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*The*  
**CHRISTIAN  
PACIFIST**

A  
*new series of*  
**Reconciliation**

GROWING IN PACIFISM

*George M. Ll. Davies*

THE BIOLOGY OF WAR

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GANDHI

*Stephen Hobhouse*

THE CHURCHES AND  
CONSCRIPTION

QUESTIONS WE ARE ASKED

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# The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

JUNE, 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

### A Broken Word

The Government, in spite of recent and emphatic declarations that there would be no conscription in peace time, has yielded to the demand for regimentation and introduced the Military Training Bill. We do not understand the facile excuses that have been made for this perplexing breach of faith. To say that circumstances had changed, or that the Prime Minister's pledge was only to Parliament, which therefore had the right to release him from it, or that influences were at work too powerful for the Prime Minister to withstand, seems only to accentuate the moral weakness of a Government that does not know its own mind from month to month. It is not, of course, the breaking of any pledge that makes conscription wrong. It is the compulsion imposed upon young men by their elders to be trained to handle weapons the use of which is revolting to all moral sense. It is the dehumanising of youth. As a letter in *The Times* from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups said, "The compulsory training of men to slaughter their fellow-men is to us

intolerable. Socially, too, conscription is a retrograde step, a move away from democracy towards the enthronement of militarism and totalitarianism." Conscription is indeed a kind of temporary slavery inasmuch as it coerces men against their own will and judgment into employment the real nature of which is concealed behind well-advertised social amenities. It is oppression of the most ruthless and injurious kind, for it forces upon men, and that in the sensitive years of immaturity, not suffering and privation but moral coarsening and the necessity not of enduring cruelty but of inflicting it. To treat men with brutality is bad; to teach men forcibly to be brutal is much worse.

### Poland as Britain's Conscience

We are not disposed, however, to blame the Government, which, as so many of its supporters have said, could not help itself. The demand for conscription was too strong. It came from two quarters. There was on the one hand the persistent pressure from abroad. In the Prime

Minister's own view the satisfaction that the Military Training Bill has given to France and Poland is sufficient to justify it. It need hardly astonish us to observe that foreign powers are allowed to dictate to this country on such important matters of policy since the arrangement was concluded by which it appears that the paramount question whether we should go to war or not may be decided not here but in Poland or perhaps in Rumania or even Russia. So bankrupt is Britain now of leadership that she may well seek a moral adviser abroad, but to promise in advance obedience in matters of conscience (which is what our military alliances amount to) to such countries as Poland is a sorry abdication of all moral responsibility. We have often protested against the exaltation of national sovereignty, but such abject abrogation of national self-respect is to rush headlong on an opposite extreme.

#### A Matter of Delicacy

On the other hand, the demand for conscription was loudly voiced at home by ex-statesmen, peers, Bishops, and leading Free-Churchmen. It is only natural and perhaps only right that the Government should yield to such an imposing array of public opinion. It is a pity, however, that the demand for conscription could not have been left to younger men. A sense of delicacy usually forbids one to advocate a measure which demands from others sacrifices which it will not require of oneself. In this instance the urgency for compulsory military service was felt to be so great that older men pressed upon the Government a scheme calculated to make themselves more secure at the expense of youth. The least that honour demands of those aged advocates of conscription would seem to be a frank acknowledgment of their debt to the young men who will be its victims. To pretend that conscription is really a blessing in disguise and that its purpose is partly to confer a benefit on the youth of the country is a hypocrisy that does the fathers of the State no credit.

#### A Chance to Witness

The opposition of the Christian pacifist to conscription is, of course, only part of his opposition to all preparation for war. As we have so often said, we object to compulsory military training not so much because it is compulsory as because it is military. Those who believe in what is euphemistically called

"defence" by a generation that is beginning to be ashamed of the word "war," and who have supported the armaments programme of the Government, must experience a difficulty in finding grounds on which to oppose conscription. Conscription is a necessary part of our defence measures and to oppose conscription is to repudiate the whole policy of armaments and military alliances. Pacifists naturally and consistently oppose another step, as they have opposed every step taken hitherto, in preparation for war. Many young pacifists will welcome the Military Training Act for the opportunity it will give them of witnessing to their faith, for every conscientious objector in the country is a challenge to the whole community. We are not sorry for the young men. We are sorry for the nation that not so much of its own volition but buffeted and driven by circumstances, stripped of its ideals, plucked of its liberties, bereft of its principles, has come like a sick and moulting fowl to this sore stricken plight.

#### How the Act Will Work

The advance of pacifist conviction during the last twenty years can be measured by the anxiety, not only of the Churches but on the part of the Government itself, that adequate provision should be made for conscientious objectors. Whether that provision is really sufficient to avoid religious persecution remains to be seen in the administration of the Act, but private assurances given by members of the Government to leaders of the Churches indicate a genuine desire to respect conscientious conviction, and the Government has been left in no doubt as to the strength of the pacifist movement in the country. These private assurances have been in part confirmed by modifications of the Bill during its passage through the House of Commons, where the untiring vigilance and patience of Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Cecil Wilson, Mr. Sorensen and other pacifist Members must be acknowledged by the whole pacifist movement with admiration and gratitude. Some doubts as to how the Act will be worked remain, and the added clause which requires conscientious objectors to undergo six months' service approved by the Minister of Labour, while it could be interpreted to acknowledge as suitable alternative service entirely non-military occupation such as "International Voluntary Service for Peace" or "Men of the Trees," can be suspected of sinister significance. This much at

least can be said, that the lot of the conscientious objector is likely to be less hard than under the war-time Military Service Acts.

#### No Superior Conscience

Provision for the conscientious objector can, of course, only be made either by unconditional exemption granted by a tribunal, or by schemes of alternative non-military service approved by the Ministry of Labour. Some of the sincerest pacifists will be compelled by conscience to refuse not only non-combatant military service but any kind of civilian service that may be imposed as an alternative, while some will not even register as conscientious objectors or take any action whatever in obedience to the Military Training Act. It may be very hard for those who can or would accept non-military alternative service to understand those who refuse it, and equally hard for the "absolutist" to understand and approve the men whose conscience compels them to accept any service which the State may impose provided only it is of a genuinely civilian character and does not serve the ends of war. We shall not attempt to judge each other's consciences and we shall certainly not speak as though one kind of conscientious objection were superior to another. All men of genuine conviction, no matter what stand they take, will have equal support from the pacifist organisations. Even the Churches will this time guard the interests of the conscientious objectors, extending to them the same ministrations, if not the same sympathies, as to the men in the army. Some account of recent declarations by Church Assemblies are given on another page in this issue.

#### Advice Offered on Procedure

In this connection we welcome the statement issued by Professor Charles E. Raven, Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation: "The Government's decision to impose conscription confronts many Christian pacifists with an order to do something their consciences declare to be wrong. Accurately to judge conscience was shown in the Great War to be impossible for even highly qualified tribunals, but that experience also demonstrated how helpful the men who were summoned before such bodies found the advice, presence and support of those who were not themselves being conscripted. We wish

immediately to assure those who, as Christian pacifists, feel it impossible to fall in with the Government's demands, that we are ready once again to offer the best advice on points of procedure at our disposal; that we will do our utmost to arrange for experienced people to be present when their cases come before the tribunals, and that we shall not be unmindful of any who may be dependent upon them for financial support. That this may be done effectively, we would be glad to know immediately the names and addresses of all such men of military age. Will they also let us know:

- (1) Their ages.
- (2) To what pacifist societies, if any, they belong.
- (3) Their religious denominations.
- (4) Whether they will refuse national service on the ground that it is part of a policy to which they are utterly opposed, or
- (5) are willing to accept such national service as seems to them not to assist in war preparedness.

We realise that conscience will lead our members to widely differing decisions and we would, therefore, call upon the whole Fellowship to pray at this time that we may, in the presence of a perplexed, unhappy world, witness to a more excellent way, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

#### Advice to Register

At its meeting on May 2nd the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups reached agreement on the following points:—

- (1) The Council opposes the system of compulsory military service absolutely.
- (2) The Council is prepared, so far as it rightly can, to stand behind all conscientious objectors, whatever form of resistance their consciences prompt them to make. The Council believes the final decision rests with each individual alone.
- (3) The Council recommends, notwithstanding its opposition to the whole system of compulsory military service, that conscientious objectors should take the opportunity provided for in Section 1, paragraph 3, of the Bill to register as conscientious objectors,

choosing for themselves from among the grounds named in that Section.

- (4) The Council recommends that conscientious objectors should consider seriously whether they are doing all they can, now, in the way of useful work of social importance, and should take steps in that direction so as to be in a position, when appearing before the tribunal, to refer to such work.

#### Pacifists Interview the Minister

Mr. Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour, received on May 10th a deputation from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups on the question of the administration of the Military Training Act, when passed, so far as it would affect conscientious objectors. The deputation was introduced by Mr. George Lansbury, and was received in a very friendly way. It put to the Minister a considerable number of quite concrete points concerning the probable position under the new Act of both absolutist and alternative conscientious objectors, Christian and non-Christian, as to the personnel, powers and procedure of the tribunals, and as to the conditions of alternative service. The Minister showed that he had the difficulties very much in mind and that he and the Government desired to do all they could to avoid persecution. He pointed out that the present Bill was designed to keep the matter in civil hands right up to the moment when the Minister of Labour called registered militiamen up for service and they became soldiers. Mr. Brown undertook to give careful consideration while framing his regulations to the points raised by the deputation.

#### The New Clause

At a later meeting of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups held on Monday, May 22nd, the changes introduced into the Military Training Bill during the committee and report stage were reviewed, and a report made on the Council's deputation to the Minister of Labour. Whilst it was recognised that the Government had sincerely tried to provide for the case of the conscientious objector as they understood it, the new clause [3 (8)] requiring the conscientious objector to undergo six months' training provided or approved by the Minister of Labour was felt to be very disquieting. The Council felt

that the peace movement ought to maintain its protest against the Bill not only for the sake of the conscientious objector but also for the sake of the young men who accepted its demands without realising what they involved, and because of its effect on the policy of the whole country. The Council also desired to make it known that its members would be at the service of those who felt they ought conscientiously to resist whatever the line they felt it right to take. It was not possible, however, to deal with questions of detail and procedure until the regulations under the Act were available. Then doubtless the various pacifist movements would wish jointly to establish area and local committees to give advice to conscientious objectors who desired it.

#### Zurich Peace Congress

The Directing Committee of the International Peace Bureau, whose headquarters are at Geneva, announces that the 33rd Universal Peace Congress is to be held at Zurich from August 21st to 27th. In a press communiqué on the gravity of the international situation, the Committee says that whatever may be the events of the coming months, it is obvious that a solution of the problems now troubling the world will not be quickly realised nor will the repercussions of recent acts of violence have ceased to occupy the minds of men. The forthcoming Congress will, therefore, have a special importance and will strive to bring home to the peoples the common interests which bind them together and which should determine the future of Europe and of the world.

#### DYING OR KILLING?

On Sunday evening, I listened to a church service from Ypres, and the tears poured down my cheeks as I heard the Bishop, after describing the church and graves at great length, upholding National Defence, encouraging others to be prepared to give their lives in the same way. Have you noticed, people always say "to give their lives," but I wonder what effect it would have if they always used the words "to kill" instead? Christians would then perhaps realise (as I'm sure they often do not at present) that it is not only a case of *giving* one's life—it means *taking* life.

FLORA COLLAR.

## GROWING IN PACIFISM

GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES

I THINK that, like most people, I had always wished for Peace. The interests and conflicts of business, politics and society that occupied so much of my surface mind did not touch the depths of being. It was in childhood and in escape from cities to lonely places and to humble peasants that I found release to my deeper self.

"Love had I found in huts where poor men lie,  
The silence that is in the starry skies,  
The peace that broods upon the ancient hills."

Such democracy had little in common with the raucous demagogues of the proletariat. Its roots were in the soil and in the homeliness and neighbourliness of religious faith.

