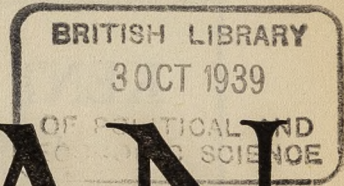


New Series. No. 10. Vol. 1

OCTOBER 1939

The
**CHRISTIAN
PACIFIST**



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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

OCTOBER, 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

Totalitarian War

There are two kinds of peace. One is gone from us. In shattering destruction of our hopes the nations of Europe have begun again to massacre their youth, and West suffers with the East the insensate ravages of war. The colossal preparation of armaments which was to have been the safeguard of our peace as served only to precipitate catastrophe. Our first concern must be for the men, the precious lives, actually engaged in the slaughter, concern not only for the suffering they must endure but for the suffering they must inflict. Yet war is never, and least of all to-day, confined to the battle-field and the grim agony has settled down upon every home in every land where there are boys and men of military age, and spreads beyond to the innocent and helpless victims of bombardment and blockade. It is totalitarian war. Of peace in one sense of the word there can be none now for any of us.

The World Cannot Give

But there is another kind of peace. It is the peace which the world cannot give neither can it take away. It is the peace of God which, surpassing understanding, keeps the heart and mind. It is in this sense that the word is most frequently employed in Scripture. Is it this

peace which was the possession of the early Church and which is God's gift in every age to His people. It is conditioned not by circumstances but by faith. It is a peace not made by man but given by God. It is our Lord's legacy to His disciples: "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

A Ministry of Peace

It is of this peace that every Christian pacifist must be a citadel. There belongs to us even in these days of sad anxiety a calm serenity of mind not based on any self-assurance nor on any indifference to suffering, but founded on the sure faith that God, who was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, reigns over all, reigns in humility which is His true majesty, in gentleness which is His true power, in forbearance which is His effective judgment. He who was triumphant and glorious in the defeat and shame of Calvary, triumphs gloriously to-day even while they crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame. Our faith is not that we shall be saved from pain or loss, but that we shall be saved by God's grace from dishonour, from cowardice, from hatred and from anger, from bitterness of

spirit and from heart-sickness of hope deferred. There will be many on all sides who need our help, and as we witness humbly and tenderly to the things which God has given us to believe we shall have daily opportunity of bringing strength and cheer to those whose faith is failing and whose joy of life is quenched. Even in these days of darkness the light may shine for some as it has never shone.

Preparing for Peace

So far from being eclipsed by the outbreak of war the work of the pacifist was never more needed than at the present moment. Even now we must diligently prepare for the peace that is to come however far away it may be at present. Not the pacifist only but every intelligent person of goodwill wants to avert another Versailles Treaty. As the I.P.C. has already declared in a timely circular, we must begin now to create the moral conditions in which a just and lasting peace can be achieved, a peace not dictated to a humbled enemy but arrived at by fair conference. The war itself will certainly do nothing to bring about these conditions. That must be the work of the preacher, the writer, the teacher and speaker, all over the country. Even now an opportunity of work for reconciliation may present itself. It is expected that with the defeat and partition of Poland an accomplished fact the Nazi Government will offer terms through a neutral Power to France and Great Britain. There is no probability that these terms will in themselves be acceptable, but their flat refusal will commit Europe to a conflict lasting for years in which all remaining good will be destroyed and the very objects for which the war was begun frustrated. We can be no party to injustice, but injustice can only be resisted effectively by non-violent and moral means. Is it not possible that even at this hour the nations could meet in honourable conference out of which a new world order might emerge. To take the view that we cannot talk to an unbeaten enemy is the part neither of Christianity nor of common-sense, and if a change of Government in Germany must be a prerequisite of parley, that is much more likely to be attained if the German people know that we are prepared to discuss problems with them through other leaders. We cannot here anticipate the action that is likely to be taken by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, the National Peace Council, and other organisations, but we would

urge upon readers the importance of seizing whatever opportunity may be offered within the next few days of pressing upon Members of Parliament and the Press the higher wisdom of a course of mercy and forbearance.

War Never Humane

We welcome the assurance given by the Prime Minister that "whatever be the lengths to which others may go H.M. Government will never resort to deliberate attacks on women, children and other civilians for the purposes of mere terrorism." While we would not anticipate the lengths to which "others" may go we are glad to hear the principle plainly stated that we do not descend to the level of the enemy. At the same time we can have little faith in any attempt, however sincere, to make war humane. If a blockade of Germany is a necessary part of strategy it is difficult to distinguish that from a deliberate attack on women and children as it certainly proved to be in 1918. Even the killing of fathers if not a deliberate is a very terrible indirect attack on children, nor is it possible to engage in aerial bombardment even of legitimate military objects without endangering and terrorising civilian populations. The fact is that there are brutal and quite unheroic elements in war which cannot be disguised, and we must not pretend that there is any such thing as a clean and gentlemanly war.

The "Athenia"

While nothing can excuse the sinking of the Athenia we must be on our guard lest such atrocities should be made the ground of self-righteous hatred of the enemy. Germany along with many other nations, including Japan, signed a few years ago a protocol expressly renouncing the right to wage unrestricted submarine warfare on enemy merchant marine. There is no doubt that the sinking of the Athenia is a breach of this international agreement on the part of Germany.

It must be remembered, however, that the protocol was one-sided and favoured the British who were exceedingly vulnerable on sea. It was a transparent attempt under the cloak of humanitarianism to clog the efforts of future enemies. A bargain ought to be of equal advantage to each contracting party. It was in accordance with "real Politik" for the Germans to sign the protocol when she was seeking the favour of Britain. Is it in accordance with "real Politik" for the Germans to keep it

now? Is it not clear that the only condition under which the protocol could be kept upright is that the British and the Germans should remain friendly?

British "Real Politik"

The British Government itself has constantly during the past four years subscribed to the maxims of "real Politik." When Britain found it inconvenient to perform her engagement to vindicate Abyssinia against her aggressor, she joined with other nations in turning the Covenant of the League of Nations into a "scrap of paper." She then made a pact with the aggressor and acknowledged the legitimacy of the seizure of Ethiopia. She broke the Covenant not merely in the written letter but also in the spirit. It is unseemly for those who break their engagements to invoke the sanctity of protocols. Again the British and French staged and kept going for two years a well-known farce called the Non-Intervention Committee. One of the scenes of this "farce" was the destruction by German aerial bombardment of the prosperous Basque towns with their populations. The British Government no doubt thought this bit of the "farce" overdone, but they did not object to making friendly overtures to the perpetrators of it after they had sanctified the policy of frightfulness by success. What difference, from a humanitarian point of view, is there between the bombing of the Basque towns and the torpedoing of an unarmed passenger steamer? If we condone the one, ought we not to condone the other? We have here a recurrence of the eternal problem, how to limit the illimitable, how to define the indefinable. So long as we remain inside the sphere of morality, we can with some hope of success try to reach a universal rule. But when we step outside the bounds of morality into war (defensive or offensive) there can be no absolute standard. The only restrictions on war will never be other than those set by the shifting notions of expediency of the combatants. War is a game which has no rules. It is an abandonment of divine order. In all ages there have been the usual recriminations that the other side has broken the "rules" of war, when in reality both sides have been outside all rule.

Fighting with Obsolete Weapons

Christian pacifists, having deep convictions of their own, can appreciate the high motives with which some of the best elements in the

nation have gone to war. No one is more opposed to Hitlerism, wherever that pernicious evil is to be found, than the pacifist, though the fiction that would depict the German Government as wholly black and our own as wholly white will persuade none but the simplest minds. We are not, however, concerned to deny that the "democracies" have a good cause. Our lament is that such a worthy cause has been committed to such unworthy guardianship as that of war. It is hard to see how a righteous end can be served by unrighteous means. What good has come to unhappy Poland, it may well be asked of our military defence of her interests? If a clear statement of our war aims could be made would they not be found to be such as can only be achieved in the end by a generous goodwill, by universal repentance, and by friendly co-operation of all the World Powers? We are not so cynical as to believe that the war is merely a clash of materialistic imperialisms. High principles are at stake. And for that very reason we shall not cease to plead that our trust be placed not in that which has been acknowledged to be "incompatible with the mind and spirit of Christ, but in the only way of salvation alike for men and nations. The statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury together with the moderators of the Church of Scotland and of the Federal Council of the Free Churches in England (to which allusion is made elsewhere in these pages) must appear to the plain man to be a temporary setting aside of the Christian faith in favour of another way. We believe there is no other way that does not lead to moral disaster.

What Should This Man Do?

Many people are asking for advice as to work that they ought to undertake in view of the fact of war. Some have been displaced from their normal occupations and need help in finding livelihoods. Some young men affected by the military service Acts want to be able to offer satisfactory alternative service: attempts are being made by the International Voluntary Service for Peace, by the Peace Pledge Union and by the Methodist Pacifist Fellowship and other bodies to provide opportunities for them. Some feel that, police work, auxiliary fire service, air raid wardening and such activities being ruled out for them, they must nevertheless render some form of volun-

tary service to their fellows at such a time and desire most that it shall be thoroughly peaceable in character.

In answer to them we would say, first; refuse as long as ever you can to be deflected from the service connected with Church, School, social welfare organisations or whatever it may be to which you have devoted yourself in peace time. The fashion for changing jobs is largely unhealthy. But if your leisure time job has disappeared, or if unfortunately you had not wakened up, before the war came, to your religious and social responsibilities, let us suggest that with two or three friends you make a quick and simple survey of your neighbourhood to discover how much good and necessary social work has been smashed by the incidence of war and by the withdrawal of staff and facilities: it is unlikely that you need look very far for a job for yourself or for a friend still better qualified. In general it is well worth while remembering that the social services, especially education, suffer first in war and preparations for war and that the maintenance of moral and religious values, not only in general, but in the minds of our immediate neighbours and in the minds of their children might well be a first charge on our time. If more specifically peace work is desired it has to be admitted that the creative mind is a desideratum: there are few ready-made jobs. Clear and simple writing in local papers is one of the best forms of propaganda; and if we have the topical sense and can write sincerely and sympathetically there will be many openings for short paragraphs, all of them bearing the essence of the message. Another necessary local service is the steady visitation of those sympathetic to the peace cause and of those who are in one way or another the victims of war, especially in the darkest times, and effort to bring them together often for Prayer, fellowship and mutual consent.

Mary E. Phillips

We regret to announce the death of Mary E. Phillips, of Bournemouth, who was a member of the original General Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Miss Phillips was an authority on industrial problems especially in relation to girls and for many years worked with the Y.W.C.A. She has been a generous supporter of the Fellowship through all these years and has left it a legacy of £100.

MESSAGE TO CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS

The Council of Christian Pacifist Groups has issued a message to Christian Pacifists, which has been widely circulated. It says:

"It is manifest that in these last days a spirit vastly different from that of 1914 has been revealed. Many in all nations, if they are not yet ready for the renunciation of their lust for power and reliance on violence, are deeply convinced of the wickedness and folly of war; of its destruction of all the true values of life; of its challenge to the personal and œcumenical claims of Christ's religion. There is amongst Christians in Britain and in all lands a clear consciousness of the shame of our present conflicts, a recognition of the judgment which they involve upon our whole method of living, a respect for those who, on grounds of conscience, cannot consent to take any part in military activity, a belief that the real issues at stake are not those of the flesh but of the spirit. Whatever the outcome in terms of national victory or defeat, the issue will be determined by the extent to which the fruit of the Spirit is fostered or corrupted. We believe that to-day this conviction is felt far outside the ranks of the professed pacifists.

