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# CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

THREEPENCE

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### THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

### Rudolf Hess

Whatever may turn out to be at the back of Rudolf Hess's flight to Scotland this amazing incident of the war cannot have any significance for peace in our sense of the word. Rudolf Hess might be an ambassador of appeasement, but he certainly does not stand for "a world order based on love." That a Nazi of such high standing should choose to throw in his lot with his country's enemies is of course a fact of great psychological and, if rightly used, propagandist value. That it reveals dissension in Germany is very probable, but just as probably it is a personal disagreement in itself of no great consequence to the unity of the German war effort. It would be fantastic to suppose that Germany is splitting because one Nazi risked a hazardous journey in a natural desire to save his own life. His faith in the clemency of the enemy is not so touching when it is calculated that with his knowledge of German policy and internal conditions he is worth infinitely more to the British Government alive than dead, and was certain to be well received as soon as he could establish his identity.

### Humane War an Illusion

We admire the spirit in which in the House of Commons, on May 21st, Mr. Sorensen asked Mr. Atlee if the Government would consider making a proposal for the mutal abolition of night bombing or state terms under which they would consider sympa-thetically any proposal for the restriction of aerial bombing. The horrors of night bombing in particular, and the high cost in destruction of homes and civilian lives of any military advantage gained thereby may be used as an argument for the cessation of one activity of modern war which can give little satisfaction to chivalry. Pacifists must always be conscious, however, of a difficulty in advocating measures which are calculated to humanise warfare. We should all be glad to see any sort of merciful restriction, however illogical, put upon war. must be understood that the advocacy of such restrictions, which are frankly sentimental and quite un-realistic, is not pacifism. We have never proposed that men should go to fight, as was said in Parliament the other day, in kid gloves. Pacifism is not the

belief of those who seem to think that fighting is quite ethical so long as it is inefficient. Any realist can see that if you are going to fight at all you must fight like the devil, and if you happen to be using the devil's own weapons you will have to learn to use them even more devilishly than he. That is one important reason for our being pacfists, because we can find no tenable position between complete pacifism and complete militarism, and because we see that, however the idea of humane war may be cherished, it remains an illusion. We wish, therefore, to dissociate ourselves from those who would vell the nation on to total war but begin to weep as soon as anything nasty happens. Our protest is not against one feature of war but against all We are not interested in trying to pretend that war can be made a suitable occupation for a gentleman and a Christian. In war moral considerations are and must be dominated by military necessity and to pretend that it is otherwise is to deceive ourselves. Protests against acts of reprisal may be useful in bringing home to the public, and especially in pressing upon the Christian conscience, the true nature of war, but if used as an anaesthetic to moral feeling they may be turned as much against pacifism as against war itself.

### Another Occupied Territory

The occupation of Iceland by British forces appears to have been, like other occupations dictated by military necessity and according to documents published in the Swedish journal, Mellanfolkligt Samarbete, and here translated by a correspondent, was no more welcomed than other occupations by the people and government of the land. The Officer Commanding the troops of occupation made the following statement: "British military forces have, early this morning, arrived on warships and are now in the city. This step has been taken only in order to occupy certain places and get in before the Germans. We English are not coming to do anything against Iceland's Government and the people of Iceland. But we intend to protect Iceland from the fate which befell Denmark and Norway. We therefore ask you to be helpful to us. Whilst we are engaged in dealing with the Germans in Reykjavik and other places in the country, it is forbidden (1) to use wireless stations, send telegrams and receive conversations; (2) to enter or leave the city for the next few hours. We regret the necessity of causing you inconvenience in this manner. We submit our apologies, and hope it will soon be over."

### "Neutrality Grossly Violated"

Immediately after the British troops arrived, the Icelandic Government met and issued a protest in the following terms: "With reference to the events which took place early this morning, the occupation of Reykjavik, when Iceland's neutrality was grossly violated and the country's freedom restricted, the Icelandic Government must point out that on the 11th of April last it formally informed the British Government through the latter's representative here, of the Icelandic Government's attitude to the British Government's proposals to give Iceland military protection, and in accordance therewith the Icelandic Govern-

ment protests in the most forcible manner against the British Army's deed of violence. It is expected as a matter of course that the damage will be fully made good that is caused by this breach of Iceland's legal rights as a free and sovereign neutral nation."

### War Resisters

The issue of a recent report by the War Resisters International reminds us of the very far-reaching and effective work of that organisation. "In war-time. this booklet tells us. "the International aims at a discreet propaganda, designed not to embarrass those who differ from us, but to prepare them for the turn of the tide. It is all-important to maintain our contacts —the lifelines with our comrades throughout the world. Whilst many usual channels of communication are temporarily interrupted, alternative routes are not lacking. We acknowledge the tolerance and even generosity of the British authorities who have facilitated the passage abroad of our literature and have granted permits. We have sought to merit the confidence of those in authority, and to give the assurance that, however much we differ from them in our outlook we are playing the game. Thus we keep our contacts, and the messages which come to us convey the sense of strength in the knowledge that the movement stands firm, and will one day have the opportunity to work together again. We have actually heard from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Belgium, France, Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia."

### National Service Acts

The main provisions of the National Service Act are admirably summarised in a Bulletin issued by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors:—(1 Those liable for military service, and conditionally registered C.O.'s, may be called up for civil defence, after medical examination; (2) Failure to comply is punishable by imprisonment up to 12 months or £100 fine, or both; (3) Conditionally registered C.O.'s called up for civil defence have their conditions suspended; (4) Those who do not submit to medical examination may, in addition to being fined up to £5 under the 1939 Act, be detained up to 7 days for medical examination. Then refusal to submit to examination is a new offence punishable by imprisonment up to 2 years or £100 fine, or both; (5) If the Ministry of Labour thinks that a C.O. has reasonable excuse for not fulfilling a condition, he will be recalled to the local tribunal; if they accept his excuse they can give unconditional exemption, make no change, or vary the condition. If the Ministry of Labour think the C.O. has no excuse they can prosecute; maximum penalties 2 years' imprisonment or £100 fine, or both; (6) Non-combatants are transferred from Military Service Register to C.O. Register; their duties remain unchanged. A series of broadsheets giving exact information as to the working of the Act and the consequences of conscientious objection at each stage has been issued by the Board at the price of 1d

### Nehru in Prison

The No-Frontier News Service reports that informed Indian circles have long been commenting, with sardonic humour, upon the interpretation given to the outside world by Mr. Amery, regarding the treatment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, most distinguished of India's 4,000 citizens imprisoned by the British authorities for anti-war activities. Mr. Amery's reassuring words about the specially favourable treatment accorded to Nehru was described by one Indian commentator as "poetical." The true facts of the situation were made plain in a letter by Nehru to his sister, Mrs. Krishna Hutheesing. 'The letter says, in part: "The rule is two interviews a month and two letters a month only. For business purposes this rule may be stretched. Has not Amery said that I live in my own quarters, and have frequent interviews, and may correspond and read books, etc.? A description with which I have no quarrel, even though it is not correct. . . . Life grows harder for all of us and the soft days of the past already belong to an age that is gone. When will they return? No one knows-or will they ever return? We must adapt ourselves to life as it is and not hunger for what is not. Physical risk and suffering are after all petty compared to the troubles and tempests of the mind. And whether life is soft or hard, one can always get something out of it—but to enjoy life ultimately one must decide not to count the cost."

### Air Bombing

One of our foreign correspondents has been urging us to protest against the air bombardment of nonmilitary objectives. Difficult as it is to make our voices heard against the cry for reprisals arising from so much destruction in this country, we must receive this appeal with deep sympathy. Probably there is no hope of humanising the war, or of dealing with its atrocities in detail. The horror for the civilian population, not less than for the soldiers, whose lives are equally valuable, can be ended only with the ending of war itself. But we are very grateful for the important letter in The Times (April 17th) from the Bishop of Chichester, following up the Pope's Easter appeal, in which the Bishop urged that the British Government should make a solemn declaration to refrain from night bombing if the German Government would do the same. Mr. Bernard Shaw and Professor Gilbert Murray supported the Bishop in a most remarkable joint letter printed in The Times of April 28th. Then, according to The Universe of April 25th, the Roman Catholic Archbishop Williams repeated the appeal from the platform of a meeting in Birmingham Town Hall.

### Christian Reconstruction

We commend to our readers especially for serious study by discussion groups a paper issued by the Christ and Unemployment Crusade and entitled "Towards a

Christian Reconstruction." Beginning with a statement of Christian principles it goes on to examine the present order and then to suggest first steps towards reform. While the views expressed are not those of extremists they are considerably in advance of ordinary opinion in the Churches. The statement deals with Education, Professional life, industry, unemployment finance and parliamentary reform. "The State should be required to find employment which will not offend the conscience." "It is recognised that all . . . ideals finally come up against the problems of finance. But the war effort is proving that money will be found if the will be there." "A living wage for each worker with a maximum of six hours work in five days of the week should be the aim." But "it is not our plea that life should be made easier. Most people work harder and make greater sacrifices for what they really want to do." "The party system in politics has become obsolete." "Money is an artificial standard, and we must cease from making it a standard of judgment." "Some arrangement such as family allowances is inevitable." The statement is complete with a short up-to-date bibliography and suggestions for discussion groups. Criticism and contribution are invited and it is hoped that the fruit of extensive discussion will form another more adequate statement to guide our ideas and actions as Christian citizens who look to the future." Communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary. Christ and Unemployment Crusade, Trinity Hall, Augusta Street, London, E.14.

### Our May Number

We apologise to all our readers who did not receive the May number of The Christian Pacifist. A series of misfortunes overtook us last month. First of all, much of the copy was destroyed by a fire which caused severe damage to the premises of our printers and necessitated considerable delay in the recovery of articles which were thus lost. The production of the May number was begun over again in new premises, but just as it was at last ready for despatch another fire destroyed the greater part of it. Emergency arrangements have been made for the printing of our June number, with which is issued a Supplement, containing several of the principal articles in our May number. Much sympathy will be felt for the Buckley Press, which has suffered so much. We are grateful to writers who so readily helped us by repeating their contributions, and assure our readers that every effort will be made to bring the magazine out to date each month despite all difficulties.

Contributors and correspondents are requested to address their communications to The Editor, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, and to enclose return postage if a reply is required.

Signed articles appearing in these pages must not be understood to express editorial opinion or to represent the policy of the publishers.

# PEACE THEN OR PEACE NOW?

ETHEL COMBER.

It was said by certain disgruntled Frenchmen during the last war that England would fight to the last French soldier; and already in this war it is whispered that America will fight to the last Englishman. Such jibes do not immediately concern us; but when it is said in all seriousness that pacifists are prepared to fight to the last militarist, it is time we paid attention and took stock of our position.

We are members of a community, in which and by which we live. Every time we post a letter or turn a tap, we avail ourselves of services which the community provides for us; and the good of the community must therefore be a factor in any decision that we make. It need not be the decisive factor, for we are also members of the world-wide Christian Church, and of the whole family of mankind, as well as of the smaller family community.

Our national community is now engaged in war, for reasons which appear to most of its citizens just and sufficient; and this war may end in one of several

(a) It may end in a negotiated peace, now or at any time before the balance is too heavily weighted in favour of either of the combatants.

(b) It may end in a dictated peace, on terms laid down by the victorious nation.

(c) It may die away into a condition of stalemate, with both sides too exhausted to continue the struggle.

(d) By reason of internal revolution (violent or not), one or more of the nations making the peace may be radically different from the same nation when it engaged in war.

Something of this last (applied only to Germany) was the hope of most decent-minded Englishmen at the outbreak of war, when it was freely said that our quarrel was not with the German people but with the Nazi regime. It is less widespread now that propaganda of the inherent brutality of the German race has had its effect. After reading Mr. Lloyd Phelps' stimulating article "Against Negotiation Now" in the April Christian Pacifist, I am inclined to believe that some such wish is in his own mind—though I imagine he would not confine the revolution to one country! Certainly Mr. Phelps cannot believe that either Great Britain or Germany, unrepentant and drunk with victory, would impose upon the world a peace which by any stretching of the word could be called Christian; while two nations, both too spent to continue the fight, would surely be in no condition for the stern task of building a new civilisation upon the ruins of the old.

