our society — racial tension, student rebellions, Vietnam, illegal governmental repression. Martin Luther King, the Berrigan brothers and a host of others, like Peter the Hermit calling the faithful to a crusade, sparked a brief era of social involvement on the part of the Church. Social activism was the "in" thing for clergy and for a large number of laity.

However, there was a conservative reaction in the national mood. And conservative forces in the Church, motivated partly by their own stake in the status quo, succeeded in arresting that activist trend, pronouncing the verdict that liberalism had been weighed in the balance, and found wanting.

THE WITNESS agrees with that verdict, but for a different reason. Liberalism in the Church has been found wanting because it lacks a sufficient understanding of the deep rootage of the evils it seeks to remove. The evils are evident. The Equal Rights Amendment is in deep trouble. Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans are beleaguered by the blights of second-class citizenship. Our urban centers are decaying. The gulf between poverty and affluence is widening. But these causes are undertaken separately, without an awareness of

their inter-relatedness. It is like Ulysses, fighting the hydra-headed monster.

Before THE WITNESS began re-publishing three years ago, a working paper prepared for a discussion of editorial policy stated the need for a requiem to the liberal syndrome: "Liberals are jaded because their approach is demonstrably ineffective. For Episcopalians, the last General Convention (Louisville, 1973) was illustrative. It is time for a reveille for a radically systemic approach . . ."

Over the past three years THE WITNESS has sought to make connections amongst the manifestations of social disorder and injustice to show that behind the issues there is one cardinal issue: *The economic and political structures of our society are so constituted that they do not function in the best interests of people.* And until that common source, or rootage, is seen clearly for what it is, there will be no end to the wearying succession of causes on which church liberals can break their swords.

But eventually there is a pay-off. When sufficient numbers of church persons, and other members of the society they serve, begin to ask the deeper questions, more adequate answers will begin to emerge.

On this third birthday, THE WITNESS is gratified to be playing a modest role in helping its readers to look beneath and beyond the old liberalism in order that we may together find, in a progressive spirit, the clues to a more just society. And these clues will emerge from a more accurately critical understanding of our present social/political/economic system. That system, like the well-intentioned liberals who fought only its abuses, is being weighed in the balance, and found wanting. ■



# Is There a Leader in the House?

by Arthur E. Walmsley

It is ironical that a church which designates itself by the label "episcopal" has in a radical way lost the office of bishop as either meaningful symbol of unity or effective center of authority. Issues of leadership surfaced at the meeting of the House of Bishops in Port St. Lucie, Fla., this Fall; the crisis has been brewing for more than a decade.

The heresy trial of James Pike in the mid-'60s set in motion forces which continue to undercut the capacity of the bishops through their collective body to exercise leadership on issues confronting the church, or to face conflict with compassion and disciplinary matters with firmness and consistency.

A visit to the House of Bishops impresses the viewer with the studied decorum of the body, one which is apparently as solicitous of the members' sensibilities as the equally select Senate of the United States. When Presiding Bishop John Allin threw his weight publicly in opposition to the ordination of women, an issue which deeply divides the church, the matter was treated as a question of conscience and not a test of his ability to lead the church. Members acted as if they were being polled on his good will, integrity, or character. That the titular head, chief spokesman, and principal administrative officer of the church had chosen the moment to exercise his conscience made it a political act; that his fellow bishops chose to treat it in a non-political way is a sign of their abdication of leadership as complete as his.

There is more involved than a question of style. The lot of ecclesiastical overseers in our time is no easier than that of officers in government, education, or other disciplines. But the church claims to be an arbiter of truth, and a community which models behavior for its members. The moral acuity and leadership of a gathering of bishops is thus an earnest of their seriousness about the standards of responsible decision making in other centers of human life.

How the bishops responded to Bishop Allin has to be viewed against the history of their treatment of James Pike 12 years ago. Pike was clearly an embarrassment to some of them. His outspoken advocacy of liberal theological and social positions had ruffled feathers, and his capacity for

---

*"That the titular head of the church had chosen the moment to exercise his conscience made it a political act; that his fellow bishops chose to treat it in a non-political way is a sign of their abdication of leadership as complete as his . . ."*

---

publicity, often in other bishops' dioceses, put him in the public eye. Yet the House of Bishops treated this issue as if it were a debate on the limits of conscience for a bishop of the church, with the bishops collectively acting as embattled defenders of the faith. Privately, it became a shabby persecution of a sick man and his expulsion from the community of his peers.

In the decade since, there have been frequent opportunities to demonstrate what the House had learned from the Pike affair. "Collegiality" is the decorous name for the deadening conformity which the bishops developed as a way of seeking to contain heterodox views or precipitate action by any of their number. But it is a doctrine which has been applied with curious selectivity.

The Pike affair disclosed that heresy trials are folly in the 20th century. When Bishops Daniel Corrigan, Robert DeWitt, and Edward Welles broke collegial ranks by ordaining 11 women in an irregular service, pleas for a trial were squelched, and the bishops managed to get off with a censure. Two lesser clergy were tried, however, for disobeying the "godly admonitions" of their bishops. When the judicial process of their trials took on circus dimensions, including a contempt citation to the Presiding Bishop for failing to honor a subpoena, and appeals to provincial courts, the use of ecclesiastical trials was quietly dropped. The hapless women priests suffered for their part with more consistency, being inhibited from their ministries and subjected to various degrees of censure.

After the 1976 General Convention opened the door to the licit ordination of women, the House of Bishops affirmed a new stance, a "conscientious objector" clause for its members. A kind of "states' rights" compromise on

---

**The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley**, rector of St. Paul's Church, New Haven, was for 13 years involved in the church's ministry in public affairs at the national or state level. He served as treasurer of the Boston Industrial Mission for three years.





ordination has descended on the church, with some dioceses ordaining, and some not.

At the Florida meeting, the erosion of "collegiality" has been completed. By presenting himself before the House of Bishops as a newly-declared opponent of ordination (his opposition has heretofore been reserved) Bishop Allin asked for, and was able to receive, a vote of confidence which places him as the leader of the opposition party in the body of which he is the presiding officer! The new doctrine is of "freedom of conscience".

In the light of this newfound liberalism, the bishops found it impossible to take action against Bishops Paul Moore and Albert Chambers. Although many are incensed that Moore had ordained an acknowledged homosexual woman, the House tabled a motion to disapprove of his action. Whatever chastisement there was had to be cloistered in a general resolution opposing the ordination of "advocating or practicing" homosexuals. Chambers, who has been officiating at confirmation services in separatist parishes, simply pointed out that they (and presumably he) are now outside the jurisdiction of his fellow bishops. Although "deploring" his separatist confirmation services, the bishops hesitate to resort to a trial.

