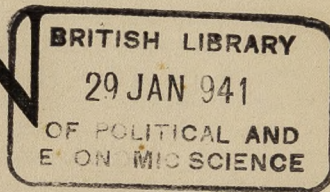


The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST



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THREEPENCE

The Christian Pacifist is the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational) the Methodist Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the (English) Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, the Church of Scotland Peace Society, the Scottish Congregational Ministers' Peace Society, and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. It is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1

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A Dictator to Catch Dictators

Those whose ambition it is to bring America into the war have not much left to accomplish. It is astonishing to see how much intervention a neutral power can indulge in without considering itself or being considered a belligerent. Now we begin to understand what non-intervention meant in Spain. Christian pacifists in the U.S.A. are in a very difficult position for their opposition to all war on religious grounds seems to align them with the isolationists and fascists with whose motives they have much less sympathy than with those of the champions of democracy. (It is interesting to note in passing that it has been found necessary to equip Mr. Roosevelt for his defence of democracy with powers which appear to be very like those of a dictator.) We in this country can sympathise with our friends in America forced as they are into a position so easy of misrepresentation. One of the worst features of war is that it distorts every moral issue. Loyal friends are banished in suspicion while traitors are brought into trusted co-operation. It is not, of course, only the pacifist who finds himself in strange company in war-time.

Christians who support the war must be equally embarrassed by the motives and methods of many of their comrades in arms. As the war takes shape and its moral implications begin to be more clearly seen, some of our most valiant opponents have been heard to doubt whether after all pacifism is not the only practicable alternative for the Christian. If they should reach the point at which they can no longer continue in the way which, at its beginning, seemed so right we shall recall what was recently said about the courage of changing one's mind—in either direction.

The Blockade

The controversy over the proposed modification of the blockade to permit of the supply of food to German-occupied countries was given a new turn by the unexpected admission of dried milk to occupied France at the request of President Roosevelt. This concession, made at the very moment when we were being told that the admission of food was quite impossible and was only advocated by those who wanted Britain to lose the war, must be welcome

to all humane people, however much it may be deplored by some Churchmen who outdo the militarists in their enthusiasm for this kind of warfare. That it is a concession to business interests and not to moral considerations may be true, but that does not deprive it of its practical value. It might at least be regarded as an attempt to show that the war is not being fought against children, though it will take a great deal more than this to convince us that children are not always amongst the worst sufferers in any war. Pacifists cannot do other than condemn the blockade as one of the cruelest and most indiscriminate weapons, but we do not feel inclined to single out the blockade for attack, as though, if only that were removed, the war would become a fit occupation for Christian gentlemen. It is true that the Fellowship of Reconciliation in America is strongly on the side of Mr. Hoover, urging that food should be allowed through the British blockade on guarantees from the German government and from American distributors that it will reach only those who are in real need. All power to those who seek to maintain, in spite of world war, as much mercy and goodwill and charity as possible. But we must not take too much comfort from any attempt to render warfare decent and respectable. The blockade, like aerial bombardment, is part of war, and those who support the war effort must not forget what it is that they are supporting.

Opinions and Facts

There are, of course, military objections to the blockade, objections which we have already mentioned some months ago. It is argued that the admission of foodstuffs to the occupied territories under such guarantees as were accepted in the last war would give the lie to German propaganda, which attributes their privations to Britain's indiscriminate warfare. The goodwill thus created in favour of the democracies would be worth more, in this view, than any shortening of the war that the blockade could achieve. Much depends on the degree of suffering which the blockade causes and its effectiveness in curtailing the duration of the war. Mr. Hoover has said that, in his opinion, fifteen million people on the Continent of Europe are likely to die if they are not fed from outside. A counter statement signed by a number of Church leaders in America, Henry Atkinson, Reinhold Niebuhr and Henry Van Dusen among them, declares this figure to be a gross exaggeration. These opinions are interesting, but it would be much more interesting if, instead of telling us their opinions, those who profess to know them would tell us the facts. Meanwhile, it can hardly escape observation that those who make light of the consequences of the blockade are its keenest supporters. If the blockade is really so innocuous, after all it seems hardly worth while to maintain it.

The Pope's Five Principles

Just too late for comment in our January issue there appeared in *The Times* an important letter signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Cardinal Hinsley, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council.

"The present evils of the world," it said, "are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God. We accept the five points of Pope Pius XII as carrying out this principle." Here follow the five points which may briefly be summarised as (1) the right of every nation to independence, (2) general and agreed reduction of armaments, (3) an international body to maintain, and if necessary to revise, the international order, (4) protection of minorities, (5) development of that sense of responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the laws of God.

Five Added Standards

To these five basic principles the signatories of this letter "associate five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested." These are (1) Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished; (2) every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities; (3) the family as a social unit must be safeguarded; (4) the sense of a divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work; (5) the resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

Towards a Christian Britain

These principles are still far from accepted by the membership of the Churches, but it is not impossible that they might come to be recognised as part of the obvious expression in modern social and economic terms of the Christian faith. If this is to be accomplished in time for the Churches to have something relevant to say when the opportunity arrives there is no time to lose. We must begin at once to create an enlightened and enthusiastic Christian public opinion in support of such principles as these. The statement published in our last issue under the title *Towards a Christian Britain* offers another opportunity of winning Christian conviction for the application of our faith to present national needs and uniting it in a translation of Christian doctrine into Christian action. The group which was responsible for this document has met again and it is hoped that out of its work there may emerge a nation-wide movement of witness to the essential Christian values which in time of war suffer so much danger of obscurity. Such a movement would provide welcome opportunity for pacifist to co-operate with non-pacifist in working for an end which both have in common and in pursuit of which they are more closely united than either can be with secular movements with which for the moment they happen to agree.

Declaring Peace Aims

The National Peace Council has sent to the Government a statement in regard to the character of the official

declaration of British peace aims which is expected to be forthcoming shortly. This statement urges that the declaration when it is made (1) should underline the determination to avoid any vindictiveness in the making of the peace, and to ensure a square deal not only for the occupied countries but also for the German and Italian peoples, and should disclaim any desire or intention to dismember Germany.

(2) recognising the crucial importance of the economic factor, should emphasise our desire to create a true economic solidarity not only in Europe but throughout the world. As an earnest of our intentions in this respect, the declaration, in the Council's view, should commit us to the abandonment of restrictive practices in our general economic and financial policies, and of exploitation and monopoly in our treatment of colonial areas. This implies international co-operation in ensuring the political, economic and industrial freedom of the peoples of these areas and—subject to that paramount interest—the development of the physical resources of their territories for the common good;

(3) while reaffirming our determination to ensure the essential freedoms, not only for the peoples of the occupied countries but for the peoples everywhere, should recognise that in the conditions of the modern world economic security and an enduring peace require that traditional nationalistic considerations be made subject to the need for a new and closer system of inter-state co-operation;

(4) should make clear our determination to ensure freedom and social justice at home and in the territories under our control, and should be accompanied by practical evidence of this determination in relation to the acceleration of progress in colonial areas and of social reconstruction in this country and the implementing of the recognition of India's right to freedom.

Deadlock in India

In a certain group of knowledgeable folk in London recently attention was healthily concentrated with regard to the situation in India on what action the Government might take in existing circumstances. Some people were, of course, inclined to take the view that the British Government had done everything that could be expected; and the same people held that the Congress leaders were both unreasonable in their demands and, of course, unrepresentative. Their prescription was to let Congress stew in its own juice. Others, however, disturbed at this attitude and at the failure of the Government to find any other line of action than that of imprisonment of ministers and leaders, warned the group against the British tendency to complacency and continual postponement and urged that the fact of deadlock should be faced. In the circumstances fear of surrender of power was the worst of counsellors. It was fatal in a deadlock to continue to put all the blame on the other side and to maintain *ad nauseam* that one's own side had done everything that might be expected. On the other hand it was wise not to minimise but to maximise any sign of accommodation discernible

in the opposite camp. In the present case, for example, it was almost criminal that no notice had been taken of Mr. Gandhi's fortnight's truce at Christmas, and so little attention paid to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's suggestions; and the reception in India of the suggestions of Sir George Schuster's group of M.P's, hardly adequate though those were, was scarcely even reported in the British Press. A bold and constructive initiative was required in order to break the deadlock. It was a matter for the statesman and the conciliator rather than the constitutional expert; and statesmanlike imagination would surely not allow the situation to deteriorate further, but would rather use these opportunities to the full.

Indiscriminate Warfare

The International Christian Press and Information Service of Geneva has received reports from Germany which show that in course of British bombardments the Catholic Church in Derichsweiler, the hospital and church of the "Evangelical Communion" in Berlin-Neukölln, the Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady in Hamm, and the world-famous Christian institution for epileptic patients founded by Bodelschwingh at Bethel-by-Bielefeld, besides other hospitals, have suffered greatly. The leader of the Institution for Epileptic patients at Bethel, Pastor F. von Bodelschwingh, delivered a sermon to the patients on the Sunday after the bombing of Bethel on the text, "I thank my God always on your behalf for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ," in the course of which he said, "In the past week we have experienced a darker calamity than any which Bethel had previously known. A cruel and indiscriminate war-operation has hurtled death and destruction upon the houses in which mercy does her hidden service to sick and little people. Here in the House of God we do not speak of the injustice that men have done to us, but bow ourselves quietly under the mighty hand of God." Part of this sermon was published in *The Friend* of 27th December.

Contributors and correspondents are requested to address their communications to The Editor, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

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2,500 SUBSCRIBERS TO "THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST"

forgot to renew their subscriptions in January. Will they please do so now and also help us to obtain fresh readers?

All subscribers are invited to read Leslie Artingstall's article on page 38.

THE RELEVANCE OF AN IMPOSSIBLE IDEAL

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

This is the fifth in a series of articles in which Professor Macgregor deals with the views of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr.

Why Isolate War?

