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Reconciliation

PEACE MUST COME

George Lansbury

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NON-PACIFIST

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THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

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A MILITARY APOLOGIA

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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

MAY, 1939

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

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Applause for the President

The dramatic appeal of President Roosevelt to the Dictators brought fresh hope of peace to a war-fevered world. The whole message in its frank and courteous man-to-man approach, its direct and even blunt manner of saying what it means, its sound common sense and recognition of moral factors, and especially its candid publicity is a welcome departure from customary diplomatic negotiation which appears to love darkness rather than light. Like Mr. Chamberlain's historic flight to Germany, it has met with spontaneous applause all over the world as a step up to a higher plane of international relations upon which statesmanship instead of being regarded as a game of grasping at every advantage which one nation can use against another is recognised to be the serious business of sharing the resources of the world together under a grave sense of the responsibility which governments, whether elected or not, owe to the peoples whom they serve. Pacifists will particularly welcome another salutary expression of war's futility and the honest recognition that to make use of the world's monstrous armaments would be disastrous. Slowly but surely this conviction is spreading and deepening in every land, and President Roosevelt's message has borne striking witness to what though it is not yet the world's faith, has become the world's wholesome fear.

The Need for Trust

But fear alone will not save the world. Indeed it is just because the nations fear each other that there is a menace of war. For this reason we could wish that President Roosevelt's message had expressed a greater degree of trust and less of suspicion. It may be said that there is more ground for suspicion than for trust, but if that be so, that is the very reason for expressing confidence. Experts now agree that criminals respond more favourably to trust than to threats. The idea that they deserve to be threatened and not trusted is a piece of sentimentality obstructive to a realistic view of life and a practical handling of its problems, which can never be solved on a basis of human merit. The Christian gospel rejects the idea of desert replacing it by that of need and the adequacy of moral resources to meet it. The need of the moment is for trust. Nobody outside of barbarity or lunacy would refuse to rescue a party of people in imminent peril on the ground that one of them did not deserve to be rescued! We have to consider not what gives relief to our melodramatic feelings, but what is the practical solution of the problem, or if religious language be preferred the means of redemption. Every Christian knows that no one was ever redeemed by a consideration of what he deserved, but by the principle that where sin abounds, grace does much more abound. The

mistake is to regard this as academic theology remote from the practical politics of life, whereas it is a formula for the successful treatment of evil in every situation.

Democracies Must Share the Blame

To regard the Dictators as the only sinners is, however, absurd. The weakness of President Roosevelt's appeal is just that it does suggest, though not so harshly as many other statements have done, that the Governments of Germany and Italy are criminals, while the rest of the nations (including now Russia) are upright judges. It has at least been felt by sensitive consciences in Rome that the message puts the Dictator governments in the dock. It has the effect of putting them on probation rather than of putting them on their honour. The very fact of its being addressed exclusively to Italy and Germany is an indictment of these two nations, which, however natural it may seem to us, cannot appear quite so just to them. The President's message, though friendly in tone, seems to imply that the only thing necessary for the maintenance of peace is that the Dictators should behave themselves. That is not quite fair. There are two parties to the dispeace of Europe. One consists of the nations which being poor in natural resources, and having suffered recent loss of prestige, want empire. The other consists of those who having enormous empires and being rich in raw materials refuse to share these with their neighbours. Both must take their share of responsibility. If the unemployed were to resort to violence and robbery in a desperate attempt to snatch their rights, that would indeed be very blameworthy, but the blame would be shared by a society which allowed them to find redress for their just grievances in no other way. Mr. Anthony Eden would perhaps insist that the aggressions of Germany and Italy have no economic but only strategic importance. The fact remains that the Democracies have, and the Dictatorships have not, and when a man is seen violently attempting to take something by force, it is a reasonable assumption that he wants it because he does not have it, and not very convincing to say that he is taking it at great risk to himself, not because he needs it, but out of sheer perversity. Those who are holding on to empire by force must share the blame with those who are taking empire by the same method.

Herr Hitler's Reply

As we go to press the reply of Herr Hitler is anxiously awaited, and it is to be hoped that

it will receive a patient and sympathetic consideration by the governments and peoples of the Democracies. No one will expect the German Chancellor to say that he is sorry he has been the cause of all the trouble and that he intends to be good in the future. If he were out to dominate the world in a spirit of sheer devilry, and if his promises were nothing but guile, that is what he would say in diplomatic language. His indignant repudiation of sole responsibility for the peace of Europe and rejection of the democratic disposition to lecture him are welcome signs of sincerity. It must be remembered that Germany is just as nervous of "encirclement" as we are of "domination." It should be the part of the Church in this country to create the atmosphere of fair thinking and goodwill in which the Dictator's reply will meet with understanding. It appears that the present German Government, like some ex-Cabinet Ministers in our own country, is not so well versed in diplomatic as in some other kinds of language, but that should not prevent our translating the German reply, which will speak for Italy as well, into terms of essential principles.

Nazi Gains in Denmark

Denmark cannot now be far down the list of countries in which Herr Hitler has no territorial ambitions. In the Rigsdag elections recently concluded, actual German representation remains at one seat, but the voting behind that fact shows an unexpected increase from 12,600 to 15,000. It seems hard to impress thoughtful Danes with the significance of their own Nazi tendencies. This growth, rather than any great increase of a true German population in North Schleswig, accounts for the increase in the "German-minded" returns since 1935. The Danish *partei* has nearly doubled its voting strength and has three seats in the new House. A more serious fact largely unappreciated is the connection between this trend and the rapid growth of "Nordic" enthusiasm. The worst elements in Grundtvigian mythologism are being sedulously revived. The greater and deeper sides of his message are not so appreciated.

Denmark's "Day of Doom"

Prime Minister Stauning has now given fresh expression to what a recent book calls the "ostrich" policy of Denmark. The book has aroused some controversy on the English left. It seemed to pander to some of the worst

elements in the country, and it would be repudiated by sane Danish opinion in its attempt to stampede Denmark into armed resistance. The situation is broadly unchanged since the date of an article we published in December last. German propaganda daily finds new "outrages" and "oppression" in the quixotic generosity of Danish policy towards the German minority. The Danish minority in Germany remains slenderly protected from worse discrimination and hardship by the known facts north of the border. *Denmark's Day of Doom* is probably nearer none the less, for the fuel of power-politics is not unlimited. The new British policy has not yet guaranteed Denmark. Were this to be suggested, it is not impossible that the humane resentment felt over the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, as Denmark herself was sold in 1864, would combine with Herr Stauning's cautious appeasement of Germany, and refuse the offered protection. Thoughtful Danes were strangely moved in October, 1938. If their own liberty is to be lost, they may well prefer to dispense with any odour of sanctity, and to face undisguised realities with the dignity and courage which marks their best life.

Peace-Making in London

The half-yearly Bulletin of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation gives an encouraging report of the work of sixty-four groups with an aggregate membership of 1,770, an increase of 330 during the past year. Efforts to establish friendly relations with visitors to London from other lands have met with a greater and warmer response than ever before. "The happiest hours I have spent in England have been at F.o.R. gatherings," is the testimony of one friend from abroad. Help (not only financial) has been given to refugees with many of whom the Union is now in close contact. The Children's Hospitality Committee continues to link the London child with friends in the country who are able to offer holiday hospitality. The Union unfortunately is soon to suffer the loss as Chairman of the Rev. Alan Balding, who when he accepted the call to work at Trinity Church, Poplar (centre of the Christ and Unemployment Crusade) foresaw that he would have to relinquish his office in the London Union. Mr. Balding contributes a foreword to the Bulletin, which is edited by Miss Theodora Wilson Wilson.

PEACE MUST COME

GEORGE LANSBURY

WE pacifists are living through dark and very difficult times; often the storms of bitterness, hatred and violence appear so heavy and likely to burst, bringing catastrophic disaster on all, that our minds almost fail us for fear. No one, living in the rough and tumble of life, dare minimise or belittle the dangers confronting mankind. All thinking people must find themselves driven to an almost fatalistic belief that all those evil forces, which we know are in the world and which find some place in us all, have been let loose wholesale for the purpose of crushing the best and the worst of the human race into chaos and confusion.

But I am writing on April 17th, two days after President Roosevelt's appeal to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. I do not know what the result of that appeal will be. We pacifists know that, in response to our appeal on April 19th, 1937, Herr Hitler publicly declared as follows: "Germany will be very willing to attend a conference and take part in a united effort to establish economic 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."

This statement was broadcast throughout the world, and though we pacifists did our utmost to get a response, none has been forthcoming from Europe or the United States until the whole world is on the brink of disaster. It is not *our* policy of appeasement through conference and mutual concessions which has failed. It is appeasement plus the mailed fist which has failed. April 19th, 1937, was one of those moments in human history which real statesmanship would have grasped as the golden opportunity to start the world along the road toward peace. The effort might have failed. I am sure it would not have failed if Britain and France, together with the United States, had met the German Government as an equal.

But we must take the world as it to-day. Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini in Europe and the Japanese in the Pacific have taken such violent action that all the world is living in a state of

tension which, unless soon checked, will break up the homes and also the material resources of all the nations. In addition, the flood of racial persecution and the suppression of religious, social, and political freedom has reached a point when over large portions of the world the word freedom has no meaning whatsoever. The result of all this is that we "pacifists" are once again forced to stand alone. But in taking our stand against all part or lot in the work of trying to destroy evil by more evil, we are guided, strengthened and maintained by the faith that we are at least striving to follow the best we know, and we have the conviction that it is not God or Goodness which has turned this world into a madhouse, but the refusal of men to believe that in the affairs of life it is only possible to reap what we sow.

All that has happened in this world from the dawn of history till to-day bears eloquent testimony to the fact that power, wealth and great possessions owned individually or nationally never have and never can give the owners or their neighbours peace. Central Europe and Britain smashed the power of France at Waterloo. Prussia became the German Empire in 1871; and Britain, France and Russia co-operated together and fifty years later smashed the power of the new German Empire, only to make certain that, despite every effort to keep them down, the German nation is once again feared; and she has brought to her side, as an ally, the Italian nation which, during the years which ended in November, 1918, helped to smash the German armies.

If we could imagine a similar ending to another great war, who dares to say the results will be any better? No, it is not possible. Another universal war means no victors, all losers. We cannot build a new world out of universal ruin. I will not pursue that argument except to say all past history is a record of one force being replaced by another, until to-day, when knowledge is more widespread and science and invention has given us the means of the fullest life mankind has dreamed of, good men and women, some of them much more self-sacrificing than many of us, are willing to risk everything in another effort to save civilisation by force. So, my comrades, although our pathway seems, and really is, strewn with huge boulders of difficulty, let us cast our cares on Almighty God. It is not in our power ourselves to redeem mankind. We are unable to preserve our own lives or our own faith unless that faith

is built on the "Eternal Rock of Truth," from which our lives and our thoughts come. Within ourselves, we are able to reach out, in thought, to the Infinite and find strength to follow the light of Truth wherever it may lead us. At this hour, when it appears that only a miracle can save us from destruction, let us believe and continue to believe the "miracle" will happen. Goodness has never yet been crushed. Often it has been overborne, but it has still raised its head, proclaiming the truth, Hatred is Death, Love is Life. Who knows, perhaps we are being brought to the brink of human disaster so as to bring us all to God? May it not be that this is the Day for the coming of God's Kingdom on earth? Never be blinded by what is only momentarily visible. There is, I am certain, more love, more understanding, more goodwill among ordinary people in all lands than ever before. Surely this will be heard in Germany, Italy, France, Britain and elsewhere. I know ever so painfully that all I am saying is only words. But how else can we express our faith? To you who read this and are among the prisoners, captives and persecuted ones in the world, I can only send love and a prayer. May God cheer and comfort you and your faith never fail you. Although I find the task difficult, my mind will not believe war must come. On the contrary, it continues to insist that peace must and will come; and it will come not merely because war is bestial and horrible, but because it is futile, useless madness which accomplishes nothing at all; and war is all this because it is a denial of morals, religion and everything else which makes for human happiness. The Law of Life, do to one another as ye would be done unto, is not a pious platitude; it is a realistic truth, as our own personal lives prove as well as our national life.