Thus the retreat from an effort to use coercive sanctions against each other is complete: from the archaism of an authority based on heresy trials to a standard which, in effect, lets each one go his own way. In this light, the question of the church's commitment to standards of

responsible decision-making must be raised again, with great urgency. The House of Bishops has shown that it cannot coerce behavior, even among its own members. The question is whether there is "a better way" or a higher guiding principle for bishops and other church people in these times. Stanley Hauerwas, professor of ethics at Notre Dame, asks the question well:

*Does the church, for example, expect and require her leaders to tell her the truth? Politics, understood as the art of the maintenance of a good society, is an art that is at the heart of being Christian. The crucial question is whether we are a determinative enough community that our politics can provide a basis for authority rather than the politics of fear. For if there is no authority that can speak from the shared loyalties of a community, then we have no recourse against those who must resort to power and force.*

It is unfair to blame the leadership vacuum in the Episcopal Church on Bishop Allin, or on the House of Bishops. Our communion as a whole errs in permitting the anomalous gathering of a group of bishops in insolation, in country club setting, apart from the poor, from those who present the claims of the dispossessed and desolate of the Third World. Separated from the laity and clergy who share with them the struggle to hold up a vision of faith and Christian community for these times, the bishops by themselves unwittingly find their meetings turned into a debate on the nature of ecclesiastical power or authority, when what the church and the world cry for is the Word of life.

The only meaningful authority is moral, and that is earned as we submit to the powerful and enabling authority of the Spirit. Men and women look to us and through us for the Lord, for a richness of faith, for a compassion more compelling than that of the world, and for a community which invites loyalty and sacrifice. They find, in the tiresome arguments over episcopal authority and the defensiveness over women's ordination, a quality of fear where they look for hope. But we are accomplices in that process, not expecting more of those who are Fathers in God, and thus their problem is ours.

Franz Kafka probably said it as well as anyone:

*The Fathers of the Church were not afraid to go out into the desert because they had a richness in their hearts. But we, with richness all around us, are afraid, because the desert is in our hearts.* ■



# 'Gays Watching With Hope'

*Despite the strongly negative feelings concerning homosexuality in the church expressed at the recent meeting of the House of Bishops, the Rt. Rev. Kilmer Myers of California asserted his diocesan prerogative and licensed the Rev. Ellen Barrett to officiate in that diocese. In the course of the debate on the issue, the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore of New York, who ordained her last year, made the following statement.*

I have been called to the mission of the Church in New York, that enormous, strange, desperate, vital city where the customs and the culture are so different from other parts of the country. It is not easy to relate to such a mission, to make any impression on such a city, to be heard in such a noisy place. However, from time to time, we have been heard there. From time to time, we have been able to lift up a sign of hope in that city.

One such sign of hope was the ordination of Ellen Barrett. It was not intended to be such, but because of the time at which it occurred and the media coverage it received, the city and the country came to know that we affirmed her candor, her courage, her honesty. When she was ordained, the gay community felt it to be a sign that the church finally accepted them as human beings.

Do you realize that every gay person in America will be watching what happens here this week? Do you realize that if you officially condemn this ordination you will be casting a judgment upon the ministry of hundreds, perhaps thousands of bishops, priests and deacons of the Church who live with this problem? Do you realize that you will be removing a sign of hope they finally see in a Church that has treated them so shabbily over the years?

We have shown great concern for the 1,500 church people at St. Louis. Have we no concern for this huge and most misunderstood of all minorities to which our brothers, our sisters, our children might belong? Gay people live in constant fear for their jobs, their homes, their very lives. You have no idea what this condition can mean in someone's life.

A priest who started me on my vocation lived a haunted, broken life because of the way the Church treated his homosexuality; and yet, were it not for him, I would not be here today.

No one of you dares deny the effective priesthood of homosexual clergy you have known. Are you about to say that the grace of priesthood cannot function in such persons when their effectiveness has been shown again and again?

If you censure or deplore the action of the Diocese of New York, you are deploring the priesthood of any homosexually oriented priest whatever his or her behavior; and you are insulting hundreds of the clergy of our Church.

Please carefully listen to the possible consequences of this proposed action. Aspirants for holy orders who sense a vocation within themselves will be encouraged to lie to their psychiatrist, standing committee, ministries commission, and Bishop. Ordained clergy of the Church who have declared themselves to be gay, will be left wondering when charges for deposition will be brought against them. The Episcopal Church may become the scene of a McCarthy-like purge, rife with gossip, charges and counter charges. Also the General Convention study process will be frustrated. It may result in many communicants leaving this Church.

Bishop Myers and Bishop Corrigan's papers have set forth the deep reasons for not withholding orders from gay persons, reasons found in an understanding of the

humanity of Jesus. I need not rehearse them here. But let me say that the sexuality of an ordinand is not what I am most concerned about. When I interview a person for the ministry, I try to see into the heart. I search for love, sensitivity, and courage in dedication to our Lord Jesus. Of such qualities is the priesthood made. The quality of courage has been sorely lacking in our church of late. Perhaps courage is even more important than sexual orientation!

There has been much talk here about freedom of conscience. We have said in many comments that our own Presiding Bishop has a right to deny the action of the General Convention of the Church. Given this principle of freedom of conscience do you then proceed to censure or deplore a Bishop and Standing Committee acting with full canonical scrupulosity in ordaining someone whom they believe qualified and whom most of you have never even met? I think such an action is outrageous!

I have been a member of this House for almost 14 years where, often with some difficulty of conscience, I have remained loyal to the doctrines, discipline and worship of the Episcopal Church, and to the so-called collegiality of this House. To be coupled for criticism or perhaps censure with a bishop who has flagrantly and often broken Canon Law, who is leading the Church into schism, makes me ashamed, humiliated, and brought to tears.

I have not broken any Canon Law. I have not been accused of immorality. I have not been accused of making any heretical statement.

What is the crime? Am I being criticized for the remarks attributed to one of my clergy, after ordination, based on hearsay, and not made by me? I remind you that the ordination itself had nothing to do with

*Continued on page 19*





# Keep Christ Out of Christmas?

by Helen Seager

*"God is great, God is good  
He'd have to be to do what he dood."*  
Christmas dinner grace by Tom Seager, age 10

Last year our diocese "activated" (their word) a project called "Sharing the Spirit of Christmas." Its principal feature was a booklet sold in all of the parishes giving "useful, practical, and easy (their word) how-to's for Christmas traditions, parties, and gifts."

It was loaded with things for folks — most likely women — to do, not only to interfere (my word) with Christmas, but to make all of Advent truly miserable. It suggested books, bulletin boards, even more cards, library projects, home-made Christmas caroling robes, parties (complete with handy checklists and deadlines) gifts conveying spiritual messages, recipes, ornaments and other stuff to make, animals to feed, gift books, projects for your handy home mimeo (doesn't every home have one?), and other ways of giving away even more of your self this year than last.

But it contained no unsafe thoughts about, for example, changing conditions in the world that cause human suffering. Shades of the unconsciousness and togetherness of the fifties! Just thumbing through the booklet made me tired.

And determined. It took no great insight for me to understand that the project was designed with the old slogan "Keep Christ in Christmas" in mind; it was also clear that the business of the project was busy-ness, as if somehow that would earn the doer a visit from Christ. Believing firmly that Christ comes to us in quietness, readiness, and in the fullness of our time, and that most Christmases provided *none* of these, especially if one took the booklet seriously, I determined not to confuse Christ's coming with the Christmas box in which pious people are fond of containing our Saviour. I prayed for the grace to keep Christ out of Christmas — or was it to keep Christmas out of Christ?