Far from supposing that our work as Christian pacifists can be suspended or from accepting a sense of despair or of the helplessness of our state, we must see in the present calamity a fresh and urgent call to our ministry of reconciliation. We must devote ourselves from the outset to stopping this terrible conflict and helping to bring true peace to the world. A new consecration of ourselves to God, a new insight into the cost and the victory of Calvary, a new sympathy with the whole family of God's human children should be our constant intention for ourselves and for all whom we can touch.

It was in the violence and persecution of the Roman Empire that the faith of Christ achieved its first and most splendid victories; it is when nation rises against nation and men's hearts are failing them for fear that we are bidden to look for the coming of the Son of Man in glory. In the strength of his faith we would rededicate ourselves in our discipleship."

The message is signed by Professor Charles E. Raven, the Rev. Henry Carter and Professor G. H. C. Macgregor.

THE MOTE AND THE BEAM

C. J. CADOUX

IT is a well-known historical fact that Robert Burns once saw a louse disporting itself on a lady's bonnet in church, and that the sight inspired him to compose a poem, of which the last verse began,

"O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us,
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,
And foolish notion"

Burns's point has become an ethical commonplace, one that has been over and over again vindicated in human experience—namely, that our judgment of others is always apt to be biassed by a disregard of our own shortcomings. It has received, indeed, nobler expression than that in Burns's lines; for One greater than he said: "Judge not, that ye be not judged And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

The application of this warning to our own judgments of other nations and their governments has often been pleaded for in the pages of this Journal, with especial reference to the severe criticisms we are to-day so prone to level against Germany and Italy. Thus, in the July issue of *Reconciliation* last year, it is urged that British opinion "must not be more horrified by injustices in Germany than by injustices in the British Empire. No wonder that the British reputation for hypocrisy increases while we mildly criticise affairs in India, Palestine and the West Indies, but boil with self-righteous indignation over the delinquencies of Germany and the dictators When . . . we attempt to disguise a narrow patriotism as a passion for public morals, we deceive no nation but our own." Again, in the following month, "Thus pacifists, while making no secret of their utter condemnation of the conquest of Abyssinia, include in their condemnation of that infamy an equal condemnation of all similar conquests, but they are not willing to stir up hatred in this country against Italy."

The Repentance of the Thief is still Repentance

Now the purpose of this article is not to stir up hatred, or to call in question the soundness of the plea that all our adverse judgments of others should be tempered by a humble consciousness of our own frailty. Its object is to

urge that, unless we are free to recognize wickedness when it is before us, and to condemn it as it deserves, we shall display so inadequate a grasp of reality as to forfeit our right to pronounce on the way in which it ought to be dealt with. True, the pleas quoted above do not in intention and verbal expression deny our right to condemn: but they are calculated, if taken too seriously, to paralyse in practice our power of moral assessment. It is well to remember that He who said "Judge not" also said "By their fruits shall ye know them." The synthesis of these two apparently conflicting principles perhaps lies in the view that, while we are not at liberty to pronounce judgment on the doers, we are in duty bound to form a just estimate of their deeds. And this cannot be done if, at every effort to do it, we are to be blocked by the reminder that our own deeds are not perfect.

No doubt Britain has in past centuries often been aggressive in acquiring her colonies; no doubt her representatives have sometimes, even in recent years, been guilty of severity and brutality in, let us say, suppressing Indian or Arabian terrorism. The last-named case is admittedly a bad one. But frank recognition of this fact ought not to forbid us, just because we ourselves are Britishers, branding the iniquities of the Axis-powers as vastly worse, when viewed from a purely moral and historical standpoint.

The Charge-Sheet

The fact that so many of the British enormities usually adduced in this connexion were committed a century or more ago is of great significance here. For the blameworthiness of acts of aggression increases—as the claims of a higher standard rise—with the lapse of years. But apart from that, who can seriously contend that this country stands guilty of injustices as great and heinous as those which are now rampant in Central Europe? Where is the British equivalent of that masterful muzzling of the press, whereby the whole German population is prevented from learning any facts of public interest except in that strictly limited measure and in that special version approved by the German Government? What have we in our recent history at all approaching the per-

secution of the Confessional Church in Germany, involving as it does the arbitrary imprisonment without trial of hundreds of Christian ministers, because they will not subscribe to a ridiculously narrow view of the Christian religion? Where in British territory are the concentration-camps in which several thousands of persons whose views do not tally with those of the Government are deprived of their liberty, separated from their families, often brutally maltreated, and in any case consigned to the living death of a perpetual or at least an indefinite imprisonment? What is there in our record that can be put on a par with Germany's treatment of Pastor Niemöller—or with its treatment of thousands of its Jewish subjects, their homes wrecked, their persons assaulted, their families dispersed, their property wantonly confiscated, their means of livelihood removed, their very right to stay in the country cancelled? When has Britain flooded the countries near her with swarms of wretched and destitute refugees? What British Government has driven hundreds of its subjects to suicide within the space of a few weeks? What responsible British minister has ever made a proclamation like that of Goebbels—"Compassion to Jews will not be tolerated"?

It is beside the point to meet indignant protests against such brutalities with the observation that "we have no right to condemn a nation because it chooses to be governed in ways that are not our ways." Not only is it beside the point, but it is not even accurate in point of fact: for a large percentage of the German population (some would say a large majority) do *not* choose to be so governed. But their Government has so perfected its machinery of terrorism and coercion that it can carry on despite the disapproval of vast numbers of the citizens.

Blatant Political Iniquity

It is in connexion with the mentality revealed by these heartless methods of home-administration that we must look at the character of Germany's foreign policy. Acting on the assumption that Germany was the innocent party in the last war, and that therefore *all* penalization of her was inexcusable robbery, Hitler's Government has calmly assumed the right to terminate at its own discretion and by unilateral action one after another of such items in the settlement as did not please them. First the Anschluss with Austria; then the brutal seizure

of Czecho-Slovakia "by the will of the Führer" (in bland defiance of the agreement at Munich, and in disregard of the rights of an alien people); then the appropriation of Memel. Each such extension of the Reich is of course followed by cruel persecution of more Jews and the consignment of more suspected individuals to the concentration-camps. Morally, it is all of a piece with Italy's rape of Abyssinia and her subsequent appropriation of Albania, with Japan's butcheries in China, and with Germany's and Italy's diabolical air-raids on the towns of Spain, while they were both professing neutrality and non-intervention.

With every desire not to be blind to Britain's real faults, we surely cannot evade the conclusion that what we are now witnessing in Central Europe constitutes an outburst of blatant political iniquity the like of which has not been seen since the days of Napoleon, in some respects not since the days of the Inquisition and the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century. The reply recently published by Dr. Goebbels to Commander Stephen King-Hall's appeal to the average German citizen is of interest in this connexion. Apart from the fact that it is couched throughout in terms of a truculent and insulting badinage wholly unworthy of the serious discussion of public affairs, it endeavours, not to justify directly the behaviour of the German Government, but to parry British criticism by the old charge of hypocrisy, supporting the charge by references partly to such ancient transgressions as the slave-trade, the opium war with China and our treatment of the Boers, and partly by such wholly sectional or local matters as Amritsar or the defence of the north-western frontier of India, or the turmoil in Palestine. Pile up whatever blame can fairly be laid on the British Government for these evil-doings: the appeal to them remains ridiculously irrelevant as an answer to our protests against the cruelties which the Axis-powers and their allies have committed and are still committing. In reply to President Roosevelt's appeal for a new order of things, they object to being "put in the dock." What else can they expect?

Our Self-Censorship of Truth

Pacifists, I submitted, render poor service to the peace and well-being of the world by suggesting that the public deeds of the German and Italian Governments are not brutal and murderous, or that the undoubted shortcomings

and iniquities of Britain are deserving of equal condemnation. To express emphatic abhorrence of all the cruelty which is being inflicted is not necessarily to pronounce a personal condemnation of the individuals responsible, who may—for all we know—be acting up to their lights! It is simply to characterize their deeds as we know perfectly well they deserve to be characterized; and if one is not allowed to do that, then one is not allowed to tell the truth.

It goes, of course, without saying that, needful and right as is the denunciation of cruelty, the Christian must never simply confine himself to denunciation. "What could be more stupid," asked *Reconciliation* in July last year, "than (for) two nations which are trying out different experiments in the difficult art of government to start fighting each other." In passing it may be observed that to describe the Nazi tyranny as an "experiment in the difficult art of government" strikes one as a rather grim euphemism. But I entirely agree that a just abhorrence of its enormity does not necessarily involve war. I do not myself see how the abhorrence is, or ought, to be silenced. Nor do I see how, as long as the German Government manifests the inhumanity that has so far characterized it, this country can ever be a party to thrusting back under its yoke colonial populations that have recently been free from it. But I do contend that our Government should leave no stone unturned in an endeavour

(1) to help Germany and Poland to arrive at a peaceful settlement of their several claims;

(2) to convince Germany that we have no desire to misrepresent or misunderstand her acts;

(3) to satisfy her that we are not animated by any enmity or jealousy towards her.

ADVICE TO CLERGY

Never belittle our best achievements as a nation, but do not acquiesce in a self-righteous patriotism. Try to uplift the thoughts of your hearers by positive constructive preaching of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Constantly remind your hearers of the power of the Spirit of God active among men. Remember that the Church of Christ should be a fellowship of men and women of all nations, praying and working for unity and peace.

A National Confession of Sin

But the greatest contribution which could be made towards a true appeasement would be a public expression of regret on Britain's part of the vindictive treatment which she and France meted out to Germany at and after the Treaty of Versailles. It is little use going back to the problem of responsibility for the last war. Those who really made the last war are not now parties in the game; and, if we are to go back to 1914, we might in logic feel obliged to go back to 1870, or even to the days of Louis XIV. But in any case it is morally imperative that England should now acknowledge the wrongfulness of needlessly inflicting grievous misery on a beaten and to a large extent then repentant enemy. The prolongation of the food-blockade after the signature of the Armistice (one of the clauses of which stated that "the Allies contemplate the provisioning of Germany during the period of the Armistice"), the quartering of black troops in the Rhine, the occupation of the Ruhr, the wilful frustration of all the efforts made by Germany's responsible statesmen to stabilize her public life, and, later on, the establishment of the Ottawa Agreements—were all of them acts calculated to rouse against us the bitterest hatred in German hearts, whoever was or was not responsible for the outbreak in 1914. Let then these cruelties be now frankly owned and regretted as such; let the existing economic hostility be reversed; let the risk of seeming to show a sign of weakness be bravely run. A step may thus be taken towards generating a more favourable atmosphere for the removal of groundless suspicion and for the peaceful settlement of the immediately outstanding problems. The way would thus be prepared for the ultimate termination of those severities which have recently cast such a sinister shadow on the good name of a noble and gifted race.

Speak at times of things which perplex us all, such as the value of prayer in war-time, undeserved suffering, the problem of evil. Do not slur over difficulties, and above all be honest. But frequently and strongly teach that evil must be overcome by good. It is not Christian nor even religious to say that force must be met by force. We can only build peace between the nations by international justice and goodwill.—*The Bishop of Birmingham in "Diocesan Monthly Messenger."*

CONSCRIPTION AND CIVIL LIBERTY

LEYTON RICHARDS

UNDER the system of Boy Conscription adopted by the Commonwealth of Australia in 1910, a senior cadet complained to the army authorities concerning some minor but vexatious irregularity on the part of one of his officers, and failing to secure redress he published his complaint in one of the Melbourne papers. The complaint was well-founded, and publicity secured a remedy; but the cadet was nevertheless punished by his superiors for the "crime" of exercising a liberty which belongs by right to every civilian in a democratic community. Conscription impinged upon civil liberty.

Two years later a question was asked in the Federal Senate concerning a plea for liberty of conscience which I had embodied in a sermon from the pulpit of Collins Street Independent Church (of which I was then the minister), and the Minister for Defence replied, stating that I was liable to prosecution for having uttered words "likely to prejudice the discipline of His Majesty's forces." Once again, Conscription was a threat to civil liberty.