In those days a militant and political Nonconformity, of which Mr. Lloyd George was an ardent exponent, was developing in Wales. Unfair privileges, the endowments and establishment of the Church, the emoluments of rural and urban landowners, with their earlier background of petty tyranny and evictions—all this drew Nonconformity into the Ark of salvation—the Liberal Party. The victory of 1906 was magnificent, 350 majority, but it was war. Every village and town in Wales was divided by the hostilities of Church and Chapel, and when the greater war loomed in 1914, Organised Christianity in Wales had no vision and the people perished.

#### In The Territorial Army

It was in the years preceding the war that I had had to face the logic of my Liberalism. If wrong was to be righted by majority rule, backed by force of arms if necessary, it seemed logical to Liberals to prefer the volunteer service of the Territorial Army formed by Haldane, the Liberal War Minister, to the conscript service then being advocated by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts. The Territorial Army was established specifically for defence, and no Statesman and no Christian that I had ever heard of, save Tolstoi, repudiated the use of arms in self-defence. It was therefore a choice between voluntary and enforced military service that impelled me to take a Commission in the

Territorial Army. Having so decided, there was much to appeal to one in the call and training of volunteers, the relief of willing subordination and of discipline, and the esprit de corps of the Battalion, the camp and the manoeuvres. The chaplains and the church parades helped to remove misgivings as to the actual morality of war. To be willing to share and to suffer together, and, if need be, to make the supreme sacrifice, seemed nobler than the normality of Christian lives, preoccupied in business or serving on Christian committees. Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" seemed at least a higher ideal than that of complacent potentates of pulpits and of exponents of the successful reconciliation of God and Mammon.

It has been said that "once at least in every man's life, he walks with Christ to Emmaus." So it happened to me, in the year before the Great War. No "justification by works," either of national service or of the social service in which I was then engaged, sufficed to reconcile the personal relationship with God and with man which I had lost. It was only the love of God that could redeem one from the sense of moral bankruptcy. The love that I had associated with feelings and liking I saw in Christ as a harder and deeper thing, the sincerity of loyalty to God and to man. It demanded not so much feeling or intellectual understanding as obedience to the will of God and service in the way of God to the next person and for the next step on which one had light. Instead of easy compromise and conformity with the "fashion of the world," it demanded that one should learn to improvise from day to day and to continue in His will and way at the cost of Nonconformity with the world.

With this new and solemn conception of the conditions of growing in the light and love of God, many unfruitful branches of one's life had to be cut off. I resigned my Territorial Army Commission only three months before the war, less from a specific objection to war than from its irrelevance to my positive purpose in life. Later I relinquished the secretaryship of three Boards of Directors concerned for better housing and town-planning in Wales, when I decided

to offer my services to the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It was not easy to explain one's fledgling pacifism to noble Lords and Major-Generals, to whom it must have seemed like religious mania. One's own family and friends were almost as much perplexed by such a step.

#### A Mixed Salad of Humanity

What a relief it was to find oneself in the midst of the catholic breadth and vigour and variety of that first F.o.R. committee. Henry Hodgkin, the Chairman, with all his grasp and earnestness and concentration; Fearon Halliday, the Irishman, with his swift, psychological intuition and his wide philosophic range; Richard Roberts, with Celtic impetuosity and changing moods and power of concentration upon either a phrase or a new situation; Dr. Orchard, penetrating in jest or understanding, and all the rest of that refreshing and very mixed salad of humanity. The differences of type and temperament, to say nothing of the denominational or political differences, made the first demands on our pacifism. A uniformity of attitude against war did not mean a unity of spirit as to the way of peace. It was easy to project upon statesmen our ideas of what might have been done in the past or should be done in the future. It was more difficult to agree as to what Christian Pacifists themselves should say and do in the immediate situation. Some were unwilling to do anything demanded by a Government at war; others were willing to give unto Caesar anything he should demand, consistent with what they owed to God. Consequently, Christian Pacifists found themselves in widely different ways of witness or service, in the Y.M.C.A. in France, in Friends' Ambulance Unit 4, in antagonistic political parties, in alternative schemes or in prison cells.

For myself, I could feel no objection on grounds of conscience (though much on grounds of convenience) to work of reclamation among young criminals. The Riverside Village experiment, launched by F.o.R. members, was a far more searching experience than organising Peace propaganda or stating the case for Pacifism. Actually to live and eat and work day by day with a dozen young criminals and to meet violence, cruelty, laziness and lust, face to face, was something entirely different from the cloistered study of theories of freedom and forgiveness. It meant learning the difference

between organising and improvising, between impersonal ideas of Pacifism and personal peace-making. If the experiment of Riverside Village came to an untimely end, it did not mean that the method had failed. Difficulties of finance, of committees and of persons were as much a part of our problem as the difficulties of the young delinquents. But through it all, conduct and consequences were vividly seen in their true character, and friendships were formed across the differences.

#### Shepherd, Prisoner, Dustman, Preacher

This experience helped to confirm one's faith in the possibility of unity amid differences, and made status and system less separating if only one could find a personal link of trust and understanding. In the days that followed, this personal clue to fellowship proved an effectual way in the different situations in which I found myself during the war—shepherding on a mountain farm, speaking in market places, meeting Tribunals, living in guard rooms or in prison cells, working as dustman or navy or itinerant preacher.

"Hearts have I known of sister or of brother  
Quick on the earth or hidden 'neath the sod,  
Lo! every soul awaiteth me, another  
Friend in the blameless family of God."

To be able to stand for these values in public, to secure a majority and a seat in Parliament for one's Pacifist philosophy, to be able to make new laws for old and enforce good systems in place of bad ones may seem magnificent, but it is too often war in its mass conflicts and impersonal "causes" and in its political abstractions and ideologies. That was my conclusion after having been elected to Parliament as a "Christian Pacifist" by the graduates of the University of Wales. Peace-making was by sharing Life rather than by making Laws, or organising propaganda.

There is a searching word of William Blake: "He who would do good must do it in minute particulars. General good is the plea of the hypocrite, the flatterer and the scoundrel."

At any rate Christ would seem to have directed His disciples to this "fishing for men" and to the "little leaven" of personal rightness and relationship rather than to the big lump of political policy as the distinctive method of the Kingdom of God for the finding and making of Peace. And we Pacifists have a lot to learn about that.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GANDHI

*The following essay is to form part of a volume now in preparation, to be presented to Mahatma Gandhi on his seventieth birthday in September. It is printed here by special permission.*

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

### PART I.

HOWEVER objective our religion or philosophy may appear to be, each of us human beings who is able to reflect and to aspire has had to construct a world of his own out of materials set before him by the mysterious, unknown environment wherein he finds himself. Within this universe of our consciousness there are certain objects—forces, qualities, ideals, or persons we call them—which stir with a strange and moving attraction the central fibres of our nature, our heart and our reason; and there comes to us in our better moments a constant longing to know them, to love them, to identify ourselves with them more and more completely, ever seeking to liberate ourselves from the trivial and inessential, the unlovely and the impure.

Other minds may find much of this central attraction in the creations of human art or even in the subtle correspondences of scientific process. I am one of the many who find it chiefly in the inexpressible wonder and beauty of personality, as imagined in its perfection of life through the best and loveliest men and women who cross our path, whether in the flesh or in books, as well as in an indefinable sense of the same personal wonder and beauty breathed upon us from visible nature, in sky and earth and living things, when her moods and ours possess the inner harmony that brings peace. And from these two centres of my highest experience I am inescapably drawn to a faith in that which we call God, to an experiment in discovering and testing an infinite super-personal yet supremely personal and supremely beneficent Being, who is at once the source and the goal of all the separate centres of life and beauty which within and around me strive for liberation and expression.

#### The Evil That I Would Not

Unhappily, too, I am equally conscious of dark, destructive elements of ugliness and discord, which with an evil activity of their own mar the growth of harmonious life. These forces seem to some extent to be present in external nature, but, inasmuch as the courageous human

soul has a marvellous capacity for overcoming or neutralising the hostility of nature, they are far more dangerous enemies as present within the hearts of men, and within my own heart in particular. Unaided I too often lose faith and am all but helpless before the demonic power of these evil tendencies; and I must turn for aid and liberation to a closer fellowship of spirit with some other personality, human or divine.

Providence has ordained that I have been born and bred in a community where past and present have united in confronting me with the historic figure of Jesus Christ as supremely incarnating the infinite Personality which seems to live at the heart of all that is good and beautiful. Thought and prayer and the influences of a still vigorous tradition, sanctified by the wisdom of antiquity and now, as perhaps never before, becoming purified of alien accretions, have convinced me that this historic person holds a position at the heart of the Godhead and the universe, as no other human figure, no other *avatar* or incarnation of the Divine can do. The same Spirit lives with a lesser but still splendid pre-eminence in other human personalities, in many doubtless who have left behind them no recorded memory, in some souls whose memory is preserved as the bright and shining lights of our race's history. A few dark patches indeed there may be on their radiance, but these dim its beneficence but little. I think of them all as messengers and prophets of the eternal Christ, even though some among them would not or could not acknowledge him as Lord and God.

#### The Prophet Gandhi

Of these historic light-bearers, one of the greatest of all time, so it seems to me, is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prophet of *ahimsa-satyagraha*.<sup>\*</sup> Certainly he is the greatest that has appeared in our own day. The decay of ancient faiths and moralities, the tyranny of the machine, the evil use of applied science made by the misguided industrialists

<sup>\*</sup> i.e., "the non-violence of "truth-force." See quotations below.

and militarists whose control we support or at least endure, have, in spite of recent revelation of many new and lovely aspects of truth, produced in world history an unexampled crisis. It is even conceivable that civilization or, since that word is an ambiguous one, orderly, kindly, enlightened human society, as the more fortunate know it to-day, may perish more completely than ever before in the universal confusion and destruction of strife engendered by the lawless self-seeking of human desires and passions.

I have set myself in this essay to try to explain how it is that Gandhi's great and closely related ideals of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* appear to me to present the only means by which salvation and redemption, healing and true life, can come to the sorely distracted and diseased environment in which we find ourselves. And in doing so I have at the same time to look back upon the records of these ideals in the past history of European thought, as they have lived on for the most part out of sight and in byways despised or neglected by the leaders of Christian culture. (Concerning the history of *ahimsa* in India and China I am not qualified to write.)

On a noisy motor-road leading into the ancient, but now industrialised, town of Görlitz in German Silesia, in the centre of a Europe that is with feverish haste forging innumerable implements far more devilish than swords for its own mutilation and destruction, there was placed only some fifteen years ago a statue in honour of that great but little known Christian, Jakob Boehme, on the base of which have been inscribed his own words of faith and warning, *Liebe und Demut unser Schwert*—"Love and Humility is our Sword;" "with which we can fight under Christ's crown of thorns" would have completed the quotation, as the old mystic wrote it. And Boehme was a mystic who was valiant for the Truth of God; he was indeed expelled from his home for proclaiming it as salvation for the individual soul. Through the centuries of European history there have certainly been many other humble, loving, fearless men and women who have lived in the spirit of that message, the message of *ahimsa*, and who have seen its utter incompatibility with a large part of the social and national activities of their country. But very few indeed have had the strength and courage and inspiration to proclaim the gospel of universal love as a divine call to their fellow-countrymen for the reconstruction of society and the salvation of the present world-order. Hitherto the tradition of an exaggerated other-worldliness has nearly

always led such enlightened spirits to acquiesce in a belief in the predestined destruction of world and world-order, as alike unredeemable.

#### The Warfare of the Harmless

Now at last, when a Europe, still in part calling itself Christian, in company with all "civilised" nations elsewhere, is straining every nerve towards a suicidal conflict, there has arisen, in the midst of an India herself painfully distracted by deep-rooted racial and religious dissensions, a little, frail Hindu ex-lawyer able to inspire thousands of men and women to enlist, in the name of truth and justice, in quite another kind of warfare. A warfare it is whose soldiers try to keep entirely free from the defiling contact of the machinery of destruction, a warfare waged with the innocent weapons of soul-force and "harmlessness," of goodwill shown even to cruel foes, of trustful humility before God—yes, a warfare, I would say, waged with a willing acceptance of Christ's crown of thorns and of his cross of pain, in strong faith that it is a cross and a crown which will redeem and raise up to God both victim and violator alike.—Indians must pardon me, if I slip naturally into the language of Christian devotion, while I pay a willing tribute to the Hinduism which has nursed the prophet of *ahimsa*.

