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*The*

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# CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

A

*new series of*

*Reconciliation*

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND  
THE TRIBUNALS *Henry Carter*

IS LOVE ENOUGH?

*George G. Cameron*

THINKING ASIATICALLY  
*Muriel Lester*

THE ABDICATION OF MORAL JUDG-  
MENT *Horace Carrington*

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA?  
*Percy W. Bartlett*

THE KINGDOM NEVER COMES  
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WELSH BULLETIN

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The  
CHRISTIAN  
PACIFIST

DECEMBER, 1939

*The Christian Pacifist* is the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational), the Methodist Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the (English) Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, the Church of Scotland Peace Society, the Scottish Congregational Ministers, Peace Society, and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The aim of the paper is to become a vehicle of the positive message of Christian pacifism. Its policy is guided by the following sponsors, those starred forming an Editorial Committee : \*Canon C. E. Raven (Chairman), \*the Rev. Leslie Artingstall, the Rev. W. Harold Beales, the Rev. James Binns, the Rev. Henry Carter, the Rev. A. C. Craig, Miss Ruth Fry, \*the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, \*Mr. Eric Hayman, Mr. Carl Heath, \*the Rev. Leslie Keeble, \*the Rev. Lewis Maclachlan, Mr. Hubert W. Peet, Mr. F. E. Pollard, Dr. James Reid, the Rev. Leyton Richards, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, the Rev. J. W. Stevenson.

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Dictatorship Looks Efficient

There is something to be said for dictatorship. It gets things done, or at any rate it gets certain kinds of things done. It can make short work of social reforms especially those in favour of which there has been for long a growing consensus of opinion but which hesitant democracy delays to commit to legislation. It can be efficient, avoiding the stupid delays involved in widespread and prolonged conference in which personal and party prejudices come into play. Expert proposals must always suffer by exposure to the judgment of the ignorant multitude. In any serious business, the navigation of a ship, for instance, or the conduct of a war, there must be dictatorship; why not in the government of a great nation?

But it is a Sin

All this has been put so ably by Signor Mussolini that we need not dwell upon it here. We repudiate dictatorship not because it is inefficient but because, for reasons which we shall state, it is a public danger. It is not merely one method of government among many that might be chosen according to taste and requirements. It is an ancient, and tempting and evil form of government. It is a sin. It is often said foolishly that the best form of

government is autocratic, all depending on the character of the autocrat. This implies that democracy is a kind of evil necessity imposed upon States by the moral frailty of monarchs. Unfortunately we cannot have the best without grave danger of its going wrong and so we are compelled for the public safety to adopt an inferior kind of government.

God is no Dictator

These excuses for dictatorship reveal ignorance both of history and theology. We have not won our civil liberties at such great cost and sacrifice merely out of a perverse and vulgar refusal to have the best because of its expense. We have demanded democracy because democracy is a moral necessity. If dictatorship is only bad when the dictator is bad, but ideal when you have a good dictator, the Almighty has been singularly negligent to put this form of government into operation in the management of His world. There are, of course, those who insist on regarding God as though He were a dictator, in spite of all Christian theology and human experience, who will devoutly celebrate Christmas without ever a thought as to the significance of the Incarnation in a defenceless Babe, and who will presently celebrate Good Friday without the



Crucifixion of the Son of God on Calvary disturbing their profound theological composure. To them God is the great Dictator in disguise, and if He is not obviously dictating at the moment that is because blind unbelief refuses to see, or because there is a time-lag upon His judgments. The Christian faith, however, plainly presents God in Christ as the very opposite of a dictator, as one whose purpose being to create a perfect order of society invites the co-operation of man to that end, patiently forbearing with men's stupidity and obstinacy and sin, and even abiding the postponement of His perfect will until mankind consents thereto. Dictatorship can doubtless produce order of a kind for a time, but it cannot produce the perfect order of society which is fellowship. If Fellowship has risks they are risks which God thinks it worth while to take, so supremely precious in His sight is the freedom of man and the social righteousness which is dependent upon individual liberty.

#### Authority must serve Liberty

In some quarters, however, so little value is placed on liberty that it is being busily cast away as so much lumber. In Germany, for instance, and Italy and Russia and now even in France efficiency is prized above freedom, and the maintenance of national order and unity is considered more desirable than government by consent of the people. The government exists in fact, as it does in some parts of the British Empire, not so much to perform the will of the people as to see that the people perform the will of the government. Law and order are indeed essential to any well regulated State, and no sensible citizen will make light of their value. The question which demands a careful and decided answer is: What makes law and order so valuable? Whence is their value derived? Is it not from the liberty of the people? We must have some measure of law and order else there would be no freedom except lawlessness. But is law and order subservient to liberty, or liberty to law and order? In the dictatorship countries authority undoubtedly comes first. Barely sufficient individual liberty is permitted to maintain authority, but no one would suggest that in those countries authority exists to maintain liberty.

#### Everything Compulsory Except—

In this country, however, but for recent events, we might have expected authority to be

maintained in order that liberty may be preserved, but of late proposals have been seriously discussed which if put into effect would be a signal victory for dictatorship. It appears that many responsible persons are now prepared to put a value on authority which it has not had amongst us for some centuries. Authority, according to this tendency, is to be used not to preserve liberty but for the sake of security and efficiency. Liberty is to be curtailed in order that authority may be maintained. Not only has it been found desirable in the public interest to conscript man power and censor the news, but it has been suggested that the Government should have powers which hitherto only authoritative governments have exercised or wished to exercise. The widespread criticism of the proposals made by the Government to Parliament has led meantime to their modification or at least their postponement, but the fact that they were made at all must raise disturbing questions in the minds of thoughtful citizens. The desire for authoritarian rule, however, spreads beyond the Government. Mr. Keynes has produced a scheme for compulsory saving by which the State would keep part of the workman's wages for him, giving them back as required during the slump which is expected to follow the war. This plan, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not going to adopt—at present, merits the closest examination for its far reaching effects. Another proposal is that the evacuation of urban districts should now be made compulsory, as the only way, in the absence (which some enthusiasts for evacuation seem almost to regret) of severe aerial bombardment, of overcoming the natural reluctance of families to be broken up and made to live separately. It is noteworthy that amid all this compulsion and talk of more compulsion, compulsory education which has been taken for granted in most civilised countries for several generations has been suspended.

#### Social Morality Undermined

Belief seems to be gaining ground that the people should be compelled to do what they ought to do for their good, the Government of the day (though it has no special moral qualification for this office) to be the judge of what people ought to do. This is of the very essence of dictatorship. It is not a question of whether the measures enforced upon the people are

right or wrong, though much might be said upon that very point. The danger is that compulsion sets in as the accepted form of government. Instead of the government doing the will of the people conditions are reversed. The public life being regulated by authority, even by good authority as perchance it may be, its moral basis is undermined; for a nation that merely does what it is told soon loses its moral sense. There are no short-cuts to the righteous social order though there are many tempting by-paths that lead to despair. No matter whether the dictatorship be National-Socialist, or Fascist, or Communist, or as here in England merely Tory, it will get us nowhere but into disaster.

#### Yes, We have no War Aims

One had supposed that the nation was engaged in a struggle for the defence of democracy, but when democracy receives such rude blows not from the action of the enemy abroad, but from that of friends at home it is impossible to escape some very disconcerting doubts as to the object for which we are at war. For this reason we renew our plea for a clearer statement of what we are fighting for. Lord Halifax has modestly said that it is not for him to provide a definition of war aims. "It would surely be clear," said the Foreign Secretary, "that if you are engaged in war the primary aim is to win it. For that the first purpose that we must have is to defeat those who have by their repeated violence of European order and threats to freedom obliged to take up arms." This seems to mean that the Government's primary war aim is to put Germany in a position in which she will not be able to enter upon free and fair negotiations and in which all she can do is to accept a dictated peace. Lord Halifax meant perhaps that we can defeat the German army without defeating the German people. The Prime Minister at the beginning of the war declared that we were fighting "evil things." We understood that with high (though from our point of view mistaken) idealism the nation had gone to war not with a neighbouring people but with certain forces of a moral nature which were rife in the world and had unfortunately taken possession for the time of our friends in Germany. If that is so, then our aim will be not to defeat Germany but to defeat the evil of which Germany is the victim and from which we ourselves are in danger. That means that we are embarked on a spiritual war-

fare in which military and material warfare must be a much greater hindrance than it can ever be a help.

#### A Welcome Statement

We do not always agree with the International Peace Congress but we welcome the appearance of a Statement of Policy which has been issued by the British National Committee. After stating that Herr Hitler's "Peace Proposals" offer no basis for conference, "we do not consider," it goes on to say, "that rejection was a sufficient answer. We maintain that Britain's peace aims should be more adequately stated than hitherto, before there is any more heavy fighting; there is need for a much clearer indication of the kind of peace into which German people will be welcomed as equal partners and of the kind of contributions which the British Empire would make to such a peace." Restoration of genuine independence to the Polish and Czech-Slovak peoples is laid down as a prior condition of conference but this means that the new Poland should be limited to territories genuinely Polish in character, the frontiers to be determined by free negotiation; restoration of a genuinely free sovereignty; and freedom of choice to Slovakia as to Austria. "The peace must be negotiated not dictated."

#### India is the Test

With regard to India the Statement declares that "it is essential that this country should prove its faith in the democratic principles it professes by a courageous response to India's pressing demand for a definite pledge of full self-government when the war ends. Britain's relations with India are now the most significant of all tests of Britain's success in creating out of the British Empire's experience, a better standard of international relations; if now the bulk of Indian opinion were to be alienated through receiving 'not bread but a stone' in response to its demand, the moral and material consequences would be disastrous. The British National Committee of the I.P.C. regrets what it regards as the inadequacy of the Viceroy's proposals; and it urges, as part of its policy of peace aims, further negotiations with a view to satisfying India's claim to be master of her own destiny, whilst affording the best assurance of protection of religious and racial minorities, and the best prospect of national unity."



## THE KINGDOM NEVER COMES

FRANK R. HANCOCK.

DR. C. E. RAVEN in last month's *Christian Pacifist* writes of the hopes he had reposed in the new generation, noting a spiritual growth that might have meant a new world. But the "leaders in Church and State, elderly, prosperous, sterile" have acquiesced in the sacrifice of youth. Dr. Raven says "We looked with confidence to them (the younger generation) to bring to birth a new way of living."

Why does Dr. Raven expect that the rising generation, if there had been no war, would have fared any better than any other generation? War kills off our physically healthiest youth, but the hopes of every rising generation are sacrificed by their "elderly, prosperous, sterile" fathers, in peace or war.

For forty conscious years (i.e., from ten to fifty) youth wanders in the Wilderness with the older men and women—of necessity. Their elders "prosperous, sterile," have no desire to "go forward" into the Promised Land. Ever since Moses, God has been burying his leaders and lawgivers in known and unknown graves in the desert. I feel in my bones, that I am waiting, not for Canaan, but Pishgah—the bleak mountain top, with a wonderful view.

We Elders of Israel, have we not surrendered to the Wilderness? We have accumulated substantial comforts in it. For fifty years we have lived in it. It is our native life. We have trodden down firm paths, and, although it is tiresome going round and round and getting nowhere, we know the road well now. It is familiar and comfortable. The youthful urge in us has died out, and we have many commitments and trusteeships in this "sub-Christian World."

Something has happened to us. No, it is not physical change—we are still "sound in wind and limb." It is not anything wrong with our bodies. It is our souls . . . they are not what they were. This life in the Wilderness has choked them. The sand has dried up our spiritual enthusiasms. And we hold back the youths that at twenty or thirty would go forward. They must wait until we surrender

our power to them. They will be fifty then, and so "the pity of it" goes on.

It is only people of fifty-plus who can put themselves at the head of the new Exodus out of the wilderness into Canaan, and "the pity of it" is, that people of that age just cannot do it. The Grace of God has never been sufficient for that yet. And we believe that our children will put all right! Yes, my father banked on me—as Dr. Raven was banking on the generation that is following up behind him and me.