It has been said, God is waiting for the people who will be good enough to enter and inhabit the promised land. I think of the Universe as the promised land and of us men and women as children, who have not yet grown up. Out of the Past has come much wisdom and knowledge; as yet little understanding. Perhaps out of the storm of lies and bitterness, hatred and deceit, a new generation will arise with such understanding as will enable a new civilisation to be born, perhaps after much sorrow and anguish, but all the same a new life based upon the grand conception that to be happy, to be peaceful, we must love God whom we have not seen and our neighbour whom we do see as ourselves.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

MURIEL LESTER

A NEW era seems to have begun on the North-West Frontier since the Government released the two Khan brothers and the elder became the Premier, and responsibility for the Provincial Government was undertaken by the Congress. Never having been in the province before, I could only compare the present with what I had read of the past and check up tentative conclusions by asking questions, some obvious and some distinctly awkward, of varying sorts of people.

For years past, ever since I began to study the North-West Frontier, British officials and missionaries had impressed on me the fact of the fine, rugged character of the Pathans, with their passion for freedom, their ready recourse to violence, their illiteracy which leads them to depend on the spoken rather than the written word, their religious nature easily exploited by reactionary or corrupt Mullahs, their loyalty to anyone who has once been their guest, their blood feuds, involving numerous murders, and their quick appreciation of frankness, openness and fearlessness.

I saw many instances of these characteristics, for, although we lacked permission to go to the tribesmen's villages as we wanted to, we soon realised that the whole area is Pathan, and whether they live in settled or unsettled territory, this side or the other of the Khyber Pass, the people have the same cultural and religious heritage.

Cave Men of the Frontier

I was ashamed to see human beings living in caves. Military men have often assured the public that our bombing raids do little damage to the tribesmen, as they merely change house from mud hut to cave. But these Afridis' caves are not in use as a result of our aeroplanes. They live thus, I was told, to escape each other's bullets. Their own gun factory provides them with weapons. It is scrupulously protected by the British because it is much better than their buying German or Italian rifles. Besides, it keeps them busy and distracted, and ruling them is consequently much easier. The Afridis are peaceful people. We have not much trouble with them, I was told. They used to earn their living by doing the carrying trade between Afghanistan and

British India through the Khyber Pass, but that, of course, was stopped.

"Then what do they live on?" I inquired, for we had passed scarcely any fertile ground on the two hours' drive from Peshawar up the Khyber.

"It's because there's nothing for them to do that the Government pays them such a big allowance," was the answer. "Thousands of rupees every two months is given to the Afridis."

If the so-called "dole" at home demoralises, what about this apparently permanent payment? One can understand the source of some of the shootings and some of the corrupt Mullahs' practices when one considers the local division and distribution of these huge sums. Surrounded by the towering crags and summits of the ancient hills and seeing so many of them crowned with our forts, loaded with our guns, manned by our soldiers, one feels ashamed. On the other side of the frail gate, where two under-sized, silent Afghan soldiers stood, the majestic scenery continues. Beyond the notice board, which in an unassuming way informs the public that here is the limit of the British Empire, the inhabitants are still Pathans. In common with most other folk, Pathans appreciate medical services, enjoy listening to stories, like music, are glad for their children to be taught the three r's, respond to friendship, grow sullen with threats, become corrupt with bribes. But I could hear of only one school in the whole area we passed through, and that was in a pseudo-village not following the usual pattern of rural life, but a sort of synthetic village formed by hundreds of Afridis settling at the foot of one of our big forts and doing any number of odd jobs for the British soldiers therein. I covet for my country the honour of starting in this area a new policy of penetration, not with roads and unproductive forts, but with good citizenship, schooling, culture, physical development, and hospitalisation.

On my way back as I passed once more the cave homes, visualised the women's lives, pondered on the unsmiling rocks and the infertility, I remembered what I had seen in China last year, the desert which the Japanese had made and called it "Peace." I became con-

vinced that Britain, having found a desert, could convert it into a place of happiness.

The Insoluble Problem of Waziristan

As we were not allowed to go to Waziristan ourselves, the word insoluble is obviously not of my coining. It was the dictum of a military official. A British political officer told me that it certainly seemed insoluble, even though he believed that no human problem could be. He went on to explain that from time immemorial there have been periodic irruptions from Waziristan into the fertile plains below, while each successive virile invading army has eventually settled down only to be attacked in its turn a few generations later as a result of population pressure of the war-like hillsmen. Now the British peace has been imposed and no more raids are allowed.

But what what are the Waziris to do? They must expand somewhere. Because of this dangerous situation, roads and more roads, military roads, are driven through. Call it peaceful penetration, suggest that it is good for them because we pay enormously enhanced wages to those of them we employ to work on the roads, point out the fact—as the late Viceroy did once to me—that when they get the habit of travelling in buses along these roads and visiting cities and seeing shops, they will find satisfaction in other things than fighting. The Waziristans still think of those roads as encirclement. The German road through Czechoslovakia goes through not round, and we should not accept a foreign road through England. How like ourselves the tribesmen are! People seem to agree that action of the Afridis is due fifty per cent. to love of independence, forty per cent. to fanaticism, ten per cent. to economics.

I have found none of our people yet who grudge them their independence. The economic position is admittedly extreme, but not yet hopeless. Fanaticism can be cured. Not by reading and writing. Not by intellectualism. It's a sort of spiritual or psychological evil and can best be dispelled by spiritual or psychological means. There must be a positive programme. It must be honest because the Pathans appreciate only frank, courageous action. It must no longer depend on bribery. It would ill befit a mere visitor to India like myself to suggest methods, but it is legitimate to suggest that the cure of fanaticism will be found along the lines in which educationists

and penalogists have found their new orientation. Dickens first made people see the humour and tragedy of the unimaginative headmaster with his cane trying to suppress one small, hungry boy. The naughty boy cannot be quelled by solemn-looking Trustees sitting in council and trying to devise new ways of breaking his will. Thirty years of bold and precise experimenting in the Home Office has resulted in Sir Samuel Hoare's new Act. He has seen that the hardy and even violent criminal need not continue to be a danger to society, but may become an asset to the nation.

Ambassadors of Peace

But no one suggests that we are dealing with hardened criminals in Waziristan. They are people without a normal outlet who need home industries, better methods in agriculture, local crafts, little centres of goodwill, adult schools where people can learn what interests them in an atmosphere neither academic nor governmental. To say that it is dangerous to go among them, that one might get killed, seems infantile. Are we not to be allowed to take a risk for peace, for friendship, for God, that millions of men are taking for war? Isn't it time that the general public and the Church started thinking about Waziristan? Why should not people of goodwill, not connected with Government, go and live among the tribesmen and win their friendship and confidence by setting up little dispensaries and schools, centres of mutual confidence where village industries might be encouraged? Sir Roland Hamilton and many others have spoken of the value of a man like Pennell and based their policy on the assumption that Pennells were not available to-day. But surely there are plenty of potential Pennells in the world. The Government need not hold itself responsible for the safety of those who might go among the people as servants of humanity and not in any official capacity. Missionaries in China and elsewhere have constantly refused the protection of gunboats and stated that they were not willing that their respective Governments should be held responsible for them. Moreover, should it not be possible to provide those who go into the world's danger spots with a sort of international passport? Then if anything happened to them—and the official view is that there is only one per cent. danger—it would be simple in these days of broadcasting to let the world know at once that the victims

were citizens of no particular country who were unwilling to be an embarrassment to anybody and had stated that their death must not be made the ground of any "incident" or punitive expedition. And if no harm befell them, who can tell what the results of such an experiment might be?

A Recall to Religion in India

It was one of our greatest Victorians who announced that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. Our imperialist policies have sometimes been based on considerations of right and wrong; often on expediency, economic, or territorial advantage. Emergency regulations, by suspicion and apprehension, have sometimes hardened into widespread repression. Future scholars will be ransacking piles of dusty papers, studying our present frontier policy, seeking to discover our present aim, our standards of judgment, our morality, the final arbitrament to which we appeal. Did the British in 1939 want the tribesmen to settle down and become good citizens or not? The precise answer will be sought by comparing expenditure on bribes with expenditure on schools, clinics and training centres. Was British man power and woman power utilised en masse as a military machine, or in creative, psychological and scientific planning?

They will read the justification of air bombing by one of Britain's bravest and most sensitive officers—that it is economical, not only financially, but in terms of human life, that the Pathans bear no grudge against us for doing it, that it is all part of the fighting life they love. And they will wonder why the woman's point of view was ignored. In another officer's record they will read how one raid destroyed every vessel in the village. They will perhaps find it hard to visualise the pre-stone-age plight of every able-bodied person having to walk a mile whenever he needed a drink of water, and every old, young or sick person having to be carried several times a day to the water side.

"A Splendid Place for Raw Troops"

They will see how it has been repeatedly stated that the North-West Frontier is a splendid place for raw troops. It holds just that spice of danger the lack of which makes Salisbury Plain unsatisfactory. They will read the diametrically opposed accounts of the eventful Christmas Day of 1931; the British police officer's honest pride in having outwitted the leaders of a dangerous movement by arrest-

ing them at 4 a.m. on the day when they had planned to attack; the Khan Sahib's reminiscences of driving his wife and children to Utmanzai on December 24th, knowing that he and his brother were to be arrested next day. They will seek to untangle the threads of fear, false reports, speeches honestly intended to be non-violent, but actually inciting the audience to disaffection. They will read how the Khudai Khitmagars held to their non-violence under special provocation when two hundred of them quietly bore the utmost shame to which a Pathan can be subjected—having their clothes torn off them and being forced to go up to the roof and stand there displaying their nakedness to the women.

But these facts are all in the past. The next couple of years belong to us before they serve as posterity's laboratory for historical research.

The Premier of the North-West Frontier Province is bent on co-operation with the British. "Let us not dig up the past," he says, "let us be utterly frank with each other now. The old Frontier policy costs millions, and there's little real peace. Let us go in among the tribesmen. We are Pathans, too. Let us start the schools and set up the clinics."

As a doctor he knows the villages well. He took us to one or two near Peshawar. When the car stopped people appeared from everywhere. We were surrounded in a moment or two by beaming faces. Food was brought to us; a boy with a bad eye was told what to do; a child's swollen glands were prescribed for. I told them about our boys and girls in the East End, and how people all round the world were beginning to see that the human race was one family and that we wanted to be friends. I asked for music, so a boy sang from the Koran.

Moslem, Hindu, Parsi, Christian, it is so easy to lend each other inspiration from our various sacred scriptures and confirm our common faith in the spiritual basis of society. After sitting at prayer together night after night we are refreshed. It is easy to pray in silence by the side of a Muslem while Hindu chants are being sung and an atheist or two are in the middle of the crowd, feeling strengthened and deepened, they do not know how or why.

Is not this the way which alone can outwit the dictators by its simplicity, its profundity, its reliability? We get in touch with the Creative Spirit which is always there, always available, always the same, and we are endued with confidence in each other, in the future, in God and therefore in ourselves.

THE DILEMMA OF THE "CHRISTIAN NON-PACIFIST"

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

WHILE the crisis of last September was coming to a head, I had the privilege of taking part in a congress of Christian pacifists at Friends' House, London; and never shall I forget the contrast between the serene conviction within the conference hall and the anxious bewilderment of the crowds outside. During each recurrent crisis since and each quick change of plan and policy, how thankful should we Christian pacifists be that, come what may, we at least know where we stand. For of all bewildered people surely none are caught in a sorer dilemma than our Christian non-pacifists—Christians as sincere and loyal as any pacifist, who, with their eyes wide open to all that modern war involves, have nevertheless committed themselves to the position that under certain conditions man may justly participate in such war in the name of Jesus Christ.