We are now in a position to relate what has been said more immediately to the particular issue of war. Perhaps the most damaging charge brought by Niebuhr against pacifists is that they unjustifiably isolate war from the ethical problem as a whole—and this in two ways. Firstly, pacifists demand with reference to this one moral issue an absolute obedience to the perfectionist ethic, which they are not prepared to give over the whole range of life; secondly, on this issue they are prepared to separate themselves from the community of their fellow-citizens, while continuing to claim the advantages accruing from membership of that community. The second point will come up again in connection with the conflict of loyalties in which the Christian as a member of a non-Christian society is inevitably involved. The first point is best met by referring once again to that "tension between the historical and the transcendent" on which Niebuhr himself rightly lays such emphasis.

Where the "Tension" reaches Breaking-Point

The obligation laid upon us to accept the laws of the Kingdom is absolute; yet, in a world not yet wholly redeemed, it can never be completely fulfilled. Hence the "tension" of which we speak. Now if this tension is indeed to contribute to ethical progress, then from time to time it will become particularly acute at one point or another. And this has, in fact, happened in history. Under the guidance, we believe, of the Holy Spirit the Christian conscience has become particularly sensitive upon one particular issue, because it has seen there an eruption-point of the forces of evil in their invasion of the Kingdom of God. And at that point Christians have been driven to make a stand, even if that meant at least a temporary withdrawal from solidarity with the community with respect to that particular issue. So it was when the early Church felt compelled to withdraw from collaboration with the State at every point where idolatry was involved. As Dodd puts it: "It was not that this was the only thing in the Graeco-Roman world which was contrary to the principles of the Kingdom of God; but this was the point at which the opposition to the Kingdom of God seemed at the time to be concentrated; and the Church drew the line firmly, not counting the cost of such non-co-operation." Now the Christian pacifist believes that, at least since modern war revealed its true nature in the years 1914 to 1918, the crucial ethical question has been that of war. In it is concentrated everything that is fundamentally antagonistic to the principles of the Kingdom of God, and consequently it marks the point at which the tension between the worldly order and that transcendent Kingdom reaches the breaking-point, and where the Christian Church must make its final stand.

The Crucial Moral Issue for To-day

Or to put the matter otherwise: the providence of God in history appears to bring about a series of moral crises in which some particular issue is presented to the Christian conscience for its judgment. One hundred and fifty years ago the issue was slavery, and Wilberforce supplies an extraordinarily significant illustration of this "step-by-step" method of reform. While striving untiringly for the liberation of negro slaves, he yet remained surprisingly blind to the contemporary enslavement at home of women and children by the new industrialism. Yet by concentrating on the one issue he established principles as to the infinite value of human personality and the infinite sinfulness of its exploitation which were quickly applied to the reform of other evils in society to which Wilberforce himself was blind. Now for 25 years pacifists have seen that for our own generation the fundamental moral issue has by sheer historical necessity come to be war. Other evils there are in society hardly less devilish; but at the moment they cannot be dealt with until the supreme evil of war is removed. The average Christian may hold in suspense his answer to the question whether war has ever been justifiable on Christian standards, or at exactly what point the use of force ceases to be ethical. But he sees clearly enough that in war as it has come to be we have passed far beyond that point, that war at this moment represents a concentration of everything which is most irreconcilably opposed to the will of God as shown in Christ. If war evokes almost incredible heroism and self-sacrifice, that does not redeem its essential evil; it only proves that even out of the worst evil the power of God in man can call forth virtue; and these splendid virtues war exploits in the service of hatred and death. Hence the inner compulsion which drives the Christian pacifist, even when bitterly conscious that he cannot disentangle himself from the sin of a non-Christian society of which he is part, to declare alike before his fellows and his own conscience, "Here I stand; so help me God; I can none other!"

The "Step-by-step" Method to Reform

Certainly this "step-by-step" method of reform has its own moral dangers. It suggests that the obligation of Christian discipleship can be satisfied by obedience in a few selected fields rather than through a radical repentance or "change of mind" covering the whole range of life—that we can get rid of "sin" piecemeal by renouncing in succession certain specific "sins." Yet it is obvious that Jesus Himself, while He made an absolute and unlimited demand upon those who would follow Him, yet graciously welcomed a discipleship which was in fact gravely imperfect. He did not refuse the crumbs because the whole loaf was not yet ready to be offered. The fact

that we cannot reach perfection is hardly a sufficient reason for not striving to move towards it. Whatever be true of Professors of Applied Christianity, to the plain man it seems a strange argument that, because we have failed as yet to Christianise many corporate relationships, we ought therefore deliberately to support the diabolical antithesis of Christianity which war has come to be; that, because the Christian cannot wholly disentangle himself from all the evils of society, he does wrong to dissociate himself from the most flagrant evil of all. Niebuhr rightly warns us that the consciousness of being involved in the common sin of society does not absolve us from the duty of resisting what we see to be the greater evil. Surely then it follows from his own principles that we fail no less in duty if at the point of acute tension we fail to obey conscience and renounce evil, even though we know ourselves at other points still to be in its grip.

Renunciation of War only the First Step

No Christian pacifist will deny that war-refusal is merely emotional sentimentalism unless it becomes the focal point of his struggle against everything in the community which denies the Christian way of life. As the Fellowship of Reconciliation states in its Basis, we believe "that in order to establish a world-order based on love it is incumbent on those who believe in this principle to accept it fully, both for themselves and in their relation to others, and to take the risks involved in doing so in a world which does not accept it." We believe not only that "we are forbidden to wage war," but that "our loyalty to our country, to the Church Universal, and to Jesus Christ our Lord and Master, calls us instead to a life-service for the enthronement of Love in personal, social, commercial and national life." If war is singled out for special emphasis, it is only that for to-day war presents itself as the test case. It is still possible to hope that the Christian may best play his part in Christianising government, commerce and industry, the other activities of the present social order in spite of the evil inherent in them, by continuing to co-operate in them. No Christian, by his participation in it, can hope to Christianise war. Strangely enough, most thinking people outside the Churches are much quicker to realise this than are professing Christians. Thus a prominent left-wing journalist, who is a wholehearted supporter of the country's present war-effort, writes: "Personally I was brought up in the Christian faith, and because I learnt what Christianity is I know now that I am not a Christian The only Christian victory is to persuade one's enemy If, failing to overcome evil by good or despairing to make the attempt, one decides not to turn the cheek but to choose good bombing targets and bomb them hard; if, instead of praying for them that despitefully use you, you pray on the contrary for victory, then your course may be right on national or rational or liberal or socialist or other principles, but it cannot be right on Christian principles We listen to Archbishops as we listen to politicians and agree or disagree on political grounds. When they try to relate what they say to the teaching of Christ, we blush" (Kingsley Martin in a review of J. Middleton Murry's *The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches*.)

The Demand for "Relative Judgments"

Most characteristic of Niebuhr is his insistence that we must use Jesus' absolute ethic as a "principle of discriminate criticism" guiding us in our choice between relative values. He rightly reminds us that "the Christian faith ought to persuade us that political controversies are always controversies between sinners, and not between righteous men and sinners." But where the absolute good is not within our reach we must be prepared to discriminate between alternative "second-bests," to choose the "lesser of two evils," and in consequence, even when neither cause is blameless, to defend the relatively juster of the two. "If we think that the moral and religious judgment, which discovers us all to be sinners in the sight of God, means that we have no right to act against an acknowledged evil because we are not ourselves pure, we are delivered into historic futility." This, of course, is profoundly true, though Niebuhr himself admits that "national animosities might be appeased if nations could hear the accusing word, 'Let him who is without sin cast the first stone'; only a forgiving love, grounded in repentance, is adequate to heal the animosities of the nations." (*An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*, 139.) We shall also insist that everything depends on *how* we "act against an acknowledged evil," or else we shall find ourselves committed to the position (to which indeed Niebuhr's argument leads dangerously near) that any evil thing may rightly be used as a remedy for anything more evil than itself. In the case of war at least three discriminate judgments seem to be called for: (a) Which is in fact the "juster cause"? (b) Does participation in war or, as Niebuhr would put it, "capitulation to tyranny" involve the greater evil? (c) Which is to have over-riding authority—loyalty to the national state, which demands war, or loyalty to a Catholic Church, a universal brotherhood, a way of love, which just as clearly forbids it?

(a) How Determine the Juster Cause?

One may well question whether, once the passions of war are aroused, it is ever possible to reach on the issue of the "juster cause" an unbiassed relative judgment—at any rate one clear and compelling enough to justify action which otherwise would stand condemned by that same ethic which we are using as our "principle of discriminate criticism." Thus Niebuhr himself, writing in the relatively dispassionate days of 1936, admits that "if the issues are too confused to justify the hope of any solid gain for the cause of justice, abstention from the conflict may be the only possible course. Such considerations will persuade many to refuse participation in the possible and probable international conflicts which now threaten the peace of the world" (*op. cit.* 204). Transparently clear as the issue appears to our own people, we cannot be blind to the fact that on the side of our foes even Christian judgment sees the matter in a very different perspective. In spite of the Nazi persecution of the Church, there is no evidence whatever that Christian opinion in Germany does not stand solidly behind the national cause. In Italy "Christian" approval of the war is such that the Italian bishops have actually petitioned Mussolini to extend the

"crusade" to the Holy Land. No one sees more clearly than does Niebuhr himself the virtual impossibility, where war is the field of inquiry, of reaching a discriminate judgment unbiassed by purely national and selfish interests. As he says in his latest booklet, "No nation defends 'civilisation' or 'truth' unless there is some coincidence between these values and its own national self-interest" (*Europe's Catastrophe and the Christian Faith*, 24f). And when we allow such a judgment as to relative justice to become a motivating factor in determining our religious duty (as indeed every Christian non-pacifist is bound to do), the peril is obvious: "The political judgment that it is imperative to destroy the Nazi régime may be valid enough. But we cannot raise such a political judgment to the eminence of a religious judgment without falling prey to the errors and illusions of Nazi religion. It is of the very essence of Nazi religion to identify salvation with the defeat of one's foe. This is the most primitive of all religions. It is a tribal religion . . ." (*id.* 12). "It is not a good thing to recommend the Christian faith as a source of morale in war time" (*id.* 32). Were there some international authority which could pronounce unbiassed judgment as to which side was waging a relatively "just war," then one could see more logic both in the Catholic doctrine of a righteous defence and in Niebuhr's own brilliant argumentation. But the tragic truth is that there is no such authority, while the Church, which might have been one, has almost invariably in its national branches blessed, on both sides, all wars between "Christian" countries. We are not denying that Niebuhr is right when he insists that we ought to use Jesus' ethic as a principle of discriminate as well as of absolute judgment; we are suggesting that in the case of war an unbiassed judgment is virtually impossible, and the verdict is far too uncertain to justify recourse to a method of "defence" which is admittedly utterly irreconcilable with those very principles which are our canon of judgment.