The issue, then, seems to lie between a negotiated peace Now and a negotiated peace Then—"then" being at some later date, when one or both of the nations concerned has come to what may be called social repentance. (I would point out that it is quite uncertain that this time would ever come). The wish for a negotiated peace now does not, of course, mean that we should necessarily engage in a "splash" cam-

paign to that effect at the present moment: that is a matter of tactics, and is not discussed here. The interest of the matter lies in the fact that the very facts upon which Mr. Phelps bases his argument for peace Then, are largely responsible for my own eagerness for peace Now—even an imperfect peace.

For it must be granted that peace Now would be imperfect. A negotiated peace is by definition one of which the terms are not known beforehand. Quite certainly, all the demands of this country would not be met: almost certainly, some grave injustices to the smaller nations would remain. And the social situation, about which both Mr. Phelps and myself are concerned, would remain untouched. Why then wish for such a peace?

I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Phelps that war is only the symptom of a more fundamental evil—a whole civilisation incompatible with the Christian way of life; and while admitting a nostalgia for the lovely and gracious things of life, I agree too that many of them must be sacrificed, at least for a generation or so, if the less fortunate members of the community are to have their due. (I say "sacrificed"; if they can be offered to God, and not merely surrendered to force of circumstances, something of their essential graciousness will survive their destruction).

However much the New Jerusalem is a gift from heaven, it will not be built here on earth without the co-operation of all its citizens; and if the greater part of their resources, whether of material, labour, or nervous energy, is devoted to mutual destruction, it seems unlikely that there will be much to spare for building the City of God. I believe that any improvement in the social system is more likely to take place in a condition of peace than in a condition of war; and I say that, knowing that many people have by reason of war been raised above the poverty level for the first time. (Others in the bombed areas have been forced to a condition below that of poverty, in which family life has become impossible).

It is not because we wish to do nothing in the face of a corrupt society that some of us would have peace by negotiation at the first possible moment, however imperfect that peace may be. We do not believe that one evil can really be lessened by another: in this, no more than in anything else, can Satan cast out Satan. Only by the methods of God, shown forth on Calvary, can His Kingdom be brought nearer. We would call a halt to this mad murder-race, and devote ourselves to our two-fold task—to convert the world to Christ, and the Christians (among whom are ourselves) to the implications of the Gospel.

We feel, indeed, rather puzzled by those of our fellow pacifists who, while they believe that war is essentially sinful, yet feel that here and now this war should continue, without themselves taking part in it. We do our non-pacifist fellows the gravest wrong if we fancy that their loathing and detestation of the foul and messy business of warfare is any less than

our own. Doubtless there are many unthinking folk among militarists, as there are some among pacifists; but there are also many sensitive souls who force themselves to engage in a business which revolts them because they believe the alternative would be worse, not for themselves but for the community as a whole. "I believe that war (including this war) is wrong, because it is inconsistent with the Gospel of Christ; therefore I can take no part in it and I wish it to

stop"; that is the Christian pacifist position. "I believe that war is wrong, but that this war should continue because the alternative would be worse; therefore I will force myself to take part in it"; that is the attitude of the best of the militarists. "I believe that war is wrong and I will take no part in it; yet I believe that this war should continue to be fought by other people"; that seems neither flesh, fowl, nor good red herring.

### IS CONSCIENCE ENOUGH?

G. LLOYD PHELPS

The Christian pacifist position is based on a moral judgment that modern warfare is always wrong. The Christian pacifist movement in acting on this judgment sets itself in opposition to the majority of Christians. This fact in itself must continually make us reflect. Obstinacy like patriotism is not enough. Continually we must be asking ourselves how we make moral judgments. There seem to be three stages in our recognition of the moral worth of an action or course of action.

### Saints and Sinners as Outlaws

The first stage is the influence of public opinion. Certain judgments are so generally accepted that they become conventions of behaviour. It is interesting to remember that our very words, ethics and morals are respectively the Greek and Latin words for customs. Often these customs are codified in the law of the land, and penalties are enforced on those who fail to obey these social rules. There are two classes of people who come under the law. First there is the backward minority who have not yet reached the stage of accepting these rules for themselves. It is for them that the sanctions of law exist. But there is another group who stand under judgment. There were three crosses on Calvary; on them three men were crucified: two because they were below the average and One because He was above it. In society there is always that tension between the law and the minority who claim the right of private judgment to challenge the rightness of the conventional judgment. It is through this tension that society develops.

This minority stands at the second stage of making moral judgments. It insists on bringing accepted judgments to the bar of conscience and it sometimes finds them wrong. Because of that they must withstand public opinion and break the law in the name of a higher loyalty. But not all these loyalties are really higher nor are minorities always right. Sometimes the protestant group are merely anarchists and individualists; sometimes they have not taken all factors into account and their judgment is at fault; sometimes they are just cranks. Conscience alone can never be the final judge.

The apostle Paul, with his strong common sense, faced this issue at Corinth. The church there was challenging his authority largely on personal grounds. Paul did not mind criticism but he made it very clear that he did not propose to change his emphasis or guide his ministry by it. There is nothing new in

this—any man of character and independence and not a few who were merely pig-headed—would have said the same. But the reason he gives for his attitude is illuminating.

"But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man's judgment: Yea I judge not mine ownself. For I know nothing against myself, yet I am not hereby justified, but he that judgeth me is the Lord."

Not merely the judgments of others but even the verdict of his own conscience are of little account to Paul. He carries his case to a higher tribunal, the judgment seat of Christ.

We have come to regard and speak of conscience as the voice of God, but that is only partly true. A man's conscience can never be given final authority because its judgment is necessarily partial and subjective. Conscience, as some tribunal judges are rightly fond of reminding us, needs enlightening and depends on education and environment for the judgments it forms.

### Conscience as a Co-Conspirator

A clear conscience may be only the sign that conscience is dead. We are only too familiar with those whose consciences allow them to do astounding things in the name of truth and right apparently without any qualms whatever. The law of atrophy is true for conscience and a conscience that is continually stifled grows weak and dies. A conscience that is never educated never grows strong and sensitive and a conscience that is unexamined becomes a slot machine and delivers its judgment by rote. Conscience can become an accomplice not a guide. Paul knew that and puts it on record in Acts 26, 9: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus."

Surely Oscar Wilde gave us a salutary warning when he wrote: "Conscience makes egotists of us all"

After all consciences differ and can offer us little more than a rough guide to real truth and right. Consciences differ with sex. "What the boy does almost proudly as a manly peccadillo, the girl will shudder at as a debasing vice; what is to her the mere common sense of tactics, he will spit out of his mouth as shameful." (R. L. Stevenson). The moral judgments of the upper and lower classes can never make contact. Had we been born in huntin', shootin', and fishin' circles, we should have regarded with equani-

mity and even approval the "blooding" of children after a hunt. Our working classes who would revolt at such behaviour as pagan and uncivilised find nothing wrong in keeping caged birds and so on.

Even in the same life we have astonishing contradictions of conscience. Gladstone made his first speech in the Commons in defence of the slave trade. Wilberforce, who saw the blinding evil of slavery, was unmoved by the conditions in the factories of the north. Cobden and Bright were stout opponents of factory reform. Stern Sabbatarians who find Sunday cinemas a rank offence that is in danger of sabotaging our war effort do not seem to mind the Sunday being observed by hours of munition work,

nor by bombing raids. Conscience is a queer thing and so says Paul, "I knew nothing against myself yet am I not hereby justified, but he that judges me is the Lord." To be a Christian means far more than merely having a clear conscience. Few men's consciences were clearer than the Pharisees who met our Lord, but that did not save them from being wrong.

There is a further standard than individual judgment for the Christian. "He that judgeth me is the Lord." The mind of Christ is our final authority. We can claim to have a Christian conscience only when we have brought it to the test of the New Testament, the witness of the Christian community and the testimony of the Holy Spirit in our own lives.

# TOLSTOY AND THE NEW WORLD

DALLAS KENMARE

In a recent article, Anarchism and Democracy, Mr. F. A. Lea enters at some length into a discussion of Tolstoy's views on Christian pacifism and the principles of true Christianity. At the present time Tolstoy is the most powerful of allies, and should be read extensively by all who believe that the practical applications of the Sermon on the Mount are the only possible means to the establishment of a world-order of enduring stability and genuine progress.

Tolstoy's was the piercingly simple vision peculiar to the religious genius, the prophet and the poet. He saw through appearances unerringly into the reality. He saw the truth about human nature; like Jesus, he "saw what was in man," and, again like Jesus, found much to denounce, but his denunciation was destructive only in the sense that he sought to sweep away to make room for new and vital creation. The penetrating incandescence of his thought burned off all the superfluous trappings of expediency, leaving only the bold structure of necessity. A figure unique in life as in literature, his beliefs finally compelled him because, like Luther, he could do no other-not only to proclaim but fully to live his doctrine, which meant, as it inevitably does, draining to the last drop the bitterness in the proferred cup. No least attribute of the conflict was withheld; with tragic grandeur, with a relentless spiritual logic, the inevitable results of the surrender made after years of tortured searching, unfolded one by one. Like all great men, he welded his own destiny by acceptance, magnetically drawing to himself the experiences necessary to his development, accepting, and transmuting them into creative power. Such totality of experience is not common; when it occurs the result is always a spiritual Titan, whose passionate thought is forged in a merciless workshop which never spares, but hammers, hammers at the soul until the product begins to approach perfection, and then ready to begin the Herculean task of building the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

Because of his stabbing vision of truth, Tolstoy could tolerate no compromise, and found it necessary to expose every doctrine which tended towards falsification. His book, The Kingdom of God is within

you, is devoted largely to an examination of the criticisms directed against his previous book, What I believe. Through this examination he exposes many flaws in Church-Christianity, and shows how throughout history, beginning with the enslavement of the Church by the State at the time of Constantine the Great, a degeneration of true Christianity through the action of the Churches has proceeded, stressing particularly the worst betrayal of all: the acceptance of the doctrine of violence and force as a necessary element in the social order. The declaration drawn up by William Lloyd Garrison in 1838, and quoted at length at the beginning of Tolstoy's book, ought to be reprinted and circulated freely among Christian pacifists at the present time:

We recognise but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind. Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. And both for the safety of life, property, liberty, public quietude and private welfare, and in order to fulfil the will of Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle, being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, and, expressing the will of God, must ultimately triumph over every evil force. We advocate no revolutionary doctrine. The spirit of revolutionary doctrine is the spirit of retaliation, violence and murder, and neither fears God nor regards man. We would be filled with the spirit of Christ.\*

Tolstoy refers also to several other workers for world-peace: Adin Ballou, who for fifty years wrote and published books dealing principally with the question of non-resistance to evil, Chelcicky, a Czech who wrote in the fifteenth century a book called *The Net of Faith*, which had never been published, Dymond's *On War*, published in 1824, and Daniel Musser's *On Non-resistance*, written in 1864, and comments on the telling fact that all these writers and their works are either ignored or unknown, which seems to be due to some deliberate conspiracy of silence on this most vital problem of human and social life. The Church

is responsible in the past for the burning of many such books, which is partly why the doctrine of Christian pacifism, actually as old as Christianity itself, seems to have no historical background, and is often regarded as a comparatively new belief.