Either way, my prayers were answered; temptations to do the busy distracting things like those suggested in the booklet were rendered impossible by a force larger than myself. Mail order gifts for far away relatives weren't delivered to me until mid-January. A museum visit and a

**Helen Seager** is Church and Society convener for Pittsburgh and a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.



kiddie party I had planned, perfect Mother-making Christmas style, were canceled by two well-timed cases of measles — a genuine divine intervention, since both children had been immunized.

There were no choir robes to wash and iron, no Christmas Eve pageant, no church to decorate, no candles or altar hangings to change, no brass to polish, no Christmas tea or bazaar, all because we had to spend Christmas 750 miles away from the parish in which we would have been expected to do these things. With all that out of the way, gone too were the hostility and anger that accompany the feeling that one was being impelled into something, a feeling with which most family women become quite familiar at one holiday time or another. Cooking Christmas dinner was a cinch!

In this grace-full state, I did not even try to control the Christmas happening; it flowed, or rather we flowed with it, trusting ourselves and the love that holds us together and the opportunity of Christmas. Unquestionably, it is important to use all of our human abilities, for which we have God alone to thank, in centering down on the Incarnational event. Yet, one cannot manage the event by oneself, or with human resources such as booklet/projects or choirs or pageants. Such efforts may even have set up barriers between many individuals and the religious reality.

If one is to understand the reality of what God "dood," a better slogan than "Keep Christ in Christmas" may well be "Sit Down, Shut Up, and Listen."



# Thanksgiving: Unfair to Indians



by Chris Cavender

Thanksgiving to most people means turkey, cranberries, pumpkin pie — a veritable feast to commemorate the “first Thanksgiving” celebrated by the Pilgrims and oh, yes, the Indians. But how does an American Indian feel when the United States celebrates Thanksgiving every year? As a member of the Dakota tribe, I offer these reflections on misconceptions that exist in the dominant society.

First, I think about how white historians have distorted the concept of “good Indians” and “bad Indians;” second, I am concerned that the stereotyping of Indians as hunters, predators, and nomads was used as a justification for stealing Indian land; and third, I regret that the concept of giving thanks — as practiced by Indian peoples millennia before the white men came — is downplayed.

Indian historians, or those sympathetic to the Native American side, would tell a different story. (Such is the case with the writers quoted below).

First of all, there is the misconception in American history that the “good Indians” were those who helped the white people. At Thanksgiving it is traditional in elementary schools for teachers to talk about the Squanto and Massasoit (Tisquantum and Wasamegin were their real names). Instead of focusing on the hospitality of native peoples and the respect and courtesy given strangers, they convey, either consciously or unconsciously, that these tribes were good, not by Indian standards, but because they helped whites. Historian D’Arcy McNickle says:

*If they [the Indians] had foreseen how it would turn out, they might have reacted with forceful decision against the first visitors [the white people], though that would have violated the almost universal rule of hospitality.*

Rarely would a teacher say anything about gift-giving, a trait that is almost universal among tribes in North America. Again, McNickle points out:

---

**Chris C. Cavender, Ph.D.**, a member of the Wahpeton and Sisseton divisions of the Dakota nation, is Assistant Professor of Education and History at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn.

*The French followed a simple strategy in their approach to the Indians. At every meeting with an Indian group, they gave gifts, thus adapting to their use a custom that was practically universal among Indians.*

Another example that comes to mind is John Other Day. John Other Day was a Dakota (Sioux) who during the beginning of hostilities between the Indians and whites in 1862, helped 60 white people to safety. A Minnesota history textbook reads: “And here is a portrait of that good Indian, John Other Day, who saved the lives of many white people during the dreadful Sioux massacre.” From a Dakota perspective this man could be considered a traitor. Roy W. Meyer has a relevant comment in his book, *History of the Santee Sioux: U.S. Indian Policy on Trial*:

*Among the Indians there were John Other Day, Lorenzo Lawrence, Paul Mazakutemani, Simon Anawangmani, and others, who took very real risks to help their white friends. They were praised in the newspapers and from the pulpits, and some of them received a more tangible reward through a congressional appropriation for their benefit a few years later. But no amount of praise for their courage can disguise the fact that they were the betrayers of their people.*

This, then, is one of the things I think of — the tendency among white historians to make value judgments according to their own standards and present it as “truth,” or to present their perspective and call it “objective.”

Secondly, there is the pervasive concept that Indians were not farmers. The literature of the invasion period (or the Colonial period) conveys the notion that the Indian near the Atlantic coast was a nomad, a beast of the forest, a wanderer. This attitude made it easier to steal the land from the Indian. European man was going to put the land to higher use. He was going to *farm* it.

But there were several centers of plant domestication in the Americas; that is, where Indians who were hunters and fishermen were also farmers. One of these areas was what is now eastern United States.

Yet Euro-Americans would persist in viewing Indians as hunters and nomads, even when burning permanent, settled communities and stealing from the Indians’



storehouses of grain — two obvious characteristics of a farming society. McNickle says:

*The Indians did not become farmers, not of the kind envisaged by the law-makers. Many Indians had always been farmers, from a time that antedated the countries of modern Europe. But they farmed to eat, not to exploit a market. In this, they remained unchanged.*

The struggling colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth would never have made it without the technical assistance, "foreign aid" if you will, of the nearby farming societies of Indians. Concerning the agricultural expertise of the Indians and their technical assistance to the white settlements, Vine Deloria has this to say in *Custer Died for Your Sins*:

*When Indian people remember how weak and helpless the United States once was, how much it needed the good graces of the tribes for its very existence, how the tribes shepherded the ignorant colonists through drought and blizzard, kept them alive, helped them grow — they burn with resentment at the treatment they have since received from the United States government.*

#### Indians at Bottom

*Indian people are the least educated, least employed (e.g., unemployment rate is approximately 10 times the rate for non-Indians in Arizona and New Mexico), and poorest (income of Indians is \$3,000-5,000 below the median for non-Indians in Arizona and New Mexico). Indians suffer because of poor nutrition, housing, etc., from more disease. Their medical services are extremely poor. TB is a rare disease for all other Americans, but affects Indians at eight times the national rate. In fact, the mortality rate for Indian infants is 33% above the national rate. The life expectancy of Indians is 36% less than the national average.*

*Finally, all the above contribute to an Indian suicide rate three times the national average. Even the President of the United States has admitted that "on virtually every scale of measurement—employment, income, education, health—the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom."*

— U.S. Commission on Civil Rights  
Southwest Indian Report

Yet these facts are not stressed in the history books at any level — elementary, secondary, or higher education.

Finally, I think of the commonly held notion that the "first" Thanksgiving began with the Pilgrims. The concept of giving thanks is practiced among almost all native peoples, who give thanks not only to the Creator but to each other as well.