The truth surely is that youth has no power. Power lies in the hands of the fifty-plus. And the tragedy is that, when the initiative falls to us, at fifty, we are spiritually incapable of going forward to possess what is still the Land of Promise. We older men and women hold at last the key positions in Business, State and Church. Our seniors are dying or retiring. The levers at long last are coming into our hands—those levers that we have so long waited for, that we might use them to better purpose. For forty years we have striven, and criticised, and waited. And now, think of it! The premier positions, and all the power for the next twenty years, are in our hands—the hands of the fifty-plus! It is God's opportunity—in us—at last!

It is a false hope, this deferring of the Kingdom always to the next generation, which, like to-morrow, never comes. "We looked with confidence to them," says Dr. Raven, "to bring to birth a new way of living." There have been tens of thousands of generations. What new property is it with which our immediate successors have been miraculously endowed, that they will succeed where we and all our ancestors have failed?

No, there is only one solution. Some generation—not of youth—but of Elders, has got to be saved—somehow. Why not a great effort now to save Dr. Raven's and mine? It is the only one in which we can ever be effective—the only one of which we can make sure. Youth can never rebuild this sub-Christian world, because Youth never has Power. Can we Elders do it?

## THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR AND THE TRIBUNALS

HENRY CARTER.

THE aim of this statement is practical. It is written to help men who, on the ground of conscience, are unable to comply with the present demand of the State in Britain that they should register for military service, and are accordingly resolved to register as conscientious objectors. I have written also in the hope that what is said may help ministers and others who are willing to accompany conscientious objectors before the Tribunals as "personal friends," able and ready to testify to the sincerity of the objection. Yet a third consideration has been kept in mind: from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Holland and Scandinavian countries I have received letters asking for detailed information about the working of Conscription in the United Kingdom and its bearing on conscientious objectors to military service—an evidence of the intense interest which the subject has aroused among thoughtful Christian people.

One personal comment may be in place. Since Conscription was enacted in May, 1939, under the terms of the Military Training Act I have tried, as chairman of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, and as joint-chairman of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, to keep in touch with men who felt themselves unable, principally on religious grounds, to register for military duty. Through correspondence and interview I came, in this way, to know a very large number who had decided to register as conscientious objectors and to appear before the appointed Tribunals. It was a strange road for them to travel, beset with difficulties. Questions arose not always easy to answer, sometimes questions of law or legal procedure, sometimes "border-line" questions of ethics. On points of law and legal obligation I frequently consulted the Ministry of Labour and National Service, whose assistance was always readily given. In conflicts of mind and soul what one could offer was fellowship in the quest of assurance of right. I have tried to keep in mind these talks and letters in framing this statement, in the hope that what

is written may really aid men who are facing one of life's gravest decisions.

It is needful to recall that two Conscription Acts were passed in 1939: the Military Training Act which became law on May 26th and enacted conscription for men in the age-group 20-21; and the National Service (Armed Forces) Act which became law on September 3rd, and enacted conscription by Royal Proclamation for men in age-groups between 18 and 41. In effect, the second Act has replaced the first. I will describe therefore, the position of the conscientious objector as defined in the later Act, and the procedure to which he is required to conform, dealing in turn with Registration, preparation for the Local Tribunal, appearance before the Local Tribunal, and some of the questions which arise after the Tribunal has given its decision. The position described takes account of all official Regulations issued up to the end of November and of the transactions of Local Tribunals up to that date.

### I.—REGISTRATION

A Royal Proclamation, issued from time to time, will make all men of a specified age-group who are British subjects liable to be called up for military service. Men thus made liable are required to register under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. For example, the group between 20 and 22 years of age was "proclaimed" on October 1st, 1939, and men of that age-group were required to register twenty-one days later. Successive Proclamations will include those who have reached their twentieth birthday since that date. Registration takes place at the local Labour Exchanges.

All men within a "proclaimed" age-group are required to register, either for military service or as conscientious objectors. Note especially that the requirement includes men in "reserved occupations." Theological students who before September, 1939, were established in their course as students at an institution recognised by any religious denomination, are included in the Schedule of



Reserved Occupations; none the less they are required to register like others.

A man who has resolved to register as a conscientious objector should state that fact clearly to the registration officer at the Labour Exchange, so that he may not be given a form of registration for military service. There were a few cases under the Military Training Act of men, unfamiliar with official procedure, who did not realise that it was necessary to state at the Labour Exchange that they wished to register as conscientious objectors, and unwittingly filled in the form of registration for military training. I was able to help two who had made this mistake to secure re-consideration and redress; their distress of mind when they discovered the error explains the emphasis on this point.

The applicant for registration in the Register of Conscientious Objectors will be asked for the following particulars:

His name and home address;  
his date and place of birth;  
whether he is single or married;  
the full name of his father and mother, including his mother's maiden surname;  
the number of his unemployment book, if any;  
particulars of his present (or if unemployed, his last) employment;  
particulars of his usual occupation.

He will then be provisionally registered as a conscientious objector and will receive a certificate to that effect, and also a Form of Application to the Local Tribunal for actual registration in the Register of Conscientious Objectors. This Form is not to be filled up on the spot, but taken away, filled in with great care, and forwarded within fourteen days to the address indicated. The Form will be in the hands of members of the Local Tribunal when the applicant appears before them.

## II.—PREPARATION FOR THE LOCAL TRIBUNAL.

On the Application Form, mentioned above, two important statements are to be recorded: (1) the reasons for the applicant's conscientious objection, and (2) his application to be registered as an objector either:—

- (a) to being registered in the Military Service Register;
- (b) to undergoing military service; or
- (c) to performing combatant duties.

When the man appears before the Tribunal he can be accompanied by "a relative or personal friend" who can, if necessary, give testimony to his sincerity. A minister who knows him well can render great service in this way,

and the help will be the more valuable if the man and his minister are in close touch when this all-important application to the Tribunal is under preparation.

### (1) *Reasons for Conscientious Objection.*

The objector whose objection is not on religious grounds, but is solely humanitarian or rational, should state his case in plain terms, avoiding long or involved argument.

The man whose objection is definitely religious should state this fact plainly in the opening sentences of his statement. Many talks with conscientious objectors who have faced Tribunals lead me to this conclusion. A statement recently presented to a Local Tribunal illustrates clearly what I have in mind. It began:—

"I am a Christian and as such try to square my conduct with the teachings of Jesus Christ as shown in the New Testament. This teaching I believe is utterly opposed to war, for it advocates returning good for evil, the brotherhood of all men, and the absolute inferiority of material considerations against a spiritual one.

"My conscience also tells me that it would be wrong to take any share in killing my fellow men, so in the last resort I would rather be killed than kill.

"I therefore rely on the teaching of Jesus and God's voice in my conscience to know my duty and I can appeal to no higher court."

If facts permit, Church membership and service, or/and membership of a Christian pacifist body, should be indicated.

It is a mistake, in my judgment, for a statement to include caustic or defiant references to the Government or to its policy. The function of the Tribunal is to determine whether or not the defined objection is held with good conscience, and the objector should not open up other issues.

### (2) *The three categories: (a), (b) and (c).*

Actually, the three categories set out in Section 5 of the Armed Forces Act, and named above, do not correspond exactly with the types of conscientious objection as we know them. It may be useful to examine this point.

Absolutist and Alternativist were terms used in the last war to mark the differing judgments of conscientious objectors to non-combatant national service. Neighbourly service to the anxious and suffering around us is not the subject under discussion; all of us I take it, are trying as best we are able to be helpful to the anxious, the homeless and the sorrowing in these shadowed days. The point at issue is this. The Absolutist rejects entirely any form of State service which in his judgment may in-

directly serve the war, and is prepared to submit to whatever penalty a civil or military Court may impose. The Alternativist, equally unswerving in rejection of war, feels moved to seek active expression for the desire to identify himself with the suffering community in war-time, and to serve its special or common needs.

The Act allows a Tribunal to give unconditional exemption to an Absolutist, with registration in the Register of Conscientious Objectors; that is category (a). For an Alternativist it allows conditional registration in the Register of Conscientious Objectors with exemption from military service, the condition being that "until the end of the present emergency" he must "undertake work specified by the Tribunal, of a civil character and under civilian control," and, if so directed by the Minister of Labour and National Service, undergo training to fit him for such work; that is category (b). For a third class of conscientious objectors the Act allows registration in the Military Service Register for service in the army in non-combatant duties only, e.g., in the R.A.M.C., that is category (c), and an issue is raised here which is scrutinised below.

Absolutists will record on the Form which goes to the Local Tribunal their objection to (a) and (b) and (c). Alternativists who seek to be recorded on the Register of Conscientious Objectors will be well-advised to fill up this part of the Form in just the same way; but, in the statement of reasons to be made on the Form, they should express willingness to render community service of a life-saving or life-sustaining character provided it is not under military but exclusively under civil control.

Two considerations require clear expression at this point. First: let us not for a moment think pacifists must necessarily leave their present vocations to render genuine community service in war-time; I know many whose day-by-day duties represent as true service to society as men or women can offer. Next: the sincere Alternativist will be sensitively concerned that his own acceptance of work of national importance under civilian control, or of non-combatant service under military direction, should not be used to prejudice the position of his Absolutist comrade, either in public opinion or before a Tribunal.

## III.—AT THE LOCAL TRIBUNAL

A Local Tribunal consists of a chairman, who is a County Court Judge (in Scotland a Sheriff

or Sheriff-substitute), and four other members. It is laid down that "the Minister shall have regard to the necessity of selecting impartial persons, and of the four members not less than one shall be appointed by the Minister after consultation with organisations representative of workers." The chairman and two other members form a quorum. The hearings are ordinarily in public. Evidence may be taken on oath, but usually this is not regarded as essential. Fifteen Local Tribunals have been constituted, nine for England, two for Wales and four for Scotland.

Men who have registered as conscientious objectors receive in due course an instruction to appear before a Local Tribunal at a specified date and place. The decision on a case is usually announced at the close of the hearing. A Certificate of Registration recording the decision is forwarded shortly afterwards.

### (1) *How the Tribunals are acting.*

Viewed as a whole, the present Tribunals are doing their work better than most Tribunals in the last war. But there are differences. The South-Western Tribunal, meeting at Bristol under Judge Wethered's chairmanship, has thus far won and merited public praise for fairness and courtesy. Judge Burgis opened the first session at Manchester with the announcement that he and his colleagues entered upon their duties with sympathy and diffidence, because they realised that matters of conscience were sacred. "We hope," he said, "that those who come before us will not resent our questioning. . . We have to plumb the depths of an applicant's convictions, and to see that conscience is not made a cloak." On the other hand, I myself heard cross-examinations at the London Tribunal which—to put it mildly—confused and misguided some of the applicants, youths of 20 and 21 years of age; and I noted certain decisions which I was thankful to know could and would be appealed against.

One point must be stressed here. No Local Tribunal has power to assign to the R.A.M.C. a man whom they place on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only. The military authorities, and they only, can determine the form of non-combatant duty. At the present time it is understood that the R.A.M.C. cannot absorb more men. Non-combatant duties include, in addition to the R.A.M.C., the Royal Army Pay Corps, the



Royal Army Veterinary Corps, the Army Dental Corps, and the Non-Combatant Labour Corps.

(2) *Suggestions for Objectors.*

When an objector is called to stand before the Tribunal his written statement may be read aloud, and the question put whether he has anything to add to it. He is then examined by the chairman and his colleagues. Two sympathetic observers, reviewing the cases they heard before an unsympathetic Tribunal, framed the following suggestions:—

Be audible.

Be concise, not wordy.

State your objection to war and war-service in a peaceful spirit.

If you cannot on the spur of the moment find the right words to answer a subtle question, say so, and restate your fundamental position that loyalty to conscience compels you to reject military duty.

If you are willing to accept alternative work to military duties, be clear in your mind why you are willing to do so.

Be clear, also, whether you mean work exclusively under civilian control, like agriculture or forestry; or non-combatant duties under military control.

(3) *The "personal friend."*

The Act allows the objector to be accompanied by a legal or Trade Union representative, "or by any person who satisfies such a Tribunal that he is a relative or personal friend."