For Tolstov the injunctions in the Sermon on the Mount were as simple as all great spiritual truths, simple as love in itself-and in application as complex. But recognition of the complexities never deterred him; tirelessly, from the moment of his full acceptance of the teaching of Christ as the only basis for life, he examined and worked to disentangle the complexities and reveal the absolute relevance of the true Christian ideal to every department of life. He is essentially the writer for this period of "equivocalism," whose followers slip their beliefs on and off to suit circumstances, like a pair of slackly-fitting gloves. But theirs is a spurious power. Only those with the courage to accept every implication of Jesus's words and live by that acceptance with Tolstoyan fortitude are imbued with the genuine power needed to build the new world so glibly talked of and at present so imperfectly conceived. There are a few

who share the clarity of Tolstoy's vision, who know

The essence of religion lies in man's faculty of foreseeing prophetically, and pointing out that path of life along which humanity must progress, and in a new definition of the meaning of life—differing from the previous one—from which the whole future activity of humanity will result. There have always been some in whom the capacity to foresee the path humanity must follow has been shown with particular force . . . and have established for hundreds and thousands of years a new comprehension of life from which an activity resulted differing from what had gone before.†

"A new comprehension of life." Without this comprehension, no new world can be satisfactorily built. Without it, the foundations will be on shifting sand, as they have been hitherto. We need pre-eminently builders who understand the essential foundations.

\* Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the Peace Convention, Boston, 1838. Quoted in *The Kingdom of God is within you*, pp. 5-10.
† The Kingdom of God is within you. (p. 104).

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

We are still getting a fairly good mail from abroad, though little has come from the Far East.

### America

Muriel Lester is by this time nearly half-way round her South American tour. She left New York with an American companion on April 16th to voyage by steamer to the north coast of South America, and after passing through the Panama Canal to call at a number of ports on the west coast. At the time of writing she is probably in Chile.

Of her work in the United States with the National Christian Mission of the Federal Council of Churches, Dr. Jesse Bader, the Director of the Mission, writes: "I want to express my very deep appreciation to the Fellowship of Reconciliation for loaning Miss Lester to the National Christian Mission for the entire series of 22 cities. She made a wonderful contribution to the Mission. She was tireless in her work. Her presence was a tower of strength to the programme." Nevin Sayre says that he has had other letters of appreciation, and that "there is no doubt whatever but that Muriel Lester and Stanley Jones have made a profound impression by their speaking and personalities in many cities and it has generally come out in the press and other ways that they are out-and-out pacifists."

The Secretary of the American F.O.R. sends us material on the position of conscientious objectors to military service in the United States. For alternativists the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, combining Friends, Mennonites and Brethren, has undertaken experimental service camps. Methodists, Disciples, and the Federal Council of the

Churches are co-operating. The work will consist at first of soil conservation, forestry and wild life protection, and later probably of rural rehabilitation, public health service, etc. About a thousand men, involved in registrations over three months, are likely to take up this work.

The law does not provide for the exemption of absolutists, and a number of men may be indicted in Federal courts. It is thought that there may be test cases. Some at least of those who refused to register have been sent to trial, and are likely to be regarded as automatically registered at the end of any sentence they are required to serve. There are provisions for the parole of prisoners.

In the case of Arle Brooks, a Friend of Pennsylvania, Judge George A. Welsh in passing sentence of a year and a day in January last, is reported to have said: "I feel like Pontius Pilate... America is not normal to-day and you must be charitable with the rest of us.... It seems hard for a boy to understand that his ideals can be stricken down so. Here is where you have got to exercise a little charity for us. There is no thought of harm in you, but here is a great law that has to be uniform for millions of our people."

A reflection of the conscientious objector movement in the United States and the work being done to provide opportunities for alternativists, is contained in the following paragraph from a recent letter:

"No conscientious objectors have arrived in camp yet, but the machinery is now set up for assigning them to a year's work of national importance under civilian direction. I do not have accurate enough statistics to be very specific, but from the very few

hundred names which have now gone through the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, there were members of 61 different religious groups. I think less than one-third of these were members of the three historic peace churches—the Mennonites, Brethren and Quakers."

### American F.o.R. and the Blockade

The Executive Committee of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation appeals to Lord Halifax and President Roosevelt for change in British Food Blockade policy, to permit the Belgian Project proposed by the Committee to Feed the Five Small Democracies.

The Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has written as follows to Lord Halifax:—

"As fellow Christians we are distressed by the refusal of the British Government to agree to a plan for lifting the Blockade sufficiently to permit food supplies to go, under carefully controlled conditions, to the populations of the small democracies or even to permit a limited experiment along these lines in Belgium.

"We recognise the undoubted complexities and difficulties of the situation; and we are deeply grieved over the sufferings of the British as well as of other peoples involved in the War. Yet it would seem that a policy of extending loans to Spain because it is hoped thereby to purchase the neutrality of an authoritarian regime in the struggle for 'democracy,' while at the same moment refusing to ease the blockade so that the peoples of such nations as Belgium, Norway, Holland and Finland may purchase food with their own money, can only add to the confusion and madness from which the world suffers. Signs multiply that the effect of this policy may not be, as is hoped, to drive these peoples to revolt against German domination. Private advices state that the Finns, for example, are being brought to a sub-disease level as a result of the severe restriction on imports springing from England's fear that some fats or cereals or clothing might slip through to Germany. The rigour of this policy appears already to have alienated many Finnish people. Recent newspaper dispatches indicate that the German regime appears to be taking advantage of the situation in Belgium and elsewhere to put itself in a favourable light. Even if it does not succeed in this, the peoples of the occupied countries will be driven to the conclusion that all the belligerents are equally callous to their sufferings and use their mothers, wives, daughters and children as pawns in the war game.

"Apart from considerations of immediate policy, we cannot believe that any plea of 'military necessity' can permit those who bear the Christian name to rest in the acceptance of a policy so utterly opposed to our Lord's injunction to 'feed our enemies.' Might it not be that if with 'a little faith' in the power of the Spirit we acted on that injunction now, it would

involve fewer risks than the present policy of your Government in a world where the past sins of all of us have no longer left us with any course free from suffering.

"We appeal to you once more to approach your Government with a plea that immediate steps be taken to launch the experiment in Belgium proposed by the Committee to Feed the Five Small Democracies."

In the letter to President Roosevelt, urging that the President approach Lord Halifax with a plea for the Belgian experiment, the following additional points are raised:—

"The recent statement of Admiral Darlan on behalf of the Vichy Government suggests a similar possibility of alienating people under the pressure of starvation from any adherence to the democratic concept. Furthermore, in view of the extent to which the United States is itself now participating in the War, the Lend-Lease Bill having been passed and signed, this statement suggests the possibilities of direct involvement of the United States in conflict in the Atlantic, and thus would seem to bring the matter very definitely within the sphere of American policy.

"Since the United States has under your leadership adopted the policy of becoming the 'arsenal' for Britain in its war against Germany on the ground that it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for Britain to survive if the United States did not thus furnish all-out aid, the views of your Administration must necessarily have great weight with the Government of Great Britain. We appeal to you, therefore, to approach Lord Halifax with a plea that immediate steps be taken to launch the experiment in Belgium proposed by the Committee to Feed the Five Small Democracies.

"Finally, we find that rumours continue to circulate throughout the country to the effect that your Administration is influenced in its attitude toward the problem of feeding the women and children of the occupied countries by a desire to thwart any political ambitions that Mr. Hoover may have, and, in turn, rumours to the effect that Mr. Hoover is moved by personal and partisan political considerations. We feel that if anything can possibly be done to dispel such rumours and fabrications it would greatly contribute to the development of unity and good will among our people."

### France

We are glad to get further news that, with the support of the American Fellowship, some of our friends in unoccupied France are being enabled to press forward their scheme for a small colony for about 20 child refugees. They hope to provide education as well as food and shelter.

### Finland

Our friends in Finland continue their courageous work. A letter three months on the way has just been received telling of a hostel, work-room and club for

people driven from their homes. They report also some large united prayer meetings held during the autumn. One of our friends in particular is hard at work helping people to get into touch with their families and to solve their personal problems. She writes: "Sometimes there are strangers amongst them, who do not know the local language nor customs. There are so many homeless and unhappy people everywhere in these days. The small human help seems so insufficient. More than ever one values the great Helper, Who never is perplexed, but always has a way out of the darkness as said in Daniel II, 22. He has also in His hands the unseen bonds of fellowship between His humble followers everywhere, which strengthens and encourages us."

It is stated that upwards of 200 Finns in the Finnish-Russian War were prevented by religious scruples from taking part in the actual killing operations. Most of these were peasants nurtured in Finnish pietistic groups whose study of the Scriptures and whose meditations had convinced them that they could never take life. The majority of this group asked only that they bear no arms, but were willing to be used in other capacities. A small number could take no share in the war and were put in internment camps together with men sentenced for misdemeanours. Here they were made to work and at times met very severe conditions. Most of the acts of brutality to them happened in a single camp where the commandant got out of hand. He has since been sentenced to three and a half years in prison for his treatment of the men. One young man who could not participate in the military was released during the war and ran a Christian settlement house by day and helped civilians in need in air-raids during the night.

### Sweden

A friend in the United States, who recently visited a number of European countries, says that Natanael Beskow is in excellent health and is giving creative leadership to the Swedish Fellowship as he has through the past two decades. The Swedish situation is a perilous one and has roused a passionate nationalistic revival coupled with a military mobilisation that is keeping several hundred thousand young men in arms. There are a large number of those who have formerly taken the alternative service, who are under this present mobilisation but are prepared to do only civilian service work and who have once again been detailed to various constructive projects in forests, on roads, building underpasses and the like. There are others who formerly served their regular time and now wish to register their conscientious objection against work in the military. They are only able to make the transfer by appealing to the King. who has, when the cases are proved to be wellgrounded, already sanctioned several such transfers.

Some Fellowship of Reconciliation members in Sweden have talked of the value of forming a death battalion of Christians to care for removing time-bombs and for assistance to civilians during bombing

raids. In the actual shadow of such events, some feel urged to pledge their courage in such an effort to diminish suffering—fully conscious that the deeper task is still untouched.

### Switzerland

Pierre Ceresole is living quietly in Neuchatel. His witness for a creative civilian substitute for the military establishment is as firm as ever, although in Switzerland, with well over a half million of its men in arms and no alternative service recognised by law, there is no open response to his appeal at present. It is interesting to find, however, that the Swiss Government have found it necessary to take over much of Pierre Ceresole's Service Civile technique in setting up work camps for the German refugees who are in Switzerland without means of support. Pierre has spent some weeks in prison during the past few months on an issue of civil liberties, but is again free. He used his time in prison as a period of solitary retreat.

### THE FRIENDLY BOOK

"THE EASTERN MARCHLANDS OF EUROPE." By Harriet

G. Wanklyn. George Philip & Son. 356 pp. 12/6.

Miss Harriet Wanklyn rendered some very useful specialist help on the journalistic side in the Red Lion Square office some years ago. She came in touch with us because of her particular interest in the peoples of Eastern Europe and the importance of this region as a part of the peace problem. She had already as a student visited a number of the countries between the Baltic and the Balkans and was something of an authority, as a constructive peace worker ought to be, on her chosen area. Her book just published after a number of further travellings and a great deal of obviously careful study of the actual facts on the spot, is an invaluable bit of apparatus for other international peace workers. It is in fact a first-class historical, ethnographical, economic regional geography of eight countries southward from Finland, countries every one of which must be re-shaped and re-constituted when the task of peace-making in Europe is seriously taken up. And the whole thing, illustrated by careful little diagram maps on almost every page, is of enthralling interest.

There is no propaganda or religion in it, of course; but the unspoken morals stick out. Yet valuable as the conclusions are, the book sobers us with deeper understanding of the fact that there is no simple solution of Europe's problems, while the spirit of human understanding is an indispensable key. Unless this jigsaw puzzle of conflicting interests can be fitted together into an economic, political and cultural cooperation, there must be still more war in the future.

When Miss Wanklyn left London, she presented us with a fine Atlas; and it was a delicate hint. Now she has challenged us to study it more closely and has offered us invaluable help.

P. W. B.

### FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

AN ACT OF THANKSGIVING

Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless His holy name.