Recently, I attended a memorial feast for my deceased uncle (in the Dakota way: since he was the brother to my father, he was my second father) at the Upper Sioux Community near Granite Falls, Minn. Following a death in the family, the Dakota celebrate a memorial feast a year later. Among the several traditions practiced at this event are: Feasting, oratory, honor songs and dances, and gift-giving. The gifts express appreciation to all those who helped in the time of sorrow. To most Indian men and women religion was personal and permeated every aspect of their day-to-day existence. This included giving of thanks to the Creator not just once a year, but daily. I am reminded of McNickle's words:

*What the Europeans could not appreciate was that they had come face-to-face with customs, beliefs, habits, cultures, which had been some thousands of years in the forming.*

Thanksgiving is so much more to me than turkey, pumpkin pies, and cranberries. It is the ancient and continuing way of life for my people. ■





# Ending an ERA

by Georgia Fuller

"Where are the main-line churches?" That is the cry of thousands of women and men working desperately against a deadline for final passage of the Equal Rights Amendment each time a state ratification is defeated by a Right-wing/Church coalition. The ERA will die if it is not ratified in three more states by March 22, 1979.

At a Stop ERA rally in Tallahassee, Florida, last April, journalist Lucy Komisar reported that "almost everyone I spoke to had come in bus and car caravans organized by their ministers." Last winter and early spring, lobbyists from the National Organization for Women (NOW) observed these tactics in the anti-ERA galleries of legislatures in several crucial states. Opposition leaders obtained an impressive age-span of women against the amendment by "dumping in a parish," according to Eleanore Curti Smeal, NOW National President. Most of these women did not know what the ERA was and had never read its 24 words:

*Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.*

These two dozen words — that would put women's rights completely under the protection of the U.S. Constitution for the first time in history — are said to be un-Christian, anti-God, and anti-family. Such charges have successfully defeated the ERA for five years, despite support by 43 religious groups, including the national governing bodies of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Church of the Brethren, the Presbyterian Church of the U.S., the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church, and the Unitarian Universalist Association. "Obviously the religious organizations and persons who support the ERA have not been as persuasive and effective in communication to their own people as have the opponents who are capitalizing on the fears of many church women and men," concluded Nancy Fifield McConnell, Coordinator of the ERA Support Project for the United Methodist Church.

**Georgia Fuller**, Ph.D., is a member of the Episcopal Church in Exodus, Washington, D.C., and has been active in the feminist movement since 1970. She was appointed Coordinator of the Committee on Women and Religion for the National Organization for Women (NOW) on April 2, 1976.

Who is this exploitative leadership? The resurging radical right, according to NOW national representatives who are completing an extensive survey of the political, economic and social situation in the 15 unratified states. The opposition is an effective, interconnected, nationwide network that includes the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Conservative Union, the American Party, Young Americans for Freedom and White Citizens' Councils. Phyllis Schlafly, founder and president of Stop ERA, is recorded as belonging to the John Birch Society in the early '60s, although she denies it. Propaganda and rallies against the ERA feature support of right-to-work laws and American control of the Panama Canal and opposition to school busing, workplace safety laws, an embargo of Rhodesian chrome, and gun control.

## Not Spontaneous

"The national campaign to defeat the ERA is not a spontaneous movement by housewives and others who want to maintain women's traditional role or who fear the loss of benefits or protection," reports Komisar in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (6/27/77). "It is a movement aimed at organizing women into a political machine to elect conservatives to office and to support right-wing views on a host of national and international issues." Komisar quotes Henry Dent, a former Nixon aide, as saying that if the Birchers "did not have the ERA as an issue, they would invent it."

Opposition to the ERA has been an effective right-wing organizing tool, and local churches have provided the base. Nowhere has this been more visible than at state International Women's Year conferences. These conferences were organized as a follow-through to International Women's Year (1975) to raise women's consciousness at the local level.

"Where are the main-line churches?" was uttered publicly for the first time by the Rev. Jeanine C. Rae, an ordained Baptist minister, after she watched several thousand ultra-conservative Christians take over the Indiana International Women's Year Conference last July. In an open letter to Indianapolis newspapers and religious organizations, she said, "I stood in the midst of a huge crowd of fundamentalist church men and women, hearing the loud rantings of soap-box preachers condemning

I AM A  
PERSON!  
DO NOT  
BEND, ST  
OR MUTIL  
ME IN A  
WAY!!





women as subordinate and inferior by 'God's commandment.' " All but one delegate to the forthcoming National IWY Conference elected to represent Indiana — the latest and 35th state to *ratify* the ERA, are opposed to the amendment.

That IWY National Conference (in Houston, Nov. 18-21) will be a show case for the resurging radical right, if Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, has his way. He has been quoted as saying that the Klan's Ladies Auxiliary has infiltrated the feminist movement enough to affect the Houston meeting. "While we are an independent organization, we work with any group with a Christian base," added Shelton (*Detroit News*, 9/1/77).

The wife of George Higgins, Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Klan and six men were elected to the twenty-delegate, all white slate at their state IWY meeting. About 1,000 people were transported to the Mississippi meeting by a coalition of Stop ERA, the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the American Party and local fundamentalist churches, according to Kathy Bonk, Public Information Officer for the National IWY Commission. Jessie Mosley, State Coordinator of the National Council of Negro Women, said "I heard a number of ministers instructing the women they had brought with them on how to vote. These men gave signals from the floor when they wanted the women to object to something."

At the Oklahoma IWY meeting, the final score was "Christians 1000; Lions 200," according to Anne Bowher of Tulsa. These 1000 "Christians" defeated resolutions for federally funded child care and enforcement of equal credit and equal employment opportunities. They passed a resolution against the ERA. "We started organizing about six weeks before the meeting," Diana Edmondson told Betty J. Blair of the *Detroit News*. "We relied heavily on the fundamentalist church groups here to tell their members to attend and to vote against the feminist slate."

The Oklahoma organizers had 400 pre-conference registrations. They were unprepared for the additional 800 who arrived on early morning buses from all parts of the state. James J. Kilpatrick's version in the *Washington Post* (7/5/77) conveys a different tone. "By 7 a.m., as Mrs. Bowher describes it, '500 good Christian ladies were waiting quietly in line' (to register). . . . The libbers were aghast. More buses arrived. There were reported hysterics. Language was heard more suited to stevedores and to hockey players than to gentle ladies." Kilpatrick concludes, "When the dust settled that night in Stillwater, little remained but a scene of dreadful carnage. The surviving

libbers had fled in disarray. The victorious anti-libbers had boarded buses to take them back home to church."

## 15 States Yet to Vote

"Where are the main-line churches" as the ERA is being defeated, maybe for the last time, by the Right-wing/Church coalition in Oklahoma, Mississippi, Florida, Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Virginia and the Mormon-influenced states of Utah, Nevada and Arizona? "Where are the main-line churches" as women's rights are being eroded by the cutting edge of the resurging radical right and Christianity is being used as a battering ram against individual dignity, equality and opportunity?

Despite the turbulence and limited successes of the feminist movement, which has become *the* social justice movement of the 1970s, women are losing ground. In 1972 women's salaries averaged 64% of men's salaries; in 1977 the average dropped to 57%. Women are also losing in equal employment opportunities. The 1977 Supreme Court decision (*Gilbert v. General Electric*) that said discrimination against pregnant persons was not discrimination against women has set a precedent against Title VII enforcement. Also, this year's Supreme Court decision that ruled that sex-segregated and unequal public education is not unconstitutional (*Vorscheimer v. the Philadelphia School System*) has set a precedent against Title IX enforcement.