(b) Is War ever the Lesser Evil?

Secondly, it is argued that when submitted to our principle of discriminate criticism war may be seen to be the less of two evils, and therefore a legitimate activity for the Christian. The evil consequences of not using the war method would be greater than the admitted evil consequences of using it. War is evil, but the results of pacifism would be worse. Materially? Opinions will differ. Here is Dean Inge, not of course a confessed pacifist: "The burden of proof always lies with the nation which chooses war, and the reasons alleged are generally, in part at least, hypocritical. That war is the greatest evil in human life, and that no good can ever come of it, are in my opinion certain When we consider that war between civilised nations is condemned by common sense and humanity; that it is a negation of the religion which most of us profess; that its futility has been amply demonstrated; that, as Wellington said, there is nothing worse than winning a war except losing it; that it involves the sacrifice of our deepest affections and of the objects to which our working lives are directed, must we not

suspect that the exalted motives by which we believe ourselves to be animated are a rationalisation of deep-seated instincts which have their roots in the unconscious mind, and which, if they were realised for what they are, might not receive the sanction either of our conscience or of our intelligence" (*The Fall of the Idols*, 185, 191f)? Pacifists at least have the right to their conviction that, before peace returns, the hard logic of events will have proved that total war is a disaster immeasurably worse than any which a consistent pacifism could have involved. And, in any case, how far ought the estimate of probable material consequences to enter into the determination of Christian conduct? Ought a Christian to participate in an acknowledged evil in the hope of escaping from a hypothetically greater evil still? And if he believes that obedience to the way of Christ as he sees it will find its response in the release of the redemptive power of God transforming the whole situation, does not the estimation of material consequences become well-nigh impossible? And morally? Put the pacifist alternative to war at its worst: "All their political alternatives," says Niebuhr of pacifists, "finally reduce themselves to one, capitulation to tyranny." Even so, which is the greater moral evil? Jesus did not wage the expected Messianic war: He did command His disciples to give his dues to the tyrant. We too often forget that the "Caesar," to whom Jesus commanded his dues to be rendered, was the dictator of a foreign power in occupation of His own home land.

But the alternative, war or capitulation to tyranny, is no true one. It becomes so only if, like Niebuhr, we first eliminate Jesus' own alternative. To this we return. Meantime it is apposite to ask: When war is chosen as the only apparent alternative to tyranny, is it ever the case, historically speaking, that the Law of Love, exercising its discriminating function, is the deciding factor in the choice? If so, just when is it that the Law of Love exercises its compulsion? Let an acute journalist answer: "The tacit reply of most military apologists is, 'When the Government declares war.' Unless Reinhold Niebuhr accepts the divine infallibility of his Foreign Office, how does he make his own decision. There is tyranny in Japan: is Niebuhr fighting it? There is tyranny in Germany, and was for many years before this war began: did Niebuhr urge war then? Where in the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr is there to be found the explanation of the immediate change brought about by the action of a 'relatively good' Government? In these matters of relativity the Government decides, and the moral philosopher is not consulted For war is not humanly willed as a reluctant choice in opposition to tyranny among the relativities of political life; it is part of the current situation, as much a natural child of modern European society as tyranny itself. When Niebuhr chooses war, he does not, in reality, oppose tyranny; he allows himself to become an unresisting member in a retrogressive process of which war and tyranny are equally a part" (*R. H. Smith in "Peace Commentary"*). Niebuhr complains that pacifists "are willing to grant a distinction between a democratic civilisation and tyranny, but not enough of a distinction to act upon it." To which the

pacifist may justly reply that, as he deliberately stands back from the current, his act of decision is infinitely more real than that of the vast majority of those who go with the tide. British pacifists, quite apart from any considerations of conscience, might claim that they have judged their own institutions preferable to those of Germany, and have also judged that the methods of total war are more likely than not to replace the former by the latter: and they are acting accordingly. On the other hand, how many Christian non-pacifists of Niebuhr's complexion would feel bound to take up arms against their own country, if the Law of Love in its discriminating function should ever decide that the enemy had the juster cause?

(c) Loyalty to Caesar or Loyalty to God?

A final judgment of relative values is called for in the resolving of the conflict of loyalties by which every Christian is in war-time beset. How to reconcile the claims of Caesar with the claims of God? No Christian can escape the agony of the dilemma. He is bound up with the community of his fellow-citizens in all the relationships and responsibilities of ordinary life. He cannot contract out of those relationships except by renouncing life itself. If he refuses loyal co-operation in war he seems to be declining to play his part in defending a social structure whose protection and nurture he himself still needs and still accepts. The Christian who refuses military service cannot therefore be said to be doing the ideally right thing. But the truth is that, for one who sees war to be utterly irreconcilable with the will of God in Christ, once war has broken out, there is no way for the time being of reconciling God's claim upon him

through the duty he owes to his fellows with God's claim upon him through the voice of his own conscience. Both claims he cannot wholly satisfy, and either way he will confess that he has not wholly fulfilled the obligations of Christian citizenship. Yet surely here, if anywhere, we must dare a discriminate judgment. In face of the present tendency to absolutise state and nation and to exalt loyalty to the state to almost the same level as loyalty to God, the Christian must fearlessly confess that state and nation still belong to the sphere of earthly and relative values, and that God alone has claim to absolute and unconditional loyalty. To one who sees in the words of Jesus the laws of a transcendent Kingdom given to be obeyed on earth, and sees in the Church Catholic and oecumenical the fellowship of the redeemed and the very Body of Christ the Redeemer, to such a one the obligation to maintain the unity and communion of that fellowship, even across the boundaries of warring states, may well seem to override every other loyalty; and participation in war, involving as it does the diabolical breaking of the Body yet again, may well seem an evil far more shameful than any failure in the duty of citizenship which may be involved in a refusal to uphold a national state by war. For such a judgment each of us must accept his own responsibility. We must have nothing but respect for the majority of Christians who, with equal sincerity, reach the opposite conclusion. Only God knows whether we or they are right. We can but say with St. Paul, "I know nothing against myself—that is, I have nothing on my conscience—yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord" (I Cor. iv. 4).

(To be concluded)

RESURRECTION IN RUSSIA

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

Some of us older folk owe the original stimulus to our pacifist faith to the writings of the great Russian Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910). It was through his story of his own conversion that I myself (in 1901) first became a pacifist in belief and conscious of the rottenness present so largely in the social order around me. Since then we have had, alas, in Russian Communism, a system bound up with ruthless methods of violence. Recently, through the words and writings of Dr. Nicolas Zernov, an exiled representative of the Russian Church (not himself a pacifist, and whom many may have heard on the wireless last winter), I have learnt with surprise and delight of the pacifist tendencies that have been inherent in the Russian form of Christianity from the first and are still living in it to-day. (See Moscow: *The Third Rome* and *St. Sergius Builder of Russia*, S.P.C.K.)

Prince Vladimir, the first Christian ruler of the small Russian State, who caused his pagan subjects to be baptised about 1000 A.D., believed, in spite of the opposition of the Greek bishops of his Church, that the execution of criminals was incompatible with the Christian law of love. His two younger sons, the princes Boris and

Gleb, refused to allow their armed guards to defend them against murderous attacks made by an elder brother, because, though lamenting their own early death, they "preferred to be slain as innocent victims, like their master Christ, rather than cause bloodshed in their own defence." The veneration for these young men among Russian Christians was so intense that, although the Greek bishops again disapproved, declaring that they were "neither martyrs, nor ascetics, nor theologians, as saints ought to be," they were canonised as the first saints of the Russian Church.

The Brotherhood of all Men

The story of the next saint to be recognised, the abbot Theodosius (1074) is equally significant, for he had insisted, though a rich man's son, on wearing the clothes and on sharing the degradation of his father's serfs, not, it is explained, from any motive of ascetic mortification, but from "the social implications of Christ's life, the brotherhood and equality of all men, and the desire for self-identification with the despised and oppressed."

We may note how in Tolstoy, Gandhi and others, this last idea goes hand in hand with "non-violence" towards enemies, and with a deep understanding of "the redeeming mystery of innocent and willing suffering." Dr. Zernov emphasises that these aspects of Christianity, so much neglected in Western Europe, penetrated far into the soul of his nation and of its Church and reappeared from time to time, especially in the great Russian writers and philosophers of more recent years. We may note, for instance, the existence round about 1520 of a numerous and powerful party within the Orthodox Church, the "Non-Possessors" and followers of St. Nil, who not only, like the early Franciscans, denied the usually accepted right for associations of priests and monks to possess lands and serfs, but maintained that heretics ought not to be visited by either Church or State with material pains and penalties—this at a time when in Western Europe serious heresy was almost universally regarded as a capital offence. These two principles constitute, in Zernov's opinion, the especial social message which Russian Christianity can give to mankind. And *per contra*, in passing judgment upon Russia, we must remember that medieval Russia grew up during centuries of fierce war with its savage Tartar and other enemies, and hence came the rigid centralised autocracy and "a certain brutalisation of the Russian character as the result of constant sanguinary warfare" (W. H. Chamberlin).

The Confounding of Anti-God

To-day we are told by apparently trustworthy witnesses that in Russia, after 23 years of ruthless persecution at the hands of the "anti-God" rulers of the country, the Christian fellowship is more living—Russia is more truly Christian, than ever before. How does this come about? Largely, it is said, for two reasons. Firstly a great number of Russian Christians continue to believe (in the words of Gandhi) "that willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful answer that can be made to insolent tyranny." They (like many Chinese Christians towards the Japanese oppressor and like some at least of the persecuted Christians of Germany) have been honestly trying to love their persecutors and enemies, that is, to forgive them and to pray for their true welfare from their hearts, and in general they have not wasted their strength and resources in nourishing the spirit of revenge and in underground intrigues and preparations for armed revolt, such as have absorbed the strength of most national and religious movements of liberation, and threaten to absorb it in Europe to-day.