There was published some months ago a book with the curiously negative title, "Christian Non-Pacifism." Its author, the Rev. John Muir, not unfairly claims that it is the first statement of the non-pacifist position which bases itself consistently on the New Testament. Though few pacifists are likely to be convinced by its arguments, we would all do well to read it; for it shows up with stark clarity the dilemma of the Christian non-pacifist. Here are some sentences from the Introduction: "If a critic should point out that this book, despite all the arguments used, does not venture to justify or defend war, I would reply that in my judgment war is indefensible from the Christian standpoint . . . In its essence it is unchristian and an offence to Christendom. What I am concerned to defend and justify, as consonant with Christian teaching and principle, is participation in war under certain conditions." No one who reads the book will question the absolute sincerity of the author. Yet the plain man will find it hard to understand how one can "defend and justify as consonant with Christian teaching and principle" participation in something which is itself "indefensible from the Christian standpoint." Suppose that in this statement in place of "war" (which still wears a certain halo of "nobility") we insert some less respectable

sin (shall we say "adultery," for example?). Would the author still hold that his distinction is valid? Yet on this distinction the whole argument of the book is based. War is "contrary to the mind of Christ": participation in war must be proved "consonant" with it. Such is the self-confessed dilemma of the Christian non-pacifist.

The Archbishop of Canterbury

Even the non-pacifist Christian conscience must feel outraged by the Archbishop of Canterbury's recent frank enunciation of the "Christian" doctrine of force: the "only answer" that can be given to the German rulers "is to say that as against their claim that might is right, there must be a massing of might on the side of right." Truly God is always on the side of the big battalions! The Archbishop added that pacifists have not "thought out the consequences of their position." Can it be that he suggests Christians should abandon principle for expediency or cease to put faith into practice because of the consequences involved? And yet one wonders whether still more harm is not done to the Church's good name by such casuistry as this attempted distinction between war (which is of the Devil!) and "participation in war" (which may be blessed by God!). The plain, sad truth is that the "outsider," looking objectively at the Church from without and committed to no Christian profession, not seldom has a clearer insight into the implications of the Christian gospel and ethic than the orthodox Christian believer, bound as the latter almost unconsciously is by the traditional dogma of Church and State and of the "just war."

An admirable illustration may be found in some sentences from a review by Mr. Kingsley Martin of a book about Dick Sheppard. After defining a pacifist as one who "must have so lost fear for himself and be so full of love for his fellow-men that he cannot do anything except offer them his friendship and try to evoke theirs," the writer continues: "There are such people, and it is only those who aim at this type of saintliness who seem to me to have the right to the title of Christian. There are plenty of other people of good will, and there

are plenty of arguments for other philosophies than Christianity. But if you are, say, a champion of a method of keeping peace by the use of collective force and are willing in the last resort to drop bombs on other people, you may be justified by history and expediency, you may be more likely than the pacifist to prevent war at any particular moment, but you are not, it seems to me, a follower of Christ, even though you are an Archbishop . . . I wish the Archbishops and the other ecclesiastical dignitaries would be plainer on this subject. Either they follow Christ, who was not a compromiser, or they admit that Christianity is not in its entirety a practicable philosophy, and they really ought to call themselves by some other name. The pulpit lost respect in the last war by getting muddled up with the recruiting platform and finding ingenious reasons for putting the Sermon on the Mount into cold storage. The Church may, of course, survive as an institution, but it will cease to appeal to earnest followers of Christ if it compromises much further with the fundamental tenets of its faith."

The Revolt of the Plain Man

The writer, of course, is not himself a pacifist. But the verdict of the plain man's conscience could not be better expressed, or the Christian non-pacifist's dilemma more clearly defined. Conscience gives the simple, immediate verdict that war is always wrong. The plain man may not believe that Christianity is always practicable, nor does he see the actual steps by which war is to be abolished. But he does see that war and Christianity won't mix, that war is of the Devil and participation in war always a denial of the way of Christ.

But if the Christian non-pacifist finds it hard to square his case with the New Testament, he is caught, too, in a very practical dilemma. For in the matter of practical policy the entire Christian Church is rapidly being driven, by the logic both of events and of her own past declarations, towards the full pacifist position. So long as there was still a hope of preserving peace and justice through the League of Nations and a system of collective security based upon it, many Christians felt that here was a means, short of absolute pacifism, through which Christian principles and Christian endeavour after peace might find expression. The collapse of the League has removed that alternative, and with it the whole foundation of the Church's official policy for twenty years.

The dilemma: back to naked power-politics and unmasked militarism, or forward to Christian pacifism?

That Purely Defensive War

Once more, the Church has declared again and again that only to a war which is "purely defensive" can she give her sanction. Yet she has also declared, as for example, in the non-pacifist statement contained in the much-discussed Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1937, that "who, in any given instance, the aggressor is cannot be left to any single nation to decide, least of all the supposed aggressor, or any group of nations, but only such a central authority as the League of Nations. No nation can be sole judge in its own cause or any other. Only an international court can rise above the prejudices and myths that govern questions regarding the origins of war." No such court is now capable of functioning. Moreover, the development of air warfare, with the presumed necessity for the "defence" to get in the first blow, has greatly obscured the issue; a war might be ostensibly "defensive" and yet be in defence of a *status quo* in itself unjust; above all, trustworthy information is sure to be lacking in the actual crisis, so that it is virtually certain that the Church within each particular nation will decide from the information at its disposal that its own nation is waging a defensive war.

Finally, the Christian non-pacifist, having scrupulously defined the limits of legitimate "defence," finds himself committed to the support of a "defensive" war in which it will obviously prove impossible to recognise any such limits. Again I quote from the Church of Scotland Report the declaration of the non-pacifist majority: "Efforts are always made to persuade the people of a nation that what looks like aggression is really defence . . . that, even in a defensive war, the most effective defence will always be offence. But . . . even when victory may seem at stake, the Church cannot admit that military operations, whether by bombing or otherwise, which have the civil population, including women and children, as their deliberate objective, can ever be brought within the definition of legitimate defence." Once a "defensive" war breaks out, nothing is more certain than that non-pacifist Christians who have so declared themselves must either eat their words or declare themselves wholly pacifist. As a pacifist member of the Committee

which prepared this Report, I have always held that, apart from the pacifists, the only consistent realists on the Committee were two or three avowed militarists who protested against the inclusion of the paragraph just quoted, on the ground that it gave away the whole non-pacifist case so far as it could make any claim to be "Christian."

Military Necessity Knows No Law

As Mr. Muir's book is largely an attack upon my own published views, he will not take it amiss if I underline the dilemma of "Christian non-pacifism" on this particular issue by quoting him at some length: "Recent events suggest that a deliberate policy of attack upon non-combatants and of terrorisation would probably be adopted by certain nations." "The use of illegal weapons and forbidden methods by one nation—and each nation would probably accuse its adversary of being the first offender—would almost certainly provoke their use by every other nation." "To-day it almost seems to be taken for granted that in any future war . . . so-called necessity will know no law . . . that any weapon which can be used, whether in offence or in defence, will be used; that the only concern of the nation which has resolved to wage war, and perhaps also of the nation which fears to have war waged against it, will be to strike first and to strike hard . . . that a constant aim will be to break down enemy moral by the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians and non-combatants, men women and children." This is what the champion of "Christian non-pacifism" contemplates; he advocates that the Church should still permit the State to assume that Christians will sanction and support a "war of defence" which would "almost certainly" issue in such methods of warfare. And then at the same time he makes this qualification, as indeed he must if he is to leave his non-pacifist clad in even the rags of Christianity: "The non-pacifist Christian who reluctantly sanctions defensive war . . . is not prepared to adopt every method of warfare which the militarist may approve and demand." "The Christian soldier would be justified in refusing to obey an order to let loose poison gas or drop bombs on helpless women and children, and if his conscience forbade obedience, as one trusts it would, he should refuse obedience." Again one admires the absolute sincerity of the writer. But what a dilemma! If his book at all represents the point

of view of Christian non-pacifists, as indeed it must if they are to retain the Christian prefix, then it would seem that with the actual outbreak of war they must either retire from any "stand" which they have ever taken as Christians, or else must find themselves in the same camp as Christian pacifists—or will it be the same prison? But in any case, would not the more honest course be to "go pacifist" here and now?

The Lesser of Two Evils

No one will deny that the Christian pacifist, too, is faced by a cruel conflict of loyalties, and often feels a sense of sore hurt and shame at his isolation from the community which he loves and seeks to serve. Yet he is caught in no dilemma, for his course is always clear. He remembers that in the Lambeth Report of 1930 even our Archbishops gave their assent to this confession of faith: "We are called to follow the right as we see it. And if God has revealed to this generation the fundamental inconsistency between war and the fact of His fatherhood, the more tremendous is our responsibility for witnessing to this truth. We dare not be disobedient to the vision of a world set free from the menace of war, nor shrink from any effort or sacrifice that will make that vision a reality." We Christian pacifists cannot believe that God will ever confront us with a situation that compels the choice of war as the lesser of two evils. As Leyton Richards has put it, "there is always an exit from a choice of evils by the way of the Cross." And after the Cross there is always Resurrection.

HOW VERY ROMANTIC!

PAUL GLIDDON

IF war were not so romantic it would not even exist, but butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers (to say nothing of bank clerks, dustmen, doctors, drapers and people like that) being incurably romantic, it flourishes mightily. We may talk about war as a plague, but we shall not get rid of the plague until we have isolated the germ that carries it, and it would therefore seem advisable to persuade pacifists and others who share this horror of war to have as the subject for forthcoming conferences, "What do we mean by romance?"

All sorts of queerly different things are called romantic.

The moon shining across the sea is romantic; the attempts to climb Mount Everest are romantic; a missionary going alone to convert a savage tribe is described as romantic; a young boxer meeting an experienced fighter is said to be doing something romantic. At the first glance there seems little in common between moons, mountains and missionaries, but the thing they have in common is adventure and adventure attended with risk. Of course the moon across the water does not run any risk itself, and both the man in the moon and the lady in the moon live in cold and enviable security. But, though these two remain in isolation, there is reason to believe that the moon is the eternal match-maker and has been the occasion of romances beyond number. Now marriage is romantic because it is risky, and it would cease to be romantic were it not such a final adventure. In marriage two human beings, knowing how difficult it is for most of us to get on with any of us for four weeks at a stretch, enter into an undertaking to get on with one another at least until that unknown time when death shall dissolve the earthly partnership. Such a resolution is regarded by many as monstrous and absurd, but it is this resolution that alone makes marriage a romance. Perhaps the sensible thing would be for two people to throw in their lot together while they both felt like it and to drift apart when the mutual desire was dead. But that would remove the risk from marriage and thus deprive it of all romance. There is nothing romantic about a film star deciding that, for the time being, he will be counted as the husband of another film star, knowing that there is a bevy of beauties on the waiting list if wife No. 1 should be a bore; but there would be something romantic only if it were understood that this first adventure were also the final adventure, that the first were also the last.

Killing Romance with Care

Romance may be foolish, but it is also frail, and it is broken beyond repairing when provision is made in fear of failure. Tight-rope walking may be a tremendous feat, but a net placed with a cautious wisdom three inches below the rope would end its claim to be romantic, while what makes such things as mountaineering romantic is that men think its intangible rewards are worth the heavy risk of

death. Again, it may be no more necessary to convert the natives of the South Seas than the inhabitants of Southend; it is the danger attending the enterprise that makes one of them difficult but romantic, and the other difficult but dull.

We rightly regard the gentleman with a safe job in the City as an unromantic figure, and the gentleman who supplements his income by blowing up safes as very romantic indeed, for, while the City man regularly goes up by the 9.15, the burglar sometimes goes up with the safe. But a really clever swindler who always keeps inside the law is not romantic at all, for his dishonesty is linked with security and thus deprived of all romance.

Peace and security may be a highly desirable state, but it is entirely unromantic; it is peace and insecurity that is romantic. Thus those who plead that we must have overwhelming forces in order that we may be safe are really destroying the romance of war and therefore cutting at its very roots. The moment decent men know how to kill without any risk of being themselves killed, they will cease to desire to kill at all and regard the whole business as strictly dishonourable. The soldier at the best does what the hangman does always; he punishes with death the person who is guilty; but the names of soldiers are immortalised while those of hangmen are not even whispered not because the hangman is not infinitely more efficient, slaying only the offender and sparing all others, but because he runs no risk of sharing in the death that he bestows.