Amid the fear and gloom of the modern world this seems a dream too beautiful to be true; and yet, in spite so far of failures and inconsistencies and lapses (on the part of the leader, as well as of his followers), there have been made, if we may believe the reports of credible witnesses, the first experiments at least in such a life-giving mass-movement. Within the last few months the Mahatma himself (to give him the usual Indian title of reverence, which he himself disclaims) has once again made a frank admission of past failure and disappointment, but has nevertheless expressed his unshaken confidence for the future. "God has chosen me," he writes, "as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills . . . my faith in non-violence remains as strong as ever. I am quite sure that not only should it answer all our requirements in our own country, but that it should, if properly applied, prevent the bloodshed that is going on outside India and is threatening to overthrow the Western world."\*

\* Gandhi in his weekly paper *Harijan* for July 7, 1938, confirmed by other similar statements in later issues of the same most instructive periodical.

#### Non-Violence is the Weapon of the Strong

What are we to think of a popular and intensely patriotic movement among people who are subject to the rule of alien invaders, wherein thousands, it appears, have joyously and confidently accepted as their working gospel such assertions as the following, taken from the lips or the pen of their great leader?†

"*Ahimsa* ["harmlessness" or non-violence] means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved."

"He who believes in non-violence believes in a living God."

"Non-violence cannot be taught by word of mouth. It is kindled in our heart by the grace of God, in answer to earnest prayer."

"Non-violence is the weapon of the strongest and the bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God."

"If blood be shed, let it be our blood. Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing."

"Love does not burn others, it burns itself, suffering joyfully even unto death. It will do no intentional injury, in thought, word, or deed, to the person of a single Englishman."

"India must conquer her so-called conquerors by love. For us patriotism is the same as the love of humanity. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India."

"Non-violence and Truth [*Satya*] are inseparable and pre-suppose one another."

"There is no God higher than Truth. Truth is the first thing to be sought for."

"In our holy war, which is directed by God Himself, there are no secrets to be guarded, there is no scope for cunning, no place for untruth. All is done openly in the face of the enemy."

"*Satyagraha* [truth-force or soul-force] requires the control, by the prayer for purity, of all bodily and self-regarding desires."

"In every step that he takes the *Satyagrahi* [he who practises truth-force] is bound to consider the needs of his adversary. He is ever gentle and courteous to him, though he will not obey unrighteous laws or commands."

"The *Satyagrahi* will not swerve from the path of justice, but he is always eager for peace. He has abundant faith in others, infinite patience, and ample hope."

† In some cases I have condensed or united distinct precepts of Gandhi, as reported by different writers or by himself.

"Human nature is in its essence one, and therefore the aggressor unfailingly responds [*that is*, in the end] to the advances of love."

"No power on earth can stand before the march of a peaceful, determined, and God-fearing people. Non-violence is more powerful than all the armaments in the world."

#### "To the God-fearing Death has no Terrors"

"Bravery on the battlefield is impossible for us. But fearlessness is absolutely necessary, the abandonment of all fear of bodily injury, of disease or death, of the loss of possessions, of family, or of reputation. Nothing in this world is ours."

"*Ahimsa* requires true humility, for it is reliance not on self, but on God alone."

Certainly, in so far as we cling without misgivings to an unjust share of the world's wealth, or in so far as we find satisfaction in exploiting or dominating our fellow-creatures, we may well fear any general adherence to such principles of action as these. But all men and women of goodwill, who try to live by faith in man and in God and in the reality of the spiritual universe, ought surely to rejoice in a movement, which, with whatever faults and lapses, has for the first time in human history inscribed such purely life-giving watchwords upon its banners.

It should be noticed particularly that on at least two occasions where *satyagraha* campaigns in the form of civil disobedience had generated among an insufficiently prepared population an atmosphere of dangerous excitement, so that deeds of violence began to be committed, the Indian leader was able, by an act of exceptional courage and after confessing his "Himalayan blunder," to call off the campaign altogether, much to the displeasure and even anger of many of his supporters. Moreover, integrally united with Gandhi's programme for resisting the evil of violence and oppression go various activities which express the *satyagrahi's* passionate desire for identification with "the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost," especially those, like the "untouchables" in India, who are to be found at our own doors.

#### The Rejected Jesus

During the last few centuries the standards and institutions of Western society have encircled most of the globe, and in that society the lovely ideals of Jesus have at best been only very partially applied. It is true that they have been a vitalising influence, supplying a real

degree of justice, mercy, and succour to the weak and unfortunate and oppressed, upholding truth and honesty, and raising the great majority above the bogs of a sensual materialism. But even in these fields their success has been severely limited, while Christian ideals have quite failed, as we know, to abolish the miseries of unemployment, of industrial competition, and of war. This failure is mainly due to the fact that almost all Christians, even the most devout, have loved "security" too much, have placed their trust in outward, unspiritual things, in accumulated wealth and in death-dealing weapons, as the defences of their peace, rather than in God and their own God-given soul-force. We try to serve God and Mammon, we surround ourselves with a multiplicity of goods made too often by ignorant and unwilling labour and by soul-destroying machinery, we persuade our young men to be trained to kill and wound and destroy, as our protection against the evil and the needy, and by our greed or selfishness we have often converted the needy into the evil.

Jesus in his great sermon and still more by the example of his own life and death has shown once for all the cure for this false civilisation. He calls men and women to learn how to be content with wholesome poverty and simplicity of life (though not with the demoralizing poverty of destitution), to have implicit trust in the care and goodness of God, to value above all else God and spiritual joys and the winning of the life eternal; he asks them to realise their oneness with all men, and to meet the evil will with invincible patience and love, with belief in the convertibility of the unjust and a willingness to suffer and to die rather than violently resist, this being God's way of changing evil men into good.

#### The Veiled Meaning of the Cross

Unfortunately, from the very first, few of the followers of Jesus seem to have fully understood this way of meeting evil. Even in the New Testament its enunciation has in places become overlaid by the old punitive ideas. Some at least of the writers in that volume assumed it to be the rightful function of God and of the State, that is, of the pagan State, to use the sword of wrath and punishment, though the individual Christian must not answer evil with evil. The Churches not unnaturally adopted this view, and transferred it with disastrous effect to the Christian State. In particular the rooted idea, that Jesus, the Son of God, had taught and even threatened an everlasting hell, lay as a blight on Christian thought. With such

a belief it became very difficult to penetrate to the full meaning of the Cross.

Even the greatest devotion to the person of Jesus as perfect humanity (a devotion legitimate if He is, as I believe, in some unique sense God), even the mystical adoration of and self-identification with a God, who is Love, has failed to reveal to the saints of Christendom the Divine will for human society. Doubtless many of them have practised what was in fact true *ahimsa*. But no great leader of the Church has proclaimed it as the only salvation for mankind. Again, at least until quite modern times, even those "heretics", who enlightened by the Spirit came to see that Christians ought to take no part in social violence (e.g., from among the Waldenses, the "spiritual" Franciscans, Anabaptists, or Quakers), have still, it would seem, usually believed in God as one who can and does feel the emotion of wrath and the desire to punish, as one who expressly willed and directed the national wars and cruelties of the Old Testament, as one who has ordained a merciless and never-ending retribution for sin unrepented during the brief life-time of the sinners. Isolated thinkers and mystics, such as Peter Chelchizki (the fifteenth-century Czech forerunner of Tolstoy), some perhaps of the Anabaptist and Quaker saints, Jacob Boehme (in large measure) and his more consistent English disciple, William Law, have therefore been as voices crying in the wilderness, disregarded and misrepresented. At last, in the hour of humanity's great need, Leo Tolstoy, the enlightener of my youth, thanks to his own consummate power as a writer of stories, has raised the fructifying doubt in thousands of minds. And now Mahatma Gandhi, directly inspired by the teachings of Jesus and by Tolstoy's interpretation of them, as well as by the sacred books of Hinduism, has taken up the message of *ahimsa*, applied it to the different departments of our life, and presented it in a reasonable and attractive form, in which it makes an irresistible, even a scientific, appeal to thousands of seeking souls.\*

\* It is well to remember that Gandhi, in his first South African non-violence campaigns, regarded himself as a disciple of Leo Tolstoy, to whom he sent some account of them; and that Tolstoy in 1903 (about seven years before his death) wrote in reply a long and most interesting letter to him, ending in the following truly prophetic sentence:—"Therefore your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, wherein not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part." (See C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (1929), pages 192 and 195-7; also the same writer's *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story* (1930), pp. 122-5.)

## SOME QUESTIONS WE ARE ASKED

PAUL GLIDDON

*Since you claim exemption on Christian grounds, how do you account for the fact that Jesus Christ Himself never condemned soldiers?*

It is true that Jesus, the friend of sinners, had soldiers as His friends, though His friends also included publicans and prostitutes. But, just as it would be unsafe to argue that He supported the way by which these latter earned their livings, so it is hardly fair to say that He was necessarily in favour of the occupation of the soldiers who were holding His country in subjection.

*Don't you believe in rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's?*

I certainly believe in rendering to God the things that are God's, since He is Father and Creator. I don't a bit see why Caesar should not have the things to which God has no claim, but I would find it very hard to imagine what such things are, seeing that God claims the whole of life.

*What do you make of Jesus' command to a man who has no sword that he should sell his cloak and buy one?*

I think it is very odd that, if the command means literally what it says, Peter should have been reproved by Jesus a few hours afterwards for using a sword in circumstances in which its use might have appeared most justifiable. If the words "It is enough," with which Jesus greeted the announcement "Here are two swords," are also to be taken literally, then our Lord's conception of armaments was not very ambitious; if they mean that He was pleased with this small beginning, then the fact that the early Church made no attempt to follow it up is a strange lapse on their part. These words are surely a call to fresh effort in the Christian warfare, fought with Christ's weapons.

*But did not Jesus say He had come to bring a sword?*

Yes, and then went on to explain that He would set father against son and mother against daughter, which looks not only like civil war but civil war in its most intense and horrible

form. Surely this must mean that the preaching of His gospel would cleave families apart, not that it was His deliberate purpose to make mothers want to slay their daughters. That Jesus does divide families our experience in the pacifist movement proves only too well.

*Did not Jesus Himself employ violence in His clearing of the Temple?*

It is true that St. John's Gospel does speak of Jesus employing a whip for the driving out of the animals, but farmers do the same without risking the charge of attacking men as well. It seems improbable that a crowd of money changers should have been driven out by the physical violence of one man; if they were, then money changers have altered greatly since our Lord's days, whereas we would be inclined to argue that this is yet another example of the superior force of spiritual power, which remains forever the same.

*How do you justify your attitude when the general opinion of Christian people is against you?*

The Church has always recognised that minorities, though probably wrong, are possibly stressing a side of unrecognised truth, and that even single voices may declare an aspect of truth unappreciated by Christian people generally. The foundations of the Christian Church would be undermined if minorities, as well as majorities, ceased to be loyal to their deepest convictions.

*Since, as a citizen, you must recognise your debt to your country, are you going to refuse to give to the country the form of service she desires?*

Our duty to the mother country surely resembles our duty towards our own parents; our indebtedness to both is a matter of conscience. Anything, therefore, that puts too great a strain on conscience threatens the very authority on which the appeal of the mother country is based. So it comes about that, out of loyalty to that very faculty which leads some

men to take up arms, we, perhaps mistakenly but in all honesty, feel we must refuse.

*Would you not be willing even to defend your loved ones?*

A soldier in time of war must be willing to see his loved ones shot down rather than betray his country. We are forced to the pacifist position not by inclination but by the conviction that it is in accordance with the example and teaching of Jesus Christ, whom we count as King of Kings. Therefore we refuse to disobey His commands, even when, as in the case of soldiers, obedience may involve suffering in others. We have to confess that we think little of the ability of the war method to defend women and children, and those women whose high opinion we regard are themselves unwilling to be defended by means that involve the destruction of other women and of children no more guilty than themselves.