An objector on religious grounds is often, I am glad to say, accompanied by the minister of his church, prepared to speak for him. May I offer counsel to brother-ministers who undertake this unfamiliar service. When called on to speak, tell the Tribunal briefly:—

How long you have known the objector.

How he is associated with your church.

How you know him to be a sincere objector to military service.

If he is an Alternatist, be prepared to say why, and what form of work he is willing to do.

Press home any point of special importance in his statement.

IV.—AFTER THE LOCAL TRIBUNAL

(1) *If the decision is accepted.*

The man who has been given *unconditional exemption* cannot be called up for service under the Armed Forces Act so long as his name remains on the Register of Conscientious Objectors.

The man who has been given *conditional exemption in category (b)* is required to fulfil the condition or conditions laid down by the Local Tribunal. If he was directed to "find" work in agriculture or forestry, and does not

know how to do so, he should go to the local Labour Exchange and ask their assistance. Until such work is found he remains free to continue in his present occupation.

The man who has been placed on the Military Service Register for *non-combatant duties under military control* will be called up for medical examination and—later—directed to report for duty.

(2) *If the decision is appealed against.*

There exists a right of appeal from the decision of a Local Tribunal to an Appellate Tribunal; it can be exercised either by the objector or by the Minister of Labour and National Service. Two Appellate Tribunals have been set up; appeals from England and Wales will be heard in London, appeals from Scotland in Edinburgh. Travelling and subsistence allowances will be paid, on a fixed scale. A Form for lodging an appeal is obtainable on request from any Labour Exchange. The appeal must be lodged within 21 days of the decision of the Local Tribunal, and the grounds of appeal recorded in brief terms on the Form. As at the Local so at the Appellate Tribunal the applicant can be accompanied by a legal or Trade Union representative, or by a relative or personal friend as a witness.

A Defeat for Britain

The speech broadcast by Mr. Winston Churchill on Sunday, November 12th, though apparently welcomed in some quarters as a bit of strong bulldog oratory was heard by many with profound distaste. It might be argued that those who find it possible to stomach the odious business of war need not be squeamish about coarse speech. Yet surely the spokesman of a great nation can speak strong forthright words without loss of dignity. Some listeners excused the speech by the remarks that it was talking to them in their own language. Perhaps it was. It was certainly not the language of cultured Germany though it sounded very like the language used by gangsters the world over. In a letter to the Prime Minister the Council of C.P.G. said: "The people of this country do not regard the Germans as Huns; nor do they wish to press the attack 'until the other side have had enough of it.' Much as they deplore the record of the Nazi régime they know that violence in denunciation of it, and such phrases as 'the frenzy of a cornered maniac' are worse than useless. Democracy cannot be defended in that spirit."

THINKING ASIATICALLY

MURIEL LESTER.

I.—JAPAN

THE Mosaic law has often been referred to as the schoolmaster which prepared the Jews, centuries before the birth of Jesus, for the coming of Christ. In the same way one might say that the conception of nobility embodied in the Samurai tradition, centuries before the first missionary reached the Islands of Sunrise, was preparing the Japanese to go further than any other race towards obeying the drastic commands of Christ. Is there any other people trained to such a complete abnegation of self? Most of us tend to evade the Cross if we decently can. Some of us have to screw up our courage afresh every time we remember what Jesus said about taking up that instrument of torture every day. From childhood, however, a Samurai is taught that painful, self-inflicted death may be demanded of him at any moment in order to preserve his honour or as a mark of his loyalty. Throughout the whole of every day he must keep his spiritual fibre vigorous and his mind alert. As he crosses his threshold each morning he reminds himself that it is possible he may not return. If he happens to fail in some task, by accident or due to some wholly impersonal cause, he must end his own life. The Samurai idea of honour has seeped down to every class in Japan.

It was the Samurais who first accepted Christ. In small churches, in pioneer schools, in lamentable slums one comes across many a quiet undiscourageable soul with the radiance of the Cross about him, living with his family on a tiny salary, yet something of an aristocrat. One such still symbolizes for me all that a Christian minister should be. He is a Samurai whose father, in one of the highest positions in the State, won the gratitude of the whole nation because of the wise advice he tendered to the Emperor last century in a time of national peril.

With several doors open to him, each promising an attractive career, he chose the service of Christ and was sent with his wife to a country town where the gospel had never been heard of. A gifted musician, an able exponent of the classical drama of Japan, he now had set out with a bell and a drum walking through the

streets of the city to gather the people together, first in the market place, later in his church, to hear the good news of Christ. After many years of steady work a strong church was built up, the news of its educational programme spread far and wide, and the minister received a call to a big church in Tokyo.

A Very Great Refusal

The move to Tokyo would mean security. Also he would regain immediately the cultural environment to which he had been accustomed from childhood. But he refused to go. I asked why. The answer was characteristic. "Just about that time I was having a rather strange experience. A brothel keeper had sent a message saying she heard of my teaching and wished to be instructed in the Christian faith. My wife and I discussed the matter together and decided we would call on her. She appreciated our going and asked us to come every week. We did so. She was greatly moved by what she learned of Christ and was trying to get her girl employees also to be willing to change their way of life. She was not yet, however, quite strong enough to stand alone. We could not abandon her. A few months later she gave up her business and several of her girls did the same."

Kagawa wrote to me after I left Japan last year, "I am afraid you are feeling disappointed with your visit to our country. But please don't be discouraged. I am convinced that, with all our faults, the Japanese characteristic of loyalty will never fail where Christ is concerned." He was drawing crowds every night of the week as he spoke boldly of God and Christ and the judgment to come. He was warning the people that they must be prepared to suffer as Christians, that the Cross is coming ever nearer and nearer to them. Every few minutes he would give a vigorous side-thrust at militarism, imperialism and capitalism, Japanese or Western; then he would return to the normal process of evangelism. When I asked for a message to take back to the West, he said, "tell them I'm partly in my coffin." He attacks "Café culture" and the night club programme imported from Europe and America, but welcomed and worsened by Japan, and points out



how closely woven it is with the agony of China, for the old government restrictions on drinking have been removed to help pay for the militarists' campaigns.

### The Unfired Shot

Three hundred men and women were put in gaol just before my arrival in Tokyo because they had "dangerous thoughts." Others who shared such ideas paid a different penalty. Many when ordered to join the draft for China, go through their training without a sign of protest. To refuse would be to involve one's parents and ancestors in disgrace, and family loyalty—not our Anglo-Saxon independence of spirit—is the great virtue in the Orient. Having completed his military drill, the conscript is called up to receive the farewell blessing of his family and the representatives of every household in the neighbourhood. They gather in the courtyard of the nearest Shinto Shrine or Buddhist Temple, where each tree is tended with such care that it is as much a work of art as of nature. Next day the man I am telling about sets out for China. There is only one person, a friend or perhaps a teacher, to whom he tells the truth, for frankness *per se* is not considered a virtue in Japan. The truth is that he will never return. He does not intend to

(To be continued)

## DEMOCRACY IN INDIA ?

PERCY W. BARTLETT

BRITISH India was declared by the Government at Delhi to be at war with Germany in common with the rest of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Congress Party objected that the people of India had not been consulted before this decision was reached. The answer that the matter was one of urgency was not completely satisfactory, and the cynical were inclined to compare the relation of government and people in India with that in Germany.

The Indian Princes too declared quickly for supporting Great Britain in the war, though here again it appeared that their peoples were hardly consulted. Mr. Gandhi has made no secret of the fact that his sympathies are wholly with the Allies and that India has no interest in Nazism; but he indicated that Indian support could in fact be won only by taking the Indian leaders into confidence. Subsequently

kill a Chinese brother. He will drop his weapons at the first onslaught and of course will be shot from behind. It so happens.

Other men have gone out, normally uncritical, courageous soldiers, believing that, like chivalrous knights of old, they are called upon to risk life and limb in order to rescue the poor oppressed Chinese from their wicked tyrants. Then they see horrible sights. They have to help liquidate a village that has played no part in the fighting, but is an example of communal punishment. They fly over miles of road, the white dusty roads of China, now blackened with throngs of women and old men and children, grim with hunger, seared with anguish, seeking a place where their feet may rest, if only for a day or a night. These Japanese cannot make sense of what they see nor of what they have to do. It doesn't tally with what they were told at home. Once they begin to doubt the men who sent them out, they find they are harbouring suddenly dangerous thoughts. So they kill themselves, as one young officer did during the army's triumphal entry into the walled city of Paoting. It was unfortunately noticeable because he was on horseback, part of the victorious procession. In consequence the ancient gate was blocked up for a month by order of the Japanese authorities.

(To be continued)

a long message from the Working Committee of Congress, at first scantily dealt with by the British papers and afterwards printed only in shortened and somewhat mangled form, demanded as a condition of support that the British Government should publish its war aims and say how the principle of democracy, for which it was alleged to be fighting, would in fact be applied to India.

Indians wanted to be sure that if they fought for freedom they would in fact be free, at least after the war. Even those who would much prefer India free of war could not help sympathising with the claim she made.

The Governor General has for months and years been urged by advocates of reconciliation with India to be willing to meet the Indian leaders face to face and to discuss with them the solution of the great problem of the future of the central government of more than 300

millions of people. Circumstances now compelled him to take that course; and Lord Linlithgow raised high hopes by the thoroughness with which he was devoting himself to the task. But the statement he made on the 17th of October made the heart sink. The communal differences, especially that between 80 millions of Muslims and the Hindu majority, which is certainly a part of the duty of the Paramount Power to reconcile, were emphasised and even maximised, and made the excuse for postponement of any action to satisfy the popular demand. Once more the bitter comment, "divide and rule," was let loose.

The Congress Party, at any rate the largest by far of any political party in India, declared that it could not accept this statement as final. The vague offer of a consultative committee on the part to be played by India in the prosecution of the war was felt to be an insignificant concession. The Congress called out the provincial ministries affiliated to it, and eight of them have resigned, compelling the British governors to govern by dictatorial powers, a sad blow to that half of the Government of India Act of 1935, which had been declared to be working so satisfactorily and to be laying the foundations for federation. It is an embarrassing position, too, for the British Government, which rests its case for war on the claims of democracy over totalitarianism.

Some considerable attention must of course be paid to the Muslim and other minorities, whose position the British Government has been so anxious to safeguard. It must be remembered that the Government draws a notable proportion of its fighting forces in India from the Muslim races of the Punjab and North-West. And the Muslims, unable to compete economically with the often cleverer Hindus, look to the Government for a definite proportion of any jobs that may be going. Considerations of that sort, the whole economic position, and even personal questions between leaders, are perhaps more important than religious differences, though fanaticism can of course be whipped up on occasion to feverish intensity.

Faced with an extremely difficult and indeed dangerous situation, the Governor General has been compelled to promise to try again. It is clear that the Government needs reconciling help if, quite apart from the war, the political

future of India is not to be jeopardised. Whether we regard the Congress Party as thoroughly representative of India or not, we cannot afford to challenge it to another campaign or non-co-operation *versus* totalitarian repression. The Government knows that further vague promises of Dominion status are valueless, and is afraid of the demand for independence, involving theoretically at any rate the right of secession. Nor does it know how at once to keep its treaties with the Princes—treaties which they do not minimise—and its promises to the Muslims—which it tends itself to exaggerate—and to win the friendship of the Indian people at large by acts of reconciliation and trust.

The problem is certainly not an easy one. It has been made more difficult year by year because of unwillingness to face the fact that nothing less than self-government with popular control at the centre will do. A recent telegram from India says: "The Congress position is absolutely clear. It is impossible to consider any proposal except on the basis of a satisfactory declaration of war aims and Indian Independence and immediate transfer of real power to the people. The decision about the future constitution must rest with a Constituent Assembly of the Indian people. Lord Zetland's speech means that a settlement is impossible. Hence non-co-operation with British policy by Congress is inevitable." Mr. Gandhi refuses to allow the question of the Princes or the question of the minorities to confuse the issue. He asks plainly whether Britain intends to recognise India's independence or not. It may be difficult for us to reconcile Mr. Gandhi's non-violence with his apparent willingness to give conditional support to the war. But the real issue for India is the same as it was before war was declared. Like the peoples of Ireland and South Africa, and indeed of Canada a century ago, the Indians are not willing to be governed by a British bureaucracy. Their permanent and generous friendship, Muslim and Hindu, can be won if in quite a new way Whitehall will show that it wants to give India generously and now the real substance of independence and that it is prepared at once to consult the leaders of India's life as to the best steps to that end and to the establishment of stable and peaceful government. Given an attitude of trust here the problem of India's foreign relations will solve itself.