The history of women in the United States has been two steps up and one, two or even three steps back. Colonial women enjoyed property and business rights only recently regranted in some states. Women in the 1920s were entering universities and professions in numbers undreamed of by their daughters of the Depression. By the end of World War II, every advance made for women by the First Wave of Feminism was lost, except for the one advance guaranteed in the Constitution, suffrage.

Women need the Equal Rights Amendment. Men need it, too. No one gains from an economic situation in which the family, struggling to keep its head above inflation, supplies two working parents to the labor market for the salary of 1½. Machismo is NOT the answer. Few fathers really value their pride at the \$5,000, \$7,000, or even \$10,000 annually that their wives cannot now earn. The answer is to be found in the moneyed interests of the resurging radical right.

But that answer is well hidden by their Bible-quoting

*Continued on page 15*

I AM A PERSON!  
DO NOT FOLD,  
END, STAPLE  
OR MUTILATE  
ME IN ANY  
WAY!!

Copyright 2020, Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission is required for reuse and publication.



# Labor Losing on Three Fronts

by Lynda Ann Ewen

Texas farmworkers, feet bleeding, first marching the breadth of Texas and now marching the breadth of the South; a coal mine in the West that's hiring all women to avoid the union; a nation-wide boycott against J.P. Stevens products; continued attacks on the United Farmworkers in California — what do all these developments have in common?

These continuing struggles all reflect the fallacy of the same myth — that unions are a guaranteed right of the American citizen.

In the struggle for economic justice in this country, most progressive individuals take unions for granted. Unions have now become part of "apple pie, motherhood and baseball". Even conservatives critical of unions will grudgingly admit that the relatively high standard of living for many Americans is a function of unions. Even non-unionized white collar employees often automatically receive raises and benefits when the unionized blue collar workers get them. And the vast majority of people would shudder at the thought of returning to the excesses of industrialization without unions.

Unfortunately, the assumption that unions are a "given" on the American scene is sadly mistaken. The percentage of workers belonging to unions in the last decade has not risen, but has declined.

If there is a "key" to the emerging scenario in the U.S., it must be Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act. This clause, passed as the law of the land in 1947, rolled back key victories won by the labor movement in the 1920's and 30's which were embodied in the National Labor Relations Act. And 14-b allowed the states to pass state laws forbidding the "closed shop." Without a closed shop, workers do not have to be members of a union. Thus, even when a majority of workers desire a union, the employers can use any number of devices to get rid of pro-union workers and hire anti-union (or too-scared-to-stand-up-for-the-union) workers. The open shop is a paradise for



employers who use the traditional weapons of hiring females against pro-union males, blacks against pro-unions whites and, even in some cases, whites against pro-union blacks. The result is that sexism and racism are heightened and unions destroyed.

With the passage of 14-b the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the National Chamber of Commerce and its affiliates in individual states, and support groups linked to the John Birch Society began a national campaign to pass what *they* called "right-to-work" laws in every state. Not surprisingly, they have been primarily successful in the South, where racism worked to their major advantage. They have also been successful in the West, where small and economically threatened farmers could be wooed to their cause on the basis that union "collectivism" was opposed to American freedoms. Today, 20 states have such laws and all are states in the South and the West.

Historically, then, the existence of states where unions were much more difficult to organize provided a convenient blackmail weapon for employers in the North. If existing

---

Lynda Ann Ewen is Assistant Professor of Sociology at West Virginia Institute of Technology. She is author of *Urban Crisis and Corporate Power in Detroit*, (Princeton University Press, January, 1978).



unions got too pushy on the question of wages and benefits, the employer could always threaten to "run-away" to the unorganized South. And indeed, that is precisely what the textile manufacturers of New England have been doing for the last six decades, and increasingly, the auto and mining industries in the more recent period.

The strategy is clear — with increasing inflation, the tight money market and unstable international conditions, moving industry to non-union areas within this country may be the new "breathing space" to maintain profits. Unfortunately for the profit makers there is a major snag in their plans — the workers themselves. For in the past two decades, the unorganized workers, largely ignored by the powerful and overly bureaucratic major unions, have begun to demand organization, either of their own making or from the large unions. Martin Luther King, beginning as a leader of civil rights, died at a time of a major struggle to unionize Southern hospital workers and sanitary workers. Today, in addition to the continuing struggle of the California farmworkers, (see *THE WITNESS*, May '77), there are three major fronts of what may well become another series of labor wars in American history.

Perhaps the least known and most repressed of these struggles is that of the Texas farmworkers. The TFW is an off-shoot of the original organizing effort in Texas begun by the United Farmworkers. Facing brutal resistance from the Texas Rangers, the importation of thousands of illegal workers from Mexico, and the fact that Texas forbids closed shops (Texas has passed a 14-b law), the UFW made a tactical decision to concentrate on California. The result was that some of the organizers and union militants, failing to receive support from the UFW at that point, organized a state-based union against great odds. Consequently, there is an obvious tension between the TFW and the UFW.

The fact that Texas has no large Liberal and Radical community like that of California and that the racism in Texas against Chicanos and Mexicans is the most brutal and repressive in the country all worked against any successful organizing drive. And yet the economically desperate farmworkers have produced the leadership capable of vision, hope, and organization, and the TFW has come into existence. This spring TFW members and

supporters marched from San Juan to Austin to publicize their plight and seek repeal of the state's 14-b law. The national media assiduously avoided covering the march although within Texas a wide base of support was built. This summer the TFW have taken their struggle to the nation by carrying on a 1,482 mile march from Austin to Washington, D.C., and passing through Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, Greensboro, and Richmond. During the march the TFW will be linking up with workers and supporters involved in the textile organizing efforts in the South, the second "front."

---

## TFW Goal Partially Met

Since this article was written, the Texas Farmworkers' march reached Washington, D.C., over Labor Day week-end. The marchers survived harassment by the Ku Klux Klan, arbitrary and illegal jailings, and received massive support throughout the South by civil rights, religious, and labor organizations at the local level. In Washington, the three major television networks carried the message of the Farmworkers to repeal 14-b legislation and include agricultural workers under labor legislation which protects other workers.

The media estimated that up to 1,200 people marched with the farmworkers on the last leg of the journey. President Carter refused to meet with them and several of the TFW leaders went on a hunger strike. Two weeks later, Vice-President Walter Mondale met with them, promising empty generalizations. The major purpose of the march — to call attention to the need to repeal 14-b and to link their struggle with that of the black farmers in the South — was accomplished, however.

---

## Second Front in South

The struggle of textile workers is currently focusing on a nation-wide boycott of J.P. Stevens Company, the second largest textile manufacturer in the country and a powerful multi-national corporation. The high profit rates of the textile industry are based on the fact that after the New England textile workers organized, at a bloody cost, the industry was able to "run-away" to the South and employ female and black labor at extremely low wages, under very bad working conditions, and with minimal benefits. Maiming injuries, brown lung, rampant sexism and racism all characterize the textile industry in the South. This last year the Amalgamated Textile and Clothing Workers Union launched a nationwide boycott against J. P. Stevens in an

### CREDITS

Cover and pp. 2, 7, Ben Grim; p. 6, Integrity; p. 9, *Akwesasne Notes*; pp. 10-11, Women's Press, LNS; p. 12, Andy Willis, Miners' Art Group; p. 14, Dave Hereth, LNS; p. 15, Hageman, LNS.



effort to apply the economic pressure necessary to get Stevens to cease harassment and intimidation of union organizing efforts. Again, the efforts of the ACTWU are severely hampered by the fact that all the states in which major textile industries are located are states that have 14-b laws.