Pacifism may be the true successor of the romantic qualities of ancient war, not because it is certain to accomplish its immediate ends, but because it is quite possible that it will not. If a pacifist policy were a guarantee of security it would be highly desirable but entirely unromantic; what makes it both right and romantic is that it pursues right ends by right means, with the full knowledge that they who do righteously may yet be slain for all their righteousness. In an age when the cost is for ever being counted and loyalty to conviction deemed too highly priced, it is of supreme importance that a stand should be made in the cause of righteousness without consideration of cost. To be unthoughtful for the morrow's consequence of to-day's loyalty to Jesus is to become a figure truly romantic and restore the chivalry of Christ.

PEACE CONFERENCE PETITION

Part of the letter sent to the Prime Minister with the Petition bearing one million, one hundred thousand signatures.

THIS plea for a constructive initiative by one or more of the democratic nations has found an answer of historic significance and the deepest encouragement in President Roosevelt's appeal for the renunciation of aggression and for the peaceful consideration of the economic and political problems underlying international tension and the drift towards war. In its emphasis upon the common concern of the peoples of all countries in avoiding the catastrophe of war and upon the importance of dealing with the underlying causes of insecurity and conflict on the basis of the common needs of the ordinary peoples, the message of President Roosevelt is strikingly in accord with the National Petition and indicates, we believe, perhaps the only way of escape from the disaster which seems to threaten civilisation.

We were gratified to note that the British Government welcomed President Roosevelt's initiative in prompt and cordial terms. Recalling the measure of support which the National Petition secured, we are confident that the vast majority of the British people are eager to see this country give the fullest collaboration to the President in his efforts to find a constructive solution of the problems endangering peace. We believe, however, that if the President's initiative is to provide the maximum opportunity of reaching such a solution, it is in the highest degree desirable that the British Government should at the earliest possible moment make an announcement of the positive contribution which the British Empire itself is prepared to make to ensure a firmer and fuller economic liberty for the multitudes in every country. We do not presume to suggest the precise terms of such an offer, but recalling the major proposals of the memorandum submitted by the Petition deputation, we urge the need for a declaration of our readiness to abandon exclusive privileges in favour of "a new colonial system based on the maximum freedom for the colonial peoples and the fullest trading opportunity in colonial areas for all the nations of the world," and of our willingness to make such modifications in our national and imperial economic policies as will enable us to contribute fully to any co-operative effort to open up, in President Roosevelt's phrase, "avenues of international trade."

FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

To pray for peace is to think peace, to contemplate it, to delight in it. No one can rightly pray for peace who allows his mind to dwell on war. To meditate on evil is to invite evil into our lives; to contemplate disaster is to court disaster. Hence it is written, "I will bring evil on this people, even the fruit of their thoughts." But "whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report, think on these things . . . and the God of peace shall be with you."

Those who pray for peace must believe it to be the will of God. They will therefore make it their own will and do their utmost to bring it to pass. For while prayer can be granted by God only, no prayer can be complete in words, but must be uttered also in deeds. Those who pray for peace in sincerity work for peace. To pray for peace and prepare for war is the part of the double-minded man who is unstable in all his ways: "Let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord."

True prayer is a desire cherished in the heart. Those who pray for peace, prizing some other thing more, will receive the things they value more but not peace. Prayer is a dominant desire. If you want peace but want national glory, or security of worldly empire, or personal exaltation and the power to command and control, or excitement and sensation, or the expression of your righteous indignation even more, then you are not praying for peace but for that which you desire in your inmost heart. Those who really pray for peace are those who can honestly say, Blessed are the poor, blessed are the meek, blessed are the persecuted.

Let us pray for the peace which the world cannot give and which it cannot take away.

Let us pray for the perfect love that casteth out fear.

Let us pray for the love which rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth; which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things.

Knowing that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God, let us pray for grace to be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath.

Let us ask of God who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, the wisdom that we lack.

Let us pray that if a man be overtaken in a fault we may restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering ourselves lest we also be tempted.

CONGREGATIONAL PEACE CRUSADE
BULLETIN

While many Congregationalists write for "The Christian Pacifist," this is the first special bulletin by arrangement with the Editorial Committee. It is hoped that at regular intervals further bulletins, specially relating to the Crusade, will be published. A copy of this issue will be sent to every member of the Crusade by the kind permission of the Magazine Management Committee.

"HOW IT BEGAN"

J. R. ACKROYD

FOURTEEN years ago about half-a-dozen men met at Whitefields to form a pacifist Group within the Congregational Union. Among them were Leyton Richards, Stanley Russell, Morton Barwell, and the writer of this brief account. We were drawn together by a common conviction and by the hope that we might be able to spread the pacifist witness within our own denomination. We had the further hope that our effort might lead to similar movements within the other Christian communions.

In the course of conversation we were led to the decision that at first it should be a Ministers' movement, a gathering together of all Ministers who held the pacifist position and an attempt through them to win others. That decision determined our line of action. A letter was sent to every Congregational Minister in the Union, stating our position and asking for consideration and, if possible, for support. Because of a chance remark that I could get help in the clerical work from some of the members of my Church, I was appointed Secretary. Those who know me best were alarmed at the appointment because they know that I am not much good at secretarial work. But someone had to make a beginning.

The response to our first letter gathered about 70 men who were already pacifists. The next step was the drawing up of a covenant. It is interesting to note that the first covenant still stands. At the meetings of the Union held in Leicester in 1926, we held a meeting in Wycliffe Church, of which Seaward Beddow was and still is the Minister. Stanley Russell gave an address. This was followed by a public signing of the Covenant and a service of Holy Communion. No one who was present will ever forget that service. Our Crusade was solemnly and gladly offered to God in the cause of peace.

Because of that service the Covenant came to be known among us as the Leicester Covenant.

From the outset our movement was one of quiet and peaceful penetration. As it grew, we were able to bring our Crusade more and more before the Union. It was given a place in the programme of the Union meetings, and we were able to arrange for public consideration of the pacifist witness before the assembly. From the beginning, Leyton Richards was our leader and public advocate, but the movement grew through the quiet efforts of men among their fellow Ministers in their own districts. Later R. E. Thomas took over the work of Secretary, leading on to the time when the Crusade was made an integral part of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and included the laity as well as ministers.

We rejoice in the fact that our early hope has been realised and that in every Christian Communion there is now an active Christian Pacifist movement.

Growth of the Crusade

The growth of the Crusade in its earlier years was slow—necessarily slow. The need of any such Crusade is for a Secretary who has considerable time and some amount of money at his disposal. Inevitably the Secretary was a busy minister, and busy ministers have usually neither much time nor money. The need here is not only for organisation, nor even for subscriptions, but for personal visitation and the holding of meetings. The best way out of these difficulties of growth seemed to the Committee to be a definite amalgamation with the F.o.R., with an interchange of membership, and the adoption by the F.o.R. of the costs of conducting the Crusade.

A further advantage was that the officers of the F.o.R. were thus constantly at work, while they were doing their own specific job, in helping to enlarge the Crusade itself. This seemed to be a happy way out of the difficulties, and

so indeed it has proved. When the amalgamation took place there were 484 members of the Crusade scattered all over the country, and, as will be reported to the business meeting, the numbers have now reached 1,523.

This happy working-arrangement seems to have been fully justified, and yet it seems certain that there are still numbers of pacifists in our Churches who have not yet been enrolled in the Crusade. Union is strength here, as everywhere, and it is hoped that those who receive this bulletin will both pass it on to friends who are likely to be interested, and at the same time send their names and addresses to the Secretary at the F.o.R. Office, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

THE PACIFIST MOVEMENT IN THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

LEYTON RICHARDS

I FIND many of my pacifist friends in these days are apt to be defeatist; but for the Christian this ought not to be encouraged, no matter how dark and forbidding the prospects are from the standpoint of worldly wisdom. The word of Jesus Himself is our warrant for assurance; for it was when the Cross was already beginning to cast its shadow upon the disciple-circle and to induce that sense of depression which finally caused His followers to "forsake Him and fly," that He said, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." It is only another way of saying that nothing earthly can destroy the things of the Spirit, and that no assault of worldly forces can touch the soul which remains faithful to the Divine Way in Jesus Christ.

Christ's Kingdom is "not of this world"; but Christian people nevertheless are apt to identify its fortunes with things that happen in the realm of time and space; and hence our apprehensions and our sense of defeat when the kingdoms of this world are threatened with distress and dissolution. The real corrective to this pessimism is found in the Apocalyptic visions of the New Testament; for then we recognise that "our citizenship is in Heaven": its substance is spiritual, not political, and it is, therefore, entirely removed from the chances and changes of a material order.

No disaster that we can foresee in this present

hour could be more overwhelming than that which overtook the little company of Christian disciples 1900 years ago, when their Master was crucified. But Christian values were not thereby extinguished. Rome and Judea nailed Jesus to the Cross; yet to-day the Roman Empire is merely a memory, the Jews are scattered to the four corners of the earth, and the spirit of Jesus lives as the most potent influence in millions of human souls.

Even Christian pacifists in many cases are not free from the illusion that somehow the progress and destiny of the Kingdom of God are bound up with the maintenance of the British Empire or at least with the preservation of Britain's national life; and it is, therefore, necessary to insist that the determining factor is not anything outward, but only the inward fidelity of the citizens of the Kingdom. It is the message of the Spirit to the Churches:—"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give to thee a crown of life." There is a note of invincibility in that message which finds its warrant not only in religious insight, but also in history; and it provides a sure and certain antidote to the defeatism which so easily assails flesh and blood when we contemplate the signs of the times.

But there are signs and signs. And the visible signs are not the only ones of which the Christian will take account. The folly of rearmament, the futility of Air Raid Precautions, the sabre-rattling of dictators and their press; the appeasement policy of democratic statesmen (so different from Christian reconciliation), the surge of war in east and west, the cruel sadism of Nazis and Fascists, the diversion of economic resources from constructive to destructive ends, the festering social sores of poverty and unemployment (preventable and yet not prevented): all these outward signs of human fear and human sin rivet our attention upon "things seen and temporal"; and as a result "our eyes are holden," so that we often fail to discern beneath and within the present distresses "the things that are not seen and eternal."

Yet these eternal things are there; and to seize upon them is to find signs of hope at the very heart of the things which seem only to presage disaster. So far as the international scene is concerned, there are two such signs. The first is the widespread recoil in the modern world from the prospect of war. The fact that all the peoples prepare for war does not mean

that they want war, but only that for the most part they believe there is no other way to keep the peace. In other words, the popular support of rearmament is an act of faith; and the fact that it happens to be faith in a broken reed which sooner or later pierces the hand which leans upon it, does not alter the character of the peaceful impulse which underlies it. This "sign," however, is something new in the modern world. To realise this one needs only to contrast 1914 with 1938. On August 2nd of the former year the world was on the threshold of war; and a demonstration in favour of British neutrality was held in Trafalgar Square. Keir Hardie presided, and the list of speakers included Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, Robert Clynes, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Despard (the sister of Lord French, who was Commander of the British forces in the retreat from Mons) and other well-known Labour leaders. It was a platform which normally would have attracted record crowds. Yet the Square was hardly more than a quarter full, and on the fringes of the audience were groups of youths waving Union Jacks and singing patriotic songs in a manner designed to make the meeting impossible. That evening, those same youths (the raw material from which fascist bullies are drawn) augmented by thousands of others, took possession of Whitehall and paraded up and down in front of the Government offices shouting for war; and twenty-four hours later, war came. Jingoism had its way! And the same was as true in Berlin and Paris as in London.

It is well to remember that episode amid our present depressions. For the crisis of September, 1938, revealed an entirely different spirit from the spirit of 1914. Not only was there no explosion of war-passion and no stimulation of national hatred; but the opposite was true. The common people in every country wanted only one thing, and that was the preservation of peace. Doubtless motives were mixed in this matter, and fear of what air-warfare would mean for the civilian population was one of the impulses which exercised restraint. But fear was not the only motive, and the Christian pacifist may rightly find in the recoil from war a "sign" of the effectiveness of the continual crusading for peace which has engaged the energies of Christian people—pacifist and non-pacifist alike—throughout the past twenty years.