*But isn't it the Christian's duty to lay down his life for his friends?*

Certainly, but only after the example of Jesus Christ, who suffered for others and made no attempt, as weapons are designed to do, to inflict suffering on others. Soldiers do not enlist with the intention of dying for their country; when they die it is because of the fatal risk involved in using weapons that are intended for the sacrifice of others.

*But it surely cannot be a Christian duty to allow innocent people to suffer because of ideas of which they may not approve?*

The martyrs are the glory of the Christian Church, but we cannot believe that their deaths were a matter of indifference to those who loved them. Jesus did not give up the idea of being crucified because His death was to His Mother like the piercing of a sword. Soldiers, too, do not hesitate to risk their lives against the wishes of those who love them. The world would be a poor place if men never stood up for what they felt to be right unless they could be sure that only they themselves would suffer through their action.

*But what are you to do with people who seem to be unmoved by any appeal to their better selves or who have no better selves to which we can appeal?*

That is a problem God had to face long ago, and the Christian believes that the answer to that question is in the Cross, where we see God trying to deal with a sinful race by the only method He approves. We Christians believe that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners; cads, if you prefer to call them so, and that the reason why His method will work where all others fail is that in every man there can be found that better self to which the only effective appeal can finally be made.

*But even supposing your ideas may be right ideally, how can you hope to make them effective in a world so far from ideal as our own?*

Christian morality is a means to an end, as the Sermon on the Mount shows clearly enough. It is something to be put into practice in a world where there are still enemies left to be loved back into friendship, still bullies ready to smite, still robbers wanting to take from us our very clothes. But Jesus Christ set out a new way of dealing with people like this and warned us that, if we heard His words and did them not, we were like people who built houses on foundations of sand. It seems to us that the reason why a carefully designed civilisation is cracking is that there is something wrong with its foundations, too.

*Surely you must be willing to defend democracy against the menace of totalitarianism?*

In modern war the whole nation is involved and, to be effective, must therefore submit to regimentation. But this is just another name for totalitarianism, and we do not believe that a thing that is evil can ever be successfully employed for the defeat of evil. Satan can never be conscripted into the army which aims at his own overthrow.

*But will you not even fight for freedom?*

Most certainly; but only by the means that are likely to establish freedom, for freedom is a thing of the spirit of man, not of the body. Jesus nailed to the Cross is our symbol of the man who is free; the men who condemned Him were those truly in bondage. Each man is his own prisoner or his own liberator, and there is a freedom of the City of God that kings can neither give nor take away.

## PACIFISM AND THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

GEORGE M. DOCHERTY

WITH the Union of the United Free Church and the Established Church of Scotland in 1929, there began a new era in the history of the Church. As Lord Tweedsmuir has well expressed the position: "For the first time in history we have a Church which is acknowledged by the law of the land to be wholly free; free in its government and jurisdiction, free in its faith, having power to interpret its creeds and to alter them within the wide limits of trinitarian Protestantism, free in its use of its temporalities. And at the same time it is a historic Church, with no gap in its continuity from the first Reformers, cherishing its ancient documents of title, recognised by the State as the national representative of the faith of the Scottish people—the Church of Scotland and not merely a Church in Scotland. The words 'established' and 'dis-established' have no longer any but an historical meaning." The Church of Scotland is therefore not so much a "State" Church as a "National" Church.

The question of Peace and War is one which brings out vividly this relation of Church and State. In 1935 the Church of Scotland, recognising the growing tension in the basic conditions which bring about war, set up an *ad hoc* committee composed of men of divergent views to examine the whole question. After two years, during which conferences had been arranged and the frankest discussion and interchange of opinions took place, the Report was issued. (Published separately by S.C.M. Press as "The Church's Attitude to Peace and War." Price 1s.) Like the Reports of the other Churches, there are the three sections—the agreed portion, the pacifist position and the non-pacifist point of view. Looking over this Report, whose importance has only increased with the recent international developments, the writer has been impressed again by three facts which are implicit in its pages.

(a) There is the intense sincerity with which both views are held, and arising out of this the demand that each ought to have his opinions respected by the other. It does no good within the Church, and it is a source of cynicism outside, when the non-pacifist seeks to make a heretic out of the pacifist, and when the latter raises the cry of apostasy against the former. The paradox of the question of war is that

though the masses are the agent of its prosecution, the judgment of its rightness or wrongness is ultimately an individual and personal one. The man whom the Church must condemn is neither pacifist nor non-pacifist, but he who is "neither hot nor cold," uninformed of the Church's position and uninterested in her witness to the world.

(b) A solution of the problem is not to be found in the study or quotation of any isolated text of Holy Scripture. The embarrassing number of sects in Christendom all claim their Divine Authority from some Biblical text. The Birth, the Life, the Death and Resurrection of our Lord, and the living Presence of the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church—these are the sources of the Church's true authority.

(c) There is the frank confession that both Christian non-pacifism and Christian pacifism are almost untenable positions in the world to-day. The pacifist must face the fact that, so far as practical politics as such are concerned, Christian pacifism has no official voice in the government of our land. The pacifist is still the pioneer, the leaven that will revitalise the lump, the light by the wicker gate leading to the higher goal yet so far ahead. But this is just as true for the non-pacifist. As Dr. George Macleod expressed it once, "Whereas the pacifist will never start a war, the non-pacifist will start one but stop in the middle"—and that of the two is the greater evil. He still believes that war can be Christianised. He would protest at any indiscriminate bombing of civil population even for the sake of ultimate victory, while he would refuse to take part in reprisals, yet not one non-pacifist voice has been raised at the present time against the preponderating number of bombers compared with "chasers" which are built and under construction; nor has there been any protest against the official statements that, if attacked, Britain will resort to reprisals. The introduction of conscription basically makes no difference to the position of the pacifist, since his decision on the matter has already been made; but for the non-pacifist it is the gravest measure yet, for it takes away his last prop—that the individual should be left free to judge the situation only when it arrives.

How will the Church of Scotland react to



this new crisis in her checkered history? Will she daringly use the freedom of which she is so proud and confront those in authority in our land with the strongest moral denunciation of the whole trend of modern foreign diplomacy

## THE POSITION IN SCOTLAND

GEORGE M. DOCHERTY

THE writer would like to record one or two impressions he has had of the position of pacifism in Scotland as the result of visitation during the past year in most of the important centres.

One is struck at once by the complete unanimity of public opinion for the desire for peace which exists side by side with an amazing ignorance of, and disbelief in, pacifism. "We all want peace," they say, "but . . ." Pacifism is still identified with a negative "passivism," with a queer Eastern non-resistance; at best regarded as a pale, effeminate way of meeting the situation, conspicuous by its prohibitions and lacking the concreteness of positive action. "Love," "reconciliation," "fellowship"—these are such vague, abstract terms. The man in the street wants something more concrete. The dictators are men of action and must be met with action. From such a state of affairs there is much we can learn. The pacifist may have given the wrong impression by the emphasis he places on his vow "never willingly to participate in war" and by his obscuring the positive part "to work for the establishment of peace." The pacifist may have exaggerated the suffering of war to such a degree that he has subconsciously developed an almost pathological fear of it; surely the essential evil of war is its sinfulness. The pacifist may have been too prone to commit the mistake common to many Christians, unwittingly to hide behind the general abstract expressions of our faith and to lose contact with the particular situations. Perhaps the pacifist talks too much of "love of the Germans" and not enough of examples of that love; of "reconciliation with Italy" yet gives no sign of what is meant.

But the truth of the situation goes much deeper than that. Unless our pacifism is based upon some religious impulse and experience, so deep that it can change our whole nature and outlook, can temper and guide our primitive instincts and emotions rather than be ruled by

and vow non-participation in it, both on pacifist and non-pacifist grounds; or will she identify her voice with the latest panic placard or the last political speech and weakly acquiesce with the Fallen State she is seeking to redeem?

them, then all our talk is merely empty humanism. It is easy to talk of the stupidity of war in the quiet of peace, of the foolishness of bombing the other man's mother as the only reply to his bombing of yours.

But being a Christian surely means this at least, to have such a passionate love of God through Jesus Christ that one can only have love for one another be he neighbour, enemy or foreigner. When that becomes the master passion in life, man cannot even participate in the psychological war which is at present going on. His deeper sympathy with others which is the fruit of love, will lead him to protest now and claim that other way of love which really solves the problem. He, too, with his loved ones is prepared to be as brave for the things of peace as the soldier is for war, to lay down his life for his friends now, and to stand "in Christ's stead" towards other men. Unless this basic Christian fact is believed and attempted, the pacifist will continue to be regarded as the nondescript who does nothing when war comes and is a hindrance in time of peace.

Among the pacifists in Scotland one is struck with the intensity of their convictions. The numbers unhappily are still relatively small, but real positive work is being done among the groups that are being formed, in prayer and fellowship and study of the whole question. If criticism there be, it is that the people of the Kirk of Scotland are still "too Scotch," too diffident over unorthodox methods of work. There is a deep-rooted, and understandable, reticence to parade with posters along thoroughfares where one is well known, or to stand at street corners to voice one's views. Yet never was there a more opportune moment when the Church indeed as a whole was called to preach the Evangel to him who passes by. Pacifism is not the whole of the Gospel of Christ, but it gives an admirable concrete point of contact

with the outsider who, having been roused over Christian teaching on this question, may be led to a further understanding of the way of Christ. The writer has been amazed at the helpful discussion and the sincere but almost pitiful seeking after light which has followed a street corner meeting addressed by him—complete with clerical collar, which is important!

The organisational work has so far progressed that we can say that now there is a solid foundation for expansion of our work. The aim is to have in each congregation where there is a

pacifist minister, at least one study group which should be used as the nucleus for deepening the convictions of its members and for meeting with the outsider. In the larger towns Regional Committees are being formed to organise meetings. The central body is the Executive. Organisation is admittedly not the most important factor at work in the movement, but if we had even an infinitesimal part of the financial resources of the war machine and the smallest fraction of its organisational power, who would gainsay the success of our case?

## THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES

HECTOR MACPHERSON

THE organised Peace Movement within the Scottish Churches is of comparatively recent date. At the beginning of the century it was practically non-existent. The various churches into which Presbyterianism was divided at that time gave their whole-hearted support to the South African War, and some of the ecclesiastical leaders of the day even regarded that war as a necessary stage in the expansion of Christian civilisation. To question the identity of purpose between the British Empire and the Kingdom of God was then looked upon as a kind of heresy! Nevertheless, a few courageous Christian ministers strongly denounced the South African War at the cost of considerable personal unpopularity. Prominent among these must be mentioned the late Professor James Orr, and the late Dr. William Morison.

After the South African War, the Churches shared in the nation-wide revulsion against jingoistic imperialism. Peace sentiment grew steadily right up to 1914, though it was unorganised. Had it not been for the amazing stupidity of German diplomacy in 1914, and the brutal invasion of Belgium, there would have been strong opposition within the Churches on Christian grounds. Churchmen, however, were swept off their feet by the Belgian outrage, and the average minister of religion became the most perfervid apologist of the cause of the British Government. As the war went on the ecclesiastical attitude hardened, and the pulpits were used for frenzied recruiting appeals and

later for denunciations of the conscientious objectors, of the so-called "peacemongers," and of all who presumed to differ from Mr. Lloyd George's policy of the "knock-out blow" and the "fight to a finish."

It was in the dark days of the spring of 1917, when the official Church attitude seemed to have lost touch with the essentials of Christianity, that a number of ministers in the former United Free Church of Scotland got into touch with each other with a view to focussing the anti-war feeling in that denomination. I had the privilege of acting as interim secretary of the movement and of circularising ministers all over Scotland. I was surprised at the response to the circular letter signed by me and by the Rev. James Barr. In May, 1917, we were in a position to constitute ourselves into "The Fellowship of Peace and Brotherhood of the United Free Church of Scotland." I was chosen as Secretary and the Rev. James Barr as President, and among those who served on our Committee were the Rev. J. E. McIntyre, the Rev. Oliver Dryer, the Rev. Charles Robson, and the Rev. J. M. Munro. Our membership rose to fifty within a few months, and in a quiet way we made our influence felt.