Secondly, we are told, the majority of Russian Christians preserve an unconquerable confidence, in spite of all the steps taken by the dictatorship to prevent their children growing up in the truth and practice of their religion, in spite of many priests executed and imprisoned, many closed Churches, and confiscated Bibles—a confidence that God has given them the means to hand on their heritage to their sons and daughters. The chief outward method employed is a system by which thousands of women, braving imprisonment and even death, go round from one home to another, reciting passages of the Bible and the prayer book, which they have learnt by heart,

baptising, instructing and holding "spiritual" communion services, wherein the faithful realise their corporate unity. Two other reported statements indicate that the spirit of this persecuted community is exceptionally free from exclusiveness. Where Churches are available, they are available frequently not only for the "orthodox," but sectarians, formerly despised, Baptists, Evangelicals (and even Mohammedans) are welcome to make use of them at arranged times with occasional joint Communion services, if desired. (See *Christian News Letter*, 13/3/40.) In the factories belonging to the "godless" State the best work is in many cases produced by those among the workers who are Christian; so much so, that their presence is welcome and guarded by the management, despite the opposition of the more fanatical members of the Communist party. We may imagine that these Christians recognise elements in the Communist system, the State's care for its weaker members, the co-operative spirit, common ownership, and the absence of idle shareholders, as akin to the heart of their religion. We must no doubt beware of constructing too ideally favourable a picture out of the reports received, but they are coherent and spontaneous enough to give good ground for hoping that in Russia at least there have been germinating for centuries the seeds of a mighty tree, which, if our human soil be not too harsh and poor, may yet bear world-wide fruit for the healing and reconciliation of the nations.

RECONCILIATION IN GERMANY

The Roman Catholic periodical *Schönere Zukunft* gives the following description on 3rd October, 1940, of a Catholic-Lutheran discussion held at Meitingen b. Augsburg in continuation of conversations begun at Whitsuntide, 1939. Theologians and laymen took part in it.

"Among the Lutheran clergy, who represented various tendencies, there was an official representative of the Berneuchener Group (a Lutheran liturgical movement). The subject of the discussion was the Church, and its aim was to gain a clear picture of the convictions held by both parties. Misunderstandings were to be cleared away, and remaining conflicts were to be brought before God in common prayer. Common prayer was the soul of the meeting—the prayer: 'Forgive us our trespasses, the great guilt of dividing the faith.' After the celebration of the Eucharistic mysteries (the Mass) the work began with a reading from the Epistle to the Ephesians, read alternatively by a Catholic and a Protestant clergyman.

"The subjects of the addresses were: The New Testament Conception of the Church; The Church as seen by Catholic Theology; The Church in the Light of Protestant Theology; The Unity of the Church as a Church of Law and Love; Ministry and Constitution of the Church; Word and Sacraments in the Church; The Task of the Church in the World and in Time; The Church and the Reformation. A Lutheran pastor testified that many prejudices were cleared away during these days. It also became clear that fundamental conflicts still remained, especially in the question of the primacy."

I.C.P.I.S., Geneva.

THE ELEMENTS OF PEACE

R. L. DUCK

War has been defined as "the pursuit of policy by other means" (a neat epigram, the end now being sought by force of arms), but is there, actually, any basic change? All present societies are built on force, not on the ties of love and trust on which Christendom was planned.

"Consider the lilies of the field how they grow," we were told, but we take all credit of creation to ourselves. Our labour, alone, is recognised as the basis of creation. "Except a man work neither shall he eat." Our Father's gifts of raw materials and natural forces which work for us are not accounted, nor are those of our forefathers who have handed down to us an enormous heritage of knowledge.

Yet efficiency only demands the necessary employment of the most efficient. Why then must all labour? And what is the true worth of labour? What would you wrest from Nature in the raw without this heritage? And even the smallest estimate would have to include benefit from the force of growth in Nature. Yet this Pauline law is pre-eminent, even if, to salve our Christian consciences, we dole out the bare necessities of life to those deprived of the opportunities of land and labour.

Now, "the power of world production is greater than the power of world absorption" (Sir Hugo Hirst, Chairman and Managing Director of the G.E.C., 1923). In such circumstances, to retain this prevalent law and grant our neighbours anything less than the fulness of life is unchristian and dictatorship, for it assumes the right to define "work," a very delicate task.

Furthermore, they are entitled to the means to a full life, physical, mental and spiritual, not because of any services rendered—labour, however necessary, being of little value alone—but on account of their enormous heritage. If we deprive our fellows of the benefits from this in order to compel their service, we are making war on them—"war" being any action taken to enforce one's will upon an enemy—and sowing the seed of international military war, the fight for foreign markets.

War is thus in every community. We do not solve its problem by extending boundaries. We shall never secure peace by forming bodies such as federal unions upon which the Elijah's mantle, with the publicity of the League of Nations, has fallen, for all that they will do is to withdraw still further from the individual the power to resist bureaucratic force.

Any organisation working for peace would be wise to turn its attention to the definitions of "peace" and "war" before turning to any democratic action to achieve its end.

Order comes, not from undue authority, but from due priority. The problem of peace must be tackled at the base with the individual. Man must eat to attain his end, life and striving for that takes any means—even killing. The common aspiration, economic security with freedom, must be secured for all, irrespective of services rendered, which could receive due social reward. Service would be

forthcoming because man, made in the image of his Creator, if normal, wants to create. If national service is obtained for the present society, where compulsion is paramount, how much more would be granted a society based on Christian principles.

The basic war is the struggle between the forces of compulsion, which repel, and those of love and trust, which attract; the two opposing forces in Nature. The first, disruptive, disintegrates: only on the second can we build stably.

A society, founded in this country on such a Christian basis, or if preferred, on the team spirit—to which lip-service is given but which is never allowed to be practised in the greatest game of all, life itself—would, I feel, conquer the hearts of the German people, on which Hitler's power depends, more surely than any conquest by force of arms or blockade.

Only on such a base can international peace be built. It is worth trying, for otherwise where shall we be? Back to 1918 and the problem all before us.

PAYING GUESTS

The important contribution which Refugees are making to the industrial and cultural life of this country are revealed in a leaflet entitled "The Refugees Have Proved Their Worth" which was issued last month by the Christian Council for Refugees. This leaflet refers to the work of some 250 distinguished scholars and research students of European-wide, and in some cases world-wide, reputation.

It also draws attention to the fact that about 300 refugee doctors and some 70 dentists have been allowed to practice in this country after obtaining British medical qualifications. In the industrial world a number of undertakings have been started by refugees, some of which are either new to this country or have been developed on new lines. These industries are employing British subjects. On the Treforest Estate in South Wales, for instance, 25 German and Austrian refugees are at present employing 1,800 people; and on the Team Valley Estate, on Tyneside, 12 Germans and Austrians are employing 1,200 people.

No less than 20,000 refugees have found employment of various kinds and in this connection it should be noted that Ministry of Labour regulations have been such as to ensure that no British subject has either lost employment or been deprived of the opportunity of it as a result of the employment of refugees. Reference is also made to the fact that several thousand refugees have joined the Pioneer Corps and are working shoulder to shoulder with our own men in clearing up the debris from bombing attacks on London and other cities. A group of refugee pastors and priests from Germany and Austria, both in internment camps and in ministering to English congregations, have borne a courageous witness to the power of the Christian faith.

INSIGHT

HILDA FRANCIS

"I will inform thee." This pæon* of repentant joy points to the fountain head of our insight—the patient action of Almighty God steadily forming us, guiding us from within our very beings.

Insight is peace, in the midst of external turmoil and catastrophe. For insight reveals our kinship with God and with each other. Without insight, we may use our wonderful powers of foresight: but in vain. Without the guiding light of insight, our best planning and calculating in the sphere of external things is as futile as a dog chasing its own tail. Instead of dominating nature by our technology we are losing our insight into its kinship with us, and we are cowering beneath the fabrications of our own hands, as though we were tortured by an alien and inimicable tyrant.

The psalmist had learnt from experience that no man can be coerced to his salvation, because he must grow from within, slowly incorporating by his insight many kindred elements into his growing organism. To-day we are learning that even nature can be as little coerced by science without insight, as formerly by magic. All that foresight suggested for "Si vis pacem . . ." has been done. The answer is now being demonstrated on a scale big enough to convince all but the wilfully blind. We seem to be tending towards "that great and terrible day" of which the Office reminds us, "when the world shall be judged by fire": self-made, man-made fire.

Have we thrown our energy so fully into "the cult of the future," that we cannot pull ourselves up in this orgy of destruction? Is it too late to pause to reintegrate our cut-off peripheral activities with the Centre—the guiding eye of God, which alone gives them purpose? Are we so besotted with things that our capacity for insight is becoming fuddled?

He that hath Eyes

NO! For, when the external fabrications, which our foresight pinned together fail then, we may still realise that insight, not foresight, links us to God. Such loss is indeed a small matter, for insight reveals the strength of the spirit—the inexhaustible creative force forming us from within to true actuality. Peace is indeed in sight.

May we thus in-see, before "that great and terrible day, when the world shall be judged as if by fire!"

Not Foresight but Insight

Insight is not one of the first faculties developed in us. Insight is one of the highest gifts of the spirit of giving—intended to be exercised. Then it will grow into that clear, single-focused eye (about which we hear so much, and see too little), which looks out from the same angle of vision as the Creative Guiding Eye, and sees Its responsive membrane vibrating in the lowliest of its brethren. Such insight is mentioned by St. Theresa as taking place in the innermost chamber of her soul. Her sisters saw its effect in her obedient co-operation with its

stringent demands. Is it because we fear those demands that we hold back from insight?

We peer "into the future far as human eye can see," trying to discern signs of peace. We turn to the specialist, who will tell us how long the war *may* last.

Nonsense! We are looking in the wrong direction. What we want is the prophet whose insight can cleave through calamity and destruction. "I will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by sword nor by battle."