### Coal Miners Third

The third front of the struggle is that of the coal miners. The energy monopolies (the major oil companies within the last two decades have bought up the major coal companies) are now in a position to control the market. The result is skyrocketing utility costs and gasoline costs. But again, the energy companies' drive for profits and productivity has hit a snag — the coal miner.

Facing a dangerous occupation and employers that consistently cut corners on health and safety, the coal miners of Appalachia have militantly used their union to enforce some level of minimum control over the companies' greed. This has often taken the form of so-called *wildcats* (or unauthorized work stoppages) where the men at the Local Union level by-pass the often unwieldy and stifled legalisms at the International Union level and exercise their muscle at the mine site.

Such *wildcats* are literally life and death matters and are the only genuinely effective means by which many companies can be forced to abide by safety procedures or contractual provisions. The enforcement machinery of the government in the area of mine safety is too often a cruel joke. It is common knowledge in West Virginia that there are far too few safety inspectors to start with, that many of those are bribed by the companies, and the few honest ones

find it difficult, if not impossible, to ever have the fines they levy actually collected.

The coal companies, and their oil company parents, are furious that the coal miners cannot be "disciplined" and controlled like "good workers." In an effort to break this union and lower the wages and benefits paid to miners, the companies are increasingly turning to Western coal, where major deposits are located in states that have 14-b laws. This strategy allows the companies to open mines that are non-union and, at the same time, threaten the union in the East that if it doesn't "behave", coal production in Appalachia will be cut back and the union broken. Again, the coal companies are using the familiar strategies — hiring women (at Westmoreland's mine in Paono, Colorado, almost primarily women), and therefore using male supremacy as a weapon to divide the work force; and hiring Navajos, thus using racism against Native Americans to divide the work force.

In many Western states, the potential workers are ranchers and farmers who have little union background or history and are easily misled and intimidated. Nonetheless, several Western mines have been organized by the Union, but only after bitter armed opposition from the coal companies and intense suffering of the pro-union miners. Meanwhile, in the Appalachian states the miners are being told that they will have to accept less if they do not want to lose out entirely to Western coal. Ironically, many of these new non-union mines are being opened on *Federal* lands, supposedly owned by the American people and covered by a law that prohibits scab mines.

What are the implications of these struggles? I believe they run deep and are of fundamental concern to all caring people. If these struggles are defeated, it may be several decades before they arise again — and the march of industry into non-union states and the passage of more 14-b laws in other states will be inevitable. On the other hand, if these struggles are supported and are successful, they must ultimately lead to the repeal, on a *national* level, of the 14-b statute, which would help make more secure the right to unions.

The second alternative is obviously the desirable one, but it can also be a trap. Why is it that after the bloody and difficult battles of the early part of this century by the labor movement and the passage of "laws" to protect those rights that were won — why must working people pay the price all over again?

The answer, it seems to me, is in the very nature of the system that formulates laws and legitimates power. For inherent in that system is the concept that the right to profit takes precedence over the basic human rights of working



people and that in any conflict between the two, the right-to-profit will triumph. For those in power, 14-b is a "right-to-profit" law; for workers it is a "right-to-work-for-less" law.

## What to Do

The options for concerned churchpeople (working within the church or within the community) to support these struggles are many. Information on, and suggestions for support of the Texas Farmworkers can be obtained from the Texas Farmworkers' Union, P.O. Box 876, San Juan, Texas, 78589 (phone number 512-787-5984).

National co-ordinator for the J.P. Stevens boycott is Harriet Teller, ACTWU, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y., 10003 (212-AL5-7800). The ACTWU movie on the boycott, entitled "Testimony," is an excellent film for use in church groups. Information on the organizing of Western coal can be obtained from the United Mineworkers' of America, Organizing Department, 900 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Passing resolutions supporting these struggles within local, regional or national church bodies is extremely helpful. The annual conference of the United Methodist Church of West Virginia in June passed a support resolution of the J.P. Stevens boycott. The resolution, introduced by a small local church with an active social concerns committee, included in its support the following revision of the Parable of the Good Samaritan:

*A certain woman left her garden and took her produce to market and sold it for what it was worth. On the way home, she fell among thieves:*

*One thief cut off two of the fingers of her hand, saying, "You should be more careful;"*

*One thief forced a bag of cotton dust into her lungs saying, "There are plenty of other people around to do your work if you can't;"*

*And the third thief took three-fourths of her money saying, "Someone needs to take care of capital investments;"*

*They departed, leaving her bleeding, gasping for air, and poverty-stricken.*

*And by chance, there came down a Christian minister that way; and when he saw her he said, "The church should not get involved in political issues. We must care for the inner aspects of people's souls." And he passed by on the other side.*

*And likewise a social worker, when he was at the place, came and looked on her and said, "According to the*

*regulations, you do not qualify for aid." And he passed by on the other side.*

*But a young black man, who was unchurched, as he journeyed, came to where she was: and when he saw her, he had compassion on her. And went to her, and bound up her hand, using the first aid kit out of his truck, and took her to her home. And he asked her what he could do and she told him of the injustice she had suffered. He told her about how his union had gotten people together so they would not be preyed upon by thieves and gave her the name of the organizer in her area.*

*Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto her that fell among thieves?"* ■

*Continued from page 11*

organizers wrapped in the altar cloth. None of us can have equal rights until three more states ratify. The events of the Oklahoma, Mississippi and Indiana IWY conferences are not an amusing tale of quaint, intense, fundamentalists in far-off places.

If they taste success by defeating the ERA — and they only have to hold out for a little more than a year — who will be the next target of the Right-wing/Church political coalition?

Where, indeed, are the main-line churches? ■



*"Some day all this will be yours."*



# On the One Hand . . .

GREENWICH, Conn. — In a wide-ranging series of resolutions, the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church gave support — and, where needed, money — to a number of issues. The Council met here Sept. 16-18.

Two of the resolutions addressed United States grand jury investigations which involved a number of people affiliated with the Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs. The first deplores misuse of the grand jury system and urges return to the principles upon which that system was based. The second records anew the Church's "deep concern" for two Episcopal Church Center employees who are in jail in New York for contempt in refusing to answer questions from the grand jury.

The first resolution is grounded in a paper approved by the American Bar Association at its August, 1977 meeting on grand jury reform. The resolution asks Congress and state legislatures to enact a number of reforms — including restoration of transactional immunity and permission for witnesses to have legal counsel present in the grand jury chambers — which, Church leaders believe, are strongly implied in the ABA position paper.

The immunity issue stems from the Fifth Amendment guarantees against self-incrimination. In order to secure testimony from persons who may be involved in offenses, judges are authorized by law to offer immunity from prosecution to witnesses. Federal grand juries and some states employ what is called "use" immunity which means that witnesses may not be prosecuted by any evidence gained through their testimony. The broader transactional immunity — which the resolution supports — bars any prosecution whatsoever for matters raised by the witness in his or her testimony before the grand jury.