After the war our membership declined, because of a widespread feeling that we had done our work, a feeling which some of us did not share. We felt it was only beginning. However, by a majority the Fellowship in 1920 decided to dissolve itself. Nine years later it was reconstituted in a new form. In 1928 I

attended the first International Congress of Anti-Militarist ministers, held at Amsterdam. I was the only Scottish Churchman present, and I returned home pledged to reconstitute a Peace Society for our ministers. The Rev. J. E. McIntyre collaborated with me in circularising ministers in all denominations, and in October, 1929, "The Scottish Ministers' Peace Group" was formed, with the Rev. D. C. Mitchell as President and the Rev. John A. Hall as Secretary. In 1934 it was decided to reconstitute the Group on a new basis, confining its membership to ministers of the reunited Church of Scotland. We experienced at the time an influx of new recruits, among them such outstanding men as Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, Dr. A. C. Craig, and Dr. George Macleod. In 1937 membership of the society was opened to lay members of the Church, and the organisation is now known as the Church of Scotland Peace Society, with 145 ministerial and 550 lay members. The Society has done great work in rallying pacifist and anti-militarist sentiment within the Church of Scotland, and was largely instrumental in bringing about the famous Assembly pronouncement of 1937, which recognises the pacifist position as a legitimately Christian attitude!

The Society is now associated with similar societies in the other Churches in Scotland through the Scottish Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, which was formed two years ago, and which is able to speak with authority for the growing volume of Christian anti-war feeling in Scotland.

## CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY

**T**HE aim of the Society shall be to work for the establishment of peace in the spirit and by the methods of the Lord Jesus Christ, and especially to promote within the Church of Scotland the spirit of peace-making.

Membership of the Society shall be open to ministers, members and adherents of the Church of Scotland who covenant:—

- (a) To let the peace of God rule in their hearts and to seek peace with all men;
- (b) To renounce all active and willing participation in war, holding it to be contrary

to the teaching purpose, spirit and redemptive method of Jesus Christ.

- (c) To seek in fellowship to discover the root causes of war in social habits and institutions, and to help towards applying Christ's law of love in this wider realm.

Members are encouraged to support, consistently with this covenant, any public policies, promoted by the League of Nations or otherwise, which will, in their view, constitute a real step from international anarchy towards the Kingdom of Christ.

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WHAT CAN WE DO NOW? The Rev. Oliver Dryer, M.A.

THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR. Prof. Herbert H. Farmer, D.D., D.Phil.

SHOULD NOT THE STRONG DEFEND THE WEAK? The Rev. David C. Mitchell, M.A.

THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL. The Rev. G. C. Cameron, M.A., S.T.M.

THE CHURCH AND WAR: WHAT ABOUT IT? The Rev. Prof. G. H. C. MacGregor, D.Litt., D.D.

## NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

The National Peace Congress—the representative assembly of the Peace movement which has been held annually, with various intervals, since 1906—will meet this year in London from July 7th-9th. No Congress since the series began has met at a more critical moment for the peace of the world, and the National Peace Council—which is responsible for the general arrangements—is deeply anxious that the Congress should have the fullest influence in consolidating and directing all the forces in favour of a constructive and radical policy to save the world from war. As in previous years, the Congress will be open to all the national and local organisations concerned to contribute to this purpose and it is hoped that every sympathetic organisation will endeavour to be represented.

## THE CHURCHES AND CONSCRIPTION

**T**HE effect of the Christian pacifist movement in the churches is reflected in the following declarations made by the various denominational Assemblies during the past month.

The Baptist Union Assembly in Birmingham declared "that it is the duty of all Christian Churches to stand by any who, in their honest interpretation of the will of their Lord, declare themselves unable to join the military forces and to urge the State to provide for these such forms of service for the community as shall not violate personal convictions. They regard such concern for personal freedom as conducive to the true welfare of the nation, which has in fact no more precious asset than the fearless witness of its citizens to what they believe to be right and true."

The Assembly of the Congregational Union in London passed a similar resolution. The General Secretary, Dr. S. M. Berry, in introducing the resolution, told of a recent meeting between Mr. Chamberlain and six representatives of the Free Churches. He said that they told the Prime Minister that if, by any slackness of organisation, the position of conscientious objectors was not fully respected in the organisations set up to deal with them, the Free Churches would be on fire.

The Methodist Church, through its Social Welfare Department, has drawn the attention of all Methodists to the Declaration passed by the Conferences of 1933 and 1937. "Should war come we realise that a grave decision will be demanded of the Christian. There will be those, sincere lovers of their country, whose inward conviction and loyalty to Christ will compel them to oppose war in all circumstances. With equal sincerity and with a like inward constraint, others will feel the necessity of giving effect to obligations, commitments and loyalties of a national or international character which they deem binding on the body politic and on themselves within it. The Methodist Church recognises that, in present circumstances, both decisions may express true loyalty to personal spiritual conviction and an earnest endeavour to do the will of God and serve the interests of mankind. In view of this recognition, the Methodist Church will uphold liberty of conscience and offer unceasing ministries to all her sons and daughters, in whichever direction

loyalty to inward conviction may carry them."

The Presbyterian Church of England in the General Assembly held at Newcastle passed a resolution closely following the Methodist declaration.

At the General Assembly of the Unitarian and Free Christian Churches held in London, a resolution was carried protesting against the introduction of conscription in this country and pledging all possible support to conscientious objectors to military service.

## AN HISTORIAN'S TRIBUTE

"Among the varied tasks of a historian none is more instructive or encouraging than to trace the stages by which reforms or ideals have marched to victory. Now that a League of Nations is in being, we turn with fresh interest and gratitude to the neglected workings of its prophets and pioneers. War is an evil so gigantic, that no single method of attack will avail to terminate its sway, and aid from every quarter is welcome in the campaign against the common foe. Each citizen must follow the path which his mind and heart dictates. Whatever the personal reaction of future historians to the tale of the conscientious objectors in the war of 1914-18, I have little doubt that they will increasingly recognise the importance of their rôle. For the principle of non-co-operation in war has made rapid strides in the years of uneasy peace through which we have passed. We feel the ground trembling under our feet, and the reality of the danger quickens the processes of thought. No Government, despotic or democratic, should be encouraged to assume that it has merely to press the button in order to secure a national response. The Kellogg Pact (signed 1929), with its solemn denunciation of war 'as an instrument of national policy,' is the charter of the conscientious objector."

[From a letter (to Stephen Hobhouse) by Dr. G. P. Gooch, the distinguished historian of modern Europe, as printed in 1934 in a memoir of Margaret Hobhouse, whose little book *I Appeal unto Caesar* had during 1917-19 a wide influence on public opinion in regard to the treatment of "absolutist" conscientious objectors.]

## COMMUNITY NOTES

The coming of conscription confronts not only pacifists of military age but all of us who share their convictions. However tolerant the temper of the authorities at the outset, it seems more than probable that, before the tale of this new chapter is told, there will be those whose employment has gone, whose liberty is threatened and whose dependants are facing want for conscience' sake. To all such we have a collective Christian duty; like the brethren of the early Church, these too must be able to "go to their own company" for spiritual and material support.

Here, then, is another challenge to the expression of Community amongst peace groups. Practical measures can be taken most readily by the immediate formation of sharing-circles whose members commit themselves to stand by their own local "conscience victims" in case of need.

Some are already exploring the possibility of a local community centre in which income-sharing would be supplemented by a small land-holding. Such centres would be intended to provide not only a home but a means to simple self-subsistence for those who may presently find themselves facing a crisis in their affairs. Existing communities have little room and few resources to meet emergency demands upon them. They can serve rather as a working pattern for those who are preparing now to make their own collective ventures of faith and love. In all efforts of this kind the active co-operation of those already past normal military age has a special and evident usefulness.

Yet all this is no more than a function of Community: not the reason for it. Community indeed must be born of a deeper sense of need than any mere expediency dictates. It has no safety-first plans and it offers no funk-holes. But for those who stand in the liberty of the spirit and who see the rift widen daily between their ideals and those of the powers that be—for all such, Community opens up these special opportunities of witness through brotherliness and the bearing of one another's burdens. It is a ministry that may find growing need as the weeks pass.

Hospitality is required for a German family, father, mother and two children aged 12 and 8. Fully Aryan but have refused to give the Nazi oath. The man was the leader of an unofficial F.o.R. group in Austria.

## BOOK REVIEWS

MAJOR ROAD AHEAD. Edited by Rupert Croft-Cook. Published by Methuen. 5s. net.

Nine young writers all of military age answer the questions:—Would I fight? Why would I fight? When would I fight? They are gathered from all shades of political opinion, and evidently all shades of religious opinion, though religion is not conspicuous even in the essay contributed by the one parson amongst the writers.

There is entire agreement amongst them all, for under certain conditions they would fight, and whilst these conditions are differently phrased, it is not unfair to say that they amount to one and the same thing—that they would fight to defend the *status quo* as represented by Great Britain and France set in opposition to the totalitarian States.

The most contradictory essay is by the Fascist who claims to be a real Democrat. The most disappointing essay is by the parson who makes no claim at all to judge the issue by the eternal standards in which it may be presumed he believes. The most touching is by the Jew, whose sketch of the story of that unfortunate race and his plea for a National home is persuasive. All of them are based on what is surely a naïve assumption that the Empire is sacrosanct and that Satan can cast out Satan.

L.A.

OUR GOSPEL OR HIS. By B. C. Plowright. Published by James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d. net.

Here is a book to be put in the hands of every Young People's Fellowship and every Christian Debating Circle. It does not seem, however, to be a book to be put into the hands of the non-Christian Communist or even the non-Christian Scientist.

The opening chapters are an analysis of the present situation and leave nothing to be desired in their clarity of thought and their justness of expression. The world in general, and Christian people in particular, are alike in a state of bewilderment. "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"

The closing chapters are exceedingly valuable for those who do take the Christian position. The exposition of the Church as a fellowship is particularly timely, and as it seems to the reviewer, unanswerable. What the present reviewer would like from the same writer would be another book demonstrating that the need of the world can only be met in the Christian Gospel.

L.A.

## THE BIOLOGY OF WAR

## Introduction

One of the foremost medical journals, *The Lancet*, publishes weekly a feature entitled "Grains and Scruples," which is conducted by a different medical man each month. The anonymity of the author is preserved and he is allowed full freedom of expression. During October the series was conducted by one who signed himself "A Voice in the Wilderness," and it is with the kind permission of *The Lancet* that the following condensed version of two of the articles is published.

War is a social disease. It knows neither right nor wrong and is as devoid of ethics as typhoid and equally unpleasant. It is equally a subject for scientific investigation.

## History

The causes and general principles of war have been less studied than military tactics. From time to time schemes have been mooted for the abolition of war. On a number of occasions the Church has endeavoured to localise fighting and we have such measures as the Truce of God, which in the twelfth century was an attempt to abolish war from Wednesday to Monday evenings in the vicinity of churches and monasteries. These efforts were of course unsuccessful, a fate shared by the various suggestions for World Federations.

## Incidence

Professor Quincey Wright, who conducts research into the causes of war at Chicago University, has furnished the following data:— Since the sixteenth century wars have tended to concentrate at fifty year intervals with the alternate periods more severe. As time goes on the concentration becomes greater and the intervals of peace tend to be more complete. The average duration of a large-scale war is four to five years, and this appears to be as long a period as a modern state can stand without complete collapse. The incidence of major conflicts since 1600 has been as follows:—

- 1618-1648 The Thirty Years War.
- 1667-1684 The Wars of Louis XIV.
- 1701-1714 The War of the Spanish Succession.
- 1756-1763 The Seven Years War.
- 1793-1815 The Napoleonic Wars.
- 1854-1878 Crimean War, and Italian and German National Wars.
- 1914-1918 The World War.