In 1917, an article appeared in a London journal, urging a response to the famous "Lansdowne Letter" and pleading for "peace by negotiation" instead of a "fight to a finish." We know from many of the war-time memoirs since published that, under the prevailing stalemate on the western front, a negotiated peace could have been secured; a million British lives would thereby have been saved, a vindictive Peace Treaty would have been avoided, and we should not to-day be saddled with Conscription as a means of restraining an aggrieved and aggressive Germany beaten to her knees in 1918. But it was an offence under Conscription to exercise civil liberty, and so the editor who published the plea for peace was haled before the Stipendiary at Bow Street and committed to three months' hard labour without the option of a fine. The charge, as in Melbourne, was "uttering statements likely to prejudice the discipline of His Majesty's forces", and the charge was not without substance. For if conscripts are allowed to know that there is an alternative to the "mud and blood" of war, their zest for fighting is apt to evaporate, or—in the familiar euphemism of the day—the "morale" of the

army is liable to suffer. So civil liberty is sacrificed to Conscription.

Early in 1918, a pacifist friend of mine (whom I will disguise as A.B.) was working with the Y.M.C.A. among the troops in the near East. One evening, round the tables, talk turned upon the relation of Christianity to war, and a discussion ensued in the course of which A.B. openly avowed his pacifist faith. The sequel was as swift as it was unexpected, for next morning he was committed to the Guard Room and ordered for deportation, which duly took effect. Conscripts were not to be contaminated by pacifist "heresies," and so a fundamental liberty of civil life was denied to men in khaki.

How long will it be before a similar embargo upon free discussion is applied to trainees under the present Act? As the law stands, conscripts may attend meetings, but they are forbidden by Army Regulations to take any active part; which means that university students and members of Trade Union lodges—who normally are accustomed to debate publicly and freely the issues of peace and war and the policies which lead to the one or the other,—are already deprived of an essential element of civil liberty if they happen to have reached the age of 20.

Instances could be multiplied indefinitely, both from my own experience and beyond it, but without further illustration it should be clear that Conscription and civil liberty cannot lie down together and that, once the principle of forced military service is admitted, we have opened the door to any and every invasion of our freedom which may be demanded in the name of national "defence." Indeed,—and this is the final *reductio ad absurdum* of all militarism,—press the matter far enough and in the interests of "defence" we destroy from within the very things which we say we wish to defend against assault from without!

The reason for this lies in the essential character and purpose of military organisation. It is not accidental, for instance, that discipline in any army is maintained by the threat of penalties which would be reckoned intolerable in civil life; the soldier's duty is so often repugnant to his finer feelings and so alien to all he holds as decent and right (or even sensible), that only the fear of drastic punishment is

strong enough to restrain him from disobedience to orders. Tennyson unconsciously exposed the fundamental contradiction between soldiering and the God-given prerogatives of human personality in the familiar tag, "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." Yet the tag falls short of the truth, for the soldier's primary duty is not to die but to kill; and in order to force him to this unwelcome task, his superiors are armed with authority in the last issue to kill him if he should hesitate to kill others.

This cannot happen in civil life, where guarantees of personal liberty still hold, and even in a volunteer army the fiercest excesses of discipline must be exercised with restraint, or the stream of volunteers dries up. But Conscription lifts this restraint, for the conscript does not choose to put his neck in the military yoke; it is clamped upon him by Act of Parliament, and therefore his civil liberties can be suspended and a rigid discipline imposed without the necessity of considering the effect of such a process upon the flow of recruits. "If my soldiers began to think for themselves," said Frederick the Great, "not one of them would stay in the ranks." More than anything else, this dictum explains the necessity for denying civil liberty to conscripts, for free men have an awkward habit of "thinking for themselves."

If however, Conscription is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the military authorities, it is no less dangerous to place it at the disposal of governments. Under a system of voluntary recruitment, a government must justify its policy to the public if recruits are to be forthcoming, for no man will enlist to fight for a cause he does not approve. Moreover, in such circumstances criticism is unhampered and can be freely voiced in opposition to governmental policy. But under Conscription, criticism can be stifled as something "likely to prejudice the discipline of His Majesty's forces," and a government therefore is able to pursue the most disastrous policy with the knowledge that no one will call it to account, or if anyone dares to do so that he can be instantly silenced. So men may be called to kill and be killed for a policy they repudiate. The conscript may hold that war is sometimes a dreadful necessity; he may be no pacifist, but he may believe, nevertheless, that on some occasion when his government calls him to arms, other and better methods might be employed. Yet, under

compulsory soldiering, liberty of judgment—and still more liberty of action—is denied him, and he must either fight for what he deems to be wrong or else be treated as a traitor and a mutineer.

The situation is even more discreditable when we remember that the brunt of this cruel dilemma is thrust upon voteless boys of 20. They at least have no responsibility for the blunders which lead to war; but Conscription willy-nilly thrusts them into the battle-line, and compels youth to pay for the follies and the sins of age. It is patriotism by compulsion, and it is also patriotism by deputy, for not a single Member of Parliament and no labour leader or church dignitary who applauds Conscription is, himself, under the military harrow.

This ability to override the liberty of the citizen and to compel his services against his better judgment is the most pernicious aspect of Conscription, for it puts almost illimitable power in the hands of a group of fallible men (call them the Government, the State, or anything else), and invests them with unquestioned authority over the lives—and it may be the deaths—of their fellows. But no man or body of men is morally competent to wield such dangerous power, and it is always fatal to democratic institutions to withhold from the body politic that breath of unfettered criticism by which alone civil liberty can be maintained.

To see that this is so, we need only contrast the Britain of 1900 during the Boer war when enlistment was voluntary, with the Britain of 1916-1918 when enlistment was compulsory. Public criticism of what Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman called "methods of barbarism" in South Africa led to investigation and remedy, and civil liberty in the exercise of free speech was thereby vindicated. But read the story of Passchendaele (where, according to Mr. Sisley Huddleston *The Times* Correspondent, no fewer than 400,000 British lives were squandered by the pride and incompetence of the higher command), and we realise something of the awful price that was paid when liberty of criticism became a crime. No voice could be raised against the insensate folly and wickedness of a "war of attrition," nor against the vindictive policy which prolonged it for the sake of a "dictated peace." Conscription put unchecked power into the hands of short-sighted and unimaginative men—statesmen and generals alike—and both life and liberty were sacrificed

without stint upon the altar of "unconditional surrender." And now to-day the chains are again being forged which made us helpless then, and which will reduce us to impotence whenever civil liberty is challenged by military autocracy.

Conscription and civil liberty go ill together because at bottom they rest upon opposed conceptions of the State. This is not the place to attempt even an outline of a political philosophy, but it can be said that if any such philosophy is to harmonise with a Christian outlook, its keyword must be liberty and not compulsion. The exact limits of State compulsion are difficult to define in theory, and—as in all ethical matters—there are innumerable border-line cases where precise delimitation is impossible. But Conscription stands so far to one side of that border line as to be an obvious denial of the civil liberty which flows from a Christian idea of the State. Man, after all, is not primarily a unit in a political organisation; he is a living soul destined for citizenship in the Kingdom of Heaven, and the test, therefore, of a morally valid statecraft lies in the measure of liberty which it allows to the citizen in his endeavour to be true to the higher law of the Heavenly Kingdom. In obeying the one, he should never be compelled to disobey the other.

There is a sound Christian instinct behind James Russell Lowell's lines on "Fugitive Slaves":—

"The traitor to Humanity is the traitor most accursed.

Man is more than constitutions. Better rot beneath the sod

Than be true to Church and State, while we are doubly false to God.

"We owe allegiance to the State; but deeper, truer, more,

A UNIVERSAL SOCIETY

In *The Times* of September 13th, the Bishop of Chichester publishes an important letter, drawing attention to the task of the Church during the conflict of nations. He says: "The Church is the trustee of the Gospel of Redemption, and aims at creating a community founded on love. The very fact that war has come shows how deep is human sin, and with what pain and what difficulty God's purpose must contend." He urges that the Church should be a fountain of prayer and under divine commission "offer to human beings

To the sympathies which God hath set within our spirit's core.

Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so; but then,

Before Man made us citizens, great Nature made us men."

In the Christian view, GOD'S will—and nothing less—is man's duty. But God's will is not the same for everyone, for duty varies with the varying personalities who are created for God's service, and one man's appointed rôle is not necessarily another's. The State, therefore, exceeds its legitimate competence when it prescribes duty in terms of one and the same task for a multitude of its citizens, for it thereby denies that liberty which belongs by inalienable right to every child of God.

No one has ever vindicated this liberty more nobly than John Milton in his "Areopagitica"; indeed, if his eloquent and irrefutable arguments were familiar to both governors and governed in this country, Conscription would be impossible, for he makes it overwhelmingly clear that every citizen ought to be free within the community to speak, to write, to discuss, to do whatever is not an offence against the exercise of similar freedom by his fellows. The substance of his plea is summed up in a sentence when he says, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." But Conscription contradicts this liberty and denies to its victims the "freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free"; and for that reason it merits the unqualified disapproval of all who would preserve unsullied the Christian inheritance which has come down to us from the Founder of the Faith.

reconciliation with God, the worship of the family of God, the teaching of the Gospel about God's purpose for human life now and the life of the world to come, and the proclaiming of the love of God for all men and all nations, as their common Father." He goes on: "The Church is a universal society, while it seeks to fulfil its mission in different nations. It binds its members in a unity which includes the members of the nation with which we are at war.

EVEN OUR FAITH

NATALIE VICTOR

THE post war generation is a thing of the past. Consciously or unconsciously, within the space of five or six years, it had become changed into a pre-war generation, a generation obsessed with approaching conflict. In one country after another this process had taken place until a world obsession resulted. The main activity of every country is to prepare for war, either actively in the training of men and supply of munitions, or passively in preparations for defence. In such a world, and as a member of this generation the pacifist, as every other individual, lives and moves and has his being. How is he to escape? Can he indeed by any means escape the contagion of the pre-war mind? Can he free himself from the world obsession? There is one means of escape, but only one. He must look not at the conflict, but *above* it, and *beyond* it.

Above it first: for over all God reigns. The Eternal and Immutable Will of God. His beneficent purpose for the human race, His awful attributes of Holiness, Justice and Love—these are not shaken by the conflict that rages beneath them. The tide of evil that has flowed to and fro across the world since Time began is powerless to engulf it. Abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth is the Psalmist's figure of the Peace that lies around the Throne. The sea of glass, clear as crystal, reflects it. That Peace is outside the reach of evil and above it.

Beyond it also, for this conflict is not the end. Beyond it lies a world to be rebuilt—a world shattered indeed beyond all knowing, a world in ruins but not for ever lost. Among its ruins will move the men and women who have fixed their eyes on God. Those who have lived unarmed amongst the armed nations, who have met curses with blessing, cruelty with pardon, blasphemy with adoration, those who have loved when Hate reigned, those who have looked above will find their work in that "Beyond."

And in all this Christ is their Master, by example as by precept.

Before Him, from the moment of His entry into humanity lay the supreme conflict of the world's history. With dread foreknowledge that conflict weighed upon His soul. From it there was no escape—but one.

He looked not at it, but above it.

"Now is My soul troubled, and what shall I

say. Father, save Me from this hour, but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy Name." It was enough. For answer came the voice from Heaven vindicating the victory of faith. "I have both glorified it and will glorify it again." And this answer, it is expressly stated, was given not for His sake (whose faith could never fail) but for ours who should come after.

Yet again. He looked not only above the conflict, but beyond it. "For the joy that was set before Him, He endured the Cross, despising the shame," and what was this joy for which He was willing and able to endure? Not the joy of His own release from suffering, not the joy of escape from this world to the Bosom of the Father, but the joy of a world redeemed. It was the joy of Redemption, of the victory over Sin and Death. For such a joy He could look beyond the conflict and endure.