The second resolution concerns Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin — former staff officer and secretary to the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs jailed for contempt after refusing to answer questions from a New York-based federal grand jury in spite of a grant of immunity. The grand jury is investigating a number of bombings, including the one at New York's Fraunces Tavern in which four people were killed. That investigation has centered on a Puerto Rican terrorist movement — The Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN) — and the alleged involvement in that group of some people affiliated with the Hispanic Commission.

The resolution takes note of the fact that the two women were "deeply committed to their work and loyal to their constituents" and of the fact that the Church officials —

including Presiding Bishop John M. Allin — have made repeated efforts to secure the release of the women. It expresses the Council's "*deep concern for the women and for the Hispanic people*" and commends them "*to the Church for our prayers and such spiritual and physical aid as the Church ought to render.*" The resolutions follow:

## GRAND JURY ABUSE

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

1.(a) Deplores any abuse of grand jury jurisdiction in the State and Federal judicial systems:

(b) Urges the return to the historic functions of the grand jury in the United States, restricted to:

(1) the impartial weighing of the prosecutor's evidence to avoid spurious, harrassing and capricious proceedings and to avoid useless trials of cases upon unconvincing evidence of guilt;

(2) investigations initiated by the grand jury of institutions, officials and persons which cannot or will not be done by public officials;

2. Urges, consonant with the recommendations of the American Bar Association at its August, 1977 meeting, the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the respective states to pass laws necessary to:

(a) Prohibit unreasonable and oppressive use of the grand jury and of its processes to force witnesses to provide evidence under unnecessarily adverse conditions such as compelling unduly long periods of time away from the witnesses' occupation; attendance at grand jury sessions in inconvenient conditions; causing witnesses to incur expensive transportation, travel and living costs to bring evidence and their testimony to the grand jury when they are not needed or could be produced at a nearer hearing;

(b) Restore transactional immunity to witnesses who claim the privilege against self-incrimination so that they cannot be prosecuted on any evidence for a crime about which they are forced to testify;

(c) Permit witnesses to have legal counsel present to advise them while they testify at grand jury hearings;

3. Commends to Congress and to the various states the other reforms of the grand jury system recommended by the American Bar Association at its August, 1977 meeting.

4. Urges the Episcopal Church to take initiative to acquaint its members of their rights and responsibilities in

*Continued on page 18*



# But Then on the Other . . .

Episcopal Church Center  
815 Second Avenue  
New York, New York 10017

April 25, 1977

Ms. Elizabeth M. Fink  
Attorney at Law  
351 Broadway  
New York, New York 10013

Dear Ms. Fink:

This is in reply to your letter to me of March 14, 1977 enclosing a bill for services rendered and expenses incurred on behalf of Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin in the amount of \$13,848.46, "less retainer" of \$3,500, or a total of \$10,348.46. Incidentally, I have been waiting to receive the papers you stated were being sent under separate cover.

I wish to note that your bill is not "as per our previous communications" or "in accordance with our previous agreement".

You were retained by Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin to represent them as an attorney in respect of their own personal interests and problems. You were not retained by The Episcopal Church or its Executive Council or The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. You have not represented the Church or the Society and you have not rendered any services or incurred any expenses on their behalf or for their benefit.

In my letter to you dated January 21, 1977 I enclosed a check for \$3,500 for your fees and disbursements for rendering services to Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemikin in connection with their appearance before the Grand Jury in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, in response to subpoenas served on them. As stated in that letter, this payment was made voluntarily by our Presiding Bishop, out of his personal Discretionary Fund, was limited to that amount, was subject to an accounting (which he has yet to receive) and was made with the understanding that this Grand Jury proceeding relates to "acts of these employees while acting within the scope of their authority" and not to acts committed by them outside of their authority.

I am advised that Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemikin have refused to testify before the Grand Jury on the ground that their testimony might tend to incriminate them, even though they have been granted immunity from criminal prosecution by reason of such testimony. Also, I understand that they have taken proceedings in the Courts to quash the subpoenas served on them and have refused to testify on the ground that their First Amendment rights, such as freedom of religion and association and the church-state relationship would be violated.

We do not believe that there is any basis for these grounds and Judges of the United States District Court and of the United States Court of Appeals have now rendered decisions that such grounds are without substance.

The indemnification clause referred to in your letter relates only to employees "acting within the scope of their employment". In the opinion of our counsel, Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemikin have not been acting within the scope of their employment in the acts and positions which they have taken in the matter before the Grand Jury and in the Courts. On the contrary, they have been engaging in acts and activities and in making public statements which have been detrimental to the Church and to the Society and directly in conflict with the position that the Society has taken in this matter.

"Your understanding" that the Church has publicly stated its intention to pay Ms. Cueto's and Ms. Nemikin's legal fees is not correct, if your understanding is different from my letter to you of January 21, 1977.

I note from your bill that you have devoted only ten hours of time in respect to the Grand Jury, which at \$75 an hour would amount to only \$750. Since I have not received such an accounting it would appear that the Presiding Bishop is entitled to a refund from you of at least \$2,750, even assuming that the Grand Jury proceedings involved acts of these employees while acting within the scope of their employment. Accordingly, I request you to make a refund to the Presiding Bishop for that amount.

Very truly yours,

Matthew Costigan  
*Treasurer*



## And Now Science Fiction Fans . . .

by Elizabeth Stephens

Persons of St. Joan's seminary, our dean has asked me to announce a change in school policy. I'm afraid it's going to shock some traditionalists but we want you to be perfectly fair in your treatment of minorities and to behave like Christian gentlepersons and not chauvinist sows. What I have to tell you is this: we are admitting several men as students in the Fall. Persons! Persons! Please! Language!

Purists may remind us that the aim of St. Joan's, stated in our catalogue is "to mold persons for the parish ministry in the Protestant Episcopal church." Although men are certainly not persons, they are not inferior or ineligible for ordained ministry at some future date. As the dean explains it to me, it's all a matter of semantics. She says that we need to reexamine our sexuality and discard 22nd century stereotypes about men as the creative, nurturing, home-making gender.

Let me trace the history of this vexing issue. A short three centuries ago, the first persons entered Episcopal seminaries including St. Joan's (which was still under its provisional name: St. John's). We have very meager data about their experiences. A single ancient fragment of notebook paper survives. It is written in a feminine hand and bears the puzzling inscription, *'No fox gets fat in fox-hunting season.'* It is not generally known that the great hymn, "The Persons Are Taking Over," originated in a frequently repeated lamentation of men students and professors in this very seminary.

And, of course, the hymn was prophetic. It's difficult for us to imagine, since we are not the imaginative sex, the period of economic disaster when the government analyzed our society and ruled that the two pivotal jobs were homemaking and secretarial work. Salaries for these kinds of work were subsidized at \$45 and \$60 dollars an hour respectively. There was a mass flight of males into these fields and persons were crowded out into medicine, law, army and church.

Please don't think I am mything when I say that as late as the 20th century, persons were housekeepers and typists. Incredible that the rough, impatient nature of persons was considered adaptable to the making of souffles and that their weak arms and backs were used to lift heavy children and grocery sacks.