The causes of the fluctuation are disputed, some contending that a sufficient period for people to forget is necessary between conflicts, and others holding that economic reasons are chiefly responsible for the periods of peace. The cycle may, of course, be broken, but if it is not, a period of war may be expected in about thirty years' time.

## Aetiology

Although we have no certain knowledge as to the causes of war, innumerable hypotheses have been put forward. Exciting causes seem to be generally less important than the predisposing causes.

(1) *Economic*. War is not a paying proposition, but is used as a smoke screen to cover the real intentions of governments. There are nevertheless three possible causes under this heading.

- (a) Economic penetration causing antagonism in the exploited country.
- (b) Economic inequality. Thus the British Empire has a virtual monopoly of china clay, gold, mica, monazite, nickel, and strontium, 90 per cent. of the world's asbestos; and Canada possesses 63 per cent. of the world's available chromite. France and Germany hold 94 per cent. of the potash supplies, China and Bolivia 78 per cent. of the antimony, and U.S.A. 70 per cent. of the petroleum and 50 per cent. of the copper. It is fear of the lack of raw materials during war rather than actual shortage which creates a cause of war.
- (c) Differential population, leading to the desire to expand on the part of over-populated areas, may be considered as a possible cause of war.

The manufacture of armaments is to be considered as a factor rather than a cause.

(2) *Political*. Four causes outstand from among many.

- (a) No external arbitration to settle disputes.
- (b) The policy of maintaining the balance of power.
- (c) The presence of national minorities.
- (d) War used as a national cement, troubles at home being lost in wars abroad.

(3) *Psychological*. The ultimate causes of war will probably be found by the psychologists. War satisfies the desire for:—

- (a) Companionship, the herd instinct.

- (b) Aggression, pugnacity, hate, sadism; the non-combatants being satisfied by proxy.
- (c) Excitement and relief from boredom.
- (d) An object to make life worth living; there is always a decline in the suicide rate during war time.
- (e) Power for leaders and thousands of little leaders produced by military operations.
- (f) Pride and vanity.

War permits of all the above with a good conscience. Freud holds that individuals during war time lose insight and reason until the delusion is dissipated. Religious and doctrinal wars are mainly psychological in origin. Few will fight unless blindly and irrationally convinced that their opinion is right. Scientific research can alone provide the information necessary to arrive at the true cause of war.

#### Clinical Picture

(1) *Military Phenomena.* Armies remain the chief weapon in spite of the progress of the machine, and their growth is astonishing. A large Greek army numbered 10,000 men, while Rome at its peak mustered 300,000. Frederick the Great had 150,000, and Napoleon at his maximum 700,000. During the Franco-Prussian War 1,200,000 men were engaged. By 1934, the world's standing armies had reached 8,000,000, and by this time they are probably more than double that figure.

So far as it has been possible to study the effects of air warfare, it would seem that it is more useful as an offensive than a defensive weapon.

(2) *Civilian Phenomena.* Among the more important of these is the epidemic loss among non-combatants. It is estimated that 30,000,000 died as a result of the last war from influenza and malnutrition; especially were these effects felt in Asia and America. Gains may be recorded in increased employment and wages and psychological satisfaction. Increase in the cost of living, however, largely cancels material benefits. In considering the reactions of the public to another war, the effect of radio propaganda must be considered. The two most likely alternatives are the extremes of panic and peace at any price, or blank fury with the enemy and corresponding ferocity in the hostilities.

(3) *Economic Phenomena.* International loans are always bad business in war time, most countries defaulting in their repayments. The real cost of war is material, the increase of production being accompanied by a greater destruc-

tion of wealth, i.e., of goods and services. Wages rise, and the standard of living falls. Industries are nationalised and there is an increase in agriculture in industrial communities. Apart from the fall in the birth-rate which always occurs, the decrease in population is approximately divided between the war and the consequent outbreaks of disease.

(4) *Political Phenomena.* Absolutist government prevails, the danger of revolution is increased, the workers having the whip-hand in strikes. A future war would seem likely to end only by the revolt of the panic-stricken or starving population of the losing country.

#### Prophylaxis

Methods of the future will be based on a study of the aetiology of war, but some of the older methods may be cited.

(1) *Isolation.* History shows this to be neither possible nor practicable.

(2) *Balance of Power.* Works against any possible success for an isolation policy. It is not a method of preventing war but of preventing dominion of one power over another by means of war and alliances.

(3) *World Federations.* If not universal they are mere balance of power instruments. In the absence of universal co-operating membership sanctions are of no value, and the desired co-operation will not be attained until it is clear that the Federation will do more than preserve the *status quo*.

(4) *Pacifism.* Refusal to fight involves continuous unconditional renunciation. The possibility of sufficient people in one state adopting it as a national policy is remote. As a means of avoiding war it might well be a success, but a squabble between two aggressors could easily devastate the pacific country.

As emotional human beings we may feel bound to support one of these methods, but as scientists we must remember their defects, and work to remove the causes of war in an unemotional light. We must forget that we are Nationalists, Socialists, Members of the League of Nations' Union, or the P.P.U., and act on final conclusions, however unpleasant. As our knowledge of the causes of war is so incomplete any prophylaxis is only provisional, but the following suggestions may be offered:—

(a) *Economic.* Equal standards of living must be maintained for all states, with equal access to territory and raw materials.

(b) *Political.* Abandonment of balance of

power and international rivalry. Peoples should have the right of self-determination without outside interference.

(c) *Psychological.* The sublimation of emotions is an almost untouched field, and peace needs much reorganisation before it can compete as a source of satisfaction for pride, power, and pugnacity. Psychology shows the way of suggestion, persuasion, and education for peace. Jealousy can be satisfied with equality only. That satisfaction only leads to further covetousness is the argument of the selfish. Thus colonies should be shared under mandates, and it is no adequate reason for allowing a potential cause of war to exist, to say that one nation is not fit to administer colonies. Actually experience is by far the best teacher in such matters.

With regard to armaments, there is no satisfactory formula as mutual partial disarmament can only postpone and not abolish war.

#### Treatment

When war has broken out, what is the best course to pursue? Join in early on the weaker side and risk being beaten later? Apply sanctions and make the war world-wide? Pursue a

policy of non-intervention or become an aggressor from the start? The author prefers to keep out at all costs, and prefers to call his policy one of "rational self-interest," although others might call it "emotional self-pity" or "peace with dishonour."

"I am reduced," he says, "to the view that the only treatment is prevention."

A start has already been made in a small way to deal with the problem scientifically. During the last war G. F. Nicolai was imprisoned for publishing a "Biology of War," which he wrote in Berlin, where he practised as a cardiologist and physiologist. The "Causes of War" research in Chicago University has already been mentioned, and no time should be lost in extending this work, which should be given the fullest publicity. This method is far more rational than any empirical remedy and should engage the attention of a staff of expert historians, economists, sociologists, geographers, anthropologists, students of military affairs, statisticians, and, most important of all, psychologists.

Only by such methods can permanent peace be achieved.

## BRUDERSCHAFT UNA SANCTA

Contributed by a Roman Catholic Priest who is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

THE unity of Christendom was the last Will and Testament of Jesus Christ. "One flock, one Shepherd." "That they may be one in us." "One Lord, one faith, one baptism."

The disunion of Christendom to-day contradicts the purpose of Our Lord and is a stumbling-block to the world.

To overcome these divisions within the "household of faith" and this weakening of the "bond of perfectness" is the task of every disciple of Christ. When and how the Lord will accomplish outward unity rests with His grace. We can only wait in humble hope and look for the day when He will reveal His glory. But all disciples of Christ ought to pray earnestly and in the faith that removes mountains that the Lord may "destroy the works of the devil" and make of His whole community a shining city, set on a hill, a city which can no longer be hidden from the world. They ought to "follow after the things which make for peace," striving for unity in the Holy Spirit whose fruit is love and peace.

In the midst of our present "unhappy divisions" some of Christ's disciples have stretched out to one another the right hand of fellowship across the dividing barriers, and are united in a free brotherhood to serve the cause of unity as they have opportunity. They are well aware of the limits set by the individual conscience and by outward authority. They do not want to gloss over differences or confuse issues, believing that to do so would not be to take the way of truth. But they are convinced that they will be following the Lord, if, as children of the One Heavenly Father, they gather up into one all the brotherly love which now exists, in order that they may become more conscious of the oneness of the Church, that unity which already—through common convictions and a common faith in the One Lord and Saviour and through the "one Baptism"—is a fact and a reality, even if as yet partly hidden, a reality which, through the love of Christ, can grow and deepen. They believe in love and desire by loving, "not in word but in deed," to prove its power.

The following are the commitments which the members of the *Bruderschaft Una Sancta* take upon themselves:

1. They will pray, using the Lord's Prayer (Mark 6, 9), the prayer common to all Christians, as also the High-priestly Prayer of Christ (Jn. 17), unceasingly and unitedly for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, and for its unity in faith and in love.

2. They will urge their fellow Christians to undertake prayer for this end, especially through united intercession in the family, in informal religious groups and in the parish or congregation. They will urge upon all the faithful who share their concern, the symbolic expression of their inner unity, by praying in the same words, at the same time, and for the same intentions, especially during the World Week of Prayer in January and during the Rogation Days between Ascension Day and Whitsuntide.

3. They will endeavour, as far as they are

able, to build bridges, intellectual and spiritual, between separated Christian communities, emphasising that which unites rather than that which divides. They will seek to clear away misunderstandings, and to remove prejudices; to honour the truth in all; and, through deepening brotherly love, to infuse new life into the mutual relations of all who acknowledge Christ as Lord.

4. They will seek to promote intimate, brotherly intercourse, as well as common service, in tasks of Christian helpfulness.

5. They will read and pass on, as they have opportunity, all literature which breathes the spirit of Christ and the will to unity, especially all that serves the conception of Christian unity held by this Brotherhood.

*The Bruderschaft Una Sancta* is not a society but a quite free and voluntary fellowship of love which leaves to each member full confessional liberty and lays upon him no outward obligation.

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

### France

Muriel Lester spent a fortnight in France during May, fulfilling a series of speaking engagements arranged for her by Henri Roser. She spoke about India and China and her recent experiences in those countries, feeling that her job was one of introducing East to West. But she was glad, too, to meet French people. "It's good," she wrote, "to be in French homes. How completely ignorant one is of a country until one stays in its homes and joins in its worship!"

Henri Roser writes, under date 9th May: "We are not particularly proud of the indecency with which our press and Government have urged conscription on yours. It is all the more kind of Muriel Lester to come, returning good for evil. She is indeed doing much good at the meetings which she is addressing in different parts. I have taken part in two of these meetings as interpreter, one at Paris, the other at Montargis, and I can say that her deeply spiritual message, which was most tactfully suited to the needs of the audiences, produced a marked effect."

### India

Agatha Harrison, the secretary of the Indian Conciliation Group, returned to London on the 20th May. She has been in India since

November last, doing immensely important work behind the scenes in the spirit of reconciliation. She has throughout been in close touch with Mr. Gandhi and all the Congress leaders on the one hand, and with the principal figures in the Government on the other hand. We may be especially grateful for the part of interpretation that she was able to play in Orissa and in connection with the Rajkot and Mr. Gandhi's fast. She has been a real and successful ambassador of reconciliation.

Literature sent to India a few weeks back has produced a considerable number of interested letters. It would not be easy to set up a Fellowship of Reconciliation group in that country, partly for reasons of size and geography, partly because India naturally has its own ways of doing things, which are different from those of the Occident, and partly because to many a definitely Christian body seems rather exclusive. But the letters show that there is a wide circle of Indian men and women close to us in sympathy and aim, who would like to receive our literature and to exchange thought with us and who might possibly be drawn together in some loose grouping as, say, Friends of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. When we recognise the importance of India's place in Asia and in the world at large and the contribution that

she can make, especially in the spirit of Mr. Gandhi's teaching and example, to the peace of the world, the value of this contact for the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be obvious.