Two and a half thousand years ago Hosea's insight had bored down the "labyrinthine grooves" of his own domestic worries; and there, in the apparent catastrophe of his home-life, he had found the guiding eye of God. That insight inspired him with a message—a pacifist one, too—for his contemporaries. God—who had enabled him to forgive his wife and forgive again and again—God would forgive his kin, his people, as soon as they turned for His forgiveness.

That is the insight we need to-day. Not in external contrivances lies our peace. Our peace, like Hosea's, comes from a conquest of our personal difficulties, by seeing God within them.

Now, not the future, is the acceptable time. Now, not when the war is over, or even later on to-day. Now is the time for insight.

Let us break our habit of looking for a good time *coming*. This moment can effect an entrance into eternity with all its transfiguring potentialities. Come then—NOW. Pause from all the activities into whose whirl blind foresight has nailed you. Pause, now; and receive insight.

"Look where the Crucified Christ from His Cross, with sorrow is gazing upon you," gazing too into the depths of divine and human forgiveness:—

"Father, forgive them."

Insight enables us to respond:—

"Our Father . . . forgive us."

* Psalm 32

IN MEMORIAM

A. HARPER BOND

We are informed that our friend A. Harper Bond died on 9th December, 1940, at the age of 86. We wish to record our thankfulness for his service for the Fellowship as a Treasurer from 1924 to January, 1940. We recall his sustained interest in recent years in spite of his great age, but particularly remember the years of his active guidance of our finances and his generous personal gifts to our funds.

ELSIE GHOSH

Elsie Welsey Ghosh, who died in Cornwall on the morning of 7th January, was something more than a

Regional Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. She was herself a reconciler. Spiritual values were to her the real values. Her own spirit triumphed over a body which had been twisted by infantile paralysis more than forty years ago and she refused to allow any physical handicap to debar her from living the full life of an active servant of God.

Although she could herself only walk with the help of two sticks, it was characteristic of Elsie Ghosh that, if she felt any personal pride, then it was in her knowledge of nursing and in her ability to look after the sick. She met the Indian student who became her husband when he was brought to her house as a patient and the four years of her brief married life, clouded though their close was by Kim's struggle with consumption, were certainly the most splendidly happy she ever knew.

With Kim's death in 1937 Elsie went through some months of leaden greyness. This period began to pass when she was persuaded to take responsibility for the work of the Fellowship in Cornwall and Devonshire and, from that time onwards, she went about the area, speaking at small meetings, spending half a day in travelling to and talking with some lonely member, and in the correspondence that arose from the work. Although her illness in childhood had left Elsie deformed in body, she possessed a strong constitution and her face had a most healthy colour. A death that might have been painful came swiftly and easily. During the night she was silent save for an expression of anxiety lest the friend who was with her might be getting cold and, with the coming of the day, she passed to the light eternal.

ALGERNON CONWAY

"Algy," as we called him when we did not call him Conway, did not turn up at the office on Monday, 13th January, and, as we had no message from him by lunch-time and there had been raids on the previous nights, we went to the address we had for him, found he had moved, went to the new address, only to discover a pile of bricks and timber where Conway's house had stood. The Vicar of the parish had toiled for twelve hours throughout the night to recover the body of our young friend.

Conway had come to our office after seven months' unemployment and had worked with us for a like period. We had been hard-pressed for someone to help the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship but we were very doubtful about him; he seemed shy and very frail; but there was the obstinate fact that his typing and shorthand speeds were remarkably good and, after all, he wanted so little money. We did not take his coming very seriously; he was much better than nothing for us and we felt that we were better than nothing for him. That was seven months ago. By dint of sheer unsullied goodness Algy made his way into all our hearts, thinking never, as far as one could see, of his own concerns and his own happiness, showing always an unruffled readiness to be of any and every help he could to any and all of us. He asked very little of life for himself, but he certainly seemed to be the most steadily happy of all our little company. What would have happened to Conway if his appeal against Non-Combatant

Service had been rejected one hardly cares to think, nor how harshly life might have dealt with one so delicate in his feelings, so seemingly slight in his physique, so firm in his convictions. For a short time and before just a few of us his light did shine most surely and for him we have already begun to glorify the Father in Heaven.

C.P.G.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

Let us remember:

That God is near and as anxious to communicate with us as we can be to communicate with any friend; that those who truly love one another are united in Him who is Love; that He Who dwelleth not in temples made with hands makes the fellowship of His people His habitation.

Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?

Let us thank God:

for the faithful and continuing Christian witness of many who, beyond frontiers friendly and hostile, rely on us also for faithfulness and fellowship, and constantly pray for us:

several Roman Catholic priests; many Evangelical pastors with their families and friends; certain devout women; uncounted groups of people who, not without suffering and anxiety and yet in hope, have devoted themselves to the life of a new day.

Their names are known to us and to Thee, O God.

Let us pray:

for the gift of strength, courage and timely help to those, our fellow workers for peace and the Kingdom of God, who stand now in need, being cut off from many resources:

the conscientious objectors in France (H.R. and P. and P.V.); workers for the Fellowship who are in exile (F.S.S.); preachers, leaders, relief workers, who are in isolation; officers, staffs and members of national and international groups.

Enable us, O God, to remain constant in the spirit of intercession.

Let us pray:

for the advance of the spirit of peace among peoples of many languages and ways of life, confident that, through the grace of God and in the power of the love that he has planted within us, all strife and enmity, all fear and selfishness shall be done away; and His Kingdom shall have no end.

We renew our faith, O God, that in Christ good shall overcome evil everywhere.

Commit thy way into the Lord; trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

After enjoying the hospitality of the British Fellowship at Red Lion Square for some weeks, the I.F.o.R. has now accepted a generous offer from the Society of Friends of furnished accommodation on the third floor in Drayton House, the western end of Friends House. The address of the I.F.o.R. and also of Embassies of Reconciliation and the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups is now, therefore, Drayton House, Gordon Street, London, W.C.1. There is unfortunately some delay in installing the telephone. The Victoria Street office is still a heap of ruins, considerable repairs to the road and to main services necessarily taking precedence of repairs to private property. In consequence it is still impossible to search the débris.

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Numerous letters from abroad express the sympathy of friends of the Fellowship all over the world with those in this country who have recently suffered air attack. A card from Baroness Olga Meyendorff, of Sweden, says, "My thoughts and my prayers have been with you and with many many of my friends in England every day during the past weeks and months. This card brings my love and my fervent wishes that strength may be given to you and other friends to keep calm and confident in these dark days."

◆ ◆ ◆

The Hon. Secretary of the Women's International League, Perth, Western Australia, writes, "We, at this distance, are hardly able to realise to the full the extent of suffering and misery caused through the war situation in Europe. In this State of Western Australia, which though of great extent is small in point of population, great efforts are being made to send help of a material kind against the severities of the coming winter. Our deep sympathy with our English kin, and the helpless misery of the thousands who have lost their all, requires of us to do our utmost to alleviate the suffering of these people—victims of the war." Mr. H. R. McArthur writes from Canada, "Your letter of 30th October was an inspiring message. To find such a letter coming from bomb-torn London is heartening indeed. It also tells of a fine spirit of tolerance in the British life. I hope that this tolerance continues and that your continued work may bear fruit. Over here, where life goes on very nearly as if no war were in progress, one feels that he is failing to do his share . . . One of the saddening thoughts at this time is that so many innocent neutrals in Europe are deprived of food because Hitler has brought them under the British blockade." Mr. Wallace Wang, a Chinese friend now at Union Theological Seminary, New York, writes, "You have my full sympathy with what you are facing in the last 15 or 16 weeks. I have had the same experience in the last three years in China. However, I am going back to China this June and to work for the

Church, and never will forget the grace of love which God gives us that we may share more fully to men, even to our enemies."

◆ ◆ ◆

The Rev. J. Lavell Smith, of the Canadian F.o.R., writes, "You will be interested and concerned to know that several of the ministers of the United Church have suffered the loss of their pulpits on account of their views. There seems to be a much more tolerant attitude in the old land than exists here. On the other hand the things which you are having to endure are almost indescribable. Our hearts go out to you in sympathy and love and our prayers do not cease that God may soon bring the world to peace—if only we could learn to love the things that make for peace."

◆ ◆ ◆

Paula Moudra, the Chairman of the Czech group of the I.F.o.R. from its inception, died on 10th September in Prague at the age of 79. She was a writer and speaker of considerable reputation, devoted to the social and cultural progress of her own country and moved by a vital Christianity to embrace all mankind in warm and understanding love. She was one of those to establish the Chelsicus Peace Society in 1912 in memory of the founder of the Czech Brethren, who held Christian Pacifist tenets. A fuller notice of Paula Moudra's life and work is being included in the forthcoming issue of the I.F.o.R. News Letter.

◆ ◆ ◆

Just before Christmas we received the following very welcome telegram of greetings from Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze of Zurich, Chairman of the Executive of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation:—

"Christmas greeting all friends. My message for 1941 unbroken fellowship."

The following reply was sent in the names of the British and International Fellowships jointly:—

"London International Group and British Fellowship warmly reciprocate greetings for Christmas and New Year."

◆ ◆ ◆

The Economist, in a review of Sebastian Haffner's "Germany: Jekyll and Hyde" (Secker & Warburg, 8/6) prints these rather striking sentences:—

"There does exist in the German people a will to power, a desire for influence and aggrandisement; and if this energy is turned away from the things of the mind and the spirit, the culture which has been above all the crown and triumph of the German spirit—then a restless desire for material conquest may easily take their place. The evil of the Reich is that it is a projection of the dream of conquest—a projection and, at the same time, an incitement to further militarism, further aggression, further war."

The suggestion that a valuable energy has been diverted into wrong channels of expression revives the hope that it may still be possible, in spite of poisoned relations, to search out in Germany personalities, admittedly devoid at the moment of political power, who nevertheless may be able with encouragement to provide the spiritual basis for a construction of another kind. The victories of peace must be prepared no less than those of war; and the path of preparation lies in the opposite direction from mechanisation. What has occurred in Italy makes it the more important that the Government itself and certainly the Church shall be prepared through contacts with the right people for the construction that may suddenly be

required of it. The mere statement of peace aims in the abstract is not perhaps the most important peace activity just now.