For all the beauty of the day and night; for sun and stars, sunrise and sunset; for all green and growing things; for the flowers and the song of the birds; for the wind and the rain

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For little children and for laughter; for youth and the promise of a new age; for homes and for the daily tasks in which we work with God; for silence and for sleep

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For the refuge and the strength of prayer; for songs of praise upon the lips and in the heart; for the house of God, and for the house not made with hands

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For the fragrance that lingers when the flower is crushed; for the music that remains when the instrument is broken; for the Word that lives when words are silenced; for the poetry that survives when the book has been destroyed

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For the strong gentleness that bears the childish violence of the world; for the forgiveness of sins; for transformation by the renewing of the mind

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For friendship present though the friend is absent; for the love that triumphs over separation; for the corruptible that puts on incorruption

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For the imperishable soul of that which perishes; for the things which cannot be shaken and remain; for the things which are unseen and eternal

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For the light that shineth in darkness and the darkness can engulf it not; for the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive; for our joy that no man taketh from us

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

For these three which abide, faith, hope and love; for grace abounding; for heaven that invades the earth; for the way everlasting and the life eternal

Bless the Lord, O my soul.

# COMMUNITY NOTES

COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

The notes which follow summarise briefly the thoughts presented by Rev. Alfred Lidster in an address to the Easter Conference of the F.O.R. at Whalley Abbey.

The present order has been indicted by Eric Gill as producing industrial slavery, denying to the individual real responsibility for the goods produced and making him a cog in the machine rather than offering him the opportunity of creative work. It is self-interested rather than brotherly in motive and results in an artificial and sophisticated life and leisure. Middleton Murry speaks of the way in which Christ's warning against riches is ignored. "In order to be detached, you have only to look upon your riches as belonging not to yourself but to God. But you sign the cheques and you receive the goods. So God is satisfied and so are you." Yet over against this there is "a steadily increasing number who believe that the pursuit of riches, or the devotion of a life to 'getting on,' makes this life an unworthy and intolerable thing. . . . Many young men and women to-day have a clear instinctive perception that the observance of a new frugality of living, and the restoration of direct relation with the earth that is the source from which man's life is nourished is a condition precedent to the renewal of religion. In order to be able to revere God, one must first learn humbly to respect his creation."

It is here that community meets the modern need as the expression of the Christian motive in work, as giving scope for individual responsibility and creative activity, and, in the agricultural community, provoking a more living response to natural rhythms.

It is noteworthy, then, that modern educational advance is pursuing a parallel line. There is the insistence on respect for the personality of the child, upon the provision of opportunity for responsible and creative activity, upon the need of the educator to cooperate with the natural rhythms and endowments of the child.

The tragic thing is that the more successfully these ideals are realised in educational practice, the more insistent does the conflict become between the spirit and atmosphere of the school and that which characterises life outside it. The child returns to a home in which the current standards of civilisation are still held to be valid and in order to "get on" is thrust into an industrial order whose methods and motives are the very reverse of those he has learned to cherish in school. He is left, while still immature, to struggle against overwhelming odds and the amazing thing is that the defeat of modern educational ideals is not more complete.

On the other hand, within the community that kind of conflict is largely eliminated. The school, seen as the training ground of social living, is but one phase of a life whose whole range of activity is directed by the same motive and this harmony between the school and the non-school world is a tremendous source of strength.

This supplement issued with the "Christian Pacifist" for June contains some of the principal articles in the May number.

# ERIC GILL—CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

# \*A Review of His Autobiography

ETHEL MANNIN

Not every pacifist by any means professes to be a Christian, and not every professing Christian is by any means a pacifist—which is a contradiction in terms. To demand whether a man can be a true Christian (that is to say, a follower of the teachings of Jesus to the best of his ability) yet not be a pacifist (opposed, that is, to violence as a means to any end whatsoever, refusing to do evil that good may come) raises an enormous controversy, though one would have thought that the rejection of violence was laid down clearly enough in the Sermon on the Mount. Eric Gill was that rare thing—a practising Christian. Like the Hindu Mahatma Gandhi, and the renegade from the Church, Verrier Elwin—one of the world's uncanonised saints. Perhaps it is not too much to say that Eric Gill came near to sainthood. For him the religion which, as he says in his autobiography, he "invented" for himself was a living reality, not a mere matter of lip-service and for Sabbath use only. It was an integral part of his life, like his home and his work. He writes, "If I might attempt to state in one paragraph the work which I have chiefly tried to do in my life it is this: to make a cell of good living in the chaos of our world." He goes on to explain, in the direct simple manner which was typical of all his utterances, Lettering, type-designing, engraving, stone-carving,

"Lettering, type-designing, engraving, stone-carving, drawing—these things are all very well, they are means to the service of God and of our fellows, and therefore to the earning of a living, and I have earned a living by them. But what I hope above all things is that I have done something towards re-integrating bed and board, the small farm and the workshop, the home and the school, earth and heaven."

### The "Just War" Rejected

The spiritual evolution of Eric Gill is of enormous interest to pacifists, because he reached his pacifist convictions through the development of his religion to its logical conclusions. In his childhood and youth he was misled by romanticism, and by the logic of medieval Christian theology, which taught that war is not always unjustifiable, and therefore not always murder. He believed in the war of defence against an aggressor and that, provided you kept the rules (such as not mutilating prisoners or slaving non-combatants), it could be a just war, removed from sin. It was the Holy Land which opened his eyes, freed him from this romanticism and spurious logic. In that beautiful land he saw "as never before the virtue of poverty, and how peace on earth can have no other basis." He had a vision of all the peoples of the earth struggling ceaselessly with one another for material possessions and material advantages, and saw that the greater the material success the more frightful must be the struggle. "For the competition of riches means a

ceaseless spurring of men's powers of invention in weapons and methods of destruction, until in the end, as Pope Pius XII said almost immediately after his election, 'In this age of mechanisation the human person becomes merely a more perfect tool in industrial production and . . . a perfected tool for mechanised warfare.' And thus men will perish in the ruins of their degraded cities, perish with curses in their hearts, curses upon a life which was lived in misery and is ending in frightful fear."

and is ending in frightful fear."

It became clear to him that "it is no use renouncing war unless we first of all renounce riches." He returned from Palestine with his mind made up. Henceforward, he realised, he must take up a position even more antagonistic to his contemporaries than that of a mere critic of the mechanistic system. He must take up a position antagonistic to the very basis of their civilisation . . . even to the point of appearing antagonistic to the Church itself. "For the Christians everywhere have committed themselves to the support of capitalist-industrialism and therefore to the wars in its defence, mechanised war to preserve mechanised living," whilst he himself believed that "capitalism is robbery, industrialism is blasphemy, and war is murder." With his eyes opened he saw the injustice of imperialism and "the hypocrisy of all the blather about 'the white man's burden." He had long since, he writes, learned the truth about South Africa, but not until he went to Palestine did he see clearly "the dirty materialism which inspired all modern militarism, nor the impossible ungodliness of modern mechanical war-making."

### A Natural Anarchist

As 'a result of all this he reached the profound conclusion that "there is now no hope of a reform of our society by parliamentary means." He formed a deep abhorrence of politics and saw politicians as nothing but the "agents for the defence of monetary interests." He was, in fact, a natural anarchist, in his life as in his work. He could not believe in the reality of political arrangements and re-arrangements. "It is all a confused business of ramps and rackets," he wrote, "pretended quarrels and dishonest commercial schemings, having no relation to the real interests of peoples, neither to their spiritual nor to their material welfare, and conducted upon no principles other than monetary self-interest." In all his writings, it is interesting to note, there emerges this lothing for what he called "the secret dictatorship of money." In this book, his last writings, he refers to it as "the decisive victory of finance which the nineteenth century wit-

He came, therefore, to the Christian belief in poverty, and saw it as the way to peace for struggling

humanity. All this is told towards the end of his book: I have dealt with it first because it is in this revolutionary light—for it is that, in an age of chaos that Eric Gill is of interest to pacifists in general and Christian pacifists in particular. His autobiography tells the story of his boyhood, his apprenticeship to architecture, his falling in love, his marrying, of his artistic development, of his discovery of a living religion in the Catholic Church-or, as he tells us, of his "invention" of a religion and his discovery that it was the Catholic Church, and it is a story told with the utmost sincerity and honesty. But what is important is what it all leads up to-which is his revolt against the materialism of our civilisation, which reaches its apex in the capitalist-industrialism, with its competitiveness, which leads, in turn, inevitably, to wars.

### The Discovery of the Good Life

But Eric Gill was already creating that "cell of good living" long before his visit to the Holy Land brought him to these conclusions. First in Sussex and then in the Black Mountains, he and his family were a happy, hard-working community, living simply and usefully-what he describes as a good life and a natural life, remote from industrial civilisation. Then there was a happy spell in the South of France, sharing a house with a friend in the little town of Saliesde-Bearn, at the foot of the Pyrenees, "a human city which was in some sort a holy city." Those were good days, full of work and prayer and sane, quiet rational living. For Eric Gill, "Holy" meant "hale and hearty, and the whole and healthy with a mind set heavenwards." "In our industrial world," he writes in this chapter, which is the loveliest in the book from the point of view of writing and of the vividly evoked scene, "everyone is hurrying, and no one is catching anything but flies. It is not only a fever; it is a fever of futility. It is a madness, and like all madness it means nothing and leads to death. And that, I suppose, is why the yoked oxen are so heavenly lovely; they are quiet—like the 'still small voice'; they are slow—like the germination of seeds; they are patient like the earth. And so they are a symbol of fruitfulness; for it is said of them that hear the word and keep it, that they 'bring forth fruit in patience'."

Upon these lines he reflected in that lovely little town, "with its little Place, overshadowed by green trees, its lovely houses and its little river." He saw the town as "the centre of worship—the church in which we confess the fatherhood of God, and the streets and meeting places in which we confess the brotherhood of men." Such reflections, I think, convey the texture of Eric Gill's mind-and the whole spirit of his book.\* Spiritually, the winter spent at Salies-de-Bearn was leading up to the revelation which came to him in Palestine. It was his first holy city, a prelude to the more profound spiritual experience. Here he reflected that "the salvation of England cannot be brought about by town improvements; it can only come by the land. The town, the holy city, is nourished upon elements drawn from the soil. The modern towns of our industrial England have no such nourishment. They draw their galvanic twitchings and

palpitations (for you can hardly call it life) from machines. The modern town is a warren of business men.... It will therefore not die only of mass murder (such as is going on this very day as I write—in London and Berlin) and barrenness, but also of poisoning. It will die anyway. So our business is to get back on to the land as quickly as possible." Yet he contended that towns and cities could be beautiful and holy, if men would but foregather in them in peace and charity, instead of competitively, for financial gain.

### The Artist as God's Craftsman

Art was for him man's collaboration with God in creating. Art was work, and to be spelt with a small "a." It belonged to everyday life, not to the picturegallery and museum. He attached great importance to this, wrote a great deal about it, and emphasises it again in this present book. Life was for him always more than art, and art "only a fine flower of life, and could only be a fine flower if the life itself were fine." contrary to the beliefs current in high-art circles with their high-falutin' talk of art for art's sake. He saw the artist, always, not as a being remote and superior to others, but as essentially a craftsman; for art divorced from daily life, a hot-house flower, "divorced from the common work of men," he had not merely no use, but the utmost contempt. "How truly abominable the art world is!" he cried, adding, "If the war that is now raging does nothing else, surely it will do something towards smashing it up." He saw that world as linked up with the mechanisation of work, and the conception of things for sale instead of for service, the spirit of God in man expressing itself in creativeness—whether it was painting a picture or hoeing turnips.