### America

In the course of a radio address, delivered to a coast to coast "hook-up" on the 8th May, John Nevin Sayre said:—

"A recent survey of American opinion on war and peace indicates that the American attitude boils down to two main desires:

1. To keep out of war.

2. To aid England and France, by selling them food supplies and war materials, if a new European war comes.

I believe that these two desires are contradictory and that at this moment the most important line of American defence is to think through the contradiction involved and then fix a national policy of total abstinence from other nations' wars.

President Roosevelt, in trying to stiffen the resistance of Britain and France to Hitler by proposing American aid that is 'short of war'

is following the second desire which I have mentioned. I think it is the most likely course by which defeat can come to the first desire and America be drawn into war. For after we had been exposed a while to the twin temptations of American war profits and British war propaganda, would President Roosevelt be able to stop short of war? Could he stop any better than President Wilson did? Alfred M. Landon hit the nail on the head last week when he said: 'Economic assistance means in the end "doughboy" assistance' . . . In directing 'all our means and faculties to the purpose of improvement instead of destruction,' as Jefferson advised, we should also offer Europe and the Orient our full co-operation in seeking peace by peaceful means. We should aid the way of conference as we oppose the way of war. We should hammer home the truth that without peace, science geared to war will speed humanity to self-destruction; but that with peace, science geared to production and mass international distribution can create international abundance. The problem of enough for all can be solved by co-operative planning but never by competitive killing."

## PEACEMAKING IN PALESTINE

JOYCE POLLARD

THE Peace Army believes that people should go to places where there is strife and offer service in the name of peace. A few members have recently visited Palestine. The first went out in 1937, a solitary soldier of peace, at the time when troops were being poured into the country. She was able to give six months to the work. The present writer joined her for the latter part of her stay.

We were impressed by the way in which ordinary people could be drawn together over common human interests, in spite of all the political bitterness. We believed there were ways in which Arabs, Jews and British peace-makers might work together for the benefit of all.

Two permanent workers left for Palestine early in 1938, one of whom was Miss Hood, our original soldier of peace there. They have been joined for short periods by several Peace Army visitors; and our President, Dr. Maude Royden, and I went out for a few weeks during the spring. A book by Dr. Royden has now been

published, called "The Problem of Palestine" (Hutchinson, 6d.). We hope it will be widely read.

Our two workers first spent a few months in Jerusalem. They studied Arabic, and—through the kindness of British people—learned something about welfare work and about the early treatment of eye trouble. For some months they shared the life of an Arab village and kept in close touch with the neighbouring Jewish Colony. The British authorities would not allow them to live in the village owing to the unsettled state of the country, but they were able to spend a good deal of their time there. A warm-hearted welcome was given them by both communities. They soon learned that simple first aid and nursing would be welcomed by the villagers with whom they had thrown in their lot, and they started a clinic. The people came to them with inflamed eyes, sores, fevers, and all kinds of wounds and illnesses. In return they gladly contributed eggs, fruits and vegetables and so made the clinic their own.

When the British Security Committee ordered all Europeans to move into the towns, both Jews and Arabs sent petitions that an exception might be made for our workers, but the Committee felt unable to grant it. They therefore went to Jerusalem, where they are now working and preparing themselves for further service in the country.

#### Peace Soldier Shot

As the strife in Palestine grew worse, it seemed right to send out another soldier of peace. Mr. Hugh Bingham, an early volunteer for service in Palestine, with special qualifications for work among boys, was ready to go and we sent him in November, 1938, to explore the possibilities of service. Miss Margaret Pope, another early volunteer, decided to go out at the same time. These two workers soon made many friends among Jews and Arabs and planned work on which we hope to report later. While this work was still in its early stages, Mr. Bingham was shot and gravely wounded. Members of all communities have offered their sympathy. It is generally thought that the shots were fired in error.

Our workers have to face many difficulties and the cost to one of them has already proved very high, but we have faith in the work and believe it is a small part of that positive and adventurous peacemaking which is one of the world's greatest needs.

## CORRESPONDENCE

LOUISA SOMNER

(Louie Owen)

To those of us whose memories go back to the early days of the Fellowship, it will come as a shock to learn of the death of Louisa Somner—Louie Owen as we knew her. We can see her again busy with the sending-off of literature—her special province, and remember with affection her gentle personality and her quick, bright smile. She served the Fellowship with joy and faithfulness for six years, until her marriage with Bert Somner took her to Cornwall, where her husband acted as Lay Reader in the local church. During recent years she has suffered very poor health, resulting in her death at an early age.

MARGARET GLAISYER

### DEMOCRATIC POLICY MAKES WAR INEVITABLE

I wonder how many pacifists have read Mrs. Christopher Hollis's very interesting book "Foreigners Aren't Fools"? Not only does it contain a very thought-provoking summary of the points of view of intelligent citizens of various countries in regard to British policy, but there is a specially interesting chapter showing, among other things, the unimportance of colonies as a source of wealth. It may be that some of us have been relying too much on the fair distribution of colonial resources as a kind of economic panacea. Far more important is it, as Mr. Bartlett says, to set an example of the full appropriation of all national resources to self-development in an economic and social sense—and here the defects in the monetary system are the chief obstacle.

Vitally necessary, too, is the removal of all trade barriers and restrictions, not merely that we may be able to import more for our own people, but that, as a result, we may be able to export more to the people of other countries. Here the chief obstacle is the reliance of our Government on customs dues for part of its revenue and the defective and out-of-date philosophy which, by relating incomes too exclusively to employment, causes imports to be feared if they create unemployment.

Finally, we must be prepared to deal with the problem of nations such as Italy, which can neither produce for themselves, nor import in exchange for their exports, anything like all the essential goods they require. There is only one solution here and that is for nations more fortunately situated to create new money for the employment of their citizens in making goods to be sent as a gift to neighbours who cannot otherwise supply their wants. At present we are making use of the same technique to supply our neighbours with "presents" of high explosives!

An economic conference which met to develop the policy I have outlined would get somewhere; any other must, of necessity, get nowhere. An effective disarmament conference could accompany it or follow immediately. There is no doubt that the totalitarian governments, which are far more progressive than ourselves in their economic policy, would accord ready co-operation.

It is, unfortunately, the great democratic states—Britain, France and U.S.A.—which are

the main stronghold of "sound" finance and currency speculation which make war inevitable and block every road to the practical expression of the spirit of international goodwill.

TAVISTOCK.

### A PACIFIST PUBLIC SCHOOL

The introduction of the Military Training Bill presents an increasingly urgent challenge to boys and young men to decide whether they can reconcile military service with the Christian faith in which they have been brought up. And it presents an equally urgent challenge to their parents, to ministers of religion and to teachers, to ensure that when they come to face that decision, they shall not lack the necessary mental equipment. We are thinking chiefly of boys in boarding-schools: others may have greater opportunities of hearing both sides of the question. No one need fear that boys in boarding-schools will lack an insistent presentation of the view that military service is a national and even a Christian duty. But what of the opposite view? Is not the widespread and deeply-felt uneasiness about the introduction of conscription largely due to a feeling that these boys are being compelled to act upon a moral judgment of their elders which they have not had a fair chance to endorse or to reject? Even those who regard military service as a duty will desire that the acceptance of this duty should be dictated not only by legal compulsion but also by a well-based moral conviction.

We, who accept the full implications of the often-expressed dictum that "all war is contrary to the mind of Christ," see in this uneasiness a stirring of the nation's conscience. Many middle-aged people are wondering whether, if war is sin, it really can, after all, be permissible for a Christian to prepare for war himself or to compel others to do so. They know that modern war, whether permissible or not, is at all events so destructive that the relationship between war and God's plan for mankind is no longer a question that can be shelved. If they feel ill-equipped to solve it themselves, they earnestly desire that the next generation shall grow up equipped to solve it once and for all.

We, therefore, as Christian pacifists, feel that this need might be partially met by the foundation of a public school, which would only differ from existing foundations in that its religious basis would be the pacifist interpretation of Christianity. If a viewpoint is widely held, it

sooner or later finds expression in a school. If an ideal is worth proclaiming, worth working for, it is worth incorporating in the education of our children. Christian pacifism, which cuts across the denominational cleavages of the Church of Christ, would be fitly embodied in an interdenominational public school which would aim at reconciliation and harmonious co-operation between nations, between classes and between Churches.

To put such a foundation on a sound basis, very considerable sums would be required, and it is probable that the full inclusive fees would have to be put at £60 a term. Surplus funds would be applied to bursaries for poorer boys. We believe that if it can be shown that such a school would meet a real need, there would be a justification, despite the falling birth-rate, for founding it next year. It is therefore necessary to attempt to estimate the measure of support that it would receive throughout the country. Those who would consider making benefactions to the foundation, and parents who would welcome such a school for their sons, are asked to write as soon as possible to Mr. G. C. Fawcett, c/o The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

STUART MORRIS

CHARLES E. RAVEN

ALEX WOOD.

### A PEACE EXHIBITION

Colchester pacifists have made a Peace Exhibition, and are offering it to other groups. It consists of sixty panels, extending to a length of forty yards, which may be stood on chairs, though they show best raised on trestle tables or stands. There are two parts to the Exhibition, each consisting of three sections. Part I.: Causes of War: Economic; Psychological; Political. Part II.: Ways to Peace: Economic Community; Goodwill; Peace-making.

A detailed programme will gladly be sent on receipt of twopence, plus halfpenny postage. A hiring charge of 12/- per week (plus transport and insurance) is being made towards refunding the cost of the Exhibition, which charge should easily be covered by collections and leave a good profit for the group showing the Exhibition. Cost of transport can be reduced by co-operation between neighbouring groups. It is hoped that this Exhibition may be of all possible service.

CAECILIA E. M. PUGH

19 Wellesley Road, Colchester, Essex.

## A PEACE INFORMATION SERVICE

The Wilderness,  
Berkhamsted,  
Herts.

The Peace and Progressive Information Service not only provides a central clearing house for all peace information for the use of writers and speakers, but it aims at providing further services. We feel that it is of the utmost importance that peace opinion should be fully and accurately informed on current affairs, such information to be free from that sectional and party bias which is to-day so strongly influenced by war-like and power-political considerations.

This is work which the Peace Information Service proposes to undertake. It will remind our people how closely current events are linked with imperialism, financial power, and unjust international settlements, and show how, arising from these factors, events and facts are distorted so as to arouse the enmity of peoples.

This work requires knowledge and resources for accurate and intensive research in home and foreign newspapers and other publications. In Ben Greene we have one who is more than usually qualified to undertake this work, and whose knowledge and experience will be invaluable. But the only means of financing this important work is by appealing for subscribers.

The annual subscription is 12s. 6d., or 6s. 6d. for six months. Groups are invited to join by nominating someone as their correspondent, and later prices will be quoted to provide the material in bulk for the other members of the group. Please therefore help by joining now, either as a group or as individuals, and help to get other subscribers. I am confident you will be more than satisfied at the service you yourself will receive from it. STUART MORRIS.

## PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

## BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Members still come in steadily, and our membership is over 1,100. The conscription measure has made a number of ministers finally decide for pacifism and about twenty have signed our covenant in the last fortnight.

About two months ago we sent an enquiry letter round the ministers of the denomination asking whether in the event of war they would be:

- a combatant;
- a chaplain;
- a conscientious objector.

236 replies were received which are classified as follows:—

Conscientious objectors	... ..	144
Conscientious objectors with reservations	... ..	8
Chaplains	... ..	46
Chaplains to C.O.'s or unpaid	... ..	7
Combatants or Chaplains	... ..	7
Combatant	... ..	1
Ambulance Service	... ..	6
Y.M.C.A. Workers	... ..	2
A.R.P. Warden	... ..	1
Ministers of Religion	... ..	4

Ten offered no indication because they were over age, etc.

This is satisfactory as far as it goes, but it seems a pity that our own ministerial members, numbering over 270, should not all have replied.