◆ ◆ ◆

Fellowship reports the establishment of a Baptist Pacifist Fellowship in America under the Presidency of the Rev. Edward C. Kunkle of New York, and the issue of a programme. The body is "composed of pacifists who have through their faith in the teaching of Jesus and His way of life been led to give their supreme loyalty to Him in all the affairs of life and to renounce the use of violence of whatever form in settling controversies between individuals, groups, races or nations."

PACIFISM HAS NEGLECTED THE ARTS

NEVILLE PENRY THOMAS

It is generally recognised in the ranks of Pacifism that those who have retained their freedom should not sit back and deem the stand they have made to be an all-sufficient gesture to the cause they uphold. To ascertain how prevalent is this attitude of passive Pacifism would be difficult, but it does exist and gives antagonists of the cause ample scope for deprecating the movement and its members as a whole.

In London, Pacifist Service Units are showing in no uncertain manner how militant the best of our number can be in the prosecution of good works. The variety of opportunity for constructive and helpful assistance which conditions in the bombed metropolis afford have been seized by a group of men whose courage and Christian charity must have aroused deep admiration in all with whom they have come into contact. Away from this atmosphere of front page-news are the Pacifist Forestry Units, who are also performing a constructive, if less spectacular, work and living, in many cases, under extremely primitive conditions. On farms, in market gardens and in many unsuspected places, pacifist envoys are giving valuable service to the community.

The Arts in Exile

But we have let one glorious opportunity escape our notice. So many things which are cherished by the keener and more serious members of the nation become casualties immediately war is declared. I am thinking particularly of the cultural aspects of the national life: of music, literature, painting and the stage. Of these, literature has probably suffered least, but musicians, painters and actors have been devastatingly affected. In consequence, the public which normally patronises them has been deprived of their services. I was told recently by an actor that there are only four companies touring in the whole of Great Britain and the London Philharmonic Orchestra has only been saved from dissolution through the agency of a popular dance band conductor who hawks them from music hall to music hall, at each of which they give programmes of the too popular classics. As for art, with the walls of the National Gallery and of so many other similar institutions stripped of their treasures, there

is little opportunity for the art public to refresh its spirit through the works of the great masters. So bad are the conditions in and for the world of art that even the Government has been stirred to some activity. The Board of Education in collaboration with the Pilgrim Trust, under the title of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, has sent the Old Vic and Sadlers Wells Companies to visit industrial and rural districts; musicians are being sent about to encourage music-making in the home and in the small community, art exhibitions are arranged, lecturers make extensive tours, and in numerous ways culture is being disseminated to the people.

How Beautiful upon the Mountains

All this, I claim, is work which the Pacifist Organisation should long ago have tackled. Surely, we ignore our oldest and most potent allies when we allow all active and passive interest in the world of art to be usurped by the tragedy of war and to fade ignominiously into utter darkness. It is not, fortunately, too late to remedy the situation. We have a stirring example of what can be done in the noble efforts of Myra Hess, whose lunch-hour concerts at the National Gallery have proved such a blessing to music lovers in London. Her experiment, moreover, has been emulated elsewhere. Why cannot pacifists take up the crusade? Those young men who are free, the older men and the women—of whom there are a goodly number—should devote some of their time to the provision of intelligent entertainment. There is the practical side of such ventures to be considered, but thought and application have triumphed in other spheres of pacifist endeavour so why not in this? I believe there should be a Pacifist Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts. Such a group could formulate and put forward practical schemes and suggestions for the guidance of local Pacifist Organisations which would enable much to be done in providing cultural amenities which are now lacking. As pacifists we must realise that the world of art is essentially latent in that existence which we are striving to attain for mankind. We must not now fail to unite the sacredness of Peace with the sacredness of Beauty and to present this dual blessing to humanity.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

War Aims

"The British Commonwealth is the champion of Christendom. It is fighting for the principles of the Sermon on the Mount."—*Church Times*.

Unfit to Put Out Fires

Barnet (Herts) Council has dispensed with the services of an auxiliary fireman who registered as a conscientious objector.

Councillor Ryley Pratt, chief warden for the district, said, "I am not prepared to work with him and if I have the power I shall see that no one holding such principles shall work in any service with which I am connected."—*Daily Press*.

G.B.S. on the War

Asked by the *Birmingham Town Crier* for his war aims, Mr. George Bernard Shaw replied:—

"I have none. War is no use to me. What is war when it comes down to tin tacks?"

"We plaster Turin, Milan and Hamburg with bombs: and the B.B.C. exults and claims a triumph for Britain. The Germans then plaster Birmingham, Coventry and Southampton: and Lord Haw Haw claims a triumph for the Reich with what he calls a thousandfold vengeance. But what does Europe gain? Nothing but six of her cities damaged, her humanity horrified, her civilisation undone. What has all this devilment—this mug's game—to do with my aims, which are all at betterment, not at death and destruction?"

Superficial Christianity

In the Cumberland parish of Dalston a canteen for soldiers had been opened by influential ladies, but unfortunately the soldiers were replaced by conscientious objectors and the ladies refused to cater for "men who were not prepared to fight for them" and the canteen was closed. The vicar, the Rev. R. H. Hawkins, came to the rescue and made other arrangements for the needs of the conscientious objectors.

Canon Pythian-Adams made it his business to remark on the case and began by saying that there had been a good deal of newspaper correspondence complaining that the clergy were not giving a proper lead to the people.

"Not long ago," he continued, "in a parish in this diocese, one clergyman did give a proper lead to his people, and what was the result? That clergyman, I may say, served in the Air Force in the last war, and he is no more a pacifist to-day, but some of his flock refused to keep open their canteens for conscientious objectors in uniform. He told them quite clearly what their Christian duty was. While he was doing that he was heckled and contradicted by his own people as if he were a candidate at a general election. I believe he is carrying on that particular work now with the help of members of the Methodist Church. I give that example deliberately and without disguise," declared the Canon, "because it reveals how utterly superficial is much of our so-called Christianity."

Manchester Guardian.

OUR COMMON CONCERN

A regenerated society depends on the active co-operation of regenerated individuals—a truism largely ignored by political recipes for a new world. In so far as community experiment rediscovers the *practice* of Christian fellowship, sharing and service, it is a healthy reaction from the phantasies of "blue-print revolution." If it begins small, at least it *begins*—and with the best possible precedents. If, at the outset, its material results amount to little more than a row of beans, at least they are edible food and not merely in statistical produce.

But no living thing stays put. With a nucleus of conviction-in-action and with groups of dedicated adventurers actually in being, it becomes necessary to think ahead. There is room for a plan. It becomes clear also—at least it may be hoped so—that inasmuch as we do really believe in the necessity of a Christian society, the duty is laid upon us, individually and now, to assist its emergence by every means in our power. That is the Christian pacifist counterpart to "war effort"—only it will not end with the war.

A pioneer personnel is already emerging. Their refusal of war leaves them in the wilderness, yet with an urge to service. That the only occupation open to them to-day is the cultivation of the land is not just a freak of destiny. It is surely part of an unfolding story. That renewed contact with earth as well as with heaven is part of a natural process of rebirth, for men and for peoples. Any new way of life must concern itself also with the means *to* life, not that a few may profit but that all may eat and be filled.

It follows that land training for pacifists must be seen as something more vital than a stop-gap expedient to find some sort of job for the C.O. until he can "get back to ordinary life." We are not *going* back to ordinary life and that indeed may be the best thing the war will do for us. Yet if we are to discover the next step forward, the training of the pacifist must be more than a technical initiation into the mysteries of husbandry: it must be an introduction also to co-operative life and service.

All such considerations give special significance to a practical project resulting from the two recent week-end conferences at Langham. Conclusions reached at the first meeting were briefly indicated in this column last month: a full statement of them is reprinted in the "Broadsheet."* The further meeting of 28th-29th December was called to consider ways and means of giving effect to these conclusions. With the wisdom of experience the gathering forbore to outline any ambitious "national scheme," believing rather that healthy growth develops spontaneously once the first seed is sown. To that initial task then the conference addressed itself, recognising the effective training of a greater number of pacifists in agriculture to be a first and pressing consideration. The

*The current 20pp. issue of the "Broadsheet" is available through the F.O.R. Book Room or from hon. sec., community Service Committee, Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey (post paid, sevenpence).

purchase of a substantial farm was projected and its sound administration as an economic unit and a training centre for prospective agriculturists was recommended.

Two experienced friends from Lincolnshire consented to give the necessary oversight and were invited to report on immediately available properties. An *ad hoc* committee was nominated to receive the report, to issue an appeal, to take any necessary action on behalf of the conference and subsequently to create a representative body responsible for working the scheme.

CORRESPONDENCE

Denominational Groups and F.O.R.

I write as Chairman of one of the denominational groups within the F.o.R. to express a concern which, if it is domestic, is none the less important. We have been received into the F.o.R. family and as part of our terms of adoption we have, as a group, been granted the hospitality of these columns and of the F.o.R. Offices, correspondence is sent out from the Office on her behalf and expenditure incurred which the Fellowship has always readily met. On our part, we, as individuals pay to the F.o.R. the subscriptions which we used to pay to our denominational group plus a little bit more, if we can, because of the wider work in which we are sharing in addition. Ah! but do we? That, Mr. Editor, is my concern. Are we being a little too comfortable over finance because the money is found so readily for us? Or are we taking our genuine share in the burden which now falls on the F.o.R. but which used to fall on our group?

(Rev.) B. R. H. SPAULL.

23, Talbot Road,
Highgate, N.6.

George Lansbury Memorial

George Lansbury was a man widely respected and loved by many besides those who shared his politics and his pacifism. So your readers may like to know that the War Resisters' International, of which he was the splendid Chairman and leader, are collecting funds for a memorial to him. This is to take the form of a farm where Conscientious Objectors are to be trained for work on the land, and where it is hoped to form a permanent community when the longed-for days of peace return.