Bismarck once spoke of "the imponderables"

as the determining factor in statecraft; and it is certainly true to-day that an eye for spiritual reality reveals many elements in the present world-situation which give warrant for hope rather than despair. "Munich will remain historic," wrote a German press correspondent last October, "not for what the statesmen did there, but for the mounting tidal wave of peaceful public opinion which warned the statesmen that their power had limits." It is an "imponderable" of which we do well to take account.

The second "sign" by which we may be encouraged is the growing recognition of policy as the key to the issues of war and peace. It was, I think, Clausewitz, the Prussian military writer of 100 years ago, who first laid it down as an essential principle that armaments and policy stand in an exact ratio. A peaceful policy, therefore, needs no armed defence; for it is its own justification, and it robs the would-be aggressor of his pretexts for aggression. This is the obverse of the pacifist position, whose reverse is a refusal to fight; and it is gradually sinking into the public mind. People, for instance, who twenty years ago, would have been scandalised by the merest suggestion that Britannia had no moral right to "rule the waves," will now listen quite dispassionately to a plea for the internationalising of empire; and the attempt to whip the British people into a war for the retention of the unfree colonies would be met on many hands by a quiet refusal to regard the colonial issue as a *casus belli*. Again it is true that motives are mixed, and some of them are purely selfish. But among the several impulses making for a more peaceful policy is undoubtedly a growing suspicion that empire as such is morally indefensible. This suspicion—like the recoil from war—is one of the "imponderables"; but if it continues to spread in the minds of the people it will have more weight on the side of peace than all the "ponderables" in the arsenals of all the world; for policy and armaments stand in an exact ratio.

For the Christian man or woman, therefore, defeatism has no warrant. I have tried to show that already there are signs of hope in the very midst of the things which—superficially regarded—make for disaster. Moreover, even if disaster comes and the "things that are shaken" go down in ruin; yet there are also "things that cannot be shaken," and those things belong irrevocably to every soul of man

which is faithful to the way of Jesus Christ.

That is the confidence which led to the birth of the Christian Pacifist Crusade, and in that same confidence it still seeks to bear its testimony—together with its sister movements in other denominations—to the Gospel of Christ's Peace.

MAY MEETINGS

Public meeting in the Great Hall, Memorial Hall, on Tuesday, 9th May, at 8.15 p.m.
Chairman: The Rev. Leyton Richards, M.A.
Speakers: The Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P.
The Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E.

Admission free. Collection.

(NOTE: If you are a member of the Crusade, please come and bring a friend; if you are not a member, please come and hear two of the greatest representatives of Christian Pacifism known in the country.)

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING AND BREAKFAST

Whitefields, Tottenham Court Road, on Thursday, 11th May, at 8 a.m.

Address by The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon.

All interested will be welcome.

Breakfast: 1/-. Names to be sent to The Rev. Leslie Artingstall, B.A., 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

(NOTE: The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon is an Anglican Priest specially licensed by the Bishop of London to be one of the ministers of the King's Weigh House.)

A MILITARY APOLOGIA

LEYTON RICHARDS.

IT is always well to understand the point of view of the other side, and this is as desirable on the question of pacifism and war as on any other. Unfortunately, many public apologists who dissent from the pacifist view base their case upon political or other expedient grounds; and the person therefore who approaches the question from a Christian standpoint and who seeks his authority in the New Testament outlook, finds little or no common ground for discussion. We are therefore very glad to read a pamphlet issued by the Army Officers' Christian Union and written by Major-General W. G. S. Dobbie, with a preface by Sir Thomas Inskip, the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence. For its title is "Christianity and Military Service" (published by Pickering & Inglis), and it frankly seeks to establish the legitimacy

of soldiering by an appeal to Scripture. It will be best to let the pamphlet speak for itself.

Sir Thomas Inskip starts off by saying: "I regard the pamphlet as a valuable antidote to the mischief which the unwarranted assertions to which I have referred are doing." These assertions are not specified in detail, but are summarised by the statement that "a number of professing Christians tell us that the teaching of Christianity forbids a man to take measures to defend his home and folk from attack; and others who do not profess Christianity make the same assertion . . . So far as I can see, there is nothing in the New Testament to justify them."

Major-General Dobbie

So much for the brief preface. Now for the case presented by Major-General Dobbie. But before quoting, it ought in fairness to be said that an editorial note indicates the point of view of the writer; and this, of course, explains the nature of his apologetic. "The power of the following article," says the editor, "is due to the fact that all deductions are based on God's changeless word—the Bible."

With the text of the Bible as his authority, the author is struck by three things. The first is a negative: "Nowhere in the whole of Scripture is there the slightest hint that the soldier's calling is in itself unlawful." The next point is positive: "Throughout Scripture God envisages human rule as being ultimately based on force . . . At present evil has to be kept down by fear and force for the sake of society as a whole, and this fact God recognises and approves . . . Further, if the use of force is approved by God, surely the recognised instrument of this force which is used cannot be displeasing to Him." But doubt intrudes at this point; for the writer recognises that "loving our enemies and loyalty to an earthly government may seem contrary." There, indeed, is the Christian's dilemma. But the appeal to another part of Holy Writ settles it; for "God, Who is love, has already revealed His will in those passages in which the Christian is exhorted to support the authorities in the use of force for the suppression of evil." Why one passage, literally read, is to be preferred to another, is not explained. The third point is also positive: for "the Christian's life is constantly likened by the Holy Spirit to that of a soldier." It might be pointed out that the Christian life is also likened to that of a slave; but in these days this is not usually held to justify slavery.

The Soldier and the Policeman

At this stage, the writer turns to analogy, which is always a risk to the dialectician. The "dreadfulness" of war is recognised; but it is a mistake to "imagine a close connection between the military calling and war . . . One might as well argue that, since crime is a horrible thing, it is wrong for a Christian to be a policeman and use force for its suppression." But does the policeman engage in crime as the soldier engages in war in order to "suppress" it? The logic surely trips here! But no matter: the expulsion of the money-changers from the Temple gives Scriptural warrant for Christian participation in war, even if the police analogy is faulty. We must therefore "avoid . . . being side-tracked by specious arguments and slogans. The only safe course is to bring all such to the touchstone of Scripture. In this way alone will we keep on firm ground."

Again, war may be "dreadful"; but it is false to say that to engage in it is a "sin"; for "we are told that God is a 'man of war' and that the Lord Jesus will one day go forth to 'make war.'" War, therefore, cannot be sinful; but nevertheless it is "without doubt the result of sin." This judgment is endorsed by another analogy: "Disease is ultimately the result of the fall," just as war is; and the one, therefore, is no more a sin than the other. But is this analogy any more sound than the previous one? We may agree that the existence of disease in the world is a "result of sin" and that in the sinless world of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth "there shall be no more pain"; but is the decision to wage war as involuntary as the endurance of pain? In other words, disease may be "a result of sin," but war is a repetition of sin. One is an effect which the victim suffers whether he will or not, while the other is caused by human volition and is a matter of choice by the participant. Once again the writer's logic seems to trip on a false analogy.

Trust in God and Keep Your Powder Dry

It is refreshing to find an apologetic for "Christianity and Military Service" which does not evade the plain testimony of the Sermon-on-the-Mount; and whatever one's agreement or disagreement with the writer, his honesty and sincerity are apparent in every line he writes. Like so many great soldiers in Christian history, he wins us by his obvious desire to be loyal to the Light as he sees it. But what if two beacons shine in opposite directions? This is always the problem for the Biblical literalist

who believes (with the writer of this pamphlet) that "the principles which the Holy Spirit lays down in one part of Scripture are never stultified by utterances of any individual speaking under His control in other parts of Scripture." So the Sermon-on-the-Mount has to be reconciled with the imprecatory Psalms and the Book of Judges. But how? The answer is in "the old saying, 'Trust in God and keep your powder dry.'" This is suspiciously like trying to make the best of both worlds, but none the less it still leaves the moral contradiction unresolved. The writer is on surer ground (from his point of view) when he alleges that the Sermon-on-the-Mount "refers primarily and mainly to the time when the Kingdom of God will be set up on earth. It enunciates the conditions which will obtain then, and the rules and regulations which will govern the actions of its subjects." This obviously relegates the "pacifism" of Jesus to a dim and distant future which is no concern of the man who girds himself for battle here and now. But it only disposes of one problem by raising another. For how comes it to be that, in his picture of the Kingdom of God on earth, Jesus envisaged people who persecute the righteous, and are the victims of lustful desires, and speak untruths, and smite their fellows on the cheek, and rob them of their coat? How is it that the citizens of the Kingdom parade their mock-piety, and try to serve both God and Mammon? How do false prophets flourish within the Kingdom? and whence come the foolish men who "hear the words of Jesus and do them not"? We can take our choice; either the ethics of the Sermon of the Mount apply to the world as it is or they do not. But either way there are difficulties; and those difficulties are not removed merely by transferring them to the realm of what is yet to be.

Yet There is Common Ground

The writer, however, is not discouraged. He is deeply convinced that a military career is consistent with the Christian faith, and in that conviction he both lives and writes. This, at least, must win our esteem and respect. With Sir Thomas Inskip, he believes pacifism to be mischievous error; but he hurls no stones at pacifists; he is a gentleman as well as a soldier, and, like many humbler folk, he is not ashamed either of the faith he professes or the calling he adorns. "From what I have written," he says, "it will be seen that Scripture indicates that the profession of arms is an honourable and lawful one; that the use of force and material weapons is not incompatible with faith in God; that God

is a God of order and that in this present dispensation He has ordained that human governments shall maintain order by force; that the time is not yet, though it will surely come, when 'the government will be on His shoulder,' and mankind will then be able to beat his sword into a ploughshare."

We may leave it at that. There is not so much difference between the Major-General and the pacifist as would appear at first sight. Take both at their best, and each is eager to

obey God and to serve his fellow-men; each acclaims himself a follower of the Prince of Peace; and both alike work and pray for the day when "war shall be no more." Their aims are identical; but in method they differ. Yet the pacifist can take to himself the words with which the Major-General ends his pamphlet, and both can agree that "it is surely an honourable thing and well fitting for a Christian" that a man should serve his day and generation in that sphere to which God has called him.

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

I. H. REEKIE

AT a time when violence and repression are accepted in so many countries as the bases of national life, it is refreshing and encouraging to see a Home Secretary introducing in Parliament a Criminal Justice Bill of which perhaps the most outstanding feature is the prominence given to curative and reformative methods of treating offenders, and the secondary place accorded to purely retributive punishment.

The Bill provides for Remand Homes and State Remand Centres in order to keep young people out of prison when remanded for trial; and, to some extent, for observation of difficult cases during this period in order that the court may have a medical and mental report before it when finally passing sentence. It provides, in Compulsory Attendance Centres and Howard Houses, new methods of dealing with children and young persons between the ages of 12 and 21. It further restricts the already very limited power of courts to send young people to prison, either on remand or under sentence. It makes it possible, in the case of offenders of all ages, to include in a probation order a condition providing for mental treatment by a qualified medical practitioner, or in a recognised institution, where the court considers the offender to be in need of such treatment, though not certifiable under the Lunacy or Mental Treatment Acts.

For persons between 21 and 30 and for those over 30, with certain specified previous convictions, different types of imprisonment are empowered from any existing now. These are Corrective Training (2 to 4 years) and Preventive Detention (2 to 4 and 2 to 10 years) respectively.

Abolition of Flogging

All these provisions are indications of the

attitude of mind underlying the Bill, but perhaps most significant of all is its proposal to abolish flogging under sentence of the courts, a proposal which has aroused bitter antagonism on the part of certain members of the House of Commons and of the public generally, even where those concerned have been prepared to welcome, critically or warmly, other provisions of the Bill. "Brutal crime can only be prevented by brutal measures," is the burden of their claim. The fact that the Government's proposal to abolish flogging is based on the unanimous recommendation of a Departmental Committee, which had studied all available evidence, is ignored.

But all who are opposed to violence, more especially violence as a method of government, will welcome this recommendation and applaud the courage with which Sir Samuel Hoare has acted on it. Now is their opportunity to help him in his effort to remove this anachronism from our penal system, by writing to their local papers supporting his proposal; by urging their M.P.'s to support him in the House of Commons on Report Stage; or, in the case of societies, by passing resolutions supporting the proposal to abolish flogging and repudiating the claim of those who would retain it—that the people of this country demand it as a protection.