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

## THE SOUTHEND AND DISTRICT FELLOWSHIP OF PACIFIST CLERGY AND MINISTERS

Chairman: The Rev. RALPH GARDNER.

Hon. Secretary: The Rev. W. GREGORY LAURENCE,  
"Heswall," Kiln Road, Thundersley, Essex.

The formation of "The Southend and District Fellowship of Pacifist Clergy and Ministers" was the outcome of a meeting of a group of ten clergy and ministers, held on Monday, May 15th.

After a statement concerning the purpose of the meeting by the Rev. Ralph Gardner, Vicar of South Benfleet, it was unanimously decided to form the above-mentioned Fellowship, and to affiliate it to the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Rev. Ralph Gardner was elected Chairman, the Rev. W. Gregory Laurence, Minister of Hadleigh Congregational Church, the Hon. Secretary, and the Rev. Arthur Jones, of Rochford, was also appointed to serve on the Committee.

The meeting, recognising the many perplexing problems with which the clergy and ministry were confronted by virtue of their office, felt that such a meeting was long overdue, and welcomed the opportunity of meeting together from time to time with those of like convictions, for the pooling of ideas and experiences, and for mutual encouragement and counsel.

Meetings of the Fellowship are to be held monthly, the first half-hour being spent in Devotions—it is hoped in a Church. The Chairman or Secretary will be glad to supply further information to any local clergy or ministers who may be interested.

## FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE

Friends' House, London, N.W.1.

Secretary: KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON.

Conscription has been the problem uppermost in Peace Committee considerations; and on May 5th the following letter was sent to each Member of Parliament and to a number of the members of the House of Lords:—

"You are being asked to pass a Bill which has for its object the compelling of men to become part of the military system. Before you give your vote we would earnestly call your attention to the fact that conscription involves the compulsion of human beings to learn how to destroy other human beings; and by its enforced discipline hinders and prevents the impulses of the Divine Spirit within them towards a more peaceful and Christian way of meeting life's problems. It claims for the State the right to compel men to participate in war, and in so doing accords to the State a control over human conscience and personality which belongs to God alone.

"It is not only for those whose cases may be recognised by a conscience clause that we appeal, but for all young men, especially those who are yet infants in the

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

A Meeting arranged by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Will be held in the KINGSWAY HALL on WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14th  
at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

MISS MARY GAMBLE  
THE RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.  
THE REV. STUART D. MORRIS  
THE REV. P. D. ROBINS

Ten-minute speeches by:—

THE REV. K. G. BUDD, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Upper Tooting  
THE REV. C. G. HOLLAND, Rector of Ewell, Surrey  
THE REV. B. C. HOPSON, Vicar of Cockfosters, Barnet  
THE REV. K. RAWLINGS, Rector of S. Michael's, Lewes

ADMISSION FREE

RESERVED SEATS 1/-

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Organising Hon. Secretary,  
Holy Cross Vicarage, 47  
Argyle Square, W.C.1

Chairman: The Most Hon. The Marquis of Tavistock

eyes of the law, whom it is proposed compulsorily to familiarise with the use of lethal weapons and the methods and technique of warfare.

"We hope that you will feel it right to vote against the Military Training Bill and thus help to prevent the perversion of the young men of this country which conscription involves."

The Meeting for Sufferings (Executive of the Society) issued a public statement opposing primarily the principle of the Bill. The Peace Committee and Northern Friends' Peace Board are now occupied in preparing a number of pamphlets and leaflets aimed in particular to help the young man of conscription age to see clearly the issues at stake.

In co-operation with other committees of the Society and also with the International Voluntary Service for Peace, the Friends' Peace Committee has been lent for ten years a partially destroyed mansion and extensive grounds at Carclew, Cornwall. At Easter a work-party began the hard task of renovation, and volunteers are needed throughout the coming months to complete this work and render the mansion "fit for human habitation." It is intended to use the opportunity thus offered for housing and training refugees in agriculture, perhaps later as a holiday centre for families who cannot afford very much, and eventually as a centre for unemployed. In general, too, it is hoped that the project at Carclew will provide a centre for Friends' work in Cornwall and will prove to be a useful training centre for those who aim to be practical pacifists. (Enquiries and offers of service to be made to the Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee.)

New books added to the Peace Committee Lending Library included: "Reaching for the Stars," by Nora Waln; "Our Children and the Future," by Margaret L. Snell; "History of the Jews," by Paul Goodman; "War and Peace"—Essays in Psychological Analysis, by William Brown.

## UNITARIAN AND FREE CHRISTIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Secretary: Rev. WALTER M. LONG,  
35 Oakington Manor Drive, Wembley, Middlesex.

The annual meeting of the Fellowship was held at Essex Hall on May 5th, and after the adoption of reports and the election of Officers and Committee, the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury addressed a large public meeting.

At the General Assembly of the Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, held in London from May 2nd to 5th, the Rev. S. Spencer, of Liverpool, asked leave to bring forward an emergency resolution protesting against the introduction of Compulsory Military Service, but, as this required a two-thirds majority and the voting was 117 to 62 against, permission was not given.

On the agenda of the business meeting there was a resolution on civil and religious liberty. To this the Rev. Walter M. Long moved an amendment, seconded by the Rev. A. Hall, protesting against the introduction of conscription in this country, and pledging all possible support to conscientious objectors to military service. This amendment was carried by 18 votes, and when it was put as the substantive resolution after the ex-president, Dr. R. F. Rattray, had pleaded for its rejection, it was again carried, but only by one vote.

Other resolutions passed by the Assembly included the following:—

"That this Annual Meeting of ministers and delegates expresses high appreciation of the action of President Roosevelt in respect of his recent message on the international situation, and wholeheartedly approves of the summoning, at the earliest feasible moment, of an International Conference to consider all grievances of nations, with a view to the establishment of peace upon a moral basis."

Submitted by the Council and carried unanimously.

"That we, ministers and delegates of the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, affirm our conviction that the way of arms provides no ultimate solution of the problems of the world, and that only by a new initiative towards Peace can mankind be saved from disaster."

Submitted by the Peace Fellowship and moved by Rev. S. Spencer, seconded by Mr. G. G. Armstrong and carried unanimously.

#### PRESBYTERIAN PACIFIST GROUP

Thirty-four persons, most of them members of Assembly, attended the Annual Meeting held on Thursday, 11th May, in the Friends' Meeting House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In the absence of the Chairman, who had been called to an interview with the Minister of Labour on the Military Training Bill, the Rev. Eric Philip presided. The Rev. W. T. Elmslie gave a very interesting account of a luncheon party at 11 Downing Street, at which Free Church leaders had been invited to discuss the relation of Conscription to Liberty of Conscience.

The Secretary reported a membership of 214, including 56 ministers, representing all Presbyteries and 103 congregations.

It was resolved to circulate a list of members to every member, to write to every congregation through its minister and Y.P. correspondent, offering help in giving advice to conscientious objectors, and to circulate Y.P. Societies in all congregations, stating the pacifist case, offering speakers for meetings, and enclosing a copy of the resolution passed by Assembly on Conscientious Objectors.

A committee of ten members was appointed to deal with matters of urgency, and representatives to the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups were elected.  
L.M.

#### THE LONDON UNION

The annual meeting of the London Union of the F.o.R. was this year held at Talbot House, on Saturday, April 29th, the attendance proving a record. After the Devotional Opening led by Alan Balding, Wilfred Wellock gave a splendid speech on "National Service." There were, he said, only two reasons for the introduction of conscription, namely (1) the necessity of organising for a possible war, or (2) the necessity of organising for a Fascist State, and he gave very good reasons for believing that there is no likelihood of war arising at the present time, and, therefore, that conscription is the beginning of Fascism in this country. No-one can prevent Germany creating a monopoly or empire in Europe, because as she is in a strong economic position with regard to the smaller powers, she can, by trade sanctions, obtain her ends without war. We ourselves are so committed, by Ottawa, to the Empire and by trade agreements to Denmark and the Argentine, that it is impossible for us to stop this happening. The world is being carved up into seven economic units controlled by America, British Empire, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Soviet Russia. When this process is complete, this country will be in a worse economic position than ever before, and when the armaments race comes to an end there will be a terrible slump. It is for this situation that the Government is preparing, by getting the manhood of the nation under their control. Pacifists must awaken the mass of the people, and make them realise that their liberties are threatened as never before.

## LONDON UNION OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

165, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1

### A GARDEN PARTY

at

"Hitherwood" International Guest House, 19, Sydenham Hill, S.E.26

SATURDAY, JUNE 17th, 3.30 to 9 p.m.

Host and Hostess: Mr. Cecil Wilson, M.P. and Mrs. Wilson

Speaker:

The Rev. HAMPDEN N. HORNE  
on

"Our Social Responsibilities"

THE BROOK GREEN CHOIR

"Noah and his Sons"

(from the Wakefield Play of "Noah")

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SIMPLY FURNISHED HUTS and quiet camping site, in private ground. Beautiful scenery. Sea 1¼ miles. Water and sanitation. Mrs. K. M. Ghosh, Trelaske House, Looe, Cornwall.

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ONE of the most delightful centres for restful holidays is FAIRFIELD, situated on a sunny hillside in its own grounds of 8 acres, at Dawlish. Also CORISANDE, Pentire, NEWQUAY, on the Cornish Coast. OFF SEASON terms until Whit. Illustrated brochure free from: DOUGLAS BISHOP, Fairfield Guest House, Dawlish. Tel. 151. (Mention "The Christian Pacifist.")

MODERN Labour Saving Bungalow to be let furnished for short or long periods. Two reception rooms, three bedrooms, bath room, kitchen, etc. Pleasant small garden. Apply: Mrs. Piercy, Green Roofs, Crow Hill, Broadstairs.

GERMAN lessons for beginners, conversations by Viennese pacifist, University student, living in Balham, S.W.12. Write Box No. C.54, F.o.R., 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

### HOLIDAYS

FREDSHJEM Holiday Language Centre on the frontier between Denmark and Germany. Pacifist family are willing to receive paying guests. Glorious scenery, bathing and rowing, and opportunity for studying German, French, Italian, Danish and Swedish. Lodging and board and language tuition, 6¼ Danish Kroner per day. For further details write to W.R.I., 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, or direct to Dr. Arnold Kalisch, Fredshjem, Roenshoved pr. Rinkenæes, Denmark.

### CHURCH NOTICES

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. Every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m. there is held in the Crypt the Celebration of the Holy Communion for Pacifists, first planned by Dick Sheppard.

BATTERSEA FREE CHURCH HALL and Latchmere Baths, Latchmere Road, S.W.11. Sunday services, Sunday, 7 p.m. Honorary Superintendent: Norman Prichard, M.Sc.

### MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on June 19th when the leader will be Eldon Hadley.

### SITUATION VACANT

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# F.O.R. SUMMER CONFERENCE

NORMAL COLLEGE, BANGOR

*Friday, 4th August, to Friday, 11th August*

*Subject: Christian Pacifism*

*Chairmen:* The Rev. ALAN BALDING and  
The Rev. Canon D. FLETCHER.

*Speakers* include the Rev. Canon C. E. RAVEN (Chairman of the F.o.R.) and  
PERCY W. BARTLETT (Secretary of the International F.o.R.).

## COST

The Conference expenses will be pooled, those attending being informed of the average cost per head and invited to fix their individual contribution according to their ability. The average cost is at present estimated at £2 12s. 6d., in addition to the booking fee of 2/6. More exact figures will be given at the Conference. *It is earnestly hoped that no one will stay away on the score of expense.* The sharing of expenses is one of the practical ways in which we are able to express our fellowship.

## BOOKING FORM

To be returned to F.o.R., 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

I intend to be present at the F.o.R. Summer Conference, 1939, and enclose booking fee of 2/6.

Name .....

*(Please state whether Rev., Mr., Mrs. or Miss)*

Address .....

*Any special request concerning accommodation, etc.*

Date of arrival .....

Date of departure .....

Do you require vegetarian food? .....

Camping sites are available—these must be arranged directly with the owner of the site. Names on application to F.o.R.