## IS PACIFISM THE ABDICATION OF MORAL JUDGMENT ?

HORACE CARRINGTON.

THIS question is provoked by the attitude of some fellow pacifists to the wrongs and wrongdoers against which our Government is reacting by armed force. I confess to questioning when I am told that Hitler has excuse, if not justification, for the violent assertion of German claims to peoples or territory or materials, and when it is almost suggested that the guilt of his actions lies wholly on the Versailles Treaty and the errors and transgressions of the subsequent policies of the nations which imposed it. Hitler seems to be regarded as the maddened victim of Britain and France, the real villains of the piece; in a word as irresponsible and therefore guiltless.

This attitude of unbalanced condemnation of our Governments and extenuation of Hitler and his régime has been exhibited to me in relation to Hitler's recent speech. Those who see in it no assurance of durable peace, justice and security, and who, without better guarantees, are not prepared to enter into negotiation on the bare affirmations of that speech, are termed obdurate warmongers. Such men as Mr. Churchill and Mr. Duff Cooper are particularly cited as criminal in this respect. But, given that these men believe in force, is it other than grossly unrealistic and unproportioned to take no measure of the comparative depth and extent of the use of force which we may fairly attribute respectively to them and the present rulers of Germany? What if Hitler were an Englishman? Or, rather, what if we were German pacifists? What should we think or say? Of course we should only be free to think, not speak, if indeed, under persecution, the power of clear thought remained with us. Should we exonerate Hitler because of the Versailles Treaty and its sequelae? Let us not, in this connection, be unmindful of the present considerable freedom we British pacifists have, our immunity from the serious suppression and penalties suffered by Germans who will not bow to the god of the State.

### A Wasted Whitewash

One pacifist friend gave in explanation of Hitler's aggression the need of living space, the demand for economic justice, even the right to certain Polish territory. Apart from the

question of what constitutes right to territory, it is not a matter of any specific right or justice, on which our conception and claims differ, but of a fundamental spiritual outlook of life and human relations. The gift of colonies will not change the Fuehrer's soul. He is in antagonism not only to wrongs, inflicted or imagined, but to the life and liberty and happiness of others.

We do, I submit, a grave disservice to our witness to and promotion of pacifism if, in our insistence on the only potent activity of love towards the evildoer, we blur in any way the fact that what he does is evil, which is the very meaning and reason of our pacifism. Otherwise why burden our hearts and minds and spend ourselves in this cause? The enemies we are commanded to love are inimical to the Kingdom of God in whose name we labour to obey. The hate we are to resist by good is the hate of goodness. That is its terrible character and measures the tremendous task of a love and a goodness which shall conquer that which from evil has become their enemy. We judge by love, and that judgment is the most searching and dividing of all judgments, for it separates itself from the enmity and the injury it receives in order to save the sinner and those who suffer from his sin. And that enmity and injury is not ultimately evil's act against evil but against good. That is the "mystery of iniquity" of which the Cross of Christ is the bewildering and tragic manifestation.

### "O Blessed Sin"

If therefore we belittle the evil we belittle the Gospel, and it may not stand in the day of full battle, either for us or for those to whom we preach and for whom we would give ourselves that its truth and power may be revealed. It is a Gospel striking at the very gates of hell.

The pacifist is sometimes suspect of condoning or minimising evil because he will not apply the restraints which others feel necessary. Yet he refuses to do so because the restraints are ineffective for the control and cure of evil. But this lays on him the obligation to prove his acuter sense of the heinousness of the evil and of the sacrificial acts, passive and positive, to which he is constrained and committed that the evil may inwardly and finally be overcome.

## CHRISTIAN PACIFISM IN WALES

### THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WALES

(or the Calvinistic Methodist Church)

W. LLOYD JONES.

THE Pacifist Societies of the Presbyterian Church of Wales are very young, and as yet walk with an unsteady step. We have two societies: one in connection with the North Wales Association and the other in the South Wales Association. The former is the older organisation and the stronger. Superficially that appears strange, as the industrial areas with their great populations are in the South, while the North is very largely agricultural. And generally the industrial areas are thought to be more advanced than the agricultural. The reason for this strange feature is, we believe, this: the South Wales people have passed through a very difficult time, unemployment has been rife and the churches have often found it difficult to meet current expenses. So it has been for years. Then suddenly something happens. There is work in the neighbourhood, but, alas! it is work in the preparation of armaments, or for defensive measures, e.g., A.R.P. shelters. What is the pacifist to do? Months, even years of unemployment, and now a chance of work. What would you do, if you saw your own people, flesh of your flesh, bone of your bone, suffering? What can the pacifist minister tell his people? Many ministers have been placed in a dilemma and, although at heart they are pacifists, yet they are unprepared to take any pledge which would bind them. The question is one of consistency, but in a world of this kind, we cannot be absolutely consistent, and anyhow consistency is the virtue of small minds!

Both regions are, however, troubled by a conservatism which appears to be inherent in our Connexion. In an "englyn" the Calvinistic Methodist is described:

"Ara' deg yw moto'r dyn."

("Slowly does it," is the man's motto.)

We are convinced that there are many ministers who stand on the border-line of Pacifism but who are afraid on account of the two reasons which we have given of crossing over.

This War will probably decide the issue for them. It must! But where a minister is a Pacifist he is ready to suffer for his conviction.

Although we have two societies the basis of both societies is the same, for, when South Wales ministers formed their society some three years ago, it was agreed that the North Wales basis and Covenant be adopted. Unfortunately as yet the two Societies have been unable to meet, for geographical considerations have made it difficult. We have the opportunity in our General Assembly which is held alternatively in North and South Wales but for some unknown reason, perhaps again it is the cost of travelling, pacifists are not present at the Assembly in very great numbers. Then it appears that the older leaders of the Connexion are definitely not pacifists.

For a while the Societies were open to ministers only but both Societies now have opened their doors to elders.

Our work has but begun and we realise that there is much to be done, if it is only to break through the apparent conservatism of the "Hen Gorff" and so win more and more members to our Society. The Churches themselves are, we believe, becoming more interested in the Pacifist movement and in a short time the women will be asking to be admitted and sit side by side with the ministers in their efforts for peace.

The secretary for the North Wales Society is the Rev. J. H. Griffiths, of Denbigh; and the writer of this article for South Wales.

### WELSH BAPTISTS

THE Welsh Baptist Pacifist Society officially came into existence in 1937, during the annual Assembly at Carmarthen. But long before that time the denomination had been actively interested in the problem of peace. As far back as 1932 during its annual Assembly at Rhosllannerchrugog it passed a strong resolution against war. And this year again at Treharries it reaffirmed its position in the following terms: "We declare that war in all its phases is diametrically opposed to the spirit, teaching, and example of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and because of this we repudiate it as an unmitigated evil. Moreover, we regard it as a duty imposed upon us by God to do everything in our power to remove the causes



of war and to bring about a lasting peace on earth."

These words are a fair reflection of the general feeling of the Baptists of Wales regarding the issue of peace and war. Nevertheless, numerically speaking, our society is weak. This may be due to the fact that it is not easy for a minister whose time is fully occupied with pastoral duties to devote himself as thoroughly as he would like to the work of canvassing the denomination. Also, up to date we have only met as a Society once a year, so that we incline to lose touch with each other. On the other hand, during the current year one has succeeded in getting a number of ministers interested in and some to join the F.o.R.

The denomination has set up various committees to watch the interests of the Conscientious Objectors, and to aid and support them at the tribunals.

So that one could sum up by saying that, although the Society as such cannot report much progress, the denomination as a body, and the several churches included in it are putting up a fair witness for peace. This fact is nowhere better reflected than in the weekly organ of the denomination "Seren Cymru." The editorials since the outbreak of the war, have been without exception on the side of the angels, and almost every number contains letters and articles which are definitely pacifist.

D. MYRDDIN DAVIES.

## WELSH CONGREGATIONALS

THE Congregational Peace Society started as a movement amongst the clergy. When the society was formed in 1927 at the annual meetings of the Welsh Congregational Union held at Ammamford, membership was limited to Congregational ministers who declared their belief and faith in Christian Pacifism. The society was based on the conviction that war was the exact antithesis of the life and death and teaching of Jesus Christ. Members pledged themselves to do their utmost to secure peace by refusing at all times to take part either directly or indirectly in war or preparations for war. In 1938 at the Annual meeting of the Society held at Blaenau Festiniog it was decided to modify both the constitution and the creed of the Society to meet the demands of the new life and conviction that had been gradually developing within the society throughout the previous years. It was decided

not to confine membership to the clergy, but to welcome all congregationalists who were prepared to accept the Society's Christian pacifist faith and creed. Furthermore, whilst adhering firmly to the original conviction that war is utterly unchristian, it was felt that no lasting peace could be achieved without radical changes in the economic system. Peace is the fruit of righteousness. The recurrence of war is inevitable unless we can succeed in building up a peaceful and co-operative world based on economic and international justice. The attack on war must be indirect. It must consist in rectifying the economic and political conditions that make people susceptible to propaganda and lead inevitably to war. The problem of peace is not only a moral and religious one. It is bound up with the general social problem. The present financial system and economic order must be reconsidered in the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Executive Committee met at Swansea on September 22nd, 1939, and in view of the present catastrophe drew up the following declaration to be sent to the Prime Minister and to every association in the Welsh Congregational Denomination:—

(1) Believing that God has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ, we declare that this war is absolutely contrary to the will of God and the negation of the fundamental principles of Christ's teaching. In its reliance on brute force war is the betrayal of our faith in spiritual power and is inevitably doomed to failure in its attempt to secure lasting world peace. Unchristian means can never achieve Christian ends. Satan cannot cast out Satan.

(2) Further, we believe that we are called upon to confess with repentance our guilt before God, our failure and reluctance to organise our life in accordance with the demands of the Gospel, and to admit that the present crisis is the result of our pride and selfishness. We refuse to believe that our country in this war is fighting for freedom and justice. Spiritual values can never be defended by force of arms. We refuse also to believe that we are defending the innocent and the weak from the tyranny of an aggressor, because we realise that imperialistic and capitalistic systems lead unavoidably to war.

(3) Consequently, we believe that it is our reasonable service and duty to proclaim the "ministry of reconciliation" as the only way in which we can conform to the will of God in

Christ Jesus. It is encouraging to realise that the people of all nations are reluctant to show a spirit of hatred and revenge. Peace is the common interest of the ordinary people everywhere. The respective governments concerned are mainly responsible, therefore, for the failure to achieve reconciliation. They have failed to adapt the economic and political system to meet the needs of the people.

(4) We appeal to His Majesty's Government to co-operate in the endeavour to secure an immediate armistice, so that a World Conference can be called to reconsider in the light of the Gospel, the whole basis of our civilization and to make such changes in our economic system that will make for freedom and justice in all nations. Apart from this line of action, we see no other alternative but war and rumours of war. No time should be lost in calling together the nations of the world to co-operate in establishing a lasting peace on the sound Christian basis of justice and righteousness.

D. J. JAMES

## Y CRISTION A'R WLADWRIAETH

GAN R. J. JONES.