This is a remarkable book about a remarkable man. The book is remarkable for its utter honesty and sincerity and simplicity—qualities rare in the contemporary autobiography—and the man was remarkable, because of his immense artistic drive, his creative vehemence, utterly divorced from artistic cant, because of his immense zest for life spiritually and physically, 'the good swill of red wine" at a cafe in his beloved Salies-de-Bearn, and for the things of the spirit which for him reached their peak at the Mass of his Catholic belief. Non-Catholic readers, like myself, would have found a deeper exposition of his catholicism usefulwhy, that is to say, his Christianity had to find expression through the Catholic Church in spite of his admitted impatience of the scarlet-and-gold of the Vatican, so remote from the simplicity of the founder of the Christian faith. Much, in this connection, one feels, is left unexplained, and because one is passionately interested in the spiritual development of Gill's personality one would have liked it explained—though to such a demand he himself would probably have replied that faith is revelation, and therefore beyond explanation.

The autobiography of Eric Gill is the story of a practising Christian—and such men are rare even when their integrity is not illuminated by artistic genius of a high order as in this case. For him death was the gate of life, and he concludes his book hoping to die happy—and I think he did, shortly before his book was published.

# THE PATRIOTISM THAT IS PACIFISM

PAUL GLIDDON

An unpatriotic pacifism is quite literally nonsense, for the very basis of at least Christian pacifism must be love, love of the neighbour and, even more, love of the company of neighbours which constitutes one's country. But, although love is a sentiment, it is not sentimental and love for England is not languishing over England, but a caring for England and for those frail vet firm and precious things in which her greatness must consist. When we speak of the soul of England we realise we are using a phrase not easy to define, but the similar difficulty experienced when describing the human soul does not finally demonstrate that it is not there to be considered, even though it may be incapable of definition. The patriot is one who cares for the soul rather than for the soil of England, yet its soil may well be dear to him, just as he may reverence the bodies of those within whom dwell the souls he has learned to love. As the death of the body is not the death of the soul, so also the soul of England could live on and grow in glory though its body had returned to dust.

### What Shall a Man Gain?

In this present war, although money is being poured out upon weapons which can do no more than defend the material integrity of the country—if they can indeed do so much-yet it would be argued that these material things are only the agents for the defence of the nation's spiritual well-being; that a nation refusing to use such means in the present circumstances would be imperilling her ideals, just as the refusal to give common bread to the hungry may play havoc with a man's immortal soul. Perhaps some of us may welcome an argument which seems to have a sacramental flavour, though wondering why those who reject a sacrament of bread can accept so readily a sacrament of bombs. The important thing is to seize upon the admission that it is the soul that matters, that, just as England could lose this war and yet save her soul, so she could win this war and yet find that her soul was somehow lost. Already this country has encouraged small nations to resist the aggressor with the assurance that the gesture of defiance must not be judged by its material consequences but is itself a victorious thing; similarly she must now maintain that the true victory of a great power is measured by fidelity to its traditions and not by whether such fidelity pays or fails to pay or even leads to utter bankruptcy.

Once it is clear that moral victories, so far from keeping step with military victories, are independent of them, it is self-evident that military communiques are of little significance in assessing the progress of the moral struggle. They may refer to intense activity when, in the moral sphere, there is really nothing to report; they may report a slashing victory at the moment when the moral front has been shattered. Now the patriot, the man who is jealous for the welfare of the soul of England, will necessarily find himself sometimes saddened when others are throwing their caps in the air; at other times he may experience a thrill of excitement because a stand has been made

against some fresh threat to the nation's soul when others are dazed at the news of military disaster. Sympathy and good fellowship demand that he should not irritate his fellows by perpetually drawing attention to his own different standards of judgment, and yet loyalty to his convictions must make him witness to the belief that all is not lost when military ventures fail.

### The Strange Patriotism of the Prophets

Some of the Old Testament prophets went a little far in the downrightness of their criticism of their country in time of war, and it is hardly surprising that the government of the day took action against them, since they were sowing doubt and depression in the public mind and were saying things which it was not in the national interest should be talked abroad. This attitude of theirs, embarrassing though it must have been, did not spring from some perverse love of Syria or of Egypt, or of some other foreign state, but from a passionate zeal for the spiritual salvation of their own people. Because they did not at first appear to be patriots they were stoned, but the sons of those who had stoned them built their tombs and honoured the places of their burying. There are few failures more fiercely condemned than lack of patriotism, nor so instantly and harshly punished, and yet there is hardly any other area in which history more frequently reverses the judgment that was at first

The pacifist may be described as a patriot who has carried his patriotism unreasonably far. He not only believes that his nation has great qualities-for a pacifist policy would be an absurd failure in a nation whose moral qualities were not among the greatest in the world—but he is so impressed with these qualities that he is unwilling to see any attempt made to reinforce them with something inferior, trusting that moral forces will win their own victories without entering into embarrassing alliances. It may very well be argued that such an attitude is unrealistic, that, just as England consists not only of quiet villages and lovely lanes, but also of sordid slums and slag heaps, so also she exercises other powers than the spiritual, and that all that is England may properly be brought to her defence. But, if by England we mean the soul of England, then there is much which now passes for England which is not very England. Just as many of us would feel that it is England that we truly see in Devon but something very different in Dagenham, so also there are things desired by Engglishmen which are quite unworthy and others that are true to the country's deepest convictions. These national verities do not depend upon the speed with which help comes from America or on the employment of bombs of an increasing beauty; they do not belong to the world of time at all, and can neither be defended nor destroyed by material means. Great though the danger may be of a war on two fronts, it is trivial in comparison with the danger of failing to realise that our real problem is not two fronts but two wars, and that we may lose the war that matters in

<sup>\*</sup> Eric Gill-Jonathan Cape, 12/6.

### The Jingo as Fifth Columnist

Anxiety over military victory is exposing the nation to defeat in the spiritual warfare, for we are being urged to believe that the only way in which Hitler can be defeated is by our being now ready to adopt methods which we have hitherto denounced as despicable and barbarous. To say that you must give your enemy a dose of his own medicine involves a willingness to set up a dispensary in which that medicine can be prepared. Of course it is pleaded that this would not be necessary had not the adversary taken the initiative, but such an argument not only involves the exercise of that sincerest form of flattery, but it also leaves the privilege and prerogative of calling the tune to the party that is despised. If the right to determine the character of warfare is to be lodged with the nation that makes war most unworthily, then that nation not only sets the tone and fashion of war, but has become the fashion leader, the leader, the Fuhrer. To be able to make the righteous man work unrighteousness is the final victory of Satan, who cares little whether a nation regains her youth provided her soul is safely housed in hell. If those who accuse Hitler of having the mind of Mephistopheles realised what their charge involved they would go on to say that he did not care who held our territory provided the soul

of England had bowed down and worshipped him in saying, "What you bind, we shall bind; what you loose, we shall loose also," and thus accepting his claim to dictate the nature of our national conduct. If the soul of England, out of a deep compassion for the body of England, can be persuaded to whisper "Heil Hitler!" that will indeed be for him a moment of sweetest triumph.

But, if it is the soul that really matters, then it should follow that the soul of the nation can win her victories even when she is powerless to let the body share in her successes. Thus here in these days men of all parties are looking for a world beyond the shames and sorrows of war, and, as this world breaks about us, we are discovering a faith in a world to come Surely it should be possible for a country such as ours to peg out a claim in that world of to-morrow and even now to conform with its new ideas and its different valuings. Somewhere there should be a place where to-morrow penetrates to-day, so that men may have a foretaste of the future and work in hope of its fulfilment. If the world is only to be shown nobility temporarily, under the discipleship of the ignoble, it will never climb out of the slough in which it is slowly sinking. Somewhere there must be a nation within whose soul there is already peace, else whither shall the nations turn when the desire comes upon them to go into the house of the Lord and to stand within its

# CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES AND PEACE

Whether or not it is the Christian's duty to outline the terms of a negotiated peace, he will wish to be clear at least as to the principles on which any statement of peace aims must be judged and on which peace itself must finally be based. A sub-committee of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups has recently attempted to formulate a number of Christian principles and, while not yet ready to publish them as a final declaration, wishes to submit the following draft for the comment of readers of "The Christian Pacifist."

As Christians we are bound to judge any statement of peace aims by Christian principles; but we feel embarrassment at calling upon the Government for a course of action based on principles which have not yet been wholly accepted by the Christian Church itself. Hence we desire first to make an earnest appeal to all Christians, both to join us in considering anew the application of our Lord's life and teaching to international affairs and also in giving evidence of sincere repentance in cases where those principles have been accepted in word only.

We regard a change of heart and mind in both people and Government as an indispensable first step, since in our view:—

- (a) the imperialism and power-politics in which this and other countries have been involved lead to war; and
- (b) for these and other reasons we feel that this country shares responsibility for the renewal of the war.

Holding these convictions, we make the following suggestions for the future:—

(1) The post-war settlement should be freely negotiated by a conference of all nations and not dictated by victors. The conference should represent peoples as well as governments. The agreements made should provide for their own revision.

(2) Britain will have to live side by side with Germany, Italy and Japan after the war, since any suggestion that these countries should be annihilated is out of the question, physically as well as morally; and therefore peace depends upon the conversion of the peoples of all four countries from reliance on force to the relations that should obtain in a

family. Only in this spirit can the energy and will to expand of a virile nation be given its rightful expression.

(3) The territorial and economic exploitation of some groups of people by others is wrong and a constant memace to peace. These evils must be abolished, possibly with the help of some form of international mandate.

(4) Full self-government ought to be granted to India; and to this end negotiations on equal terms should be begun with the India leaders at the earliest possible moment.

(5) Some forms of international collaboration regarding currencies, exchange rates, credits, quotas and tariffs seem imperative if economic friction making for war is to be avoided. One specific object should be to raise the standard of life in all countries.

(6) The distribution of raw materials should be governed by international agreement, and markets made available to all on equal terms.

(7) The present flagrant social inequalities known in this as well as other countries must be dealt with in plans for wide-spread social reconstruction in which the ordinary man and his family can feel that they have been considered.

(8) Drastic and general disarmament is essential if any sense of security is to result from the peace settlement. But disarmament by itself will be insufficient unless accompanied by a change of heart and attitude as between peoples.

While national cultures and traditions ought to be safeguarded provided that they do not interfere with international co-operation, and while all peoples ought to be educated for self-government, international machinery for co-operation in cultural as well as economic matters would be indispensable; and the peoples of national states ought more and more to be gathered into some common conception of world loyalty with the good of the whole family of mankind as the ideal.

Moreover, the community school has its setting within a life that is in close touch with the natural order and where work is, of design, as creative as may be. The education it gives is not intellectualised and divorced from everyday living but rather partakes of the character of learning within the sphere of family activity through which the deeper culture of the older generation may become absorbed. The arts of domestic life and of the field and garden, work in wood and other materials, become the natural prelude to interest in science, mathematics, history, etc. The boy of twelve who controls the horses as they harrow in

the seed begins to realise the relevance of botany and biology.

Thus the community school has a special mission and a special opportunity to rebuild in the lives of children those fundamental Christian values which in the adult world of our time have become devastated by the disintegrating influences of a pagan individualism.

Correspondence, enquiries and requests for the Spring issue of the "Community Broadsheet (24 pp., price sevenpence, post paid) to hon secretary, Community Service Committee, Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.

# SPIRITUAL POWER IN INTERNMENT

WALTER ZANDER

The most interesting point in the internment problem is not how much the interned have had to suffer—for suffering is general all over the world at present—but how far they have been able to stand up, spiritually, to their trial, and to transform their adversities into productive experience. To judge these efforts fairly one must consider the special circumstances; for the inconveniences and deprivations which were their lot did not fall upon citizens who could hope one day to return to their homes, but upon people without a country and without protection, people who found themselves placed between two fighting worlds and in part even identified with those who had vowed their destruction. It was against this dark background that the spiritual battle had to be fought.

The first sign I noticed of the opening of the "spiritual defence" was on the morning after our internment. Hundreds of men, hungry and tired, roamed restlessly through the camp; but one, armed with a small Hebrew Bible and a gigantic dictionary, could be observed sitting quietly in the open air, getting to work without delay. He was a publisher from Hamburg who had made up his mind not to give in under any circumstances but to use this opportunity to read the Bible for the first time in his life in the original Hebrew. I asked his permission to join him and very soon a small group rallied round him every day.