The same lesson had been taught before by precept. "When these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads for your Redemption draweth nigh. *Then*, when the long-expected conflict breaks, when men's hearts are failing them for fear and for looking after those things that are coming on the earth—then "look up and lift up your heads." But what is this but Faith? Pacifism has been called Love in Action. It is that, because it is before all things Faith in action. It is the activity of a mind fastened on God. This is the antithesis of the war mind. It can neither dwell on war, nor prepare for war. It must dwell on God who reigns above war. War has ceased to be the one ghastly reality. God is Reality, and war the illusion.

The madness will pass: Eternal Love remains.

In place of terror: quietness and assurance.

In place of violence: patient endurance unto death.

For the hurled bomb, the swift arrow of pity and compassion.

For every act of cruelty, the cry for pardon: When men's hearts are failing them for fear, the expectation of Redemption.

When evil triumphs, and the world sinks beneath the flood, then the great shout, "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

This is the victory that overcometh the world—even our faith.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

Prayers for a time of War.

O God, Who hast promised in Thy word to make us more than conquerors through Him that loved us, lift us above desire to dominate by the desire to serve and save, and give us in humility and meekness the power of those who are not victors; enable us to bear with Christ defeat of all our hopes, release us from all pride save only in the Cross, and let Him work through us Who ever pleads from Calvary, our Saviour and Thy Son. Amen.

O Thou Who art the Maker of the firmament, the Source of all true strength, Who dost not spare Thy loved ones suffering but savest them from all dishonour, guard Thou our minds and fortify our hearts that we may be preserved from selfish cares, needless anxieties, and cowardice in the face of danger; give us the calm serenity of faith; keep us in perfect peace whose minds are stayed on Thee; and teach us the maturity of love that casteth out all fear, through Jesus our Redeemer. Amen.

Merciful God, in Whose dear Son we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins, give us such strong belief in this the only power that can abolish evil that we shall be enabled to forgive our enemies; and grant us grace not only to forgive but to accept forgiveness through Christ, the Crucified. Amen.

O God, Who didst not send Thy Son into the world to condemn the world but that the world through Him might be saved, deliver us from condemnation of our neighbours; let love of goodness make us sensitive to every wrong, yet open Thou our eyes to see the good in every man, especially in those who are opposed to us and whose convictions differ from our own; make us more generous in praise of others, less trustful in ourselves that we are righteous, and thus esteeming others better than ourselves, let us prevail by gentleness and win by love with Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Father of peace, we pray for all who fight whether on land or water, in the air or under the sea, and all who are exposed to danger; save them from hate and fear, keep their hearts pure, their conscience keen, their minds in converse with Thine own; where sin abounds let grace much more abound, and even amid the fierce exigencies of war keep their souls sensitive to what is beautiful and true and good; give those who are in high command a solemn sense of their responsibility to Thee; have in Thy care all those who suffer innocently having no quarrel with their neighbours; move men to mercy for the victims of bombardment and blockade; spare armed men the cowardice of attack on little children or defenceless folk; save those who flee in terror from the ravages of war and those who lose their homes and livelihoods; shorten the days of tribulation and hasten the time when we shall see the Son of Man coming in power and glory, even our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

O God of all the earth, Thou King Invisible, Who puttest down the mighty from their seats and exaltest the humble and meek cast down from power in every land the violent and deceitful man and such as base their policies on avarice and pride; and raise up men to rule of mercy and goodwill, of justice and forbearance to the end that Thy name may be known in the earth, Thy saving health among all nations. Amen.

O heavenly love, the God of all the earth, beside whom other gods are idols, forgive us our pretence of serving Thee while we have been indifferent to our fellow men, and turn our hearts so earnestly to seek a perfect fellowship on earth of all men, that we shall render thus to Thee the only worship which Thou wilt accept, our love for all men not in word but deed, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

—A Message to every member of the M.P.F.

Dear Fellow Member of the M.P.F.,

The M.P.F. was formed six years ago when the clouds of war began to gather for the first time since 1918. Japan had invaded territory subject to China. The risk of wider conflict impelled me—in March, 1933—to make public the pacifist conclusion which I had reached on Christian grounds. There followed a drawing together of like-minded men in the Methodist Church, and our Methodist Peace Fellowship was established. Now the solemn moment has come which some foresaw, and responsibility rests on us one and all to sustain our Christian Covenant “to renounce war and all its ways and works, God being our helper.”

Face to face with the evil reality of war I find myself constrained to say five things to you.

1. Let Us Live Our Faith Intensely

I sometimes think of true-hearted Christian pacifists as a Community of the Two Commandments. We have accepted the first Christian Commandment which is the only rightful totalitarian claim; we are to love God with *all* the heart, soul, strength and mind. We have accepted also the commandment which is like unto it; to love our neighbours as ourselves. Unswerving loyalty to these commandments places obedience to God above all other claims to loyalty, exalts love to the throne of life, and makes neighbourly service, unstinted and continuous, the rule for each succeeding day.

May I press upon you that life on this plane is possible only when worship of God the Father, and fellowship with men as brothers, mark the way of the soul. Each must needs find for himself the time and mode of worship and of Christian fellowship which the necessary programme of the days shows practicable. The reading of scripture, a manual of devotion, or hymns of the Church, and the setting aside of some moments each day for Christian prayer, are indispensable if love is to sway and shape life. The intense claims, personal and public, which war-time brings cannot be met worthily without this strengthening of personal spiritual life.

2. Let Us Live For Our Neighbours.

“Doing good” in the full Christian sense means entering with fellow-feeling into the life of others, whatever their race or standing or real need. The first few days of the war have shown that war creates misery on every hand. Life has become almost unbearable for some; mind, body and spirit are racked with anguish. For many of us the active service we wish to render is waiting at our doors.

An acute problem arises for men between 18 and 41 years of age who are now liable for military service under the new Military Service Act. Conscientious objectors to military service differ in attitude as to the alternatives to combatant service which the present conscription law offers. The Absolutist and the Alternativist—to use terms familiar in the last war—will maintain mutual respect for each others' freedom of judgment. The Absolutist will reject entirely any form of State Service which may indirectly serve the war; he will rely on his testimony against war and submit to whatever penalty the civil or military court may impose. The Alternativist will be equally unswerving in his rejection of war, but will seek active expression for the desire to identify himself with the suffering community in ministering to its special or common needs.

The Executive of M.P.F. at a recent meeting considered many letters and statements from Methodist conscientious objectors who take the Alternativist position. Following discussion and prayer, it was resolved to ask the Minister for National Service, Mr. Ernest Brown, to receive representatives of the Executive. Before these lines appear in print, this group of M.P.F. leaders will have asked Mr. Brown whether it is practicable for Christian men who are thorough-going pacifists to form themselves into a unit to serve war-sufferers, or to work for the supply of food and other wholesome needs of the community. If such a unit could be recognised by the Government, would its members be regarded as discharging their present responsibilities within the community of which they are members? I know that many who read this letter will be thankful that such an

effort is being made. Should the interview with Mr. Brown lead to definite results, steps will be taken, of course, to advise M.P.F. members and members of other pacifist groups.

Let us not, however, think for a moment that Christian pacifists must necessarily leave their present vocations to render genuine social service in war-time. Each in this matter must decide for himself or herself. I know many whose day-by-day duties represent the truest community service that men or women can offer.

Naturally, the Alternativist will be sensitively concerned that his own acceptance of work of national importance under civilian control, or of non-combatant service, should not be used to prejudice in any way the position of his Absolutist comrade, either in public opinion, or before the Tribunal or Military Court.

3. Let Us Live As Peace-Bringers.

As I write, it is officially announced that Britain's war plans are being framed in view of the possibility of three years of war. Christian faith impels us to reject belief in the inevitability of the triumph of evil. As a Christian, I refuse to think that the present destruction of life, of family happiness and of the treasures of culture will continue throughout three terrible years. I believe that the reason and goodwill of the plain folk of all peoples will not consent to evil so immeasurable. Here, then, is one true part of the pacifist's contribution to common thought to-day. Let us remind people that German and men and women and children are like men and women and children of Britain and France—kindly, neighbourly folk who long to live in peace. Wherever we can, let us try to make the lot of refugees or other strangers within our nation's gates as free from anxiety as possible, always counting them neighbours in the full Christian sense.

A letter by Dame Meriel Talbot in "The Times" (September 12th) says:

"It is only by continual striving to keep the channel of our souls clean from all things contrary to the law of love that we can hope to avoid the injustices of a wrongly conceived peace and win the victory for righteousness.

"Was it not largely because those who were victorious in 1918 had become blind to the eternal laws of forgiveness and justice that 'the war to end wars' only left the seeds of another

great conflict? Let each one of us do all in our power against a similar failure to-day."

Christian pacifist leaders will be vigilant to discern moments of opportunity when the Christian demand for world peace can be publicly advanced. I am thankful to add that already peace-loving minds are at work on the issues which will confront humanity when war ends. "The pacifist must be the peace-maker this time," was said in my hearing yesterday. I heartily agree.

4. Let Us Live As Good Citizens.

As Christians we should avoid scrupulously the peril that our refusal to render or endorse military service may awaken in us antagonism to the rightful claims of the community. In my Mertens Lecture "*Liberty and Authority in the Modern World*," chapter VI, I have drawn what I believe to be a valid distinction between the State and the community: "fundamentally, my obligation is not to the State, but through the State to my brother-citizens and to the world-community." When the State calls on me to render genuine social service to the living community around me I am to see in its claim a part of the duty involved in love of neighbour. It is only when the State asks me to do wrong to the living community that on Christian grounds I must dissent. In these days of intense human need let us accept, open-eyed, a two-fold obligation: first, to answer as often and as far as we can those claims which, springing from human need, bear the mark of true neighbourly service; second, to oppose with conscience and will the evils which prey upon the community, e.g. the war spirit, intemperance and other lusts which beset men.

4. Let Us Live For The Coming Of The Kingdom Of God.

Like Christians who lived in the era of persecution we are, according to the Divine promise, "to look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." The daily prayer, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven," should shine in our thought with the glory of an unquenchable hope. Let no one of us be overburdened by the blunders of the political leaders of Europe, or by their rejection of the way of peace. What is in my mind as I pen these words is finely expressed in *Murder in the Cathedral*, by T. S. Eliot. The chorus chants:—

"Destiny waits in the hand of God, shaping the still un-shapen;

I have seen these things in a shaft of sunlight.

Destiny waits in the hand of God, not in the hands of statesmen

Who do, some well, some ill, planning and guessing,

Having their aims which turn in their hands in the pattern of time."

Later in the play Archbishop Thomas Becket makes answer to the cares and fears of his followers:—

"Peace, and be at peace with your thoughts and visions.

These things had to come to you and you to accept them.

This is your share of the eternal burden, The perpetual glory. This is one moment, But know that another

Shall pierce you with a sudden painful joy When the figure of God's purpose is made complete."

This I believe. Despite the shattering blows of evil the figure of God's purpose shall yet be made complete.

HENRY CARTER,
Chairman of the Methodist Peace Fellowship.

M.P.F. Progress

A long desired opportunity to develop the organisation of M.P.F. is now within reach. Two generous members in the North of England have offered £150 to open a fund to provide M.P.F. at headquarters with adequate clerical assistance. The gift is conditional on M.P.F. raising at least an equal sum. In point of fact we shall need fully £500 additional income in the coming twelve months to enable us to take hold of the present extraordinary opportunity of development. The M.P.F. Executive therefore appeals to every member to give what he or she can and give it quickly.