HEN broblem ydyw hon a gyfyd ei phen bob hyn a hyn, ac yn arbennig yn amser rhyfel. Hyd yn hyn, ni chafwyd un wladwriaeth y gellid dywedyd am dani ei bod yn hollol Gristnogol. Felly, gorfydd ar y Cristion fyw ei fywyd mewn cymdeithas sydd yn llai na Christnogol, a dywedyd y lleiaf an dani. Rhyw gymysgfa o elfennau paganaidd a Christnogol ydyw'r gwareiddiad sydd heddiw ar ei braw; ac yng nghanol yr amodau hyn y mae'n rhaid i'r Cristion fyw ei fywyd, a chyhoeddi ei dystiolaeth gorau gallo. Nid yw ei orchwyl yn un hawdd; ac efallai na fu'n annos erioed nag y mae heddiw, gan fod bywyd yn fwy cymleth yn awr nag y bu erioed. Y mae'n amhosibl i'r Cristion ei dorri ei hun ymaith yn llwyr oddi wrth y byd y preswylia ynddo; a phe gallai wneud hynny, byddai'n ei amddifadu ei hun o bob cyfle i ddylanwadu ar fywyd dynion a chwrs y byd. Beth hynnag a fu gwerth mynachaeth mewn dyddiau a fu, rhaid i'r Cristion wrth rywbeth amgennach na'r dull hwn o fyw cyn y gall obeithio bod yn fendith i'w oes.

Am hynny, y mae'n rhaid iddo fod yn

ddinesydd yn rhyw ddinas, a chymryd diddordeb a rhan ddeallus yn ei bywyd a'i hamgylchiadau. Dioddefodd ambell gylch yn fawr oddi wrth duedd proffeswyr crefydd i adael materion cyhoeddus yn nwylo gwyr anghrefyddol, fel pe bai pethau o'r fath yn rhy seciwlar i Gristion wneuthur dim â hwy. Ac eto, wrth i'r Cristion ymdaflu i amgylchiadau cymdeithas, daw hwyr neu hwyrach yn erbyn y cwestiwn o hawl y wladwriaeth ar ei fywyd. Ni fydd ef yn debygol o wadu ei hawl yn hollol, eithr bydd yn rhaid iddo ystyried a ydyw'r wladwriaeth yn meddu hawl derfynol ar bob cwestiwn. Yn y fan hon y bydd Cristion yn debygol o ddod i wrthdarawiad a'r gallu gwladol, a chael ei gyhuddo gan rywrai o ddiffyg gwladgarwch. Gall ef ateb mai'r gwladgarwch gorau ydyw i ddyn fod yn ffyddlon i'r uchaf y gwyr am dano. Yn hyn hefyd bydd gwahaniaeth rhyngddo a'r wladwriaeth pan honna hi mai ei buddiannau hi ei hun ydyw'r ystyriaeth bennaf.

Yn y fan hon y gwelwn un o'r ymosodiadau mwyaf difrifol ar y ffydd Gristnogol yn ein hoes ni. Symiwyd y safle i fyny mewn tri gair mewn drama a fu'n rhedeg yn Llundain beth amser yn ol. Geiriau cyfarch y dinasyddion yn y ddrama honno oedd, "The State Is All." Un waith y cydnebydd dyn y gosodiad hwn, y mae ar ben ar arbenigrwydd y ffydd Gristnogol. Byddai'n werth i ni gofio mai gwrthwynebydd pennaf yr Eglwys Gynnar oedd y wladwriaeth a alwai ar y Cristnogion i osod Cesar uwchlaw pawb arall. Yr oedd Rhufain yn ddigon bodlon i'r Cristion a phob un arall addoli yn ei ffordd ei hun cyhyd ag y talai'r wrogaeth eithaf i Gesar. Ni allai'r Cristion wneuthur hynny heb wadu sylfaeni ei ffydd. Iddo ef Crist oedd yr awdurdod terfynol, ac ni fynnai osod neb na dim arall yn gydradd ag Ef. Arwain i anghysondeb ac aneffeithiolrwydd y mae gosod dau awdurdod yn gydradd. Y mae'n wir y buasai gwneuthur hynny wedi arbed y Cristnogion cynnar rhag erledigaeth, eithr buasent wedi treisio'r gorau y gwyddent am dano; buasai'r ffydd Gristnogol wedi diflannu o'r byd, er colled anadfer i bopeth gorau bywyd.

Gwasanaeth pennaf y Cristion i gymdeithas heddiw fel yn y dyddiau a fu ydyw cadw ei afael yn dynn ar y ffydd yng Nghrist, a thrwy hynny gadw o flaen ei gyd-ddynion. Un svdd yn fwy na'r wladwriaeth am ei fod yn cynnwys yr holl deulu dynol o fewn cylch ei ddiddordeb a'i ymgeledd. Y sawl a wnelo hyn a fedr



weithredu fel cydwybod fyw a chynhyddol ym mywyd ei wlad, fel y gwypo hi beth yw ewylllys y Duw byw heddiw ac yfory. Hyd oni ddel teyrnasoedd y byd yn eiddo i Grist, bydd yn ofynol i'r Cristion gorffori ei ddelfrydau mewn

cymdeithas ysbrydol lle bydd pawb yn frodyr i'w gilydd am fod Crist yn Arglwydd ac yn Waredwr i bob un o honynt. Cymdeithas fel hon a fedr fod yn gyfrwng i arwain y wlad-wriaeth newydd a'i deiliaid i'r holl wirionedd.

## THE VICTORY OF MEEKNESS

HILDA FRANCIS

THE keenest intellect, as well as average man, may fail to grasp the mighty meekness worshipped within the struggling statement: "The Word was made flesh."

Yet long before the Early Fathers attained the surface of the divine kenosis, primitive men had already stumbled upon the mystery of the victorious powers and high estate of meekness. And, as the prelogical mind still appears to predominate among us, perhaps we can get an easy side-light into the meekness of God, through the primitive myth of Beauty and the Beast.

In that guileless story we may see the awakening consciousness of child-men, lispings out its misty wonder, in the presence of an Actuality greater than it can seize. There we may see vicarious meekness effecting deliverance for fallen-man—restoring the brute-monster to his manly status. Men found it natural, in those far-off days, for the humble and meek to be exalted, and to exercise power over "lower creatures." Even primitive man was aware of the divine impulse, which was to become fully conscious and rise aloft in the victory of meekness upon the Cross.

In its upper reaches the humble practice of meekness links man with God, thereby conferring upon him supra-rational powers of influence with those spell-bound by sin. "A wicked witch has done it." So man tries to escape from his sin, by blaming another, and creating a scape-goat which always eludes him, till he runs it down within himself. Meanwhile, he separates from God and is oppressed by the exterior circumstances his sin has produced. Calling a man a criminal only estranges him further. Then is the life-giving chance for the meekness of another to step in, full of rescuing grace. That alone can save him from his pride and sin-conscious guilt, bring him to himself and free the God-man within him.

It is such transforming meekness we need to-day. We, who have refused to fight with flesh and blood, are here given our opportunity—to make patent the priority and efficacy of

spiritual forces. Fight the enemy we must; and, thank God, here He is within us, where we can tackle him without delay. Pride and greed and anger begin to melt when we humbly practise meekness. We shall, in time, even learn to love our enemy within us; instead of esteeming him so much that we have to project his bad points outside us, and hate his effigy in our fellow men. Thus meekness not only transforms us. It creates a new world around us.

Such mature meekness, however, is not produced in a hurry. It is the fruit of patient and steady exercise of spiritual energy. And so many of us continue to stifle the spirit with bodily and mental busy-ness, even when we have discarded material force as a means. It is much easier to work away busily at defence measures, or to pose as deliverer, than to deliver by the spiritual process of meekness. Yet, like Beauty, we must first train our own beasts into meekness, before grace can ride upon the saddle to rescue others.

Here, then, is the only chance for each of us to wage war with the enemy—ourselves. We should be temperate in our attack though, if we would win. For our warfare is with "spiritual wickedness in high places"; and where we come to grips with that, it is so easy to pick up its own weapons of pride and self-deceit. Also, we who make small trials in spiritual living, should beware of assuming that others must follow our pattern. Such well-meaning zeal does not lead to the strong virtue of meekness, sought by the Holy Spirit!

Being thus humbly set upon practising meekness, even if we fail many times an hour, we are in living touch with the Divine Meekness. Your steady beat invigorates us, incorporating us within your mighty action. Through our daily lives your grace percolates into the dry bones of sinful human nature, cleaving your way, as capillary rootlets do, till men rise up, alive with your meekness!

"And a Little Child shall lead them."

## THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

NO WORDS are sufficient to present the gospel to the world. Attempts to state our faith in words are a healthful discipline of thought but these alone do not save souls. Indeed, we are sent to preach the gospel "not with the wisdom of words lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect." Nor is the attempt to set forth the faith in ritual, however helpful to the devout, likely to bring conviction to the sceptical, rebellious heart. The gospel that takes possession of our lives with its transforming power is a word that goes beyond words, which penetrates the hidden recesses of the soul where no words can reach. It is the word that was made flesh.

There is always a temptation to reduce our faith to principles and then to treat those principles as though they were our faith. Thus we become the victims of a false consistency, bound again in the law which no man can fulfil and which leads logically and relentlessly to extinction. "The commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death." We do violence to the gospel when we make out of it a new code of ethics. The essence of the gospel is "neither creed, however transcendent, nor even the glory of the Sermon on the Mount, but the person of Christ." Asked what we preach we answer with the Apostle, "We preach Christ crucified."

It is because He Himself is the true living way that we are able to walk in it. His is not a rule of life to be taken up like a routine, but a spirit to be breathed. In making new conventions and traditions how shall we honour Him who burst conventions asunder and set traditions at naught, not by falling short of them but by going far beyond them. Life cannot be confined within rules though rules and principles may be observed in all life and deduced from it. Our Lord did not teach ethics, but the study of ethics must be a study of Him, even as He did not teach theology but made it.

Think well what this means that the word of God became flesh. It means that the communion of God with the soul has drawn near, as near to us as our own hearts. It comes not in precept, nor rebuke, nor call, but in friendship. This eternal, this unutterably Sacred before whom we can but lie prostrate and cry

"Holy," has become the beloved into whose eyes we dare to look with joy, to whose bosom we are taken in rapture. The ideal has become real. That which were otherwise too good to be true is become the significant, interpretative fact of life.

As God has translated His word into human nature so must we present it through the same medium. In no other language can it be understood by human need. As God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, so Christ must be in us to the same end. Not by critical judgment, however penetrating, nor by purity of separation from the world's wickedness, nor by correct Christology nor beauty of symbolic ritual, shall Christ be made real to man, but only as He appears in living friendship. Bring love into a life and you bring Christ. It is in strong, selfless, daring love that He lives and is revealed and made effective to redeem. Let the word be made flesh so that it may dwell among us.

*O God Incarnate, Who in divine humility has reached our deepest need, retain us in unbroken fellowship with Thee, Whose holiness is manifested in the Friend of sinners; hold us in daily converse with Thyself; speak words of healing to our wounded souls; consume our sins in Thy forgiveness; increase our receptivity of grace; and let Thy presence be effective in our lives in gentle power, in serene trust, and in unchanging love, through Jesus our Redeemer.*

*O God Who makest Thine abode with those who love Thee, let Thy pure spirit of love make us His habitation. Dwell in the fellowship of friends. Make human love the temple of Thy love, and human prayer the intercession of Thy spirit. Unite in silent and unseen communion those who in separation from each other rejoice together in Thy presence. Speak in our words of kindness and good cheer. Let our forgiveness of our neighbour's sins put into action Thy redemptive power, in Jesus Christ our Lord.*

*Almighty God, Who when Thou camst to earth revealed Thy power in a defenceless Babe, and showed Thy majesty in One for Whom there was no room, enable us to celebrate His birth in Whom Thou wert incarnate in that same spirit of joyous recognition that brought the Kings and Shepherds to His feet, Who is the world's Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.*



## IS LOVE ENOUGH?

GEORGE G. CAMERON

"PACIFISM is not enough."  
How are we to answer that not unfamiliar comment on our faith?

One form of the argument is the Archbishop of York's contention that "the stage of the Law must precede that of the Gospel, and that, though the Gospel carries us far beyond the Law, we need the foundation provided by Law to be secure before we can truly respond to the Gospel." Pacifism, then, if not Christianity itself, is not fully practicable until the authority of the Law is universally recognised and obeyed.

### Which Law?

The Archbishop, however, failed to state whether he meant the dispensation of The Law in the Old Testament sense—a code of specific commandments enunciating the will of God in regard to definite moral and spiritual questions—or the administration of law in the secular sense, that is, civil law, of which the authority is the agreed will of society and the sanction such penalties as that society imposes.