Although for the first days hunger, confusion and despair prevailed, gradually the scenery beyond the barbed wire entered our consciousness: a fresh green meadow in which two young horses were frisking and, farther off, the sea. There was amongst us a Greek scholar who, reminded by the scenery of the immortal world of Homer, started one sunny afternoon in the midst of all the tumult and anxiety to read aloud in a melodious voice from his pocket copy the song of Odysseus and Nausicaa. This man very soon became one of those personalities who quietly carried and supported the structural strain of the whole camp community.

The composition of the camp was extremely varied. There were Jews and Christians, Germans and Austrians, Aryans and Non-Aryans, boys of sixteen and old men of nearly 70. There were farm-workers and scholars, business men and artists, Rabbis and Priests and people of nearly every social, political and spiritual persuasion. Innumerable little groups constantly got together with a strange variety of discussions,

that one rarely finds under normal conditions. Besides the questions whose general interest was obvious, like internment, war and politics, the frequency and intensity of religious discussions, heard everywhere, were striking.

One day, sitting on the hill-side, I heard a voice inside one of the little huts, saying most emphatically: "And if the Jews had really kept the Sabbath the whole world would have been changed." I crept nearer to hear more and found to my surprise that the speaker was a fair-haired young Christian, brought up in Holland, a Seventh Day Adventist. He was a remarkable young man. On the Sabbath he attended the Jewish Service; on Sunday he played the clarinet at the Protestant Service; and he was the most single-hearted man I have ever met. Out of religious convictions he applied from the beginning for one of the heaviest jobs, acting for nearly three months as stoker, getting up at dawn, to start the numerous open-air kitchen stoves.

The camp was terribly overcrowded and lack of privacy made concentration very difficult. Nevertheless it was possible to open a kind of University, which offered about 40 different lectures a week on the most varied subjects, ranging from theoretical physics to Greek philosophy and Russian for beginners, not to mention theological problems in Judaism and Christianity. On the Isle of Man a Technical School came into being which attempted to train a large number of internees in the elements of Engineering.

To create an atmosphere of concentration in the overcrowded and noisy tents, where some eight or ten men had to live in very cramped conditions, some men introduced hours of complete silence, visitors being kept away by more or less polite posters fixed at the entrance of the camp.

There were many remarkable examples of how spiritual power can conquer material difficulties. I remember particularly the following: In our tent at Prees Heath was a musician from Vienna, a young man in poor health who suffered acutely under the conditions of internment. One day, while we were still cut off from the outside world—without letters, newspapers, or any means of communication—and were sitting together, looking at the barbed wire, full of sad and longing thoughts, one of us produced from his suitcase the pocket score of a Brahms sextette for stringed instruments. No instruments were available, but as some in the group happened to be musical folk,

# THEY SAY SEAWARD BEDDOW

Refusal to Employ C.O.'s

Sir Edward Stubbs, the Chairman of the North of England Appellate Tribunal has spoken plainly. He said recently at Carlisle: "Members of local bodies have very foolishly, in our opinion, taken the line that they would not employ C.O.'s. I think the law will be altered."

This was followed up by Sir Miles Mitchell, a member of the Tribunal, who expressed the opinion that as C.O.'s were recognised by law it was very stupid of local authorities to say they would not have C.O.'s. That was one of the penalties people had got to pay for their conscience, but it was regrettable that local authorities took that line.

—Report in Manchester Guardian (24/4/41). In a letter to the Manchester Guardian (13/5/41)

Pacifists Defended

T. H. Champion writes as follows:-

"Judge Burgis is reported in your paper as saying that 'there was no more selfish individual to-day than the pacifist; he did nothing for his neighbours and tried to live his life regardless of the sufferings of other people.' That wholesale condemnation is untrue. The Manchester Guardian has recently described the work of pacifists who are running a shelter for those who are not wanted or welcome at other shelters for physical or moral reasons. It has also reported the case of pacifists offering themselves as experimental subjects for infection with a distressing disease in the hope that others may be spared the scourge.

These particular forms of service cannot be common, but they are not just the exceptions which prove general selfishness. One does not claim that every one who appears before the tribunals has a conscience of service to the community, but evidence could be given that such are by no manner of means rare among pacifists."

Useful Information

A philosophic placard in a tavern in Oxford Street: "We keep open during alerts. In the event of a direct hit we close immediately."

Marching with the "Sinners"

At the Congregational Union Assembly in London Mr. Alec E. Glassey, the newly elected Chairman of the Union is reported as saying in his address from the chair: "If war is waged to stop the aggressor and give liberty to the captive, to defend the weak and protect the innocent, then I am prepared to march in the ranks of the sinners, for I shall be in noble and honourable company."

Dwellings Outshone by Shelters

"Some of the shelters have been made more comfortable than some slum houses." Lord Horder is reported as saying this revealing thing in a recent speech in London.

Talking about Victory

The Daily Mail is publishing regular articles from Captain Liddell Hart, the writer on military strategy, noted for his sane comment. I quote one short extract: "Unfortunately, cloudy talk of victory is the easiest path to popularity and power in wartime—if it has also proved, too often, a short cut to the precipice. The importance of maintaining confidence becomes an excuse for its inflation."

# I Stubbs, the Chairman of the North of ellate Tribunal has spoken plainly. He

As we sat wondering what we would say this month an air-raid warning sounded. It gave us an idea.

Lots of warnings were sounded at the outbreak of war by manufacturers who predicted shortages of all sorts of commodities. Some have proved to have been well founded, some have not.

We plead guilty to having warned our customers of possible shortages of materials and a rise in costs for men's clothes. The shortage of materials is not really serious so far, but prices have gone up and are bound to go higher.

It may well prove a substantial economy to order clothes now. Goss needs orders, since the dislocation of last December has at least temporarily put him out of touch with many regular customers.

The same care and attention to detail and the same high standard of workmanship, with a wide selection of most attractive materials, will be found at Goss's new quarters. Goss looks forward to your early visit.

A Goss lounge suit or overcoat of the very best materials costs from Nine to Eleven Guineas, whilst there is a good selection of thoroughly dependable materials costing from Seven to Nine Guineas for a suit or overcoat. Dress suits from Nine Guineas.

All Prices now subject to Purchase Tax.



T. GOSS & COMPANY

# GOSS Tailoring

53 Sackville Street,
Piccadilly,
London,
W.1

we started singing the different instrumental parts as best we could. This became the beginning of an amusing musical development. Our Viennese conductor, who had a most remarkable memory, wrote down in a child's exercise-book the scores of some well-known opera ensembles from Fidelio. The Magic Flute and Ballo di Masquera, and these we sang and hummed together nearly every evening to our great enjoyment. For the conductor himself this was the turning point. He had been very near to a complete breakdown but now he recovered visibly and even started again to compose. When, some weeks later, an open-air performance of "Midsummer Night's Dream" was staged in the camp, he composed part of the music for it. A few days ago I met him by chance in Piccadilly Circus and he told me that, since his release, the music for "Midsummer Night's Dream" had grown into a work for full orchestra.

But neither the intellectual nor the artistic sphere were the most characteristic, but rather the fact that the best men threw themselves wholeheartedly into the life of the community. The so-called intellectual and spiritual personalities did not refrain from manual or disagreeable tasks. The cleaning of the very primitive lavatories for some 500 men was undertaken at Prees Heath first by a well-known Pacifist and Mathematician and later by our Greek scholar, together with a Psychologist from Birmingham. A Catholic Prelate, although ill and no longer young, volunteered to help in peeling potatoes and washing up dishes for the whole camp, a work which had to be done in the open air and in all weathers. This kind of example, modest though it was, had a great effect on the moral attitude of the community and helped to keep camp life on a high level. This and similar instances were mainly responsible for the fact that the tendency to employ the poorer internees to do the dirty work for payment—a custom which obtained here and there in other camps-did not gain ground in our camp.

It is beyond question, that at Prees Heath a comparatively small minority was strong enough to shape the character of the whole community, merely by taking part naturally in every branch of camp life and setting a moral example.

When we came to the Isle of Man, however, the same spirit did not prevail and I often wondered for what reasons. Perhaps because life in houses cannot be as communal as in tents; perhaps because the whole atmosphere was much nearer to ordinary conditions of civilisation; finally because at that time the releases came into operation and, most welcome as this was, it naturally created nervousness and restlessness for those left behind.

An experience we had soon after our arrival at the Isle of Man will serve to show how community life can be influenced. Four of us were billeted in a house where 35 men were already installed. It was known as the Youth-House. The majority of the inmates were farmworkers and the rudeness, noise and uncouthness can hardly be imagined. To receive a kick in your knee or a bucket of water from the second floor on your head was by no means uncommon. When we arrived late at night, we were greeted with a terrific noise. The cook, a man of enormous

proportions, who in private life was a butcher. served a meal much as one would feed pigs. Next morning one of the four suggested that we should leave this house immediately. The other three, however, persuaded him to stay, because we did not want to give in, and we rather wanted to see how far our way of living could prevail under these circumstances. The result was most satisfactory. After a short time the community was won over, the militant cook being one of the first. One of us was unanimously elected housefather and the house itself—to the great surprise of many in the camp—became a centre for religious, musical and artistic activities. When Christmas came—the festival last year coincided with the Jewish Chanukah—we had quite a celebration. The walls of our common room were covered with frescoes of singing children and angels, the work of a wellknown artist, who was an inmate of the house; the tables were decorated with greenery; and the housefather spoke of the deeper meaning underlying both festivals—the triumph of light over darkness and the task of mankind to increase the peace of the world. This night left a deep impression on all.

The most valuable sphere was, in my opinion, the religious, and the relationship between all the different religious groups was excellent. It was by no means rare to see a Rabbi, a Catholic Priest and a Protestant Minister engaged in conversation together. At Prees Heath, where very little space was available, one small tent, called by us "The Tabernacle," had to be used by Orthodox Jews for their daily services as well as by Catholics for celebrating Mass and hearing Confessions. When a scheme was submitted as to how the time should be divided, both parties hesitated to accept it, fearing that the others would not get their proper share.

The religious services were of great help to many and gave them strength to endure their trial. Many who had already lived a religious life, concentrated on study and on the intensification of their devotion. On the other hand, some whose religious consciousness had been weak or overlaid by the materialism of our time, experienced there the power of religious reality. I saw elderly men returning to the creed of their youth and I met young lads who for the first time had penetrated through the political rubble to the spheres of religion. Among Orthodox Jews the religious life was particularly strong. The morning and evening services, the keeping of the Sabbath and of all the great festivals and the daily learning of the Talmud and the Torah gave substance and meaning to their life. From a numerical point of view the religious groups were not in the majority but there is no doubt that they formed a most important centre of the community life.

I myself early saw that internment for me meant bidding a strange farewell to the world. Although it had been forced upon me, I felt that I must enter wholeheartedly into this spiritual detachment which might lead to the conquest of material superficiality. It was somewhat like the fairy-tale where a child falls into a deep well and finds at the bottom a wonderful green meadow. The old truth became abundantly clear to me that it depends largely upon ourselves whether or not we turn suffering into blessing.

# CORRESPONDENCE

### Non-Violent Resistance

While welcoming the later parts of H. E. S. Bird's March article, as well as the criticisms of your two April correspondents, this matter is so important that I venture to add more. First, it is surely unwise to suggest that the evils of and following on war are no greater than those of and from a struggle conducted on consistently non-violent lines, even if the reason for this choice of means be only the military impotence of the resisters. History and psychology appear to disprove this. Passive resistance, even without goodwill, is a definite step upwards towards sanity for which we may be thankful.