Up to the present practically all the work at headquarters has been voluntarily done by busy men. The only expense for labour has been a small payment of £20 annually for part-time clerical assistance. Year by year the membership has grown, and now exceeds 3,500, of whom more than 800 are Methodist ministers or students preparing for the Methodist ministry. The new Military Service Act makes it essential that M.P.F. should make helpful contact with a great number of Methodists who accept or are seriously considering

the Christian Pacifist position. Hence the need for an enlarged income.

The first step will be the appointment of a full-time clerk working under the direction of the Rev. Leslie Keeble. Salary, printing, postages and sundries will certainly amount to £500.

First contributions of £1, 10s. and £5 were promised at the close of the executive meeting when the proposal was approved. Actually, an additional contribution of a little more than 1/- per member would meet the appeal. Send what you can and send it now. Address letters to Rev. Leslie Keeble, 11, Holland Road, Willesden, N.W.10.

How to Join in War-Time

The usual method has been for those who wish to join to meet together, where possible under the guidance of a ministerial member of M.P.F., to examine the Covenant of the M.P.F. with the help of the printed explanatory notes. As a settled judgment was reached, those who were resolved to accept the Covenant took it at a Covenant Service arranged and conducted by a ministerial member of M.P.F.

Where this course is still possible, it should be followed. Where the circumstances of war-time make it impossible, another course can be followed which will associate with the taking of the Covenant the vital element of fellowship. The person who is resolved to accept the Covenant can be put into touch with an M.P.F. member, who will agree to keep tryst with him at an appointed hour (say 8 a.m. on a given Sunday) when they two, however far sundered by distance, will unite in the Covenant Service and the taking of the Covenant. We have come to call this, "Keeping Vigil together." To make such a vigil appointment write Rev. Leslie Keeble, 11, Holland Road, Willesden, N.W.10.

We strongly recommend members to receive "THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST" monthly. This journal is not only the greatly valued organ of the Christian Pacifist movement in all churches but its monthly issues include notes on the progress and work of the M.P.F. To obtain "THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST" monthly a minimum annual subscription of 3/6 should accompany the signed covenant form when it is returned to Mr. Keeble. The M.P.F. subscription for those who do not receive the journal is a *minimum* of 6d. annually.

SECRETARY'S NOTES

AT the Executive meeting on the 5th September a remarkable increase in membership was reported during the previous three or four weeks. One hundred and sixty-five lay people from all parts of the country and 13 Methodist ministers joined the Fellowship during that period. This is a fact of striking significance at the outbreak of war. There was only one resignation.

Annual Subscriptions. May we urge members to send in their subscriptions at the earliest moment. Owing to heavy demands caused by greatly increased work and correspondence our funds are in serious need of replenishment. If ministers were not asked for their subscriptions at the September Synod will they please remit at once direct to Room 151a, 1, Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1.

M.P.F. Groups :—

London N.E. District.

Bethnal Green.
Cambridge Park.
Dagenham.
East End Mission.
East Ham.
Field Road, Forest Gate.
Iford.
Leysian Mission.
Leyton.
Lycett Central Hall.
Matthews Memorial Church,
Walthamstow.
Seamen's Mission.
Southend.
Wanstead and Woodford.

London North District.

Finsbury Park.
Ex-Islington . . . ?
Hackney.
Willoughby Road.
Wood Green.
West Green, Tottenham.

London North-West.

Hornsey Road.
Bletchley.
Cambridge.
Edmonton.
Harlesden.
Harrow.
Kensal Rise.
Kenton.
Kingsway Hall.
Luton.
Beech Hill, Luton.
Harpenden.
Neasden.
North Harrow.
Quex Road.
Rickmansworth.
Slough.
Wembley.

London South-West.

Southall.
Southfields Central Hall.
Woking.
Ealing.
Cottenham Park.

London South District.

Lewisham Area Group.
New Cross.
Nunhead (Waverley Park).
Orpington.
Shirley.
Wallington.

London South-East District.

Ashford (Bank Street).
Blackheath Circuit.

Birmingham District.

Tyseley.

Bournemouth District.

Amesbury
Milborne Port.
Salisbury.

Bradford District.

Great Horton.
Dewsbury Zion.

Bristol District.

Bristol.
Stonehouse.
Cheddar Valley.

Cardiff and Swansea District.

Cardiff
Pontypridd and Treforest.

Derby District.

Derby.

East Anglia District.

Kings Lynn.

Hull District.

Hull.

Leeds District.

Castleford.
Farsley.

Lincoln and Grimsby.

Cleethorpes.

Liverpool District.

Birkenhead.
Elm Hall Drive.
Liverpool (North) Circuit.

Newcastle-on-Tyne District.

Gateshead Circuit.
Newcastle.

North Lancs. District.

Blackburn.

Oxford and Glos. District.

Swindon.

Portsmouth District.

Gosport and Fareham.
Southampton.
Southampton Circuit.

Sheffield District.

Sheffield.
Andover Street.
Chesterfield.

York and Whitby.

Scarborough.

Scotland.

Edinburgh.
Dundee.

There are also Groups at:—

Richmond, Didsbury, Hands worth
Headingley and Hartley Victoria,
Theological Colleges.

A CONFESSION OF FAITH

KENNETH H. CROSBY

I HAVE not long been a Pacifist. For practically the whole of my ministry, I have been absorbed in missionary problems. I came home in the Spring of last year and found myself in a different atmosphere. I discovered that I had to make my peace with the problem of Peace and War. During the summer I had what is denied to most Methodist Ministers, a period of real leisure in which to think out my problem. I solved it—at any rate, for myself.

Even now I am doubtful as to whether Pacifism is practical politics in the world of to-day. But, in the midst of all this mental gloom of doubts and fears, there was one focus of light. As I meditated upon it, the light grew until it filled the whole of the horizon. That light was Jesus Christ.

I found it a matter worthy of the most careful examination that when Jesus assumed His earthly Kingship He should come into Jerusalem riding upon an ass. Those were not the days of newspapers and of telegraphs, but they were the days of despots whose fickleness was proverbial and whose whims were law. You never knew in what mood your king was coming until you saw him. If you saw him coming upon a charger you knew that he came for war, for revenge, for judgment. If he came riding upon an ass he came in peace, in forgiveness, in pardon. And Jesus came riding upon an ass. Strange that He should have come like that! It was the strangest of strange happenings that this King of ours should come to Jerusalem riding upon an ass.

I. We must realise that the circumstances of Our Lord's day were strangely like those of our own. Never has the Jew been persecuted as he is being persecuted to-day. In the hundred years that ended with Our Lord's death, a hundred thousand Jews were massacred in Palestine. That is an average of a thousand a year, for a hundred years. And most of them not for any active rebellion but just for being Jews.

Of course there *was* rebellion. There was, for example, that of Judas of Galilee at Sephoris, three miles from Nazareth, which took place when Jesus was a little boy. Varus marched

with his legions across the Jordan, burned the city, and crucified or enslaved the entire population.

It is evident that in Our Lord's time there was a very great amount of insanity in Palestine. The mental strain of living in such an age and in such a place was altogether too great. There was one poor fellow, for example, who, with maniac strength, burst the chains with which they had bound him and wandered desolate in the caves and mountains on the Eastern shores of Galilee, cutting himself with stones and screaming "Legion! Legion!" God only knows what the legions had done to him and his.

Our Lord had infinite pity with such suffering. He spent His strength and gave of His power without stint, but all the time, He dealt with social symptoms and not with causes. Chief among these causes were, first, the Roman domination, and second, and I suppose partly consequent upon the first, the great wealth of the rich and the appalling and widespread poverty of the poor. The Roman domination He never even ventured to criticise, while all His preaching against the rich and His extolling of the virtues of poverty did nothing to ease the situation so far as one can see, but only gained Him an embarrassing and very superficial following on the part of the have-nots and the undying hatred of the haves.

I would ask you to recall the numerical greatness of His one-time following. People came to Him from all over the Roman province of Syria, which stretched from the Nile to the Euphrates. Time after time the writers of the Gospels tell us that great crowds gathered to him. No one in the country had so great a personal following as had Jesus at the height of His popularity. Dr. Leighton Richards says, "None can doubt that with His dominant and dominating personality He could have made a bid for political power and rallied His countrymen in an effort to drive Rome into the sea."

Dr. Maldwyn Hughes has, what seems to me, rather a strange comment on this passage. He writes:—

"The simple truth is that there was no armed force available for Him. Doubtless, if He had given the signal, many enthusiasts would have rallied round His standard, but He can hardly have been conscious of

any temptation to give such a signal. He knew the lessons of the history of His people too well and His own judgment was too sane. He was aware of abortive risings. . . . and, being the man He was, Jesus of Nazareth could not lead His disciples to that kind of disaster."

Dr. Hughes may be right. It might have ended in disaster; you never can tell what the fortunes of war are going to be, and further Jesus was not a soldier, and never seems to have realised the necessity for military training. But when you consider that when the Zealots did revolt, leaderless and divided though they were, they held the might of Rome at bay for five years; and when you consider how Judas the Hammerer, with unexampled courage in the face of overwhelming odds, freed his country from Syrian domination two hundred years before, then, it would appear that Jesus had, at any rate, a fighting chance.

Once by the sea of Galilee, they had made a concerted rush to crown Him King, but He had turned and left them, and had gone into the mountain by Himself, alone. Now, when at last He had assumed His Kingship, many of those who watched Him ride down the side of Olivet into Jerusalem must have had serious misgivings. Did not the Romans rule in Jerusalem? Why then did He come riding upon an ass and not upon a war horse?

II. Why Jesus rode into Jerusalem upon an ass is strange from another point of view. Jesus was God. In Jesus we have the mind and character of God revealed.

In the Old Testament, it is written "The Lord is a man of war." A most common name for Him is the Lord of Hosts—the Lord of armies. He had been in the van of the Israelite army and fought its battles when it conquered Canaan. When Joshua stood before Jericho, there came one who said, "As Captain of the host of the Lord am I now come." Elisha was besieged by the Syrians, and his servant was in agony of despair, "and Elisha prayed said, 'Lord, I pray thee open his eyes that he may see.' And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man and he saw: and behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." The enemies of his people were the enemies of God, and frequently in His name, and by His power, men, women and children were ruthlessly put to the sword. Of the Babylonians it was written, "Blessed is the man that shall dash thy little ones against a stone." You would have thought that God,

when He came in the flesh, would have ridden into Jerusalem on a war horse!

But it looks as though those old worshippers of His were wrong in their thoughts about Him. His is a different attitude, an attitude so long maintained that—

"The writer of the last book of the Bible, having screwed us up to expect the revelation of someone so fearful that he describes Him as the lion of the tribe of Judah, tells that what he actually beheld was a lamb, as it had been slain from the foundations of the world."

Now there are places in the Old Testament where this attitude breaks through, for example, in the book of Jonah. The Assyrians were the most relentless and the most hated of all Israel's foes. Jonah would rather die than go and preach repentance to Nineveh. But he could not die. Even a whale could not keep him down. Then he got the idea that Nineveh could not repent and so he consented to go and preach repentance; and to his astonishment and endless mortification, they repented and God forgave them. Why did God forgive them? Look, said God, at all these thousands of little children who know so little of the world and its wicked ways, that they cannot even tell the difference between their right hand and their left hand, "and also much cattle."

Then again there are those passages in Isaiah which tell of a suffering servant, and that God's representative on earth is to be wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities.

At any rate, whether we like it or not—whether we understand it or not, the facts remain that Jesus came to Jerusalem in Peace, "riding upon an ass."

III. Is there no explanation? Poland said "We are ready to shed a sea of blood for the preservation of an inch of our soil." Jesus, it would appear, was not prepared to shed a drop of blood for the recovery of the whole of his people's soil, even though it was the land promised to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob and their seed after them for ever.