Did he mean the Mosaic Law? Certainly that dispensation came before the Gospel in point of time. But what was prior in time does not necessarily remain indispensable in experience. The Gospel has now come, and has it not come as the way of fulfilling the Law? Is there in fact any dispensation of such Law now remaining, except in religious communities like orthodox Judaism and Islam? And it is just in these communities that we have to admit that a rigid loyalty to the Law has meant not a true response to the Gospel but a refusal to hear it.

Did he then mean the secular law? Certainly that could be the only ground for implying that a full response to the Gospel must wait upon the attainment of "law and order." But, truth though there may be in the claim that Christianity has shared the benefits and social blessings of a state of order based upon secular law, the facts are against any contention that the Gospel is impotent apart from such "protection." Were that contention true what could explain the fact that Columba, wandering unarmed into the wilds of Caledonia with nothing but the Gospel of Christ as his authority, won the Pictish King Bruda for

his Master and brought the beginnings of law and order to a land where for 450 years those mighty law-men, the Romans, had been unable even to penetrate?

### The Impotence of Pacifism

To expose the confusion of thought in this particular argument, however, does not necessarily remove the misgiving which it has endeavoured to state.

A more straightforward and realistic statement, such as the Archbishop himself has made in recent broadcasts, is being commonly heard to-day. This takes the form of a claim that pacifism cannot face the challenge of obdurate evil.

Aggression, we are told, must be restrained. Justice and honour, freedom and morality, must be defended. How can this be done? In an imperfect world men do not always respond to the appeal of love. Social order and well-being must therefore have some ultimate and more effective sanction than the power of love, whereby the community can "assure the rights and ensure the due discharge of the duties of persons as between one another in society." If love fails there must be the right to employ force. We recognise this in civil affairs. We must recognise it also in international affairs.

If this is a true charge, then those who make it are justified in saying that complete pacifism leads to anarchy, that those who profess it are betraying the ideals of justice, honour, and freedom by which alone men can live in safety, and that they are yielding all those instruments, by which communities can be directed into new ways, into the hands of men who will not scruple to use them for unrighteous ends. They are justified in holding that when evil is rampant as it is in Europe to-day pacifism is bankrupt of means to meet it, that the pacifist is in the dilemma of being unable to love the nations into order and yet refusing to force them into order, and that there must be something wrong with a theology in which God leaves us no alternative but to let evil rule.

To say that some men will never respond to the appeal of love is to renounce faith in God, Who is love. But the verdict has no relevance to the international situation, where, whether

such an appeal can be made or not, we have no real evidence as to its effectiveness, for it has not actually been tried. Because, as pacifists, we believe that the arbitrament of war is an appeal contrary to the will of God, we have for many years been pleading that something like the appeal of love should be tried. Had the common people of Germany had reason to believe that we did look on them as brothers and not outcasts would there have been found in their mind a consent to Nazism and the brutalities it has practised? We cannot say. But the burden of proof that there would be upon those who lightly claim that the appeal of love is ineffective. For our part we can as legitimately claim that the appeal of arms and the threat of force has not succeeded even in averting open bloodshed.

"We recognise the right to employ force in civil affairs. We must recognise it also in international affairs." But what is the right as we recognise it in civil affairs? At its widest it is the right, delegated by the whole community to its officers of justice, to restrain any member who transgresses those limits of individual behaviour within which, for the common good, we must all remain. Those who administer justice must do so in conformity with the laws which express the community's will, and those who execute it, by imposing fines, imprisonment or capital punishment, do so not on their own authority but in the name and by the consent of the social group of which the transgressor is himself a member. Such a recognised use of force cannot by any stretch of the imagination be extended to cover war, waged by one community against another, and without the authority of any inclusive body to which both belong and to which both are responsible. No doubt we pacifists have need to

consider, even more carefully than we already have, the principles which govern any use of force which can be rightly considered as agreeable to the will of God. But those who claim a moral sanction for war have a duty to define their terms, and not argue from behind the smoke-screen of false analogy. And if an international parliament or assembly, by whose authority justice between the nations could be administered, is not yet a practical reality, it is becoming abundantly clear that there the Gospel must come before the law, and that only under the inspiration of a spiritual ideal can the necessary self-limitation of sovereign rights be achieved.

"Pacifism is bankrupt of means to meet rampant evil and restrain the forces of unrighteousness." "Pacifism leads to anarchy." The foregoing considerations make it clear that the prior criticism must be of those means of international dealing which have made evil rampant. They reveal war as leading to, or rather as being, the anarchy of international order. It cannot be called "legitimate" except as it dispenses whatever justice there is in the "law" that might is right. And present realities in Europe are evidence that however the apologist for war may seek to cast over it the cloak of righteousness, necessity, or restraining force, it still remains war and has the effect of releasing more havoc than it can restrain—witness the fears of Finland, Holland and Roumania.

It is because of the bankruptcy of the traditional creed that war is the ultimate sanction of order and right relations amongst the nations, that we have been forced to renounce it and seek a better. We believe that there must be something wrong with a theology in which God leaves us with no alternative to doing evil.

## TOO PRIMITIVE MAN

C. PAUL GLIDDON.

THE hearty optimists of a few years ago who thought that the future must always be better than the past by virtue of the fact of its being the future, are seldom heard in these days. Certainly historical criticism has stripped our yesterdays of many of their glories, while restoring others hitherto unsuspected, but, for to-morrow and the day after to-morrow, the trained observers offer little hope. It will be a grey dawn, they tell us, if

indeed day ever comes at all. Man, tip-toe with expectation as he awaits the midsummer sun, finds the world set suddenly in reverse and shivers as he passes into twilight and a darkness that seems to be girded for final victory.

The present war has only hastened and exaggerated a process that has been going on for many years. The "Dig, dig, dig" newspaper posters which marked the September



crisis of last year might have given an observer of *homo sapiens* a clear hint as to the direction in which our civilisation was going, but the events of the last few weeks have demonstrated that this was no passing phase. We have gone to earth, a rather frightened and frustrated people; gone to the caves and holes of the earth, not because we are men of whom the world is not worthy, but because, as we begin to suspect, we are men who are not worthy of the good earth; dust we are and to the dust we are returning.

#### "Go to the Ant, Thou Sluggard!"

We can feel little pride about the way we are digging-in ourselves. To be told that there is a wonderful series of tunnels in France and in Germany sounds as if sluggard man is indeed going to the ants for guidance; though to be shown the way similar plans are adopted in our country is to be aware of an absence of artistry. We may admire the ingenuity of the ant but we can hardly hope that the ant will return the compliment. To see our sand-bagged cities; our even more fiercely fortified village halls (whose impregnability seems to be determined by the number of retired gentlefolk living in the neighbourhood multiplied by the number of miles from Berlin); to be shown monuments enclosed in gigantic shapeless shrouds, is to realise how dun is the dullness of man when the ant becomes his model.

As man hurries back to his primitive state, darkness fittingly returns to the world; darkness unbroken over England as it has not been for perhaps a thousand years. We envy the link-boys of a past age, carrying uncovered lights about the streets, and we shudder at the thought of our own fate if we followed their example. If it chanced that a light is actually seen in any dwelling which, while quite invisible from the air, would be visible from a submarine, should such pass down the street, our A.R.P. officers go swiftly into much desired action. All this darkness we find necessary so that we may not be slain in air-raids; but, if the Germans had taken in air-raids the many more than a thousand lives for which our peculiar precautions have been already responsible, we would have regarded that as a barbarous outrage. As British people have been slaughtered on our own streets by their own countrymen, it is a matter for regret but not for anger. Even in time of war, we retain our preference for "home killed."

#### The Mystery of the Mask

With the coming down of darkness upon the earth and the remaking by man of his cave homes, we naturally expect to find the old gods again reasserting themselves and man re-shadowed by ancient superstitions and fears with their accompanying fetishes and charms. The scientists of 2,000 years hence will probably conclude that it was the custom in this epoch for the working or serf class to carry rectangular boxes, while the superior beings wore a cylinder or bag, in some cases elaborately decorated, perhaps to indicate membership of a special caste or to repel evil spirits. They may be a little mystified as to the precise purpose of these charms and, as some of them will be found associated with the remains of cosmetics, learned men of the future may conclude that our gas-mask holders were charms that belonged not to faith but to fashion. There is one explanation of these strange boxes which will never have to be refuted because it will never be put forward; it is that the people of this country from Land End to John o' Groats were persuaded to carry gas-masks, for every hour of the day lest, at any moment, on any one of them, anywhere there should be launched a form of attack which was not actually being attempted at that time in any place.

There is a discretion which is not only the better part of valour but may finally oust valour altogether. It may be that it is wise to bring the nation to heel by stressing the fearful consequences of disobedience but it is doubtful whether a nation acting through a lively fear can produce at short notice an outstanding courage. The fact is that the ordinary run of men and women cannot normally carry out the sort of action or self-discipline demanded by war conditions; it is fear that seems best able to supply the initial drive. War in the past has been the business of a picked body. It was less nerve-racking than modern war but even the strain of such war could only be borne by a certain selected section. Now that we have brought whole nations within the firing line we have placed upon them a strain which, even under gentler conditions, nations were never asked to endure. Thus the position has been reached that to resist efficiently the people itself must enter into war; that the only spur that can produce swift action corresponding to the implicit obedience of the soldier is fear; but that war waged by the fearful not only

loses any claim to glory but guarantees disaster. Of modern war it can be said, even more truly than of capitalism, that it holds within itself the seeds of its own decay.

#### The Coronation of the Beast

Yet there is a step of degradation lying further back than the return of man to his primitive condition; behind primitive man is the shadow of a lower creation; the stooping, shuffling form of the brute. For that final defeat the way is being even now prepared, as not only those who run may read but those who listen may learn. The military authority who addresses his comments to the people of the country week by week assured them recently that the bombing of towns was a brutal business but, should the enemy begin, then it was a game at which two could play. If the enemy becomes brutal, then we become brutal too; playing the flunkey on what we profess to despise, for imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. In resisting dictatorship we accept the dictator, awaiting his leadership before we agree to renounce our humanity and pass back to that lower creation where fear is king.

That the alarm at this threat to the human race itself has not been sounded throughout the Church of God is an amazing and saddening fact. For the Church has always known

that fear is the real enemy and must be banished if the race survives. Every night of every year tens of thousands of devout Christians repeat the ancient psalm:

Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

I will say unto the Lord, Thou art my hope and my stronghold, my God, in Him will I put my trust.

Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day.

There shall no evil happen unto thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.

For He shall give His angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways.

We have said the psalm, we have appreciated its beauty, but we do not really believe in the defence of the Most High, nor that a safe stronghold our God is still, nor in those angels to whom our charge is entrusted. We are afraid for the things of the night and the things of the day, and for fear of the things that are coming on the earth our hearts are failing. We have forgotten that our glory lies not in our own strength and ingenuity—trusting in these alone we return to the jungle—but in the fact, as the psalmist saw so clearly, that God, out of His utter graciousness, has set upon us His love.

## "CHRIST AND PEACE"

The tradition of Armistice Day meetings was maintained this year and there was scarcely a seat vacant in the Kingsway Hall on Saturday afternoon, November 11th, when Dr. Donald Soper opened a devotional meeting called under the auspices of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. He dwelt on the necessity for a theological basis to pacifism if it was going to be effective, and expressed gratitude to the men who were busy working out such a theology.

Prof. H. H. Farmer focused attention on the silence of Jesus expresses a deep conviction of silence of our Lord at the great climax of His life. "This silence," he went on, "this apparent passivity, is activity; it is power." The Master, utterly good and right, does not cry out against the injustice of it. His silence demonstrates the loyalty of a love that remains unalterable

love, the desire to give at any cost all that it can give. There is some inner core to man's being which begins to harden immediately it meets wrath, however justified. The scourging silence of suffering and forgiving love is required to cleanse sin from men's hearts. This the ultimate victory of God. "In the midst of the throne is the Lamb, the Crucified."