As regards the character of Gandhi's methods of non-violence (ahimsa or satyagraha) I have found among our members a most unhappy misunderstanding, based, I think, upon insufficient information. Gandhi has indeed made a few "Himalayan blunders" and has been ready to do penance for them. But it is very difficult for anyone who knows him personally or is conversant with his writings in his weekly. Harijan, or elsewhere, to doubt that both his conception of God and his motives of action are essentially Christian. "God," he writes, "is Love," is "tolerance incarnate," is "the greatest democrat the world knows"; "His law of ahimsa means the largest love." Such men as Andrews, Hoyland, and Winslow are not likely to be mistaken. The Bishop of Calcutta on the Indian radio has repeated Hoyland's words that "Satyagraha as practised by Gandhi and his true followers is the central teaching of Christianity—the cross as an eternal principle for the conquering of wrong," i.e., by the loving and patient suffering of the innocent.

Gandhi has warned us too of the danger of falling into a spirit of "mental coercion," e.g., when contemplating a "fast unto death." He has been careful to hedge about his instructions for "civil disobedience," so as to prevent lapses from that "love" of our enemies, which makes for the unity of all in God (see the leaflet of Gandhi Sayings supplied by the P.P.U.). In the present critical hour of mankind's destiny he has deliberately chosen the issue of freedom for pacifist propaganda instead of the more dangerous one of national independence for the campaign now in progress in India and so carefully hidden from us by the Censorship. This Indian struggle I believe to be of quite central importance for the future of our faith.

There seems to be great need of further study and discussion of the relative functions in our movement of non-resistance or "civil obedience" and of non-violent resistance or "Civil disobedience" (cp Acts 4, 5-20 and Mark 2, 23-36), of their attendant dangers ("appeasement" and condonation of evil on the one hand, ill-will and rebellion on the other), and of how the two methods, both based firmly on the Christian

gospel and each more adapted to certain temperaments, can be made by the grace of God to dovetail into one another in the overthrowing of the Citadels of Wrong.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

### A Negotiated Peace

The Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps' article "Against Negotiation Now" in the April issue undoubtedly constitutes a stimulating challenge to the pacifist movements to do some hard thinking about the realities of the existing political situation. It must, however, have aroused in the minds of many readers besides myself a number of urgent questions.

It is probably true to say that there has been a tremendous amount of wishful thinking in the ranks of pacifism (though many of us would add that there has been much more outside them) and that our inevitable opposition mentality has distorted our judgment. Yet the failure to understand whatever inner significance such events as the Munich agreement and non-intervention in Spain may have had is not confined to pacifists. There may be a number of possible explanations of most events and I feel very strongly that our judgment is much more likely to be warped by the adoption of a rigid "party line" into which we must fit our interpretation of affairs. I, personally, view with the greatest of alarm and despondency the sort of political thinking (or should one say political passion) which expresses itself in such phrases as "essentially a bourgeois movement" and "Labour and Tory im-

Percy Bartlett seems to me to strike near the truth when he says "We cannot accept the general view that there is nothing for the peace party to do except perhaps nurse its ideals against a better day. We resist the temptation to believe that the soldiers, the diplomatists and the propaganda experts can alone shape things so that peace shall again be possible." The campaign for a negotiated peace now, so far as it consists of a slogan in those words is a gross simplification both of the problems we have to face and of our answers to them—but so are all slogans, not least those about abolishing Hitlerism from the earth for ever by prosecuting the war to final victory, or those about a Socialist peace rather than a peace negotiated between rival imperialisms. The advocacy of a negotiated peace is nonetheless part of that revolutionary political action to which the radical Christian theology of the Basis commits us, and is in full harmony with Mr. Phelps' dictum, "The more violence, the less revolution.'

Yours sincerely,

JOHN H. LUNDY.

9 The Broadway, Grindon, Sunderland.

# SPIRITUAL VALUES

House of Commons, London, S.W.1., 6th April, 1941.

Dear Bevin,

Will you allow me now that the National Service Bill has been passed to put to you, and I hope in no purely critical manner, some of the considerations which are causing no small measure of concern to those of us who, if I may say so, feel very deeply what we regard as the *spiritual* as opposed to the *material* values of life. I use the word "spiritual" in its wider sense.

It has appeared to us that during the public discussions on the Bill and otherwise there has arisen something which constitutes a direct challenge to our conception of "spiritual values," about which Mr. C. P. Scott, for so many years the editor of the Manchester Guardian, said, "in the end it is always the spiritual forces that prevail."

The Ministry of Labour and National Service has under your predecessor regarded "Conscience" in a way which is quite different from the Oxford Dictionary definition, and as meaning little, if anything, more than a matter of opinion, and both the Ministry and some of the Tribunals have taken the view that unless the Conscientious Objector had some religious basis for his objection the protection of the Act could not be accorded to him.

Earlier Parliamentary decisions in which the word "Conscience" has been used have not limited its use to the religious aspect as you will readily admit in the case of the first Elementary Education Act of 70 years ago, for there the "Conscience Clause" was inserted to enable those parents who either objected to the child being present during religious exercises or who objected to the particular form to withdraw the child during those exercises. In many cases the objection was what might be called "anti-religious."

The "Conscience Clause" in the Vaccination Acts where the parent declares that he "conscientiously believes that vaccination would be prejudicial to the health of the child" has no relation whatever to any religious question.

The late Charles Bradlaugh was a very well known freethinker or atheist who, when first elected for Northampton in 1882, refused to take the Oath in which the name of the Deity appeared, and claimed to be allowed to affirm. His persistent refusal landed him in the Clock Tower. Three times was he re-elected by Northampton and each time excluded by Parliament, until in 1885 under a new Speaker he was allowed to take his seat. In 1888 his Affirmation Bill was passed, and three years later as he lay dying, the House expunged from its Journals the resolutions which had excluded him.

I feel sure that you will agree that in these three cases what was recognised by Parliament, by whatever name it is called, was a deep conviction, something much more than opinion and having no religious basis, nor any relation to military service.

I cannot think that you would desire to confine

Conscientious Objection to military service, because if you do so are you not ruling out the historical facts of many centuries and forgetting that the whole struggle for Civil and Religious Liberty has been won by the witness of men and women of deep conviction sometimes having a religious basis and sometimes otherwise.

Have you not repeatedly said that Britain is fighting for the maintenance of Civil, Industrial, Political and

Religious liberty?

I am not alone in gratefully recognising that you have on a number of occasions taken a strong line, probably in spite of much pressure, in defence of the conscientious objectors, and I only want to plead that those who have appeared before Tribunals, some of which have been hostile, and who have convinced the members that they are actuated by deep convictions should receive from those to whom you may entrust decisions that consideration to which the stand they have taken entitles them, and which is what we mean by the spiritual values.

We recognise that there are many others who take the opposite point of view with equal sincerity, but who while disagreeing with the conscientious objector treat him with full respect.

CECIL H. WILSON.

Ministry of Labour and National Service, Montague House, Whitehall, S.W.1, 29th April, 1941.

Dear Wilson,

You wrote to me on the 6th April about the position of persons who have conscientious objections not only to Military Service, but to other kinds of national service. I have since received your letter of the 14th April, from which I note it is desired to publish your letter of 6th April in *The Christian Pacifist*, and that you would wish my reply to that letter to be published in the same periodical. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to this reply being published.

I entirely appreciate the force of the considerations which you advance in your letter, but, as you know, the National Service Act is now law and Parliament has approved the provision that men who are registered conditionally as conscientious objectors under the principal Act shall be liable to be called up for civil defence service. This principle was very fully debated during the passage of the National Service Act through Parliament, and I do not think that I can usefully add to the statements made in the course of those debates. You may rest assured, however, that the spirit in which the provisions of the principal Act have been administered—a spirit which I think you will admit has met with general approval by all classes of the community, including the Pacifist Groups -will be carried into the administration of the new

ERNEST BEVIN.

### CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL.

The difficulties of the war situation have been crowding in upon us during the last month, and while at the time of writing the office is intact—apart from the second blowing in of all windows—we are a good deal worried about the new regulations for the use of paper, which are very severe. We have no complaint about that since all publishers share in the severity, but it is proving to be really difficult to apply the regulations to ourselves. Prior to any compulsory measures, we had tried to economise and our difficulty is to see how far these economies have already complied with the regulations. Considerable as they have been, I fear that there will need to be still more curtailment, but we rely upon your sympathetic support however much reduced the magazine and other publications may have to be.

### Christ and Unemployment Crusade

A little time before the outbreak of war, there was a great concern on the part of a number of people in the East End of London, and particularly on the part of the Rev. William Dick of Trinity Church, Poplar, about the whole problem of unemployment, and there was set up an interdenominational Committee, called the Christ and Unemployment Crusade. This Committee met quite frequently, gathered a large body of information, and set forth five or six immediate lines of action that, in its opinion, ought to be taken to reduce this terrible social problem. The coming of war put the matter somewhat in the background. though, as the war has gone on, it has been evident that the problem is not solved and that even the partial solution is so dependent upon war industries as to be impermanent. The Committee has continued to meet and has recently drawn up a document entitled 'Towards a Christian Reconstruction." This document, which is mentioned on another page of this issue, can be obtained for 2d., 25 copies for 3/6, direct from Rev. F. W. Tilley, Trinity Hall, Augusta Street, Poplar, E.14.

### The Pope's Five Peace Points

The above-mentioned document links up very closely with the movement that has been set on foot quite independently following the enunciation by the Pope, in 1939, of what he called "Five Points for a Righteous Peace." These five points received the consideration of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council. They expressed entire agreement with these five points and added five standards by which economic situations and proposals might be tested. These are on the whole principles rather than detailed recommendations. but they are in the main the same general principles. and point in the same direction as those set forth in the statement issued by the Christ and Unemployment Crusade. They look towards the reconstruction at the end of the war and they are, therefore, of great importance to all members of the Fellowship. The Pope's and the Archbishops' pronouncements have

been followed up by definite action on the part of the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility in helping "Towards a Christian Britain." This Commission has issued various leaflets, copies of all which have gone to our Branch Secretaries, but we want members generally to know about these various movements and to share our concern in them.

### London Union

The Annual General Meeting of the London Union of the F.O.R. was held in the Methodist Church in Hinde Street, W.1., on Saturday, 26th April.

The afternoon began with a memorable address by Dr. Charles Raven on "Towards a Christian Britain" in which he sought to answer those who had been pressing for a more apparent activity. He said that while dramatic public action to the extent of getting oneself arrested was in some moods inviting, he was sure that for many it was best that self-discipline be practised (it was so very hard to possess ones soul in patience). The need was to fit oneself to undertake God's work of reconciliation; to listen and to be ready to respond. In this way there would be revealed the work that each could best do.

He spoke with thankfulness of a more tolerant church, of happy co-operation without compromise between pacifist and non-pacifist clergy in the common desire to build a better world, and described with some detail the movements which are afoot, and in which distinguished churchmen of all denominations and of opposing views are taking a leading part. Their deliberations are being made in a spirit of fellowship, the effects of which should be far reaching.

After Dr. Raven had answered many questions arising out of his address, the gathering adjourned to partake of tea. Then came the business meeting. It was with keen regret that we learned of the resignation of our Chairman, Rev. Hampden N. Horne (who is accepting the West Midland P.O.R. Secretaryship), but his loyal service and wise leadership were recalled with thankfulness. We were fortunate to receive Rev. Bryan Reed as his successor.

A short devotional service led by Rev. Hampden N. Horne concluded the meeting.

### The Easter Conference at Bangor

George Davies led our morning sessions and they took the form of devotional meditations on the five chapters of Professor C. E. Raven's book, "The Cross and the Crisis." At the evening sessions the Bala-Bangor College Principal, the Rev. J. Morgan Jones, M.A., gave us three sparkling addresses on "Freedom," "Loving our Enemies," and "Could you plan a new order for Europe?" The General Secretary was also present for the first half of the Conference and two very interesting informal sessions were held in which he answered a hail of questions on the Fellowship and its work.

The fellowship of the conference benefited from the fact that it numbered about forty. New friendships were made and old ones deepened and we left with a deepened conviction of the urgency of our task; of our inadequacy; of the power of the Risen Christ to charm and to challenge.