Lieut.-Col. Montaigne in his "Etudes sur la guerre," writes:—

"The immediate purpose of the battle is not victory but killing. We are on the march simply to kill, we shoot simply to kill, and we spring at the throat of the enemy simply to kill. Also the true passion for war is supremely the passion for murder, the spirit of vengeance, of hate. . . . and all the acts of war must bear the character of violence, and of such slaughter as shall give the enemy the terrifying impression of a hate tirelessly directed on its object and insatiable."

If I may be permitted to take a sentence out of the paragraph I quoted from Dr. Hughes and give it a meaning he did not intend, I would say that it is entirely right to believe that Jesus "being the man He was, could not lead his disciples to that kind of disaster."

Jesus came to Jerusalem in peace and, even though war was most emphatically called for, He refused to have anything to do with it. Perhaps there is a higher virtue than patriotism. The truth is that Our Lord set such great store on the individual and we are so very precious in his sight,— "the very hairs of your head are all numbered"—that political currents and divisions of race passed Him by while He healed a blind beggar by the roadside or took children in His arms. Such was the outlook of Jesus and it determined His attitude towards war.

That these conclusions are correct receives an independent and valuable testimony from the writings of the early Fathers.

"We Christians no longer take up sword against nation, nor do we learn war any more, having become children of peace, for the sake of Jesus Christ who is our leader." (Origen. Last half of 3rd century).

"Persons who possess authority to kill, or soldiers, should not kill at all, even when it is commanded them." (Hippolytus).

"Shall it be held lawful to make an occupation of the sword, when the law proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword?" (Tertullian. 2nd cty.).

Cyprian wrote that Christians "are not allowed to kill, but they must be ready to be put to death themselves," and you remember how magnificently he sealed his testimony with his own blood.

"When God prohibits killing, He not only forbids us to commit brigandage which is not even allowed by the public laws, but He warns us not to do even those things which are legal among men, and so it will not be lawful for a just man even to serve as a soldier." (Lactantius of Bithynia. 4th cty.).

"If they wish to be baptised in the Lord, let them cease from military service." (The Testament of our Lord. 4th cty.).

IV. There is one word more I wish to add, and that concerns the consequences of war.

In his speech in the House of Lords on March 20th, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that he did not think that the Pacifist had thought out the consequences of his Pacifism. "Indeed," he said "Many of them frankly say that the consequences are no concern of theirs."

Well, of course, there are occasions when no man worthy of the name, will consider con-

sequences; but in another sense the Pacifist is where he is just because he does consider consequences.

Bernard Shaw has written:—

"The objection to military coercion is not that it is ineffective; it is, on the contrary, terribly effective; but that its effects are incalculable. They are, as often as not, precisely the reverse of those contemplated; and in all cases, they go far beyond the intention of those who resort to it. . . . The moment violence begins, men demand security at all costs, and as security can never be obtained and the endless path to it lies through blood, violence means finally the extermination of the human race. That is why the conscience of mankind feels it to be wicked and finally destructive of everything it professes to conserve."

The writer of an article in *The Christian Pacifist* said, some months ago:—

"It is the prospect of such terrible consequences as the infliction of fearful suffering on those who least deserve it, of the brutalising of a whole generation of youth, the slaughter of the flower of Europe's manhood, the handing down to posterity of another legacy of hatred and fear, the debasing of all that is noble and the exaltation of all that is primitive and base, the loss of civil liberties for years on end, perhaps never to be recovered, the infamous starvation of little children, for that is what war comes to in the end—it is in face of these, its inevitable consequences, that the Pacifist says No! to war."

The Quakers once issued a manifesto in which they wrote

"We are profoundly convinced that peace can only be attained by refusing to take part in war, for the simple and wholly sufficient reason that war, by its whole nature is in opposition to the message and spirit of the life and death of Jesus Christ."

That for me is the last word. In any case, our King rode to Jerusalem on an ass and it would look very odd if we rode behind on war horses.

An Outspoken Pacifist.

By the death on August 11th, as the result of a motor accident, of Mr. Eric Hedley Freeman, the pacifist cause in Loughborough has sustained a severe loss. Mr. Freeman, who was 39 years of age, was a member of the F.o.R., secretary of Loughborough branch of the P.P.U., and a delegate to the P.P.U. East Midlands Council.

As treasurer of the Victoria Street Unitarian Church and Secretary of the Men's League he was active in religious work and was regarded as the foremost witness for pacifism in his town. The joint Chairman of the P.P.U. and F.o.R. Branches in Loughborough writes of him: "He was blunt in speech, and what he had to say he said to one's face, but the more one got to know him the more one loved him."

OUR CONSCIENCES ARE CLEAR

PAUL GLIDDON

AS they embarked upon the war that is now following the war to end war, our statesmen found in the sentiments of Little Jack Horner something corresponding to their own attitude. At the last September crisis we were reminded of the immortal words "If at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again"; this September our leaders have not exactly said with Jack Horner "What a good boy am I," but they have expressed the same idea in the rather more majestic phrase, "Our consciences are clear."

Great Britain entered the war on a Sunday, a method of observing the Lord's Day which does not appear to have distressed those who see sin in Sunday games. On Sundays quite a number of people declare on their knees before God that they are "miserable sinners." These people include not only members of both Houses of Parliament, but also Bishops nominated by the Prime Minister himself. Now miserable sinners can hardly have clear consciences, which would suggest that either our consciences are not quite as clear as we have stated or that what has been solemnly declared before God is untrue. But a person who will make a false statement before God can hardly be relied upon to make a true statement before man; from which we deduce that, if our consciences are clear, it is because they are also defective. Consciences, like telephones, are only quite silent when they are dead. When they are alive they give at least an intermittent buzzing sound.

The Queer Company of the Clear in Conscience

It may of course be argued that miserable sinners can on certain issues be wholly innocent. But, when we recognise our common failure in all other directions, it seems hardly conceivable that international politics should be almost magically exempt from the consequences of all-pervading sin. Most ordinary, decent people would strongly deny that they had done all that could be required of them or that they are any better than other people; the only person to whom they would feel secretly superior being the man who asserted that he possessed a conscience that was clear. Certainly the Bible does supply

precedents for such a satisfied attitude towards oneself; for there is a story of a Pharisee who thanked God he was not as other men and a report that Pilate declared his own innocence with much washing of hands, but neither Pilate nor the Pharisees have attained considerable esteem.

The fact is that none of us is innocent and no consciences that are in working order can really be clear. Certainly we British can hardly look at the rise of Hitlerism and say we have had no part in its creation. At the end of the Great War there were those who assured us that our treatment of Germany would inevitably beget the sort of national attitude we are now seeking to destroy, but we persisted. Step by step we have been warned of the horror we were calling into life, but we have hurried blindly forward. We have been amazed at the Nazi attitude to religion while our women folk are said to have been spending on cosmetics and beauty culture about thirty times as much as the total cost of our Christian missionary enterprise, though the amount these ladies spent was hundreds of millions less than the national drink, gambling and tobacco bill. German aggression is certainly a cruel and horrible thing, but we should never have had the Empire upon which the sun never sets if Britons had not sometimes turned up in corners of the world where not everybody was anxious to welcome them, while it is not much good meeting a German demand to rule the earth with the counter-claim that Britannia rules the waves.

Misled and Misleading Leaders

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderators of both the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches have signed a statement that the war "has been thrust upon us by the action of one man." As the 1918 agitation to hang the Kaiser was based on the belief that he was responsible for the Great War, it is apparently thought that mighty wars are really one man shows. Our sympathies go out to Field-Marshal Goering and his friends in finding themselves thus not associated with what the Archbishop and those who sign with him describe as a "crime against

humanity." But if, as they declare, Hitler is alone responsible, then if these ministers of religion were asked to consider whether a charge of association in Herr Hitler's crime could be brought against other statesmen or diplomats in Germany or elsewhere, against unscrupulous publicists or armament magnates, against the greed of capitalists or the blindness of communists, against teachers of false morality or those who undermine the Christian faith, then they would have to pronounce all these not guilty, for of Hitler they say "on him alone lies the dreadful responsibility."

The Archbishop and his friends seem to have reduced life to Elysian simplicity and to be reading history as if it were simply an affair of kings and queens. Such a simplification of events not only belongs to the dame's school of the last century, but is both childish and wilfully perverse as a diagnosis of the present situation. Not so did the prophets of other days feel called of God to speak. Elijah and John the Baptist did not hesitate to rebuke kings, but they never told such rulers that they were alone responsible. The great might greatly err, but they also belonged to a generation that was a generation of vipers; they were not lonely vipers corrupting a harmless world. To single Hitler out for solitary condemnation is to get perilously near the error of those who thrust upon Adam the blame for all their sins.

Right Depending on Might

But if our consciences are clear it seems strange that we should be assured that Hitler's policy "based on force," must be met by

counter force, and that "what this means must be hateful to every Christian man." Now, receiving pain is hateful to any man, whether he be Christian or not, but giving pain is something no Christian man will allow unless he is certain that, in similar circumstances, he would only be too thankful if he were treated in a like manner. But to do to others what we would have them do to us is not hateful but joyful, and a Christian man who finds giving pain hateful rather than merciful when he has come gravely to doubt whether he is acting to others as he would have them act towards himself. The admission of this word "hateful" is the admission of doubt, and the admission of doubt is the acknowledgment that not all consciences are clear.

During the Great War there was held what was described as a Mission of Repentance and Hope, but before the mission had long progressed it was explained that the repentance did not include repentance for our part in the war, it being held that, if the idea got abroad that it did, this might encourage the enemy. Such qualified repentance, bearing its exceptive clauses, a tear of penitence in the eye towards God and a glance of defiance in the one towards Germany, is hardly the condition of soul which makes possible the coming of the Kingdom. For it is only after repentance that the Kingdom can come and with the unbroken and uncontrite heart God can do but little. Not in those whose consciences are so strangely clear but in St. Francis, blinded with much weeping at the thought of his sins, is held the secret for the re-building of a world in ruins.

THESE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

TO an old campaigner few things are more gratifying than the quickening of the Christian conscience that has taken place during recent years. In the early days of my ministry the man who preached a social gospel was regarded as a crank, and was daily advised by well-meaning people to stick to the "Simple Gospel." In the August of 1914, the Christian Pacifist was merely a voice crying in the wilderness. Never shall I be able to forget the awful loneliness and desolation of that time. The City of God that we had been trying to build seemed to be laid waste. The very flowers lost their beauty and the grass its greenness.

The pacifists in the old Wesleyan Ministry must have been few and far between, and we knew not each other. Rather we felt like that one who cried "I only am left and they seek my life to take it away." In the middle of September I wrote to the *Methodist Times* about the resolutions passed by the Committee of Privileges. I speedily found that the Church as a whole had very little respect for my privileges. But I found to my unspeakable delight that there was a handful of men in the ministry likeminded with myself, and a few of us banded together. On January 1st, 1916, a peace Manifesto was published and distributed

signed by George S. Burden, Francis B. James, W. Harold Beales and myself. This led to the formation of a Peace Fellowship, but I do not think we numbered more than sixty or seventy ministers and laymen combined. I am not going to tell the story of the attacks that were made upon us, for that would fill a book. The great thing is that we kept the flag flying, and we probably helped many obscure men and women in their struggle to keep from bowing their knees to the God of War.

Now things are very different. I do not say that the Christian Pacifist to-day will escape persecution. But I do feel that the quickening of the Christian conscience will prove an immense help to those who will be called upon to witness a good confession for Jesus Christ. They will not have that terrible sense of isolation, but will be strengthened by the sympathy of thousands. That being so, I thank God for the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and take courage.