Miss E. O. Comber spoke of the importance of nurturing the idea that a belief in God the Father must no longer be left outside the province of social and international problems. Mr. George Lansbury speaking of the futility of war as proved in history, paid tribute to the courageous efforts of the young King of the Belgians during the past three years as well as just recently to bring about peaceful negotiation amongst the nations.



## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## France

Philippe Vernier and his brother, Pierre, are at the moment of writing in prison in Marseilles as conscientious objectors to military service. Two others of our friends have been released on health grounds. Henri Roser awaits trial in prison in Paris. For the first week or two of his confinement, Henri Roser was under more or less definite threat of shooting. Then some pressure was brought to bear on him to consent to non-combatant work, but in uniform. Now it appears that a more acceptable compromise may be offered. It seems desirable, however, that, as the moment of decision approaches, every tactful opportunity should be used to let leaders in Church and State in France know how highly these men are regarded in England. We can certainly certify their deep sincerity and unshakable conviction. And many here will wish to remember them with gratitude in times of prayer. Henri Roser's wife and other French F.o.R. members were seen recently and messages of sympathy and support from this country were passed on. These were gratefully received.

Small private meetings are now being held occasionally in the home of a French member.

## Luxemburg

Conrad Fels writes: "So far Luxemburg has remained an island of peace." In contrast with other neutrals who have many thousands of soldiers under arms, Luxemburg lies entirely unarmed and unfortified between belligerents. The battle on the other side of the Moselle was, by special permission, watched by two of our friends.

## Germany

News has come through that several hundred conscientious objectors have been shot in Germany, some of them without trial. Exact particulars are of course impossible to obtain. But in certain cases there are relations in neutral countries. Here is a searching call on our deepest sympathies. A woman friend who was with us at our last international summer school has been in prison in Germany for six weeks.

## Holland

Our friends in Holland have been very active of late. It has been particularly gratifying to see the use made by them in their own papers of documents and information sent from here.

A group of thirty-six Dutch pacifists signed the following reply to the message recently issued by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups: "We were touched by reading your message to all the Pacifists in the world. We assure you our great sympathy, praying God to give the leaders of the different countries, through His Holy Ghost, to understand the meaning of the Gospel: Love your neighbour as yourself, that they may see every war as ungodly, unworthy and as a terrible lie, opposite to the command of Christ Jesus, our Lord and the world's Saviour."

## Switzerland

Here is an interesting story about our friend Pierre Cérésolle, founder of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, and probably the best-known pacifist in Switzerland. Recently the Swiss Government determined to hold black-out exercises for three successive nights. Pierre Cérésolle would of course be willing to conform to black-out regulations in time of war when the safety of fellow citizens was at stake; but he felt that he could not assist in military exercises in preparation for war. He therefore addressed a letter to the government explaining his position and informing them that he did not propose to obey the order. On the first night he went to a spot outside a church where Salvation Army meetings are usually held, and there lit three Christmas candles, and spoke about light to a tiny group that gathered. Some of his hearers apparently thought him peculiar; and finally a soldier kicked the candles over. Returning home Pierre Cérésolle wrote some letters and so gathered some sympathisers at the same place for the second night. At the same time he received from Copenhagen the epistle of the Danish Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends which began as follows: "Love, joy, peace, kindness, generosity, fidelity, gentleness (Gal. v, 22), these are the fruits of that spirit which our suffering world needs more than ever before. We are met under pressure of increasing darkness. We are oppressed with a sense of the destructive power of the darkness and we long for the healing and strengthening light." Feeling the extraordinary relevance of these words, and using, as he was entitled to do, a small veiled torch, Pierre Cérésolle read a part of this letter to the group; but, before he could finish it, a policeman

stopped him and led him away to the police station where he was confined for the rest of the black-out period. He suddenly appeared at a meeting of the Society of Friends at Berne just as reference was being made to him. He had been released after preliminary examination on the charge, of which actually he was not guilty, of inciting other people to disobey the law. Bernard Shaw once said that the dock of the Old Bailey was the finest platform in the world. Pierre Cérésolle looks forward with some eagerness to his testimony in public.

## Japan

Several letters have come recently from Japan. A friend writes, "One discovers almost no bitterness towards the Chinese people, but one could wish for a more vivid imagination as to the meaning of what is going on." These words may serve as a reminder to us also who, so much involved in war in the West, are tending to forget the war in the East and all that it means.

Another correspondent in Japan writes with recollection of what air raids may mean for us and prays for us calmness of spirit as well as safety of body. "The end is not yet." A new era is sure to dawn.

## International Fellowship of Reconciliation Executive

War conditions have made it impossible for the Executive of the International Fellowship to meet as planned, but there was an opportunity the other day for three to come together; and, with the help of correspondence from other leading members, they reached tentative decisions about the work which have been communicated to the members of the Council.

The financial affairs were found to be in a fairly satisfactory condition; but, in spite of

savings, it was necessary to collect a little more money before the end of the year if income was to equal expenditure.

The question whether the office ought to be moved during war time to a neutral country was considered, but it was thought preferable to continue in London for the time being, friends in neutral countries being, however, urged to special activity.

A proposal was made for the holding of a Council meeting and also, if possible, a small summer school for a selected group of young people, in Sweden in July, 1940. The proposal sounds ambitious, but there is a desire on the part of many for the opportunity of coming together. Much will depend upon what our Swedish friends think possible.

The hope was expressed that a common time of prayer could be found and observed by members of the Fellowship everywhere. The best suggestion seemed to be to ask that as many as possible would devote some few minutes to prayer at nine o'clock each morning and that everybody should, once a week during Saturday evening, remember all in the various countries who share with us the Christian testimony for peace and reconciliation.

## International News Letter

The News Letter of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation was prepared in due course in September and posted to addresses in this country and America and in some other countries abroad, but a censorship regulation made it impossible to reach friends in a number of other countries. A special permit was at first refused, but after some correspondence and with the help of friends in Parliament, a permit has now been obtained, and we hope that the News Letter and the other work of the international office will be able to proceed quite smoothly.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## REFUGEE AID.

In your July issue you were kind enough to publish, under the title of "Group Assistance for Refugees," a letter signed by the Sponsors of the Refugee Guarantee Appeal Committee. In view of the changed direction of the work of this Committee, due to the war, in consultation with the Sponsors its name has now been changed to that of the Refugee General Aid Committee—the Sponsors remaining as before:

Sir Norman Angell, Dorothy Frances Buxton, Canon Cockin, Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Maurice L. Rowntree and Dr. Maude Royden.

The work of the Committee can be classed roughly under the four following headings:

(a) To watch over the interests of individual Refugees in this country.

(b) To provide constructive help for Refugees whose guarantees have broken down.



(c) To keep before the public an enlightened attitude towards the refugee problem in general.

(d) To keep watch over future developments and, as these arise, to initiate and develop further suitable activities.

The Committee now has groups of people in various parts of the country and contacts in the U.S.A. and Denmark. Amongst other matters, it is particularly interested in providing friendships for Refugees and for the dependents of interned aliens; for the latter, it is working in close collaboration with David Hodgkin, of the Alien Section of the German Emergency Committee.

It is establishing language classes for Refugees, one of whose chief disadvantages is in their ability to understand and make themselves understood by those with whom they come into contact.

It is also advocating the formation of Advisory Bureaux for Refugees in various centres.

Another of its activities is the conveying of children to and from London, in connection with the Movement for the Care of Children. These children have to come personally to the American Consulate.

It is particularly concerned with the social and economic problem of those Refugees who came over to this country on a Domestic Permit and, for one cause or another, are now out of employment and, in many cases, practically destitute. It has several schemes under consideration for the re-training of such Refugees.

It is also interested in the formation of hostels where such people may live with a maximum of friendship and social life and a minimum of expense, and it is good to report that already one such hostel has been established and another is under consideration. The hostel already open is at 112, Westbourne Terrace, and the Warden will be glad if any interested friends care to call to see the house and make friendly contacts with the guests.

The Committee has, at present, the use of an office in Bloomsbury House and would welcome any offers of voluntary help from people who could spend a few hours some evenings during the week after 6 o'clock. Others who may be interested in such work, but who live out of London, would be welcomed as helpers in other directions. We should be glad to hear from anyone who would like further information.

J. C. LINDSAY  
35, Weston Drive, Stanmore, Middlesex.

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Editor: Roger H. de Pemberton

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## THE FRIENDLY BOOK

CRUSADE! by Oswald Cornish. Independent Press Limited, 1/- nett.

This is a small book on a large subject, attempting no close analysis of "unemployment," which is its subject, but instinct with generous passion that the Christian Church should make it its business to see that a complete solution is found by Government and that this business will not wait. "Unemployment is not a doom laid upon us," says the author; "it is humanity's crime against humanity and therefore sin against God." Here is the approach—the author does not claim to disentangle the infinitely complex factors that make up what we call the problems of unemployment but lays upon Christians in sincere and heart-searching words the imperative duty of first facing up to it and then demanding its solution, at any cost, by those who are experts in these matters. This is surely right, and those who tell us that mere economic factors are supreme are surely wrong. No short review could do justice to this book's insight and feeling for those for whom we find no place in the economic scheme of things; but we venture to commend it to our readers as worthy of serious consideration by all our groups. Copies may be obtained from F.o.R. Office. L.A.

THE TESTAMENT OF JESUS. A single narrative of the Great Life by Arnold and Franceys Longman. Published by W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, 4/6 nett.

A close and detailed study of the Four Gospels show that the story of our Lord is all of a piece, in which there is neither variableness nor shadow cast by turning; but, to the general reader, the story often seems disjointed and, in some particulars, difficult to harmonise. There are many books that seek to harmonise the synoptics and some that seek to harmonise all four Gospels. There are few that seek to write a straightforward biography of the Master, and, of these few, the one under review, in modern language and in the author's own translation, is a distinguished example.

The book not only fills for ordinary Christian people a gap in the literature on the Gospels, but also it is opportune to a marked degree. Never was there a time when Christian people

were more urgently called to study the life of the Master, and to study it whole, for according to their study they must venture on far-reaching decisions. The ultimate authority for ordinary Christian people is not the dicta of learned philosophies, nor the conclusions of the trained theologians (valuable as these are for some purposes) but simply what they themselves find for themselves in the Gospel story. "What think ye of Christ?" was asked of an ordinary person and an answer was expected. We, common people, shall be helped immeasurably to answer that searching question by reading and pondering this biographical study, giving the story of our Lord as it happened day by day and week by week from its humble beginning to its amazing end—and after. The Reviewer owes the author a real debt of gratitude and commends the book without reserve to the general reader. Copies may be obtained from F.o.R. office. L.A.

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.  
Horace B. Pointing (Friends' Literature Committee—1/-).

In the middle of the seventeenth century when Quakerism was founded, caste rigidities were becoming apparent and the fact that Friends were drawn from all sections of the community made them ready for social experiments. Later, many Friends had become wealthy by the very reason of their virtues, and Quaker thought somewhat tended to look upon humbler members as people to be aided by charity rather than towards equality. This resulted in a certain quietism and spiritual decline until the middle of last century, when certain Friends realised more keenly that Christianity has a social message. 1910 saw Friends' Social Union established. In 1918 Lucy Fryer Morland wrote "The New Social Outlook" which was responsible to a certain extent for the "Eight Points" issued in the name of the Society of Friends; in 1933 Shipley Brayshaw's Swarthmore Lecture outlined a new Society.

Yet the author shows that the Society of Friends is only sharing a concern weighing heavily on every section of the Church and mentions the interdenominational Conference of C.O.P.E.C. which met in 1924, and the Life and Work Conference of the Church in 1937.

The outlook might be summed up in the following quotation: "There is work still for



us to do in the rough and tumble of social and political life, and our experiments must be designed to make us better fitted to do it."

D.W.

PRAYERS IN WAR-TIME. Edited by Hugh Martin. S.C.M., 2/-.

This is a very helpful and suggestive book bringing together as it does from many sources, some of them very recent, prayers both for private and public use. It gives reverent voice to much that lies often unexpressed in the hearts of worshippers in these present days. One or two of the prayers seem to be said more in the name of Cæsar than of Christ, but by far the greater part of the book will be found a valuable aid to services of intercession and meetings of prayer for peace, while throughout the simplicity and dignity of its diction make it suitable for pulpit use.

## PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

THE CHURCH AND WAR by the Rev. H. J. Dale is a sound and reasoned apologetic for the pacifist faith written in an interesting and popular style, 2d., from the Author, Lympington, Hants.

VISION OR PRISON is another of Miss A. Ruth Fry's excellent addresses, a very sane, persuasive and topical plea for breaking the vicious circle—war, revenge, resentment, fear, rearmament war, by preparing now for a constructive and not a punitive peace.

PEACE AIM is an eight-page booklet prepared in support of the demand for a statement by the Government of Peace Terms to include the surrender by all nations of national sovereignty and the adoption of financial reform. The booklet has been translated into French, German, Italian, Russian and Swedish. Help is requested in distributing. Lady Lees, Lytchett Minster, Poole, Dorset.

DOES THE NEW TESTAMENT SANCTION WAR? by the Rev. Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, D.Litt., D.D., third edition, 16pp. 2d., besides being a first-rate commentary on many important passages of Scripture would be a great help to anyone likely to be cross-questioned as to the grounds of his pacifist faith. From Mr. P. M. McKelvie, 5, York Road, Edinburgh, 5, or F.o.R. Office.

## COMMUNITY IN THE FIELD

NEWS from many parts of the country shows that the spiritual community of peace groups is taking shape increasingly in active plans for co-operative living, sharing and working. Few of the community groups now being formed have much to go on other than small personal savings; many of them include unemployed members who can contribute nothing but their goodwill and their work. The way of these pioneer groups, with winter ahead and their work all to do, is likely to be hard enough. Real privation may be the lot of some.

This is the concern of us all because these are pacifists who are making a courageous effort towards self-subsistence without reliance on the wages of war-work or the charity of friends. More than this, alone and against heavy odds, they are exploring the way of peaceful sharing and co-operation that the world must at length follow if peace is ever to be more than a pious hope or a politician's phrase. These men and women indeed are the "expeditionary force" of our campaign of witness. They are in the front line of our peace force. And it is up to us to show that they have the practical sympathy and support of the main body behind them. Until they become established—and it will be no quick or easy task—these groups will need all the help they can get and they can look for very little outside of the peace bodies.

It is hoped that the revised edition of "Community in Britain" now in preparation will contain much new information and will reflect at least some of the activities at present taking shape. The first edition, published a year ago, sold out with a rapidity that surprised even its sponsors. Friends who want a copy of the new book are invited to write now and reserve their copy at 2/-. "Outlines for Community"—the supplementary handbook published in the summer—is still available but going rapidly now. (Requests, contributions and communications, please, to: Hon. Sec., Community Service Committee, Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey).

## CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

STATISTICS are a great bore to most people, and yet as in everything else there are statistics and statistics.

The famous Dr. Jowett once said that a £1 sterling was sometimes much more than a £1 sterling, and depended upon what you did with it. If you used it merely to build a house it was a £1 sterling simply; if you used it to build life it was incalculable. So certain statistics are vital, and here are some.

### Membership

When we are able to record that within the space of 2½ years our membership has increased 2½ times, and also, that within the period from the beginning of the war to the middle of November the membership has increased by 1,200, we are recording something which is not mere figures, but which is of vital importance to the life of the community.

### Magazine

This magazine of ours has been accused in some quarters of being very highbrow! This is a compliment to the writers, but is held to be likely to hinder its progress. Whatever be the truth of that statistics again are of great interest. At the beginning of this year we set forth to our readers an ideal that by close co-operation between headquarters, and the branches we should lift the circulation level from 6,500 to 10,000. At the outset it seemed to be almost impossible, but we are glad to say that as the end of the year approaches our regular order to the printers is now 10,000 copies per month. To all concerned, printers, advertisers, branch secretaries, readers, and that real but indefinable group we can only call "recommenders" we give our thanks. Also we would draw the attention of all these to the January issue which is to be the twenty-fifth birthday number. At the beginning of the new year the Fellowship will have completed 25 years of life and work. We are trying to make this Birthday issue a great success by having already obtained articles from many of the best writers on our special subjects. Will you help to make the Birthday issue a success by ordering your copies early and ordering extra copies if you can?

### November 11th

Our branches all over the country held devotional services using the Order of Service

which appeared in the November Magazine. This order of service was reprinted for the use of the branches, and over 4,000 of these were applied for, and used on that day. We think that a corporate act of devotion on the part of so many of our members gathered for the purpose into comparatively small groups of people numbering altogether thousands of people is, again, not mere statistics but the sign and symbol of real life.

### Group Life

Herein is the essence of Fellowship. Our membership is on a national scale, indeed international scale, and everybody who joins the Fellowship is a member of the whole body. There is no membership of the branch apart from membership of the whole. Nevertheless the real life of the Fellowship lies in the group life. It does not matter how big a group is, indeed it may almost be said that the small group is able to live out the fellowship-ideal better than a large group. But, anyway, whatever be the size of the group it is in its coming together in the same mind that was in Christ that the vitality of the whole Fellowship consists. We therefore urge two things: the multiplication of our groups, and branches, and the deepening of spiritual experience in and through fellowship with one another.

### "The Christian Pacifist" Abroad

*The Christian Pacifist* may be posted to friends abroad in the U.S.A., France and places within the British Empire. No printed matter may be sent without a permit to any of the following countries:

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Luxemburg	Socialist Republics	Rumania
Denmark	Finland	Turkey
Switzerland	Estonia	Greece
Hungary	Latvia	Portugal
Yugoslavia	Lithuania	Monaco
Sweden	Spain	Lichtenstein
Japan		

or any dependencies thereof.

Readers who wish to send *The Christian Pacifist* to any of these countries should place an order for it to be sent direct from the publishers, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.



## PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

## BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Chairman: THE REV. W. H. HADEN, M.A.

Our London Secretary writes that the B.P.F. now has contacts and members in 80 out of the 260 Baptist Churches in London. Baptist Pacifists in London are asked to get into touch with Mr. E. W. Bales, 105, Parkway, N.W.1. (Gulliver 1078).

The last month has seen a further steady growth all over the country, considerable progress in Luton and the Rossendale Valley, and the formation of a new group at Cefn Mawr, near Wrexham.

May we once again urge all Baptists who are pacifists to strengthen this vital witness in the denomination, by joining our fellowship. We are reaching the point where numbers are important in the influence we wield. It would help immensely if members would endeavour to enrol the other members of their families. Please see if you can win another member by the new year.

## METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

REPORT FOR DECEMBER.

*New Office at Kingsway Hall.* The M.P.F. has now rented an office on the first floor of the Kingsway Hall premises. The Executive held its first meeting there on November 3rd, and commenced with an Act of Dedication in which the following took part: Revs. Henry Carter, E. C. Urwin, Donald Soper and G. E. Hickman Johnson. In his opening statement Mr. Carter referred to the fact that the new office was dedicated on the sixth birthday of the M.P.F. The first gathering for the taking of the Covenant was held in the Oak Room (Kingsway Hall) on November 3rd, 1933.

*Further Large Membership Increase.* One hundred, and thirty-two new lay members were reported on November 3rd to have been added to the Fellowship since October 10th. In addition there were 19 new ministerial members, 18 students of Didsbury College, and Rev. J. D. Johnston, of the Shetland Isles.

There were four lay and seven ministerial resignations. *M.P.F. Ministerial Conference.* Some 40 ministerial members from the London area met in the Oak Room, Kingsway Hall, on Monday, November 6th. Rev. Henry Carter presided and opened a useful discussion upon a number of aspects of our work in present circumstances. Questions relating to conscientious objectors and the Tribunals, the ministerial witness in the Church, and the study of principles and details of the new order of things after the War were helpfully considered and discussed.

*Distress Fund.* We commend the example of several Groups which are raising a fund among their members so as to meet any local cases of need which may arise as a consequence of conscientious conviction.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

## CIVIL SERVICE PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

A meeting of 150 pacifist Civil Servants representing many departments and grades was held on the 25th of October at the Kingsway Hall, London. A Committee was elected and has formulated details for the organisation of a Fellowship for mutual assistance throughout the country. An information bureau will be accessible to members regarding Civil Service questions, especially as they concern Conscientious Objectors. Pacifists in the Civil Service are invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. D. H. Brims, 239, Northumberland Avenue, Welling, Kent.

## ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP.

The annual general meeting of the Fellowship was held on Wednesday, November 15th, at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club. About 60 people were present at the Sung Eucharist at Holy Cross Church when the preacher was the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier. Afterwards members met in the Dick Sheppard Club for lunch. This was followed by the Annual Business Meeting at which about 100 members were present. The Ven. P. Hartill was elected the new Chairman of the Fellowship upon the resignation of the Marquis of Tavistock. The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon was re-elected Hon. Secretary, and the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier was elected to the new office of Treasurer. It was reported that our membership had increased during the past month by 236, which brings the total membership up to 1,989, including 318 priests.

At 6.30 p.m. a well-attended public meeting was held in the Club. The Chairman was the Ven. P. Hartill, and there were two speakers, the Rev. Prof. Charles E. Raven, and the Rev. T. B. Scrutton. The Chairman said the greatest evil of war is not only broken bodies, but far worse than broken bodies and lives taken away, is the spiritual degradation of human souls. He stressed the importance of clear thinking, and said that if we believe that Christ is Truth, that which muddles thinking is un-Christian. He pointed out that when a nation has been fed on half-truths during war it cannot make a fair settlement at the end.

Canon Raven stressed the unique position that Anglican pacifists held, because, he said "we could bring about pacifist public opinion if we could work for that end." He also urged members to study the reports of the Oecumenical Conferences held in Oxford, Edinburgh and Madras.

The Rev. T. B. Scrutton said how thankful he was for the advance in public thinking that had been made in the gap between the last war and this one. "Whichever way you turn," he said, "you cannot help but notice that pacifism is more reasonably spoken of." The great ground for cheerfulness is, he said, that we are learning how great God is.

May we remind Clerical members that the next Clergy Conference will be held at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, W.1, on Wednesday, December 6th, at 10.30 a.m.?

## BRITISH PEACE AIMS

Twenty-three Methodist Ministers in Manchester have issued an appeal for the definition of British Peace Aims in the following terms:

We, as members of the Methodist Peace Fellowship (Manchester Branch), desire to express our conviction that since the peace offer of the German leader has been found unacceptable by our Government, it is now imperative that counter-proposals of a positive nature should be put forward. Our aim has been stated as the establishment of a just and equitable peace in Europe. This possibility will become more remote with the continuation of the war because bitterness and hatred will inevitably increase. Empty stomachs will go ill with sweet reasonableness, and even those in Germany who hate the war are likely to become embittered through the slow processes of a war of attrition and relentless economic blockade.

DICK SHEPPARD CLUB,  
LONDON

A pacifist service is held at the Club every Sunday evening at 6 o'clock conducted by either an Anglican or Free Church minister. Visitors are welcome. Entrance in Binney Street, off Oxford Street.

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"THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST,"  
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EXPERIENCED SECRETARY, pacifist, desires post, preferably in or near London. Write Box, C.66, F.O.R., 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

ORGANIST AND CHOIRMASTER (33) requires Church, preferably London district. Scope. Recitalist. Experienced Choirtrainer. Lecturer (public libraries, etc.). Reason: Incompatibility with Vicar's peace ethics. Also gives music lessons, children and adults. Moderate terms. (A.P.F. member). Write, "C" 6, Bromfelde Road, S.W.4.

F.O.R. MEMBER. FULLY QUALIFIED SECRETARY with University Degree, and considerable experience organisation, administration, accounts, wants post January. Write, Marjorie Colman, 14, Southey Street, Keswick, Cumberland.

CERTIFIED TEACHER (20), Christian Pacifist, exempted by Tribunal, seeks scholastic position—good references. Box No. C.70, F.O.R., 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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## MEETINGS.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on Monday, 18th December. Leader:—The Rev. HAMPDEN HORNE, Chairman of London Union.

## WANTED

The headquarters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. would be very grateful to receive the gift of a 1939 Crockford's Clerical Directory.



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