The English members of the Conference were given a revelation of the native culture and strong religious life of Wales and many of them left with a sense of envy at the heritage revealed in the addresses and allusions of George Davies and Principal Morgan Jones.

### Easter Conference at Whalley Abbey, Blackburn, Lancashire. April 10th to 15th, 1941

Sixty people attended part or whole time. The brunt of the discussion on the "Cross and the Crisis" was shouldered by Walter J. Martin, and other talks included reference to the foreign mission field, to the work of the F.O.R., and to communities; a member of a North-West community rightly urged us as a fellowship to tackle our relationship to the world political situation. A service was held on Good Friday morning and another on Easter Sunday evening.

Our debt to Alan Knowles for wise and splendid Chairmanship, and to Edith Knowles for her ceaseless service as

Hostess, cannot possibly be expressed in words. Our thanks are also due to Canon Lambert, Warden of Whalley Abbey, for enabling us to hold the conference at all. For most of us there was so much to think about and so many notes to be made that the General Secretary, whom we were glad to welcome on Easter Sunday, was not the only person to sharpen a pencil or two.

### F.O.R. in Scotland

During Holy Week Professor Charles Raven addressed nearly 200 ministers who assembled to hear him in meetings at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Dunfermline. A good meeting of the Scottish Council was held in Edinburgh on the 14th of May. The Glasgow Branch has planned meetings in the Christian Institute, Bothwell Street, at 7 p.m. on May 16th and June 20th. At the last Glasgow meeting a spirited discussion followed an address by the Rev. H. C. Donaldson. The Registration of Women and the effect of the new National Service Act were also considered.

Fourteen pacifist organisations in Edinburgh are co-operating in the production of a news letter, the first issue of which has just appeared. It runs to seven duplicated foolscap pages and gives information about the work of the various groups, including the Pacifist Service Unit, and the C.O. Bureau, an engagement calendar and reports of meetings. This smartly got-up letter should do much to maintain the interest of Edinburgh members in the work that is going on, and help to unite the various groups engaged in it. The letter may be had for the modest sum of 8d. annually from the Editor, Mrs. Moncrieff, 62 Liberton Drive, Edinburgh 9.

### Scottish Congregational Peace Society

Twenty-five members attended the annual meeting in the Christian Institute, Glasgow, on April 29th, when the officers, the Rev. A. F. Simpson, President, the Rev. J. T. George, (Fraserburgh) Secretary, and the Rev. John Lees, Treasurer, were re-appointed. A valuable address on the work of the Christian pacifist in the present situation was given by Professor G. H. C. Macgregor.

### METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Keeble, First Floor, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

Many members will have heard with deep regret that the Chairman of the Fellowship sustained injuries in a motor accident on his way to Devonshire at Easter. For some days he was in hospital at Andover, and is now (May 10th) recuperating in Somerset. We are glad to be able to report that Mr. Carter is making steady progress, though it will be a few weeks before he can fully resume his duties. We are sure that the sympathy of all the members of the Fellowship goes out to our beloved and honoured leader, and our constant prayers are offered for his early and complete recovery.

### Membership

Eleven new members were reported at the recent Executive Meeting, two of whom were Methodist ministers. There were fourteen resignations, including two ministers.

### London Rally

As this issue goes to press before May 17th it is impossible to report on the London Rally of that date. An Account of it will be included in our July notes.

### Letter to all Members

It was decided at the recent Executive to send a communication to every member of the Fellowship, and we hope this will have been done before readers see this note. The question of sending out a regular quarterly letter, so as to keep in closer touch with our members, is receiving careful consideration

### BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: The Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, B.D., 21 Cambridge Drive, Denton, Manchester. The Annual Meeting was held at the Kingsway Hall on

The Annual Meeting was held at the Kingsway Hall on Wednesday, April 30th. Our chairman, Dr. E. K. Jones, gave his presidential address and Dr. Alex. Wood of Cambridge was our guest speaker. As it was held in the afternoon and the Baptist Union Assembly was a very small one, the attend-

ance was only about sixty but we were glad to have this

About thirty copies of the Annual Report have been returned by the G.P.O. because members have moved, and in some cases because houses have been demolished by air raids. If this notice should be read by anyone who has changed his address, the secretary would be glad to have a card giving the new address so that our records may be kept accurate. Unless this is done it is impossible to keep the names and addresses of our lay members up to date.

Until this year it has been possible to check the addresses of our ministerial members annually by the Baptist Union Handbook. This will not be possible in the future so we must ask the co-operation of all our members in keeping our lists in order.

It has now been brought to our notice that three more young Baptist C.O.s have been court-martialled and imprisoned. Two have been discharged from the army, but the third is under-going a second sentence.

We now have the names of about one hundred correspondents in Baptist Churches where there are several pacifists. We should be glad to hear from others who would volunteer to serve in this way. It provides the committee with a simple organisation whereby the churches may be informed of issues that may arise in the treatment of C.O.'s, the question of reprisals, the making of peace, and such other issues as are of vital concern to us.

Since the Annual Report was issued four members (including two ministers) have resigned and sixty-nine have joined. Our membership stands at 1789. We are now reaching the stage at which our numbers may count in influencing the councils of the denomination, so we would appeal to every Baptist pacifist to join the B.P.F. himself, and to see that all the members of his own family and church who share his views are also put into touch with us. It is probable that five thousand members would represent more truly the strength of pacifism in the Baptist churches. Go to it.

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

### THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: The Rev. Paul Gliddon, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Dame Sybil Thorndike has written for us an open letter on why, as a pacifist, she still feels it right to remain in the Church of England. This letter has been published and can be obtained from our office at 1d. each, 2d. post free, or 10d. a dozen.

The Abbey House, Glastonbury, has been booked up for our Summer Conference from Monday, July 21st—Monday, July 28th. The present arrangements are that there shall be a series of discussions on various chapters in our book "Into the Way of Peace" and that, parallel with these discussions, there should be a further series on the matters raised by the "Towards a Christian Britain" leaflet. It is not yet possible to announce the speakers, but it is important that those wishing to attend should book immediately as the accommodation is very limited. The fee for the week will be £2 12s. 6d. including a 5/- booking fee.

It is proposed that the closing two days of the Conference should take the form of a week-end Retreat. A second Summer Conference following a similar programme is being held at The Abbey House, Glastonbury, for a week between September 5th and 15th, though it is not possible yet to give the exact dates. When one remembers the extreme difficulty of finding any accommodation at all in one of the quieter parts of England, it will be appreciated how fortunate we are in having got this opportunity of visiting so beautiful and famous a place as Glastonbury and staying in the Abbey House which overlooks the Abbey ruins.

Following the May Conference in the Kingsway Hall it was decided that regular meetings of the Fellowship should take place in our office at 7 p.m. on alternate Wednesdays; during this month the meetings will be on June 11th and June 25th.

### "PAX"

Hon. Secretary: Stormont Murray, 276 Hughenden Road, High Wycombe

In turning over papers the writer of this note has come across a letter sent to the press by a Roman Catholic member of "Pax" (now dead): it was in reply to a fellow Catholic.

### **LEGACIES**

On several occasions the F.o.R. has been generously remembered in the wills of its friends. Bequests, whether small or large, are a fruitful way of supporting the work of the Fellowship.

General Committee hopes that friends will remember this when drawing up their wills, and information as to the exact form of words will be gladly sent on application, F.o.R., 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

### "JUST PEACE"

A small collection of verse by W. R. LAWRENCE

1/9 post paid to:-

CYRIL ORFORD

190 LLOYD STREET
HEATON NORRIS
STOCKPORT

The entire proceeds are being devoted to the cause of peace

and seems worth reprinting. It was written before the present war, and without reference to the fact (which the writer clearly recognized) that less equivocal goods than "imperial defence" would be involved in the impending struggle. The second part of the letter links up well with the Reverend Paul Gliddon's admirable "Open Letter" in your March issue: war-resisters are not always characterised by so realistic but humble a tone, or by such a frank recognition that we must appear a pestilent sect to our fellows (in this respect unworthily resembling the earliest Christians). Here is the letter:

"As one of the pamphleteers referred to by Colonel Trappes-Lomax may I say this in reply to his question, Should pacifists be grateful to the airmen who drive enemy bombers from their homes? It is a good old question reminiscent of the traps laid for C.O.'s by the tribunals in 1916-18, and I am not clever enough to answer it directly. I can only reply like this: Colonel Trappes-Lomax and most of our fellow countrymen regard the British Isles and the British Empire as positively achieved goods and as earnests of even greater to come; he and they think these goods are appropriately defended by the methods of modern warfare. They think of the defence of our type of so-called civilisation as a good end, and of modern war as a Christian means:

I, on the contrary, doubt the former and deny the latter.

"Colonel Trappes-Lomax and most of our fellow countrymen regard such doubt as indecent and such a denial exerable. I understand and even sympathise with him and them, and am willing to accept the consequence, namely, that in his and their view we pacifists are the scum of the earth and should be treated as such. Does he think we are so mean as to wish to escape this? Scum should be exterminated or, if it would be any good, heavily punished. Really, sir, we do see this. We do appreciate that Colonel Trappes-Lomax and most of our fellow countrymen must necessarily think us hateful people. I don't think we really blame them or wish them any ill, and we are prepared to accept whatever treatment they choose to mete out to us. May God help us all."

# ANALYSIS OF DECISIONS OF LOCAL TRIBUNALS FOR REGISTRATION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS UP TO 5th APRIL, 1941

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A—Unconditional Exemption. B—Conditional Exemption. C—Non-Combatant Military Service. D Full Military Service. REGISTRATION OF 1903 CLASS.
Registration of 1903 Class.

On April 12th men born in 1903 were due to register. C.O. registration numbered 899 in England, 147 in Scotland, and 87 in Wales. The total of 1,133 represented 0.38% of all registrations; the lowest percentage yet.

# FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION 1941 SUMMER CONFERENCE

will be held from August 1st to August 8th at KINGSMOOR SCHOOL, GLOSSOP

GENERAL TITLE: "THE RELEVANCE OF THE IMPOSSIBLE"

Accommodation is strictly limited and friends are therefore asked to book early

### 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 12 6 excluding the booking fee.

### **BOOKING FORM**

I shall attend the Summer Conference.	I enclose a booking fee of 5/
NAME(Please state whether Rev., Mr., Mrs. or Miss)	
ADDRESS	
Date of Arrival Date of Departure	

# Classified Advertisements

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Discount: 5% for 6 insertions. 10% for 12 insertions.

### SITUATIONS WANTED

Land work wanted. C.O. and dependant mother (light duties). Any offers appreciated. Apply Norris, 11 Bagshott

C.O. Electrical Engineer, age 26, conditionally exempt, specialised electricity meter testing, requires change of job: experienced, standardization, certification and general testroom management, seeks position in meter testroom. Box No. 164, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Christian Pacifist 23, very interested agriculture, 6 months general farm experience, requires position to study practical farming, used to horses. Box No. 162, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

### HOLIDAYS

Guests taken in Cotswold cottage. Pacifist, vegetarian, friendly, comfortable. Long or short. Lovely views. Station. Nan Delaney, 6 Enstone Road, Charlbury, Oxon.

Wensley Hall, near Matlock. A.A. appointed. Small, sunny Guest House. Good walking or motoring centre. Excursions arranged when desired. Suitable for Conferences. Car for Hire. Telephone Darley Dale 116. Eric and Muriel Bowser.

### MEETINGS

A REGIONAL CONFERENCE will be held at Cheltenham on 12th July. Further particulars from George Gorman, 5 Clarence Square, Cheltenham.

THE FELLOWSHIP HOUR for communion with God and each other is being held at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1, from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on Monday, June 16th, and the leader will be Elizabeth Howard.

MIDDAY DISCUSSION GROUP. 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1. From 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. the first Monday in each month. The first Monday in June being Whit Monday the Group will not meet.

### MISCELLANEOUS

LEARN TO WRITE AND SPEAK for peace and Christian brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, organising and intellectual gifts. Correspondence lessons 5/- each. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3.

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