The Prophet cried "Oh that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments, then had thy peace been as a river." How well one remembers protesting against that awful "crush the Germans" campaign of 1918-1919. The story of the last twenty years would have been very different if our weak voices had been heard, but in those days we were utterly discredited, and the common epithet was "Bolshevist." Yet in the Churches the words were still read "Render to no man evil for evil. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." We knew that Satan would not cast out Satan, and we knew also that "Whosoever a man (or a nation) soweth, that shall he also reap." Europe sowed, and to-day she is reaping. The pacifist sowed, and he too reaps as our Fellowships testify. Sometimes progress seems exceedingly slow. I think our Lord knew that it would be so, for He said "First the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear." But He had no doubt of the final victory of Love and Goodwill. It may seem that our service is small, just the sowing of a seed here and there, but "he that goeth on his way weeping, bearing forth the seed; shall come again with joy, bringing his sheaves with him." There are far more sowing the truth to-day than in 1914. In twenty-five years' time the growth shall have been in proportion, and the reign of peace shall be that much nearer.

WAR RESISTERS

The unprecedented imposition of conscription has galvanised pacifists into activity; and the first sittings of tribunals are giving us a glimpse of the courage and the deep conviction demanded of those who stand firm. Thus at a stroke we are being brought into a sensitive fellowship with those continental war resisters who are suffering the hard penalties of imprisonment. Our link with them through the W.R.I. becomes more than formal.

The appeal for a personal human community within the International, made by a German at the last W.R.I. conference, stands out as more compelling than ever. He said: "Recognising quite clearly that the absolute loneliness of the individual conscience is the way to our complete solidarity we also know that we must break through this solitude . . . I would urge upon you to think of the lonely ones facing the inconceivable, daily, the inner and outer struggle of asking himself, 'Can I still do this, or can I go on no longer?'"

His moving words help one to imagine the tremendous uplift that may come from a simple letter of encouragement. Henri Roser has testified to the great happiness they bring to the conscience-convicts. I would like to share two replies received from French CO's imprisoned in Paris. One, an author, says: "It is sweet and comforting to realise that beyond seas, tongues hearts and reason, men are the same. Our communion of heart and of spirit is that we work all for life and never for death. In the struggle for life nobody is of greater or less value than anyone else."

The other was disinherited by a rich father 28 years ago, and suffered three years' imprisonment during the War. "Draw attention in your country, English comrade, to compulsory military service because it will be in England as in France, where we who moulder in the cells of democracy have not the right to say to the assassins, that they *are assassins* and drinkers of blood. Conscription is a sign of the coming tyranny, that will take a man from wife and children, and leave him without work afterwards. Do you know, English people, that one has to accept killing to have the right to live, that it is a crime to want ploughs to till the land in place of rifles to kill one's fellows? From my release I shall resume the fight against the barbarous tyranny. It is a

great pleasure to see an English comrade who thinks of his brother of ideals in prison."

With such men it is an honour and an enrichment to be in contact; but we who are free and convinced should do no less than be at the side of all those who feel the tyrannous pressure of the militarist system. It is an expense of spirit that blesses him that gives and him that receives.

LEONARD READ.

THE LITTLE-AIRMAN

Such a sporting little chap he was. He brought the wood to our back door, and when I went out to help him put it in the shed, he said, "Don't you touch it, miss! You will scratch your hands on the nails."

"Very good of you to think of it," I answered. "Are you a Scout? That is just the sort of thing a Scout would say."

"No, better than that," was his stout reply. "What is better than a Scout?" I asked with a smile.

"A volunteer for the Air Force, Miss," he said cheerily.

My smile faded. A shiver ran through me. I must say something, for he was leaving me, with a resolute look on his cherubic face.

"But you wouldn't throw bombs on people who couldn't defend themselves, would you?"

My pleading only brought the sturdy answer, "It might be my duty to my country."

"I think we can serve our country best by doing right," I insisted, "and it is never right to kill the defenceless."

He left me with a grin. He did not know what to answer, but he saw his own duty clearly—I fear—the little seed I had dropped into his boyish mind might bear fruit, who knows?

Oh, Father God! teach these children of ours that all nations are one to Thee, that all the children of men are Thy children.

A.D. 1939—THE CHRISTIAN IN WAR-TIME

Church Leaders' Appeal

"At all costs, for the sake of the world's peace and order, the policy proclaimed by the German Führer must be resisted and overcome. "It is based on force. It must be met by counter-force. What this means must be hate-

ful to any Christian man, but there is no other way—would God there were.

"The only effect of any appeal of non-resistance upon Herr Hitler would have been to encourage him to pursue his way with more ruthless determination."

COSMO CANTUAR,

ARCHIBALD MAIN (Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland),

ROBERT BOND (Moderator of the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches).

A.D. 33?

"At all costs, for the sake of Israel's peace and freedom, and the coming of the Kingdom of God, the tyranny of the Roman Emperor, supported by the high priests, must be resisted and overcome. It is based on force. It must be met by counter-force. What this means must be hateful to anyone who believes in the common Fatherhood of God, but there is no other way—would God there were! The only effect of any appeal of non-resistance upon Caiaphas and Pilate would be to encourage them to pursue their way with more ruthless determination."

In the midst of the throne . . . a lamb standing, as it were slain.

CALL TO YOUTH FOR UNITY

The Council of Kerk en Vrede, Holland, addressed a message to the World Conference of Christian Youth which met at Amsterdam in August. The message contained these words:

The society "Kerk en Vrede" (Church and Peace), knows it as its task just now to penetrate the Christian churches with the principle that war and Gospel form an irreconcilable contradiction. It feels itself prompted to testify that war and preparations of war tear up the Unity of the Body of Christ. It expresses the prayer that the eyes of the youth may be opened to the demonic danger that now threatens the Church of Christ and that they may receive strength from their belief in the unity in Christ, in order to convert their faith into a testimony against preparation of war and into a holy "No" against the God-dishonouring war system.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Finland

A letter from Finland tells of the efforts that members of the group there are making to extend the teaching received at the International School, held last June at Fano. One friend writes of the "glorious days we spent together at Fano." "They are memories which I do not think will ever fade."

Our correspondent goes on to speak of a group meeting on policy held on September the 6th and of the decision to meet regularly every fortnight. "There are so many things to discuss in present circumstances in connection with community service, air-raid precautions and so on." They speak also of spending some time together in silent prayer for the countries at war. The letter ends with the declaration that they are happy to know that nothing can break the bond uniting them with members of the Fellowship all over the world, because that bond is the living Christ himself.

Luxemburg

An international friend of ours, well known in this country and also in international conferences for his service as interpreter, writes from Luxemburg that the family has determined to remain there for the time being. They send greetings. They are near enough to the "front" to hear the shelling and shooting, but so far their town has remained untouched. It would be almost a miracle if the little Grand Duchy could escape invasion; but many people still believe the miracle possible. There is some hope that our American friend, Devere Allen, will be able to visit the place before long.

National Congress of the French Fellowship

The national congress of the French Fellowship took place from the 20th to 23rd July, at Bièvres, in the splendid building of the Students' Christian Union. Some forty members took part, of which several were newcomers. Devotional periods, led morning and evening by J. J. Bovet, helped to create the truly religious atmosphere, in which studies and discussions are the most fruitful.

The five principal lectures were given by Pierre Ducros, Edouard Theis, Henri Roser, André Trocmé and Jacques Bois. They dealt respectively with the exegetical (Old and New

Testaments), historic, doctrinal and practical aspects of our message.

At other meetings the International Voluntary Service for Peace was spoken of and also work amongst refugees. Recent events were also discussed at length.

It was decided to extend the propaganda of the movement by printing separately and circulating most of the morning lectures. Having in mind a common action similar to that of Gandhi and his collaborators in India, the congress decided to establish in the first place a certain "discipline" which would indicate the main lines of the inward attitude required by an action of this sort.

Democracy in India

The press practically ignored a statement of policy issued by the Working Committee of Indian National Congress in the middle of September. The statement condemns Fascism and Nazism as an intensification of the imperialism against which the Indian people has always struggled, but says that India can have nothing to do with the present war if it is to defend imperialism, colonies and vested interests. If the issue, however, is democracy and a new world order, then India is intensely interested. The statement goes on: "In view of the gravity of the occasion, the Working Committee defers its final decision to allow full elucidation of the issues on the present and future position of India. But the decision cannot long be delayed as India is being daily committed to a policy of which she disapproves. The Working Committee invites the British Government to declare unequivocally their war aims regarding democracy and imperialism and the establishment of a new world order and how those aims will be applied to India now."

Conscientious Objectors in Europe

Our friends Henri Roser and Philippe Vernier may by this time be in military detention. Philippe Vernier has had to leave his pastorate in Brussels and Henri Roser to make other arrangements for carrying on the work of the French F.o.R. They were liable for service under mobilisation orders—pastors are not exempt in France; and though unwilling, of course, because of their deep Christian convictions, to take any part in the war, they felt it

right, after arranging their affairs as best they could, to surrender themselves to the authorities and to make their testimony. Philippe Vernier might have remained untouched for some time in Brussels; but he felt it right to go and stand by Henri Roser. We have no news yet of others who may be making a similar witness. Our thoughts will go in particular to some of our friends in Germany. A paragraph in *The Manchester Guardian* of the 16th September reports an official statement by Herr Himmler that a certain Johann Heinen, of Dessau, was shot on September 7th for refusing to work on trenches and fortifications. The name is not known to the War Resisters International or to ourselves. The execution of a German who "refused to do his duty as a soldier" was reported on September 16th by the official German news agency. He was August Dickman of Dinslaken, stated to be a "fanatical member of an international sect called the Earnest Bible Students."

Resolution on Conscientious Objectors

The World Alliance having already on three occasions (in 1924, 1931, 1935) affirmed its convictions with regard to the treatment of conscientious objectors,

and having observed with satisfaction that the legal position of conscientious objectors has been more or less adequately safeguarded in certain countries,

Nevertheless finds it necessary at this serious crisis in international affairs to call attention to the grave danger that increasing political tension may diminish the tolerance accorded by legislation and by public opinion to those who are constrained by conscience to refuse to take any active part in war or in warlike preparations.

The Alliance therefore urges that such conscientious objection on the part of individuals be fully respected, both by Christian congregations and by governmental authorities.

Our appeal to Christian congregations to respect and to try to help these men is based upon the undoubted fact that many of them are moved by a sincere desire to serve Christ.

Our appeal to Governments is based upon the honour due to every man's conscience.

We respectfully request all Governments to establish for conscientious objectors a civilian service, a service which can in no manner be employed for military ends, but which is effectively useful to the community.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL.

AT the beginning of the Acts we read:—"But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."

At the beginning of War we read this and know that it is a promise and a command to us just as much as it was to the first disciples. Our witness is here, there, and everywhere, and for it we rely on the same power as was promised to the earliest disciples. The promise was fulfilled to them, we cannot doubt it will be fulfilled to us. The Fellowship is much more than a pacifist organisation. At the beginning of the basis are the words "He gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation." This is our ministry in time of war.

How, in plain terms, is this ministry to be interpreted to-day? First of all in carrying on the work to which we have set our hands long ago—long ago indeed for it is no less than twenty-five years in December since the Fellowship was begun—our main object has been, and still remains, the conversion of the Christian Church to the pacifist implications inherent in its gospel. Some progress has been made. The number of Churches interested to-day is greater by far than anything ever known before, and the proof of it, if proof be required, lies in the fact that some two thousand five hundred ministers of religion are pledged supporters of all for which the Fellowship stands, and the proportion of men in our theological colleges who to-day are members of the Fellowship is in the region of eighty per cent. We are, therefore, carrying on a work which is now in the very centre of the Churches' interest. Is it too much to say that this is the one challenge within the Christian Church that really matters, and that the Church itself is aware of it?

