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The

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

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THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Crying in the Wilderness

Appeals to the belligerent Governments do not seem likely to make much impression on those to whom they are addressed, but perhaps they have some value as a witness to convictions which, however unpopular, are nevertheless held by intelligent and responsible persons. The *News-Chronicle* of August 1st, in its "American Diary", gave first place to the news that "Twenty-eight members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a Pacifist group, have appealed to the German people and their Government to cease sending robot bombs over England." "This new appeal," the report goes on, "prompts the New York newspaper *P.M.* to ask the 28 Utopians if they really expect the German people to bow their heads in shame as a result of their appeal." The answer is probably in the negative. Now that we have the text of the appeal in a cablegram from Nevin Sayre we see among the signatories a number of quite hard-headed men of whose opinion hundreds of thousands of people have been wont to listen eagerly in days gone by. Perhaps they feel that it is only fair to their wide public to let it know

what they think. If these are "Utopians" they are the kind of Utopians from whom in other days the *News-Chronicle*, like other papers, would have given much to obtain copy.

Humanity above Nations

This is the statement: "In signing the foreword to Vera Brittain's pamphlet 'Massacre by Bombing' we appealed to our fellow citizens and our own Government to seek in repentance a better response to frightfulness than ourselves engaging in obliteration bombing and indiscriminate destruction of civilian life in cities. We are now moved to make a similar appeal to the German people and their government not to engage in the wanton cruelty of robot bombing or other methods of civilian massacre. Our appeal in both cases is made from the standpoint of that humanity and religion which is above all nations and which calls upon men everywhere to stay the processes of death and return to the ways of life, in humble endeavour to build a united world. To that end we hope this appeal may go to the German people. We believe it is the truth that humanity is a single family

created by one God. This fact binds us so that neither national boundaries nor racial ideologies can set aside the inter-relationships whereby the whole body suffers if any of its parts are harmed. We plead especially for the adoption by all governments of measures that would lessen the mass slaughter of children, women and youth. Like the Pope, we draw attention to the sad and inexorable race between actions and reprisals which happens to the detriment not of certain particular peoples but of the whole community of nations. Let us not dim the hope of future peace by deeds in the closing period of the war, that will add to the load of hatred that our generation carries."

Some well-known names

This statement has been signed by George A. Buttrick, Allan Knight Chalmers, J. Henry Carpenter, Henry H. Crane, Albert E. Day, Phillip P. Elliott, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Georgia Harkness, John Haynes Holmes, Allan A. Hunter, Josephine Johnson, E. Stanley Jones, John Paul Jones, Rufus Jones, John H. Lathrop, Kenneth Scott Latourette, W. Appleton Lawrence, Elmore M. McKee, Walter Mitchell, Kirby Page, Clarence Pickett, Edwin McNeill Poteat, Richard Roberts, Paul Scherer, Ralph Sockman, Ernest F. Tittle, Oswald Garrison Villard, Winifred Wygal.

India

Last month we raised the question, "Why cannot Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah talk together?" We are glad to learn that a meeting between these two leaders had been arranged to take place on August 20th, and though the Press has since reported that this meeting has had to be postponed owing to the illness of Mr. Jinnah, we hope that the postponement will be of short duration, and that the two men on whose agreement so much depends may

soon meet in what may prove to be a momentous conference. It is interesting to note that the meeting was made possible by Mr. Gandhi's writing personally to Mr. Jinnah on the eve of the Muslim League meeting on July 29th. "Today my heart says that I should write to you," he wrote. "We will meet whenever you choose. . . . I am a friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me. . . ." To which Mr. Jinnah replied, "I will be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay."

The Duty of Prayer

On learning of the proposed meeting a number of organisations as well as individuals in this country sent cablegrams to both men. Among these were the Conference of British Missionary Societies, Friends, The India Conciliation Group and the National Peace Council. Various worded, these messages all expressed the same understanding of the difficult task facing both leaders and strong hope and faith in the outcome of their talks. The Archbishop of Canterbury has issued a statement urging upon Christian people at home "the duty of praying for India at this time, that those who lead the Indian peoples may themselves be led by the Spirit of God to follow the way which leads to India's truest welfare." The outcome of the conversations is now awaited with confidence, if that word can be used to describe an expectation that is not untinged with anxiety. One difficulty that is foreseen arises from the fact that Mr. Jinnah has been empowered by the Muslim League "to negotiate", while Mr. Gandhi has no such mandate. It will not be surprising then if at an early stage in the discussions Mr. Gandhi will be obliged to say, "I can go no further without consultation with my colleagues." In that situation what will be the response from public opinion here?

A Constructive Peace

The National Peace Council, in pursuance of its campaign for a constructive peace settlement after the war, has launched a National Petition for a Constructive Peace which has the sponsorship of one hundred prominent men and women drawn from many sections of the public life of the country. The Petition, which has for signature by British citizens over sixteen years of age, expresses the belief that "a true security against war and aggression can be provided only by positive policy which removes the causes of conflict," that "such a policy calls for a radical reconstruction—spiritual, economic and political", enumerates seven detailed proposals to this end and appeals to the British Government "to formulate such a programme of constructive peace-making, to put it into action at home as fully and as speedily as possible, and to commend it vigorously in the international field as the necessary basis for an enduring peace."