Two thousand years ago, in Palestine, a crowd gathered to stone a woman taken in adultery. Customs change. Now, in the twentieth century, men and women gather in committee rooms to urge that men be flogged—but by someone else paid to do it for them. Two thousand years ago the believers in violence were given their answer, an answer as profoundly searching to-day as when it was uttered.

HOW I BECAME A PACIFIST

MAGDA YOORS-PEETERS

WHEN I was about eleven years old, my grandmother, who was a member of the "Ligue pour la Paix par l'Education," had me enrolled as a member of its new junior association, "La Jeune Bande pour la Paix." Its president was Mlle. Rosseels, of Antwerp, a friend of my grandmother; its secretary, Mlle. Eugenie Hamer, is still spending herself in the service of peace. The "Ligue" arranged lectures for its young members, but what we were told did not really affect us because we did not know what war meant and we were too young to understand something which we first had to fancy and then to try to feel.

Our "Ligue" also arranged meetings for grown-ups, with well-known speakers and music. The first year the "Jeune Bande" staged a play in which I had the part of the Angel of Peace, endeavouring to unite the peoples of the earth under the words: "Peoples! Let us form a holy alliance and join hands!" How proud and glad I felt! The second year, we had lectures with slides representing battlefields, wounded soldiers and destroyed homes, but as we knew nobody who had ever been to war, the things shown to us had only access to our brain and not to our heart. After the Balkan War, however, our doctor, who had been in it as a surgeon, and chief of the Belgian Ambulance, brought it all much nearer to me, and when in that year's play I was again the Angel of Peace, veiled in black, mourning over the desolation war had brought upon the people, I did it with real emotion.

As the years went by, the children we once were grew up and our president became a very old lady. In 1912, she assembled a big gathering for the last time, with music and a lecture advocating something very much like a league of nations.

1914

Two years passed, during which I never thought about war and peace. I was just a young girl, filled with wonder at the marvellous manifestations of life. I loved all that lived; I felt as if I were related to all the peoples of the earth; and when I discovered that my school-fellows did not share this feeling, I thought that

with me it might find its explanation in the fact that, although I was born a Belgian, my mother had come from Cuba and my great-grandfather from Germany.

By the time I was fifteen I really felt myself a citizen of the world. In fact, I never realised as others do what it was to have a fatherland till, in 1914, Belgium was attacked. Nevertheless, it took some time before hatred was born in me. The war came as a terrible shock, and during the first nights I lay awake, weeping as well over the Germans as over the Belgians, for they were all human beings. But I was surrounded by people who nursed hatred in their hearts. I read the papers all day. I read the same news and the same stories over again in seven different newspapers and in two languages. The time soon came when I felt as everyone else did in those days.

The First Zeppelin

The first Zeppelin which dropped bombs over Antwerp flew over our garden. It was during the night. I was awakened by a queer, loud noise which I could not identify. I jumped up and saw from the window a huge monster quite near. Half a minute later, it had gone over the roofs and I back to bed. Then came a terrible explosion, my window crashed, and I found myself covered with broken glass. Several explosions followed, and in the deafening noise I heard the wild screaming of the people in the street. Two bombs had fallen on a neighbour's house, and an hour later the bodies of the three people who had been killed in it were removed from under the ruins.

In Belgium, hatred of the enemy was growing stronger day by day, and increasing with every new cruelty of which our people were the victims. In Antwerp, the hospitals were crowded, even the attics were full. Every day streams of refugees arrived. One day, as a train came in with wounded soldiers, I helped to transfer to the ambulance those who had lost their legs. I did my best to encourage them and express my admiration for their bravery, but only with the greatest difficulty could I master my trembling and my tears.

Then came the bombardment of Antwerp, a fortified town, and the day when we ourselves

knew from our own experience what it was like to become refugees. We fled through a town where houses were burning and people, hit by bombs, lay dead in the streets. It was only after three days and three nights under the bullets that we were able to leave the city, for we had left our home and there was no means of getting back to it. We were caught as in a trap. At last a small Dutch boat rescued us.

So now we were refugees in Holland. We were out of the war, but our hearts were with the men at the front, and with those who had not left the country. We suffered in being away from it.

By this time war psychosis had got me entirely in its grip, and I was no longer myself. I had no thoughts of pity for the Germans. My whole being was absorbed by one thing: how could I help to free my country—I, a young girl in a small town in Holland? I felt that to keep up the courage of my people must be my task. I was asked to collaborate in a Flemish-Belgian newspaper and in a Flemish weekly appearing in Holland which was read at the Front. Article after article went to encourage our soldiers. Occasionally I sent articles to the "Tagens Nyheter" in Sweden, to enlist sympathy there for Belgium.

Assisting Escaping Prisoners

In the camp near Amersfoort there were thousands of Belgian soldiers belonging to the army divisions which had defended Antwerp and escaped the Germans by crossing the Dutch frontier. These men were strictly guarded, but from time to time some were able to escape and join those at the Front. Outside the camp they found friends to help them. I was one of those whose help consisted in supplying civilian clothes, without which the adventure was not to be attempted. I was working with a girl who had been rescued from the "Lusitania" and who could not get rid of the memory of what she had gone through the night the ship was sunk. Every day the newspapers brought us news of the behaviour of the enemy in Belgium. The things we heard at first hand did not tend to soften our hearts. We grew hard, and when we heard about the Germans' lack of food some of us said with a revengeful pleasure: "Let them suffer: so much the better if they do: they deserve it."

It was near Christmas time, 1917. There was by then so much bitterness in me that feelings of hatred had reached their zenith. One day I

said to a girl I knew: "If a German were to die at my feet, I could not help him." . . .

A few hours later I was returning home from nursing sick refugee children, walking through the falling darkness along a road bordered by a hedge. The roads were covered with snow; it was very cold and the moon was rising. When I was about fifty yards from the house where I lived, I noticed in the ditch by the roadside a bundle of clothes. As I stood looking at it, I felt a human presence. Thinking it might be a child who had lost its way and had been overcome by fatigue and cold, I bent down. It was something much bigger than a child, and, as I touched it and spoke, it turned its face towards me and I felt rather than saw that it was a man in a state of extreme exhaustion. After a moment I managed with difficulty to make him sit up and then got him on to his feet. It was freezing hard, a bitterly cold night, and I could not have gone back to my room with its homely warmth, leaving this man outside to die. The darkness was now complete. As no answers came to my questions, we walked towards my temporary home in silence. I had put the stranger's left arm round my neck while my right arm was round his waist in order to support him and make his walking possible. How often had I done this when helping our soldiers from the train into the ambulance!

I Rescue a German

When I had taken the man in and set him in an easy chair, I turned on the light. I will never forget the sight that met my eyes. It upset and moved me in such a way that there was no time for reflection. This man, with bare, bleeding feet sticking out of his shoes, this ragged being whom I had taken in and to whose rescue I had gone out of feelings of humanity and of brotherly solidarity, was looking at me with eyes infused with blood. He wore a ragged, military uniform which I at once recognised. His eyes rested on me, then he perceived the Belgian flag above my writing-desk, and when he turned his gaze on me again he burst into tears. I, too, burst into tears.

The man was a German soldier. When I was quiet enough to speak and he also had regained his balance, I asked him where he had been coming from. "Out of hell," was the answer. He had run away from the Front, driven out of his senses by a bayonet attack. He had fled through the night, hidden himself during the day, and walked and crawled towards what he knew was

the Dutch frontier. He did not know where he had got to, had given up trying to go further and had laid himself down to die when I found him.

I washed and tended his wounded feet, and bandaged them with linen I had bought for the baby-clothes of a refugee. The last civilian suit I had in my possession and which had been reserved for the next young man who would go to the Front, was given to the man who had fled the Front.

My Eyes Were Opened

My eyes had been opened and my heart had been touched. While the man slept, I prayed and thanked God that He had sent His ambassador to me with a message. Suddenly there had come to me a new understanding. I realised the sanctity of life and the crime war represents.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Italy

A report of the work of the National Protestant Church of Italy, carried on courageously by our friend, Vincenzo Melodia, under "difficult and painful material and financial conditions," has recently reached us. It reminds us of numerous friends in Italy whom our travelling representatives have met from time to time, but from whom we are largely cut off by the distorting influences of propaganda. Just because the relations between countries are difficult, spiritual connections between persons should be maintained to the utmost of our power.

Japan

A missionary friend in Japan sends the following extract from a pamphlet by Kagawa, which he suggests is a partial answer to some of our questions:

"We (Japanese) are composed of many Oriental races—Polynesians, Micronesians, Chinese and Koreans—but some 60 per cent. (of our ancestors) are Koreans. Tokyo and Osaka were founded by Koreans and Kyoto was founded by Chinese. Japan is called 'Yamate,' which means 'great harmony.' So unless we have some central power this nation would probably be like the Philippine Islands. There, they have about 80 different tribes which have

Late that night the German soldier, my brother in Christ, left me after having shared my supper. I put in his pockets all the food I had in the house—it was very little—and added to it the chocolates reserved for my refugee children's Christmas tree.

When the man had gone, a great serenity entered my soul. I could hate no more. I knew that all of us—Germans and Belgians and Germans and English and French and all the others who were mixed up in this monstrous war—suffered and were its victims, and I knew that none of those who suffered and killed each other at the Front were responsible for the hell into which they had been thrown.

I had not come to the outlook of the pacifist by the slow process of reasoning. It had come upon me like lightning. I had been touched by grace. My blindness had been removed. Now I saw.

not yet been united into one nation. Some white races have a capacity for democracy that we do not have. Please do not criticise us too harshly. You have had a long history of democracy behind you. Japan cannot go with the so-called democratic nations. You may criticise us for having a totalitarian state, but please understand that we need Christianity before we can have democracy in Japan. Be missionary if you want democracy. Write to your countries to send more missionaries, if they want democracy in Japan. . . ."

India

Friends of ours have been very close to recent events in India, especially during Mr. Gandhi's fast over the Rajkot trouble. It is a matter for great thankfulness that some half-a-dozen people who really know the conditions of Indian life, whether in Orissa, in the North-West Frontier Province, among the students, or in political circles, have had continuous opportunity as they have moved about of pointing to the relevance of the F.o.R. message and have been able to exercise with real sympathy a degree of reconciling influence. The fact that personalities far separated are being brought together in groups makes the situation one full of hope.

France

A recent letter from Henri Roser says that he is shortly leaving Paris for a visit to Alsace. Muriel Lester is going to France for a fortnight, from May 2nd, to fulfil a series of speaking engagements arranged by Henri Roser. She expects to visit Le Harve, Paris, Montgaris, Le Chambon, Nimes, Marseilles, Grenoble, Lyons, Roubaix and Lille.

Czechoslovakia

Our friend, Elsa Tutsch, who shared with her late husband much of the responsibility for F.o.R. work in Czechoslovakia in earlier years and who later has done a wonderful work in organising holiday exchanges between thousands of Czech and German children, has felt obliged to leave Prague and is now a guest among us. She has an interesting story to tell small groups.

Esthonia

A friend in Tartu reports considerable activity on the part of the Fellowship of Reconciliation group there, under the leadership of Mrs. Olga Ramul and Mrs. Ly Oldekop. They meet twice a month for lectures and discussions on the peace problem. Specialist help is given by professors from the university. Mrs. Oldekop has herself delivered eight lectures. The group is in contact with friends in Sweden and Finland.

Dr. P. C. Hsu

Dr. P. C. Hsu, chairman of one of the F.o.R. groups in China, has just arrived in England from New York on his way to the summer school in Denmark. He is here partly to translate an American book on "The Meaning and Truth of Religion" (by Eugene Lyman), but as a result of contacts with Muriel Lester he wants to live for a time among the people of Bow, and he is also anxious to come into close touch with F.o.R. people and groups here.

Fano

Names for the Whitsuntide School for Peace Workers have come in very well from England, but much more slowly from other countries. But it was very encouraging to find the Swedish Fellowship making itself responsible for a representative group. Now a delegation of three or four from Esthonia is assured. Quite a number will come from Denmark, of course, but from other countries probably only ones and twos; nevertheless, the Far East, the Balkans, and the United States are already assured of representation.