Persons, let us be honest! We can only think of man as

**The Rev. Elizabeth Stephens** is a member of The Women of St. Luke's, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., which publishes *First Wave*, where the above article first appeared.

parent, that tender being to whom we entrust our newborn, reciting the beautiful old words, "Enjoy the 2 a.m. feeding, darling!" Man's are the quick fingers which type our letters and thoughtfully place a rose in the vase on the desk. He is that self-effacing Altar Guild member who keeps our brass immaculate and our albs from having ring around the amice. Will these same sweet creatures jeopardize their masculinity, even lose it, in the feminine atmosphere of the seminary? Is it only misguided idealism which brings them here instead of leading them to the grateful shelter of the monastery?

No, persons, I am convinced that these are human beings as well as men. I thank heaven that my own two boys are happily married, busy with the grandchildren and making all their own suits, but if one of them had come to me with tears in his eyes and shyly confessed his intention to study for the ministry, I would feel compelled by conscience to support him, warning him at the same time that there are more suitable church occupations, such as religious embroidery, for his sex.

Before we adjourn, would those persons who have thrown prayer books, hymnals, doughnuts and large pink plastic curlers at me, please come forward and retrieve them? The janitor asks me to remind you that she is only paid as much as the average clergyperson and she is tired of picking up all the feedback in this seminary. ■

*Continued from page 16*

relation to the grand jury system, and how to serve intelligently and effectively as grand jurors.

*Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin*

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church recognizes that Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin were engaged in the work of the Church in its ministry to Hispanic people and were deeply committed to their work and loyal to their constituents, and

WHEREAS, The Presiding Bishop and other officials of the Church continue to seek the release from prison of these two women,

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council again express its deep concern for the women and the Hispanic people, and that they be commended to the Church for our prayers and such spiritual and physical aid as the Church ought to render. ■

—Diocesan Press Service 9/22/77



*Continued from page 2*

witness to minister to a blind, stubborn, scared church. She says unpleasant things about unpleasant realities. She proclaims the Good News. I pray that we all may learn to hear her.

**Susan DeMattos**  
Newton Centre, Mass.

## Cutting Grooves in Brains

THE WITNESS does much to explain the plight of us all, both on broad political and individual spiritual terms. I breathe "Amen" during the reading of each copy. I do "expose" friends, both within and without the church, to your writings. It has been an influence on a local editorial writer. But the problem of reaching those who "need it most" is ever with us!

Some thoughts on that: Only the secure, in SPIRIT, welcome the awful truths about ourselves. Inevitably, most of our shortcomings are related to our security consciousness. Henry Atkins, in your March issue, says: "Racism is nurtured by fear of individual loss to non-whites." Is not insecurity at the basis of most of our wrong-doing? I believe that under a system that really guaranteed our basic needs, some of the myths about our "differences" might melt away. (How does the spirit grow when survival means "beating out the other guy" or settling for a degrading life style?)

A WITNESS writer recently equated barbarianism with short-sightedness. The long run vs. the short is the dilemma in a nutshell.

There are those who, understanding the cosmic laws that Christ explained, look far enough ahead and think big enough to make the necessary day-to-day sacrifices possible, even logical and meaningful.

Keep right on cutting grooves in our brains, inspiring us with the nobility of the peace and justice-makers, giving us facts — the Trilateral Commission story was another eye-opener — and making us prayerfully grateful.

**Virginia S. Meloney**  
Claremont, N.H.

## Stars Reassure

As a member of a sailing family, I especially liked the poem, "Names of the Stars," by Laurence Barrett in the July WITNESS. The problems of our world are so complex, so confusing, so immense — it is reassuring to know the stars endure, fixed and dependable.

**Ann Smith**  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

## Cheers Tom, Dave, Ham

Your September issue on "Problems of the Cities" was great! It is heartening to know that Tom Hinsberg and his kind are contributing to rebuilding of a great city; refreshing to read Dave Gracie reporting on police brutality so candidly; and exciting that a priest of 50 years (Hamilton Aulenbach) can accept lesbianism. Beautiful!

**The Rev. James Guinan**  
Windham Center, Conn.

*Continued from page 6*

sexual practice but only with admitted orientation. I also remind you that I was not called to task at the General Convention meeting of this House, by which time Ellen Barrett had been made Deacon.

What is the crime? To rejoice that a sign of hope and compassion finally has been lifted up for a beleaguered community who until recently has not dared to say it exists?

What is the crime? To attempt to bring the message and love of Christ to the great city of New York in a way that people outside the Church can understand?

In New York we are not ministering to the "ideal American nuclear family." Instead our churches minister to alcoholics, the aged, the divorced, homosexuals, poor Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Haitians, immigrants — in a word the dispossessed. These are our people, God's children, the poor beloved of Jesus of Nazareth.

If this action is formally disapproved, my brothers, I will feel that this House and I differ radically about what the meaning of this apostolic office is. Is it to manage, administer, and keep safe a steadily decreasing number of frightened and confused people; or is it to see the modern world as it is, and bring to that changing, suffering world the liberating, loving message of the Gospel of Christ. ■

*Special  
Gift Offer*

**3-FOR-1  
PRICE**



**Give THE WITNESS  
For Christmas**

**SPECIAL  
THIRD BIRTHDAY  
OFFER**

Renew your subscription now and give **THE WITNESS** to two friends — three subscriptions for the price of one — **\$9.00!** Each recipient will be notified the gift comes from you.

**Order Today! Use the enclosed postage-free envelope!**

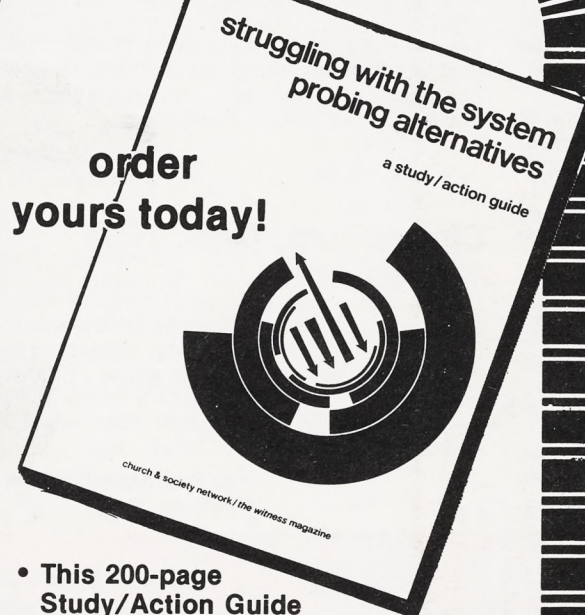


The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

WT0031758 1277 2 70101 01 711 \*  
ARCHIVS&HISTRCL COLLECTN \*  
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
P O BOX 2247  
AUSTIN TX 78767

## Up Against It?



- This 200-page Study/Action Guide focuses on questions such as: *Why is our society dysfunctional for so many people? How might it be different? What forms of group action at the local level can make a positive contribution?*
- Readings include works by Harvey Cox, Gustavo Gutierrez, Sheila Collins, John Bennett, Robert Bellah, James Cone, Vida Scudder, Erich Fromm, Paul Sweezy, Saul Alinski, William Spofford, Sr.

Order from The Witness/Church and Society, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Single copy \$5.75 (includes postage and handling).

Bulk discounts available.