We continue to witness to the faith that is in us, that is our first task, but just because the Fellowship is far more than a pacifist organisation its ministry of reconciliation has wide boundaries, and very many of our members feel that service of a reconciling kind which they have undertaken hitherto should be continued, and similar service of a reconciling kind, which is possible in time of war,

should be sought out. For instance, our London Union has a Children's Hospitality Committee which has for many years arranged for children of the poorest classes to have a holiday in the country, or by the sea. Practically all these children are evacuated. Where are they? What are their needs? Can our branches seek them out and attempt to answer these questions? Or to take another instance, some of our branches have long been interested in, and exercised a real ministry of reconciliation in prison visitation; perhaps there will be fewer prisoners in our gaols now, let us hope so, but there are going to be thousands of people in internment camps, and their dependents who may, or may not be in the camps. Here is a need the immensity of which cannot be described, with which we in the Fellowship ought to be concerned. There are many other examples which might be given, but it is for our groups and branches to seek out for themselves ways of exercising this ministry. In this connection headquarters will be very glad to have news of service and experiments carried out by the branches.

The General Committee has had a special meeting in view of the war, and so far as it is possible has laid down plans for carrying on the whole work of the Fellowship. The only plan of a general kind that Committee felt it would be right to postpone was the second meeting of the Council arranged for the 30th September at Birmingham. The decision was arrived at because the situation was far from

THE FRIENDLY BOOK

WAR, PEACE AND CHANGE. By John Foster Dulles Macmillan, 7s. 6d.

There are few contemporary works on international affairs which deserve careful study and it is much to be hoped that in the general deluge *War, Peace and Change* will not escape attention.

Mr. Dulles is not an inexperienced theorist, nor is he one of those superficial observers who scavenge news-items about the Great Powers in order to strike unfavourable contrasts and to draw equally superficial morals of the need for armaments and alliances. His preface at once reveals that the book is concerned with more fundamental considerations:

"There has been a grave misconception of the nature of peace. Peace has been identified with the ability of a few satisfied Powers to maintain the *status quo*. Appeal to force is the

clear, and because it was already evident that there would be considerable difficulty in travelling, but this meeting of the Council is only postponed and it is hoped that it will be possible to hold it a little later in the year.

One of the most important plans for the Autumn was the whole series of regional conferences. About thirty places had agreed to hold these covering the country. These are being carried through, but again owing to travelling difficulties they will not be so fully attended, and so all larger branches are asked to hold such a conference for themselves and for smaller branches near to them. It is hoped by these means that we shall have, not only the thirty conferences already arranged, but as many as fifty or sixty others.

In one important matter we want your immediate help, it is not only children who are evacuated, but very many parents, very many teachers and others, and the help we want is three-fold. First of all the new addresses of everyone of our members who has evacuated; secondly, welcome to those evacuated people who are members of the Fellowship by our local branches, and thirdly, the setting up of new branches by members who are evacuated where none exist.

The essence of our faith, our witness and organisation is fellowship. By every means in our power let us make such fellowship closer, deeper and more abiding, in and through the stress of these times.

inevitable product of a world society made up of sovereign States, as between which there exists no rule of law and over which there presides no superior authority to balance the static and dynamic desires which are characteristic of any society."

We have already evolved forms of society capable of enduring the changes essential to a developing civilization and largely eliminating the periodical disruption and squandering of spiritual and material resources inseparable from violent revolution, and the author maintains that the tendencies which have encouraged the growth of these cultural units will be equally valid for the improvement of international relations, if properly applied.

Power-Politics Behind Treaties.

Another reason for the breakdown of the

political solution is to be found in a belief very prevalent among governments. This is the conflict ideology, found in many religions as the continual struggle between God and Devil, and in modern ultra-nationalism as the Hero-Nation v. Villain-Nation concept.

"Group authorities feel dependent for internal cohesion and effectiveness upon the existence of external groups which inspire a sense of peril and arouse competitive instincts."

The existing treaty-network seems at first to refute the statement that no international law exists, and the author—himself a distinguished international lawyer who has had practical experience of treaty-making—does valuable service by exposing the true nature of most of these "agreements." We are shown that the majority of treaties are no more than moves in the game of power-politics and that they fail to meet those tests which make laws workable and acceptable substitutes for force within a State.

Mr. Dulles then continues his examination of the use by group authorities of the external threat and shows that the intensification of this tendency in the exaggerated Nation-Hero v. Nation-Villain propaganda of modern nationalism is the essential prerequisite of war—totalitarian war as he rightly describes it, in contrast with the wars of the past fought by professional armies.

False Ideas.

Thus the creative process may be short-circuited. Man makes certain sacrifices in order to obtain the benefits of living in society. But his society becomes personified as a selfish non-sacrificing entity unwilling as a nation to make the sacrifices which would obtain the benefits of living in a society of nations.

If the support of the peoples can be obtained by emotional manipulations, war between these selfish unreal nation-entities becomes possible.

"The voluntary entry of people into warfare of this character cannot be explained on the basis of our premise as to the essentially selfish character of human beings. Such a war is a supreme manifestation of emotional unselfishness"

Anti-war policies based solely on re-armament, disarmament, the League of Sanctions, and so on, are dismissed as false or inadequate. They are seen as attempts to deal not with the disease but with symptoms.

On the ethical side the author sees as the

Mahatma Gandhi

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prime necessities the removal of the other-nation-villain concept, and the dilution of the concept of one's own State as quasi-deity and sole benefactor.

In the dead-letter Article 19 of the Covenant of the League Mr. Dulles sees the germ of possible development along these lines. He fully realises that an attempt by the democracies to set up any binding international authority would be met at the beginning with genuine mistrust.

Of England, France and the United States he writes "Their ministrations produced three great despotisms—Germany, Italy and Japan." The democratic manipulation of the League has left the world in an incalculably difficult position. "If, however, there was genuine acceptance by the *status quo* Powers of a new philosophy, this in itself would have a profound influence."

The reader will have gathered that an incredibly wide field is covered in one hundred and seventy pages and it is a tribute to the author that the high intellectual quality and lucidity of exposition does not once falter. The pacifist critic can do nothing but applaud—and recommend.

THE METHODIST CONFERENCE AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

The Methodist Conference at its assembly in Liverpool in July reached two important decisions with regard to Conscription:—

(1) The Conference declared in favour of the ending of Conscription at the earliest possible date. The resolution is as follows:—

"The Conference deeply regrets the gravity of the international conditions which led His Majesty's Government to decide on the enactment of Conscription for a limited term of years; and records its earnest hope for the lessening of international tension and the removal of its causes, and for the ending of Conscription at the earliest possible date."

(2) The Conference appointed the following sub-committee "to Implement the Provisions of the Conference Declaration on Peace and War so far as it concerns those who cannot accept Military Service." Revs. Henry Carter, C.B.E., Leslie Davison, J. Eric Dixon, M.C., B.A., B.D., Fred A. Farley, M.A., B.D., J. Oliver Hornabrook, O.B.E., George W. Potter, Wilfred Wade, Jacob Walton; Messrs. H. J. Prickett, M.A., William S. Welch, with the Secretary of the Conference as Convener.

THE PACIFIST MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND

At a meeting of the Scottish Council of Christian Pacifist groups held in Edinburgh on September 19th, the Rev. Lewis Maclachlan was warmly welcomed on taking up his work as secretary for Scotland of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. After some discussion of the situation created by the war it was resolved to issue a statement both to the public and to members of the constituent groups. Some report was given of the sittings of the Edinburgh Tribunal for conscientious objectors.

The committee of the Church of Scotland Peace Society met in Glasgow on the 20th of September, first in a session for conference and afterwards in an executive capacity. Measures to co-operate with other pacifist organisations in setting up a joint advisory council for C.O.'s were approved. It was decided to send a letter to every member enclosing a communication to men of military age. The Rev. Lewis Maclachlan was appointed to be co-secretary with the Rev. John Hall. Mr. Maclachlan's address is 8, Orchard Drive, Giffnock, Glasgow. Tel. Giffnock 2470.

COMMUNITY NOTES

Community—the Opportunity of To-day

AND so we are living to-day in a world whose every resource and activity is mobilised for war and will be exhausted if need be in its service.

In face of these things can our witness as Christians and men of peace be maintained, permanently and effectively, apart from social and economic community—the material expression of our spiritual fellowship? That is a question to be looked at realistically and now.

Meanwhile some of the more recently constituted communities are confronted with urgent need for more land and more accommodation to meet the new and pressing demands of increasing membership. In other areas, local peace groups are co-operating in income-pooling plans and collective small holdings as a base for self-support and service for peace.

Every week now men and women are losing their livelihood for conscience' sake. Few will find the chance of another job other than a prescribed form of "national service." To all such community can offer a new and constructive way of life, building up out of good spiritual material the framework of a new society — building even while the old civilisation is shattering all around.

Indeed, is it not vital that this *should* happen—this growing up of new life in new patterns? There is every reason why peace lovers should not themselves become "refugees" in a warring world — dependents on doles and reliefs and charities. Now and in the coming days may we not rather get together in a free society capable of providing work, however hard, and self-subsistence, however simple, to those dispossessed in the cause of peace (and which of us may not be amongst the number as days go on?): a society of active service communities in which faith, hope and love grow out of living experience and from which they can radiate new life and health to a stricken society?

Those who do not feel called to live as working members of a community group can co-operate practically by making it possible for others, without means, to do so. The need is immediate. Community faces the greatest opportunity of our time for living Christian witness and collective Christian service.

The time for conferences and committees is overpast; we are committed under God to live in action the things that we proclaim. Those already in the field are facing up to the world of the future with hope, courage and inspiration. But they need the help of us all—our prayers and our gifts. Will those who want to know where and how such help is most needed write now to the Hon. Sec., Community Service Committee, "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Weybridge, Surrey.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES TO BE HELD IN OCTOBER

OCT. 3rd.—SHREWSBURY.	R. G. Barrie, "Eastrea," Bryn Road, Shrewsbury, Salop.
5th.—COLCHESTER.	Dr. C. E. M. Pugh, 19, Wellesley Road, Colchester, Essex.
6th.—TORQUAY.	Miss Viccars, "Cassencarric," Bronshill Road, Torquay.
7th.—SOUTHAMPTON.	E. Windebank, 15, Rose Road, Southampton.
7th.—SALISBURY.	Miss Irene Hurley, "Doverhay," Paul's Dene Road, Salisbury, Wilts.
7th.—WESTON-SUPER-MARE	Miss Doris Over, 5, Milton Road, Weston-super-Mare, Somerset.
11th.—CARDIFF.	Horace Quick, 16, Gold Street, Roath, Cardiff.
14th.—LIVERPOOL.	Eric McKie, "Pippacott," Mackets Lane, Hunts Cross, Liverpool.
14th.—SWANSEA.	Idris Morgan, 52, Parc Wern Road, Swansea, Glam.
14th.—ST. ALBANS.	Mrs. K. Beale, 28, Charmouth Road, St. Albans, Herts.
14th.—LONDON.	Beatrice Brown, London Union of F.o.R., 165, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.
21st.—BRADFORD.	Mrs. Rawlison, 38, Leylands Terrace, Heaton, Bradford, Yorks.
21st.—NORWICH.	Miss G. Alexander, 2, Heigham Grove, Norwich, Norfolk.
21st.—MAIDSTONE.	Miss M. Haynes, Virginia House, Maidstone, Kent.
28th.—MANCHESTER.	Alfred T. Stone, 18, Legh Road, Sale, Manchester.
28th.—NEWCASTLE.	Rev. R. G. Bell, 27, Preston Avenue, North Shields.
28th.—HIGH WYCOMBE.	Maurice G. Evans, Tarrystone, Philip Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

FOR INFORMATION as to the place and time of meeting apply to local Secretary as given above.

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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 October 16th. Leader:—Rev. Alan Balding.

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c/o St. George's Vicarage, Leeds, 2.
Tel. : Leeds 29061

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