THE MORAL ISSUE IN EUROPE

K. NESIAH

THERE is a moral issue between the democracies and the totalitarian states. This phrase was used by the Premier not long ago, and no doubt the view is widely held in this country. Christian leaders have publicly supported it. Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury, appeals for a "massing of might on the side of right," and thinks it is not against the will of Providence that nations should defend the ideals of justice and freedom which are so precious to civilisation and human welfare. In his farewell sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral, the Bishop of London is reported to have said: "It makes the blood of Englishmen boil with indignation to see little nations crushed one by one under the ruthless heels of these dictators." He added that the whole nation was behind the Prime Minister.

A different point of view occurs readily to one who is a colonial subject (from Ceylon), besides being a follower of Jesus. It must be recognised that it is an economic issue that underlies Germany's aims. Germany sees no reason why she should be confined to a tiny fraction of the world's area, while the British Empire covers over one-quarter of the globe and possesses resources valuable in peace and war. Germany's partners in Rome and Tokyo share this inferior position and the consequent grievance. I happened to be in Tokyo at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, and saw a significant discussion at that time in the Japanese press on the division of the world's territory and resources as between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

One could go further and say that modern war is the inevitable result of the ambition of nations to secure economic advantages to themselves at the expense of others. Every one of the major wars in which Britain has been involved since the days of the Armada may be directly traced to the conflict of colonial and commercial ambitions amongst the leading European nations. A few months ago I heard the Archbishop of York justify the British Empire at a young people's conference; but the following words which Mr. Winston Churchill used in a broadcast talk on India are nevertheless true: "We have, in this island, 45 millions living at a higher level than the people of any other

European country. One-third of these would have to go down, out, or under, if we ceased to be a great empire with world-wide connections and trade."

Many would probably agree that in the past there has been a connection between imperial expansion and war, and yet argue that Germany is wrong in adopting in the twentieth century methods of aggression which are contrary to our present international standards. The obvious reply to such argument would be that, so long as Britain holds on to what she has obtained in violation of the principles of justice and freedom and continues to benefit by it, so long does she continue to recognise the validity of the principle of aggression. In other words, so long as Britain possesses an empire, so long and by the same ethic will Germany, Italy and Japan be justified in seeking fresh empires. That the German manner is less decorous than the British manner or that Germany blatantly proclaims doctrines of Nordic superiority, does not alter the identity of the position of both Germany and Britain. In a recent published sermon, the Minister of the City Temple gives a brilliant diagnosis of the situation in Germany, shows that psychologically Hitler is a sick man, and Germany is a sick country, and urges us to understand this sick nation with sympathy. I have great regard and affection for individual English people, but may I be permitted to suggest that in respect of the national attitude to other peoples, colonial and foreign, the attitude of Britain is no less pathological. If Germany is the case of a boy expelled from class and turned bully, Britain is the example of the spoilt child of wealthy parents, unable to concede a humbler boy's pretensions to equality. On the present issue most Englishmen think Germany is wrong; on the issue of independence for India or the British Colonies, few Englishmen understand the deep anguish in the hearts of us "natives" at the deprivation of our national freedom in what they think is a glorious Empire.

The moral issue, then, is not between Britain and Germany, but between the principle of Self-determination and the principle of Empire. The issue can be resolved only by the unqualified acceptance by all the imperialist powers, Britain and France being the chief, of the principle of the right of every people, even the smallest, to be free and equal. Further, these powers must rally to the support of a really democratic League of Nations. In fact, it will be easier for the League to protect a just moral order than to

preserve, as it vainly tried, an unjust *status quo*. If any colony is unable to assume immediate responsibility for its own self-government, that area should be administered by the League. Another vital function which the new League must undertake is the task of co-ordinating world trade and the promotion of general co-operation between nations. Short of this radical re-orientation, there is very little chance for disarmament or the peaceful sharing of the resources of the world as suggested in President Roosevelt's message to the dictators.

Are there no British hearts and minds which see that the waiting armies and the piled arms are caused by achieved empires as well as by contemplated empires? Are there no men in our time who hear the call of humanity above the roar of the nations?

A RADIANT PEACEMAKER

EDITH ROBERTS, who, in her work at the Fellowship School, Gland, took the Sanskrit title "Moto," or Mother, and who was known among the Order of Blue Pilgrims as Knight Watchful, died at Beirut, not far from her Armenian refugee friends, on March 22nd.

With her sister, she was a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from 1915, and one of the famous Caravan Team of the early days. She gave fearless witness to her peace convictions to the members of her church and joined in offering hospitality to the child victims of war and famine in Central Europe.

During the last dozen years of her life she devoted herself and all her money to building up the spirit of peace and reconciliation by giving unstinted help to war refugees in the Near East. In the camp, founded in Daoudié outside Aleppo, for the Armenians driven from Turkey, Moto Edith began in 1926, as secretary to Miss Karen Jeppe, to promote the national industry of weaving, so as to enable these poor people to employ themselves, and she did her best to arrange for the sale of the products.

From 1932 rainbow colours were woven into towels and table cloths, so that each one might carry, in symbolism, a message of peace and of the harmony and co-operation of the nations. And rainbow flags, hand-spun and hand-woven, were sent, with greetings, to many, including the most eminent people.

Edith Roberts's body was buried with the peace flag at her side. Her sister writes: "Let us go forward radiantly."

COMMUNITY NOTES

Community and the Refugees

Like the traveller in the parable, the refugees lie robbed and maltreated by the wayside of this world: a challenge to the Samaritan spirit which is also the spirit of Community. Yet there are many hindrances to the work of rescue, and some of these were very frankly stated by Lord Winterton in the House just before Easter.

Hinting at the desirability of schemes large enough to give a community feeling to the refugees without producing alarm in the minds of the people lest they be "swamped by aliens," he explained that no country represented on the Evian Committee would accept financial liability for the transfer and upkeep of refugees. All countries had their own domestic problems of unemployment and all feared that their own people might suspect preferential treatment for foreigners.

There are a good many morals to this sorry tale, but the problem remains and with it the very real risk that the rescued refugees will but carry their troubles with them unless a courageous attempt is made to offer them a new and corporate life—and one that will not depend for its maintenance upon competition with their neighbours in the open market. "These fleeing homeless people," says Dr. J. W. Scott in a timely pamphlet,* "are a gift of inestimable value to any country that knows *how* to receive them."

Remembering that the Good Samaritan possessed not only a neighbourly spirit, but also a useful knowledge of first-aid, all those concerned for the future of the refugees will find in this booklet a constructive contribution to the practical problem. Moreover, its suggestions are equally applicable to unemployed in this or any other country: they remove in advance the reproach of "preferential treatment for foreigners." Indeed, the problems of the unemployed and the refugees are very much the same problem, and there seems every reason why both groups should co-operate in their solution.

Community as a necessary expedient in approaching this and other world questions was demonstrated in a Peace Exhibition at

* "The Homecroft Method and Refugee Settlement" (Prof. J. W. Scott).

Colchester on 15th-16th April. The programme was admirably set out in six sections, under two main headings: "Causes of War" and "Ways to Peace." The exhibits may be tried by other peace groups wishing to use them in their own area. There are 60 display panels on plywood; the cost is 12/- a week; the minimum show space 24 feet by 21 feet, and applications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, 19, Wellesley Road, Colchester.

PEACE SERVICE HANDBOOK

The Peace Pledge Union has published a very useful "Peace Service Handbook" as "a guide suggesting some of the ways by which the people of Britain can help their country and the world to live at peace." This booklet is much more than a retort to the Government's "National Service." It is full of valuable information concisely brought together in convenient form. Beginning with an excellent plea for a service of the nation that will be service not for war but for peace, the handbook goes on to give details of the kind of service which may be effectively rendered by peace makers. Lists of peace organisations and publications are supplied and separate sections are devoted to Study, Propaganda, Social Service, International Friendship, Communal Living, Peace Service in the Churches, Cultural Activities, Peace Service in Wartime. Inviting the reader to "prepare for the best," the handbook declares that "we must find a new equivalent for the sacrifice of time and energy demanded of Territorials, Air Wardens, and all who are preparing for the worst."

MARMITE FOR SHANGHAI

Since the taking up of Muriel Lester's challenge, "Who will send a ton of Marmite to the children of Shanghai, who are becoming paralysed with beri-beri for lack of the necessary vegetable salts and vitamins?" nearly four tons have already gone to feed the children and fight the scourge. Sunday Schools, F.o.R. Groups, a stall at the "Stricken China" Exhibition, a private sale of jewellery, and many other agencies have contributed to this excellent result. The need is still urgent and gifts towards the fifth ton are requested. Send to Mrs. Kathleen Hogg, Wayfarings, Harpenden.

CORRESPONDENCE

WAR-PROVOKING PRACTICES

On page 9 of "Embassies of Reconciliation," I notice that "a leading banker in London" did not feel hopeful of the chance of an economic rapprochement between German and British business men, "because political control on the Continent left the moderate men helpless. Through its grip on the situation the German Government was able to spend enormous sums on rearmament, industrial schemes and the rebuilding of Berlin. There was, however, a complete contradiction between this system with its controlled exchange and the system of free exchange obtaining in the democratic countries."

It is not, however, "political control on the Continent" which "leaves moderate men helpless" to remove trade barriers, so much as the control of "leading bankers in London" over the policy of the British Government.

The financial and trade policy of Germany, though far from perfect, is, in fact, now several degrees less foolish than our own.

Would it be altogether an evil thing, for example, if *our* Government, "by its grip on the situation," were able to spend enormous sums on industrial schemes and the rebuilding of London?

"The system of free exchange obtaining in democratic countries"—what a charming phrase and how suggestive of Christian liberty! What, however, does it really mean? Alas! No more than this—licence to continue the anti-social, useless, war-provoking and trade-hindering practices of speculating in currencies and transferring one's private fortune from a country where one does not like the political outlook, to another where the danger of war seems more remote, regardless of the harm one does to honest business. It is all too true that the "democratic countries" are the chief stronghold of this money racket. Under an enlightened system, however, the exchange rates would be fixed, either permanently or for long periods, by mutual arrangement between the Governments of nations trading with one another. No private individual or organisation would be allowed to buy, sell, or own foreign currencies at all. All international trade would be done on Bills of Exchange, and all the foreign currencies acquired by a nation through the sale abroad of its goods would be held for the nation by its Central Bank, its

individual citizens receiving their own national money at the fixed rate of exchange in lieu of those foreign currencies.

The reason why currency-speculation and private-fortune-shifting are so bad for trade is that they alter the relative values of currencies, and trading merchants in, for example, England and America, never know with certainty that an exchange rate of, say, four dollars to the £ may not rise to six dollars to the £, or fall to two dollars. At the present time the Government, afraid to offend the currency speculators of the City, instead of going to the root of the evil, tries to mitigate its worst effects by the laborious and not always too successful operations of the Exchange Equalisation Fund.

TAVISTOCK

A PACIFIST AIR WARDEN

I, a married man with a wife and several children all well within the school age, had been unemployed for some years. Being a trained and experienced engineer, I saw that I could certainly obtain work in connection with rearmament.

I put the temptation firmly aside, and have paid the tragic penalty ever since. I also am a certified Air Raid Warden. But will any of your correspondents ask, "Why does the writer call himself a pacifist?" Have I not passed the test?

So, if the devil of war tries through A.R.P. to **negative** his own attempts to destroy human lives, he acts against himself, he seeks to defeat his own endeavours, and thus being "divided," he "cannot stand." Yet it is blatantly said that a Christian pacifist, going out as an air raid warden to protect women and children, the old and infirm, and others, is as guilty "as the airman who mutilates babies," to quote another of your correspondents!

ANOTHER PACIFIST AIR WARDEN

TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC

I notice in your Magazine for this current month a letter signed "D.O.H." I am not quite clear from the letter whether it is a criticism of the Editor, as a reviewer of my book, or a criticism of myself as the author.

The letter quotes your review, and then condemns the book on the basis of that quotation; but the quotation in question does not appear in the book, and, indeed, the accusation made in your correspondent's letter is not true of anything that does appear in the book.