The W.R.I. who by this means would give help to many in this country, are already aiding those of other nationalities. Refugees from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium, Holland, France, Finland and Italy are assisted, and the Spanish children who were cared for in a home in the Pyrenees are now all provided

All such projects must rely for their effective realisation on the practical support of *all* pacifists who see the relevance of modest beginnings to the larger issues beyond. War bonds and fighting funds are engulfing millions of pounds of small savings. If, for us, these things appear as the wages of death, must our own lone talent remain wrapped away in a napkin, "lodged with us useless"? The newly formed Community Land Training Association may suggest for many of us both an answer and an opportunity.

Many refugees also have been helped to emigrate to the New World.

A. RUTH FRY.

11, Abbey Road,
Enfield,
Middlesex.

Lansbury and the Dictators

"Labour Press Service" reports the Rt. Hon. Mr. C. R. Attlee as saying to the House of Commons on 5th December (in refuting the I.L.P. amendment calling for a Peace Conference): "Our old friend George Lansbury, an apostle of peace if ever there was one, went to plead with Hitler and Mussolini, but he got nothing from them." This is surely not true.

George Lansbury in "My Quest for Peace," says on p. 139 that he and Hitler agreed to the following statement as summing up their interview:—

"Germany will be very willing to attend a conference and take part in a united effort to establish economic co-operation and mutual understanding between the nations of the world, if President Roosevelt, or the head of another great country, will take the lead in calling such a conference."

That was in April, 1936.

In July, 1937, George Lansbury met S. Mussolini in Rome, and reports (p. 162):—

"He had little faith in the success of the new economic conference unless careful preparations were made beforehand. He was in favour of the inquiries being made by M. Van Zeeland, and said that Italy would play a proper part in any conference whenever it was called."

Two months before, George Lansbury had moved a resolution in the House (5th February, 1936) calling upon H.M. Government to summon a new International Economic Conference. It was defeated by 228 votes to 137.

FRANK R. HANCOCK.

Graig View,
Cwmoy,
Abergavenny, Mon.

THE FRIENDLY BOOK

CHRISTIANITY OR CHAOS. Ethel Mannin. Jarrold, 7/6.

"Ah, a book on Christianity by a popular woman novelist of the left wing. There's no need to read that; we know exactly what she will say before we start." So we would all say without hesitation and, where this book is concerned, all be most splendidly wrong. Where we would expect to find a minimum amount of solid information and real knowledge combined with a maximum of slap-dash judgments and destructive criticism, we find instead the gathering together of a considerable body of knowledge, an informed appreciation of the things of real value, and a general anxiety to avoid over-statement and too brilliant colouring.

Ethel Mannin has not yet found her way back to orthodox Christianity, and perhaps she never will, but the orthodox Christian can read her book with much benefit to himself and with the conviction that she at least understands him well enough to be able to put forward ideas which he may well ponder to his great profit. The fact that the book is largely written in Connemara by one who has come to hold in deep respect the religion of the Irish peasant guarantees the reader against that patronising tone towards Catholic ideas in which other writers indulge, yet there is nothing sentimental about her appreciation of the Roman Church; only the conviction that, if religion is to be anything, then it must govern the whole of life, and that here is a form of religion that has somehow contrived to do that very thing.

Although it may make the book less coherent, Ethel Mannin's comments upon certain films, upon various types of journalism, and upon Surrealist Art add greatly to the readableness of the book, while her sketches of "Saints: with and without the 'St.'" are thoroughly good. In dealing with "God and the sexual nature of man" she recalls how she began to ask herself why she had always taken it for granted that the need was for bigger and better birth-control instead of bigger and better families and how she came to conclude that it was poverty that had to be prevented, not the babies.

The book closes with a chapter on "The Imitation of Christ," a call away from what she describes so brilliantly as the Modern Babylon to a fundamental transvaluation of values, a spiritual revolution based on a complete loyalty to the teaching and example of Jesus Christ. This renaissance of the human spirit awaits the cracking of the hard shell of materialism at present encasing the heart of mankind. C.P.G.

THE HOPE OF A NEW WORLD. William Temple, Archbishop of York. S.C.M. Press, pp. 125, 3/6.

"It has often been said that we are fighting for a Christian civilisation; my whole contention is that it is our duty to prove that to be a true claim."

Many leading thinkers are refusing to wait upon official reticence regarding peace aims, and are giving to the public their hope of a new world. One turns away sometimes from such recipes. Whatever the nature of the dish, its

ingredients can be safely predicted and wisely avoided. But often one turns eagerly to the thought presented. Perhaps *this* man has seen truly the cause and the remedy of the sickness of society. The present book is undoubtedly of the latter kind.

One need not always agree with Dr. Temple to welcome the clear writing and fearless thinking here found, mainly in a reprint of his recent broadcast series, and in certain supporting material. He has little time for accepted clichés. "In the pressures of the modern world the freedom of man in his human right alone cannot stand, nor does it deserve to stand." On freedom of conscience he is adamant, but it is not freedom to do as man likes. It is "the power of the human being to maintain the obedience which God through the conscience has commanded."

Dr. Temple seems to be moving frankly and rapidly from his earlier misunderstandings of Christian Pacifism. In a central passage he shows that unconditional forgiveness finds no place in the Gospel. The conditions are revolution in man's whole being on the one hand, and the agony of suffering love on the other. "The Cross is what man's selfishness does to God, and God accepts it. But when the word of pardon is accompanied by that manifestation of what the injury really was and is, no one can think of condonation. It is only when forgiveness is preceded by that agony that it is altogether right. That is why St. Paul says that the Cross enables God to be just while He forgives." So far we can welcome with full agreement. It is less easy to understand what immediately follows. The individual cannot fully reach to such forgiveness—the nation never. "So we have not to consider what perfectly righteous England might achieve, but what is the best that sinful England may hope to do." It is too easy to write this down as expediency. Yet not only does it deny the whole reality of Christian fellowship, and the transcendence of the individual in that experience. It also reverses the author's whole insistence on the sovereignty of God, and judges by the scope and results of human achievement. On his own definition is not this "the acceptance of Christian standards of life with a rejection of the only sources of power to attain them"? We prefer other words of the author. "The proclamation that God is love is not only a source of consolation: it is also a principle of judgment; for every policy or purpose that is alien from Love . . . is bound to end in disaster, because it is resisting the supreme power." E.H.

"CONSCIENCE AND LIBERTY." Robert S. W. Pollard. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, price 2/6.

A most readable little booklet dealing in a lively style with an involved question. The historical survey of the position of the conscience recognised by law is of great value. Even the history of the last 25 years has been so varied that many who have not read this book will not have grasped the altering values. The book contains a useful index.

ANALYSIS OF DECISIONS OF LOCAL TRIBUNALS FOR REGISTRATION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS UP TO 7th DECEMBER, 1940.

Tribunal	Number given A		Number given B		Number given C		Number given D		Totals
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
London 1	53	1	1,174	20	2,675	45	1,976	34	5,878
London 2	72	4	514	30	375	22	751	44	1,712
S.E.									
(London cases)	51	6	349	39	256	23	417	32	1,073
(Eastern cases)	149		926		475		608		2,158
Southern	44	2	675	38	565	31	514	29	1,798
E. Anglia	257	18	566	41	442	32	124	9	1,389
Midlands	63	2	2,579	64	617	15	762	19	4,021
North	2	3	328	49	187	28	146	22	663
S.W.	531	18	1,379	47	730	25	290	10	2,930
N.E.	60	3	497	28	743	41	515	28	1,815
N.W.	298	10	873	30	966	34	759	26	2,896
Cumberland and Westmorland—									
(N.W. cases)	9	6	38	21	105	47	68	26	220
(C. & W. cases)	12		42		76		32		162
Northumberland and Durham	73	10	294	42	195	28	145	20	707
N. Wales	70	6	702	61	268	24	104	9	1,144
S. Wales	109	7	662	41	579	35	275	17	1,625
S.W. Scotland 1	266	14	378	21	217	12	981	53	1,842
S.W. Scotland 2	8	2	142	37	77	20	159	41	386
S.E. Scotland	73	9	250	32	305	38	166	21	794
N. Scotland	3	4	10	14	27	37	33	45	73
N.E. Scotland	12	5	89	41	75	34	43	20	219
Totals	2,215	7	12,467	37	9,955	30	8,868	26	33,505

A—Unconditional Exemption. B—Conditional Exemption. C—Non-Combatant Military Service. D—Full Military Service.

APPELLATE TRIBUNAL (TWO DIVISIONS).

ANALYSIS OF DECISIONS GIVEN UP TO 30th NOVEMBER, 1940.

A				B				C				D				Totals	
a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d		
—	—	—	1	12	158	86*	17	3	7	392	754	24	8	156	317	669	2,604
—	—	—	—	1	31	23*	—	—	—	115	163	2	—	56	95	199	685
—	—	—	—	4	21	9*	1	—	9	50	83	—	12	120	82	316	707
—	—	—	1	17	210	118*	18	3	16	557	1,000	26	20	332	494	1,184	3,996

Number of Decisions varied by Appellate Tribunal.

England and Wales 1	1,022 (39.2%)
England and Wales 2	292 (42.6%)
Scotland	287 (40.6%)

*1,601 (40.0%)

* In addition to this total the following orders have been made at the request of men who had previously been registered by the tribunals under category A, B or C:—

	Eng. & Wales	Scotland	Total
Reg. for non-combatant duties	297	10	307
Reg. for full military service	355	18	373
Totals	652	28	680

APPLICATIONS BY SERVING SOLDIERS

	Appeals heard	Discharge not recommended	Discharge recommended & on discharge to be reg. under:—		
			A	B	C
Eng. & Wales	12	3	—	9	—
Scotland	5	1	—	2	2
Totals	17	4	—	11	2

* Nature of employment varied by Appellate Tribunal.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

The Christian Pacifist

During 1940, and without reference to the Jubilee number at the beginning of that year, of which we disposed of some 25,000 copies, we had an average circulation of just over 10,000 copies per month. We are most anxious that that circulation should not decrease. A curious thing seems to happen, however, with all magazines of this specialist kind, that a constant supply of new readers is required to make up for an almost equally constant loss. This was exemplified at the beginning of 1940, when some hundreds of previous readers gave up the magazine and then, and all through the year, hundreds of new readers were obtained to maintain the circulation.

As we get into 1941, this phenomenon seems to have occurred again, only to such a great extent this year as to make us anxious about the future. In the middle of January—no less than 2,500 of those who took and paid for the magazine during 1940 had not renewed their payments! Why? We do not know. We hear on every hand that the matter provided is most highly appreciated, but if there are those amongst the 2,500 who don't appreciate it, and quite deliberately want to drop the magazine, will they please be good enough to send us a postcard to that effect?

No doubt a number of the 2,500 (I want you to get that figure well in mind!) will send their payments during January, having read the January issue, and to those I need hardly say that the payment due is 4/- since payment has not yet been made for the January issue itself. Further, all those who have not paid for 1941 are receiving the February number, and we hope that you will immediately respond to this request and send your payment—again, of course, such payment is for the whole year, and is therefore 4/-.

As a result of the recent advertisements and the Christmas gift scheme, there were about 150 new readers and purchasers in January. How does that come about, since we don't advertise other than in our own pages? It comes about, we think, in the best of all ways for making a magazine known—namely that each reader should pass on his or her magazine to a person likely to be interested, either giving it or lending it! May I make the suggestion to all those reading these notes that such a method should be widely and regularly used?

If you are an old reader and have not yet sent payment for 1941, then, of course, the payment due is 4/- to cover the cost of the magazine—which has not increased from pre-war days—and also postage—which has doubled since pre-war days. If, however, you are a new reader, having been handed this copy by a friend, then in order to receive it for the remainder of this year, the payment, including postage, will be 3/4.

One other concern about the magazine is the correct addresses of our readers. Many changes of address have

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

ORDER FORM

FOR NEW READERS ONLY

PLEASE SEND ME *The Christian Pacifist* MONTHLY
TO THE END OF 1941.

**I enclose 3/4 being the inclusive cost from
March.*

NAME

ADDRESS

KINDLY USE BLOCK LETTERS

** Please see "Concerning the Fellowship."*

occurred amongst readers during the last 12 months, chiefly owing to evacuation, and we shall be very much obliged if those who have moved and who have not already sent their change of address will do so at once. The method of producing the wrappers for their names and addresses is by what is called an "addressograph." It is quite a complicated business, as every change of address has to be made in the machine, and this takes a little time. All these wrappers are then sent to the printer about the 20th of the month, and he folds, wraps and posts the magazine to readers. Please, therefore, notify any change of address as soon as ever you can, in order to avoid the double nuisance of having the magazine sent to the wrong address and the reader not getting it, and then having it returned to the office, without our knowing the proper address to which to send it!

We do most earnestly desire that the whole of the mechanics in regard to THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST should be perfectly managed, but this cannot be done without your cordial co-operation for which we plead.

Two 4s. postal orders numbered E164/651583 and E167/496323 issued at Goodmayes High Road and Matching Green respectively have reached the office anonymously. The senders are requested to communicate their names and addresses.

F.O.R. IN SCOTLAND

As there are now a dozen branches in Scotland, it has been found desirable to set up a new Scottish Council of the F.o.R.—With the cordial agreement of the General Committee and of the Scottish Council of C.P.G. this new Council has been formed to represent all Branches in Scotland as well as all denominational groups. The first meeting was held in Edinburgh on the 15th January. A new Branch has been established at Greenock, the Secretary being Mr. Donald MacKay, Duntrune, Gryffe Road, Kilmacolm.

PAX

Acting Chairman: Donald Attwater.

Sec.: Stormont Murray,

276, Hughenden Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

At a consultative meeting of the committee and certain other members of "Pax," the programme and principles of "Pax," as set out in its original "statement" and amplified in the current statement, and even more particularly in recent issues of the *Bulletin*, were confirmed. This means that "Pax" is concerned not only with war-resistance, but also with the problems of social justice, of settlement on the land (involved in the first place by the present needs of C.O.'s), and of Christian unity.

It was recognised that these "new interests" were implicit in the original "Pax" Statement, and that they, like war-resistance, or "pacifism" itself, cannot be isolated and autonomous activities, but arise from convictions about the nature of the human person and its relationship with God: that "Pax" is, therefore, a "religious" society, addressing itself specially to Roman Catholics and the Catholic-minded, and that its fundamental specifying principle is the inviolability of the individual conscience.

All or any of these "new interests" do not necessarily have a direct appeal to each and every member of "Pax"; but all of us, whether engaged in them or in the general work of the Society, must put in the forefront of our inspiration the teaching of our late chairman, Eric Gill, and still more the example of his own life and character.

It was further recognised that the immediate tasks confronting "Pax" (over and above what assistance it can give to C.O.'s) are: (a) to satisfy those members who want to be more active in the work of the Society, and (b) to spread its influence and "message" to those outside the Society.

A "Pax" Organiser

To ensure the utmost efficiency of "Pax" as a "going concern," it is hoped to appoint a full-time organiser. The plan, however, will only become feasible if ALL "Pax" members and sympathisers can, as a mark of their recognition of the Christian urgency of the work of the Society, guarantee a regular monthly contribution, however small. If any reader of the "C.P." is willing to contribute to this end—will he or she please write at once to the Hon. Secretary.

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Paul Gliddon,

17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

The long-delayed Conference Book is now with the printers and we hope that it will be published before the end of March. The price will be 6s.; the title, "Into the Way of Peace."

Insufficient use is being made of our Fellowship House at 121, Limsfield Road, Sanderstead. Perhaps it is not generally known that the Unit is ready to offer hospitality to those who want a rest in a quieter part of outer London and that guests are only asked to make such payment as they feel able towards the expense of their stay. Any who wish to avail themselves of this opportunity should write to our office or ring us up at Holborn 4571.

Our Unit men have undertaken a task which many others would refuse but which they regard as an honour; they have undertaken to organise and staff the new shelter which the City of Westminster is setting up for vagrants, that is to say, for those luckless men and women who are not thought to be suitable for ordinary public shelters and for whom no proper arrangement has hitherto been made. Bernard Nichols, who is in charge of this enterprise, already spends many hours every night with these vagrants, who have squatted in a disused arch near Charing Cross, so that, long before they know him as a man in authority, they may have met him as a friend. This new work will involve considerable expense, as there will be associated with it a canteen in which at least some of the food and drink will have to be given without charge.

GOSS TAILORING

URGENT NOTICE TO CUSTOMERS

Our records, files, patterns—in fact, all our business equipment and stock—are now beneath the rubble of Newgate Street. Will every Goss Tailoring customer kindly send a postcard (with address) to MR. I. GOSS, 52, ABERDEEN PARK, LONDON, N.5, who will send direct word of future plans the moment they are completed.

EASTER CONFERENCES

We are hoping to arrange Conferences at Bangor, Cambridge and Bath during the Easter vacation

PLEASE RESERVE THE DATE

More details will appear in next month's issue.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY

At the end of 1940, despite about 60 resignations, the Society had 679 members. The request that all members should join the F.o.R. has not yet met with very widespread response, and it is hoped that the enrolment forms issued with the last circular will be used for this purpose. This will prevent overlapping and effect an economy of organisation. Now is the time to send subscriptions to *The Christian Pacifist*—4s. annually, post free.

WINTER READING

- "THE CROSS AND THE CRISIS." The Rev. Professor C. E. Raven, D.D. 2/4 (post paid).
 "TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC."
 The Rev. Leslie Artingstall, B.A. 2/11 (post paid).
 "THE BASES OF CHRISTIAN PACIFISM."
 The Rev. Professor C. E. Raven, D.D., the Rev. Professor C. H. Dodd, D.D.,
 the Rev. Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, D.D. 7d. (post paid).
 "THE CHRISTIAN FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE." Leyton Richards, M.A. 4d. (post paid).
 "PACIFISM IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND AFTERWARDS."
 Principal W. Robinson, D.D. 4d. (post paid).
 "A MEDITATION ON PEACE." Evelyn Underhill. 2d. (post paid).
 "THY WILL BE DONE." The Rev. Donald Soper, Ph.D. 2d. (post paid).
 "THE JUSTICE OF THE KINGDOM." The Rev. H. Ingham, B.D. 2d. (post paid).
 "CHRIST AND TO-MORROW." Eric Hayman, M.A. 4d. (post paid).
 "THE CHRISTIAN IN THE WORLD." An unknown Christian writing about 130 A.D.
 to a Greek enquirer named Diognetus, gives a vivid picture of the early
 life of the Christian community in the pagan world. 2d. (post paid).

All the above are obtainable from the

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1

Classified Advertisements

RATE: 1½d. per word. Minimum 2/-. Church Notices: 6 lines or less 3/6d. Notices of Branch Meetings 1d. per word.
 Discount: 5% for 6 insertions. 10% for 12 insertions.

SITUATIONS WANTED

SCHOOLMASTER (26), exempt conditionally, teaching, etc. Cambridge M.A., maths. Subsidiary geography. Trained. Scouting, swimming, scripture. Box C.136, F.o.R., 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

Christian Pacifist, 26, married desires agricultural employment. Market Gardening or Poultry preferred. Some experience. Write, Shepherd, Dales Farm, Lawshall, W. Suffolk.

Bill and Buttercup Garrad (22, 23, Exempt) urgently seek paid position. Artistic, teaching and domestic experience. Garrad, Fieldhead, Langho, Blackburn.

MEETINGS

CHANGE OF TIME. The Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on Monday, February 17th, when the leader will be the Rev. Hampden Horne. Those who wish to do so can bring lunch.

HOLIDAYS

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.

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.

THE PEACE WITNESS. Sample posters on application. Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2.

CLASSES IN SPEAKING AND WRITING for peace will run monthly (fortnightly, if desired), Sunday afternoons, beginning 23rd February. 1/6 each class. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32, Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. Cunningham 6238.

Comfortable home offered in exchange for help with house-keeping and cooking; peaceful country district 20 miles from London. Write: Cashmore, 70, Addison Way, N.W.11.

Urgently wanted. Person who has concern to live in Community. Market Gardening work. Board and lodging found. Small wage in addition. Box C.141, F.o.R., 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

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