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

THE FRIENDLY BOOK

"BROWNING AND MODERN THOUGHT," by Dallas Kenmare (William & Norgate, Ltd. 6s.)

In this book, Browning is considered from four aspects: as the Poet of Humanity—Love, Art and Nature, and, finally, as the Poet of Christianity. In the first part, he is described as "the poet of triumphant failure—seeing life always as a battlefield where the soul is tested, often tortured, in the cause of development." Man striving "not to remake himself, but to make the absolute best of what God made." "Seeing God, not only in heaven, but in every bush and flower and human face." The author describes a certain affinity between Browning and St. Paul: "both were essentially robust and healthy-minded visionaries, ever ready to affirm the joy of the Christian life. . . Neither was concerned overmuch with renunciation, mortification or the more negative aspects of goodness, preferring to stress the creative quality of suffering, the joy to be found in sorrow gladly endured as a means to an end."

In the last part of the book, of Browning as the Poet of Christianity, the author writes: "His Christianity was not a religion superimposed on his personality; it was his personality. His life was quite literally given to God." She quotes the suggestion of Mr. Merezkovsky in "The Secret of the West"—that certain beings are born of man and woman "and of something else besides," and says: "These are God's ordained messengers on earth; the prophets, the saints, the great poets." Miss Kenmare also suggests that this accounts for Browning's independence in matters of religion. "Technically a churchman, he yet remained essentially free." It was not possible for him to submit to any particular sect: "Truth was in all, yet absolute and final truth in none because, in all, truth is obscured in one way or another by man-imposed doctrine."

This book, controversial in parts, contains much food for thought. Side by side with its sympathetic study of Browning and his relationship with modern thought, it contains much that is original in Miss Kenmare's own approach. It is a gracious book, the author having fashioned from her own thought a perfect setting for the gems she has gathered from others, thus bringing out their full value and lustre.

D.W.

THE PHILANTHROPIC MOTIVE IN CHRISTIANITY. F. M. Hnik. Blackwell. 16s.

We are desirous of calling the attention of Christian pacifists to this book. Dr. Hnik is a leader of the National Church of Czechoslovakia. He also has close alliances with English Unitarianism and is, at the moment, the Dunkin Lecturer in Sociology at Manchester College, Oxford. His approach to the problems with which he deals is largely guided by these considerations. After recognising the motive of philanthropy which helped to shape the religion of Jesus, he illustrates from the history of the Christian Church the extent to which this same motive has called forth a Christian witness. There is no doubt that Dr. Hnik is on the right side in producing such a stress. The highest deeds of Christianity have been its victories in the sphere of the ethical and the moral. But his treatment has limitations. His reverence for the men of the sixteenth century is uncritical. The Reformation was not an unmixed blessing and, in point of fact, led to the secularising of certain spheres of philanthropy which had previously been under Christian guidance. Dr. Hnik's liberalism leads him to accept the inevitability of moral progress, a doubtful thesis. His modern applications are inadequate.

We are far from accepting his theological presuppositions, but wish that he would write a second volume which would supplement the inadequacy of his treatment of the last and the present centuries. Nevertheless, his central thesis affords pacifists the highest reasons for insisting that Christian witness must be something other than mere expediency or a philanthropy which lacks religious sanction.

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT.

THE UNIVERSE AND GOD. R. E. D. Clark. Hodder & Stoughton. 252 pp. 7/6.

This is a very lucid but scholarly book. It finds evidence of God in the facts of nature. Full of interesting information, it presents an argument for a universe governed by love, which in its sound common sense cannot fail to appeal. The now outworn mechanistic view of life is gently but effectively refuted and the whole book is an aid to enlightened faith. This is a splendid book to put into the hands of an intelligent boy.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

EASTER YOUTH CONFERENCE, 1939.

There were certain characteristics which distinguished the Conference at Canterbury this year; our numbers were greater, the members of the Conference were, on the whole, more youthful—and we were surprised by the brilliance of the weather. Our gratitude is due to Mr. and Mrs. Prickett, in whom we again found a host and hostess who entered whole-heartedly into the fellowship of the Conference and so helped us spiritually while, on the material side, the generous hospitality we received at Kent College was also due to their kind efforts.

Our thinking at the Conference, based on the general title, *The Cross in Modern Life*, followed two main themes. The subject of a Christian Economic, for which Leslie Artingstall's book had been studied in preparation, was developed by Sewell Harris in a series of three talks. The other theme, *The Witness of the Cross*, was the subject of the morning sessions, which were led by Glyn Lloyd Phelps. In this helpful series he dealt with three expressions of witness, the Master, the Church, and the Pacifist.

We were very sorry that Mr. Ben Greene was unable to come to the Conference because of illness. The extra free time was well occupied with informal discussions, both with regard to teachers and National Service, and other implications of our faith.

On the Sunday evening the Conference service was held at which Mr. Prickett gave the address. We shall remember this and the early morning devotions for the fellowship and inspiration we found in them.

As the first session of the Conference was devoted to a review by Leslie Artingstall of the work of the Fellowship at home and abroad, it was fitting that in the last session our Chairman, Dick Wood, should give us an up-to-date presentation of our case. In this talk we were conscious in a special way of the strengthening of the Fellowship which our days together had brought us, and perhaps the spirit of the Conference found its natural expression in the spontaneity of the closing family prayers.

PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE, Friends' House, London, N.W.1. Secretary: Karlin Capper-Johnson.

The Peace Committee has been busy arranging the first "Summer Institute for the Study of Peace and International Affairs," to be held at Digswell Park, Welwyn (Herts.), from July 28th to August 4th, 1939. They have been fortunate in securing as lecturers *Dr. Rolland Chaput* (extra-mural lecturer in International Affairs at University College, Exeter), who will deal with some of the problems of the international situation to-day; and *John Kay* (a master at Bootham School, York, who has studied at the Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies), who will direct his attention to the growth of international organisation, including mandates. The Rt. Hon. Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., has agreed to give one special lecture. The Institute will not be a wholly Quaker affair, but will bring together people of different outlooks, and—as it is expected to be a group of about thirty—should provide opportunity for discussion.

Plans are also going forward for two "Peace Camps," as in previous years. From August 10th to 24th, a group of young peace workers intend to camp with The Elmsett Community near Ipswich and hold open-air meetings in the neighbouring villages. A second camp is being arranged in Lincolnshire during the last fortnight in July, and there is still room for one or two more campers.



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ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, REGENT'S PARK, N.W.1.

Dear Friend,

The Germany Emergency Committee is trying to place skilled German and Austrian refugees in positions in this country in order to help them build up new lives.

It is very difficult to hear of openings for jobs, and we are writing to ask if some of your readers would very kindly undertake to watch advertisements in their local papers on our behalf. In order to help those who can undertake this work for us we should be glad to send copies of the letter we suggest should be sent to advertisers. There is space left at the top for the writer to add his own address, and in the body of the letter for him to incorporate the necessary details.

The kind of vacancies which are wanted are:—Domestic engineers of all types, architects, artificial flower workers, industrial chemists, mechanical draughtsmen, goldsmiths and jewellers, precision instrument makers, surgical instrument makers, tailors, and watchmakers, and many others.

There are certain conditions laid down by the Ministry of Labour and the Home Office which have to be fulfilled. These are: (a) No British labour must be displaced, (b) the appointment has the approval of the local trade association, (c) wages must be at least Trade Union scale or higher, (d) the firm must be certain that the refugee possesses the required qualifications, and so (e) every refugee placed in permanent employment must have been seen by a Committee in Greater Germany.

There are a number of professions where the employer cannot find a suitably trained British worker, and it is these openings we are trying to find for refugees.

If any of your readers wish to have a supply of letters to send to advertisers, will they please write to me, Germany Emergency Committee, Room 168, Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1, and I shall be delighted to send them a batch of letters, together with a covering explanatory note.

MURIEL H. WHITLOW,
Local Committees and General Information.

The Merttens Peace Lecture is to be given, under the auspices of the Peace Committee, at Friends' House on Tuesday, May 23rd, at 8 p.m., by the Rev. Henry Carter, on "Liberty and Authority in the Modern World." The same lecture will be given in Manchester on Sunday, May 21st, by arrangement with the Northern Friends' Peace Board.

Herbert Gray's recent book, "Love, the one solution," has proved so popular that the Peace Committee reprinted extracts from the first chapter in leaflet form, under the title "So there is Hope for the World." The Committee will be glad to supply these free for wide circulation.

New books added to the Peace Committee Lending Library included: "The Whirlpool of War" and "Victories Without Violence," by A. Ruth Fry; "Empire or Democracy?" a study of the Colonial Question, by Leonard Barnes; "Munich and the Dictators," by R. W. Seton-Watson; "The Jews—are they human?" by Wyndham Lewis; "The White War of 1938," by George Duhamel.

Methodist Peace Fellowship

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Keeble, 11 Holland Road, N.W.10.

Annual Rally and Re-Dedication Service. About 300 members attended the annual rally, tea-table conference and re-dedication service on March 25th, at Hinde Street Methodist Church.

The Rev. Henry Carter presided, and after tea, Dr. Soper gave a stimulating talk on "Could Pacifism Take Over?" Dr. Soper's answer was that it could, because it is the will of God. Many people, however, who asked that question really meant: "What would happen if it did take over?" That was a distinct question, the answer to which would probably be suffering—mainly borne by those best able to bear it—and the release of God's peace into this world.

The Rev. Henry Carter also presided over the earlier meeting of group leaders and members of the Executive

Committee, which was addressed by Douglas Wollen and Rev. Maurice Hart on "Our Responsibility as Group Leaders in the Present Situation." Several new members signed the Covenant at the service which followed the tea-table conference. The Rev. Henry Carter gave the address in place of Rev. Leslie Keeble, who, through indisposition, was unable to be present.

It was a worth-while time of fellowship, clarification and re-consecration to our task, and a most impressive witness to the reality and depth of the faith of our members.

The Kingsway Hall Branch held a very successful social on March 22nd, with Austrian and other refugees as their guests. With a programme of games, and refreshments, the evening sped very quickly. The guests gave some Austrian group songs.

On April 26th, there will be a performance of Spanish songs and dances by refugees from the Arkley, Barnet, home (where the Branch is supporting one of them) at Kingsway Hall, in aid of their funds.

New Members. Since February, 56 new lay members have joined the Fellowship, and two ministers, Revs. H. Mortimer Sinfield and C. Ayden Fisk. There have been five resignations. It is a significant fact that even in the present international conditions there are so few resignations.

Overdue Subscriptions. Will all those who have not yet paid their annual subscriptions please send them to the Secretary, M.P.F., 1 Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1. It is hoped to secure a representative in the May Synods to whom ministers may pay their subs.

Declaration of Renunciation of War. A full report will doubtless appear later in this magazine, but it will interest our members to know that 689 Methodist Ministers had signed the Declaration up to April 14th.

Of course you are joining

'The Pathfinder' Houseparties

this year! These have become so popular that early bookings are advised

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August 5th-September 2nd at Winceby House School. Cost £2 5s. per week.

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August 5th-September 2nd. Cost £2 10s. per week.

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July 29th-August 12th and August 19th-September 2nd. Cost £9 9s. for two weeks, including 3rd Class return fare from London.

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OBITUARY NOTICE

LOUIE SOMNER, Treknaw, Tintagel, Cornwall, called to Higher Service on October 18th, 1938. Member of the office staff 1915-1921.

HOLIDAYS

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

CHURCH NOTICES

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

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

MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on May 15th when the leader will be Miss Doris Lester.

"LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY IN THE MODERN WORLD"

is the title of this year's Merttens Peace Lecture to be given by the Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., on Tuesday, May 23rd, at 8 p.m., at Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1; and on Sunday, May 21st, at 6.30 p.m., at the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester. (Admission Free.)

F.O.R. SUMMER CONFERENCE

NORMAL COLLEGE, BANGOR

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

Subject: Christian Pacifism

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

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

COST

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

BOOKING FORM

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

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

Name

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

Address

Any special request concerning accommodation, etc.

Date of arrival

Date of departure

Do you require vegetarian food?

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