Food Relief

The following resolution was adopted by the National Peace Council at its Annual Meeting held in London on July 4th:—

The National Peace Council desires to call public attention to the urgent need for more adequate action to save the starving and under-nourished peoples of the occupied countries of Europe. The Council believes that such action is called for, not only on grounds of humanity and compassion, but as an assurance that the declared aims of the United Nations, to restore freedom and democracy and to build a new order of peace and prosperity in Europe, are not to be frustrated by the misery and hopelessness which the conditions of war are engendering among the peoples concerned. In particular the Council presses for an increase in the assistance already being given to Greece and for the extension of controlled relief on similar lines to other occupied countries in Europe. Such an enlargement of the food relief pro-

gramme has received the endorsement of both Houses in the American Congress. The Council submits that the opening of military operations in Western Europe while adding no insuperable practical difficulties—since neutral ships and personnel would be involved—in no way diminishes the urgency of the situation and the need for action. It strongly commends these considerations to the general public and particularly to all who are concerned for the future of Europe and urges the fullest expression to His Majesty's Government of a demand for action along the lines proposed.

Negotiated Peace Campaign

During the week Aug. 27th—Sept. 3rd, many meetings will be held advocating a negotiated peace.

We believe that a treaty arrived at by agreement will be a foundation on which to start to build peace; that terms dictated by victor cannot by its very nature create a better order of society.

The creating of public opinion to attain such an end is not an easy matter, but the necessity to work for a public demand for an agreed peace will continue beyond the end of the present struggle, even should it end in a dictated peace, as now seems probable.

We ask for the support of all who wish to work for creating a demand for peace by agreement. I shall be pleased to put anyone in touch with the nearest local committee, and/or suggest ways in which they may help.

HENRY HILDITCH.

6, Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

We very deeply regret to announce the death on August 11th, suddenly after an operation, of Mrs. Raven, the wife of Dr. Charles Raven, Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Many readers will wish to join in the expression of our affectionate sympathy to Dr. Raven, whom we uphold in faithful prayer.

THE DOCTRINE OF NECESSARY EVIL

GEORGE M. GIBSON

In this article, which is reprinted by kind permission from "Fellowship", the Journal of the F.o.R. in the U.S.A., the Minister of the United Church of Hyde Park, Chicago, replies to some familiar attacks on pacifism with particular reference to a recent article by Dr. Morrison, Editor of "The Christian Century".

Pacifism owes a debt to non-pacifists, especially on two accounts—the theological and the political. Criticism by Christian and democratic non-pacifists has enabled the pacifist movement to sense many of its shortcomings, and has set it in the way towards a more realistic understanding of the human problem.

It may be assumed, also, that non-pacifists have not been entirely without inspiration from pacifists. For all the plausibility of the war-thesis, pacifism continues to disturb them with a great tension. It raises doubts and presents affirmations which will not let them alone. They continue to write about pacifism, though only of its "disintegration". Though they deny it has a leg left to stand on, yet they feint and thrust at its shadow. Not a book, article, or editorial appears from the viewpoint of non-pacifist Christians and democrats, but it takes some notice of the pacifist challenge and betrays the tension created by that challenge in the unhappy mind of modern man. For this tension* the non-pacifists owe a debt to pacifism.

A recent editorial in the columns of *The Christian Century*,* essays to bring mere criticism to an end by the declaration that pacifism is finished.

As a pacifist who has hoped for a closer rapprochement between these two groups of like aims but unlike methods, the writer feels impelled in these pages to make a direct answer to Dr. Morrison's continuing criticism with special reference to the basis on which it rests, *the doctrine of necessary evil* . . .

* "Pacifism disintegrated", April 26th, 1944.

The answer must begin with a recognition of the partial truth that lies in the primary tenet. That there is an element of necessity in life, one would not care to deny. But this element of necessity must always be taken together with that of freedom. Christian doctrine recognises the paradoxical character of truth, and ever presents its teachings in polar relationship. And, by the same token by which we recognise necessity we also recognise freedom. Christian doctrine presents no view of necessity *per se* any more than it does of liberty *per se*. Our very liberties are under constraint, and there is freedom even in our fatalities. An absolutised necessity is quite as eccentric to classic Christianity as an absolutised freedom would be . . .

An absolutised "necessity" creed violates the Christian view of wholeness, and offends against the dominant Christian emphasis upon the power of divine grace to triumph over the evil of natural man. It goes the way of all the theological determinisms which take no account either of the freedom of God or the liberties of man. It smacks more of the fatalistic creed of Stoicism than of the Christian gospel of faith. The New Testament is full of the spirit which this thesis denies—asserting the demands of truth upon man as, created in the divine image, he is free to obey or not to obey the divine will. Even in its prison-house of time and place, Christianity addresses the human soul as though, by the grace of God through Christ, it could do all things, even rebel against the tyranny of fact. Though

under the "necessities" of Roman law and Jewish custom, strong as steel, the Christian was free, nonetheless, "to obey God rather than man", and so "turned the world upside down". If he knew of the "necessities" of unregenerate political life, he was even more aware of the necessities of God. The constraint of divine grace was upon him, overcoming the commands of the state and the dilemmas of logic . . .

All this emphasis is somehow missed in Dr. Morrison's theology. Its low estimate of human nature is exaggerated. It sees human nature as not only incapable of saving itself (which is true), but as incapable of being saved by divine redemption. The "necessities" of natural man are given a power greater than the power of God through Christ to work in him the "new creation". While forgiveness "upon a religious level" is recognised, it has no relation with reform upon a moral level. Grace operates in a mystic vacuum, leaving its subject "to continue in sin", with an unsanctified penitence as the highest state he can attain.

I have said "continue in sin" although Dr. Morrison would not accept this. War is *evil*, he agrees, but not *sin*. The sin that caused the judgment to fall was committed before the war. The war itself falls as a judgment of God who "condemns us to fight" because we have sinned. But now that the fighting becomes obligatory, not only under the inexorable nature of war itself, but as a divine condemnation, the citizen is henceforth exempted from responsibility. All moral significance, which loomed so large before a declaration of war, is now destroyed by the expulsive power of a great necessity. This drawing of a neat line between sin and judgment results in a moral irresponsibility that inevitably accompanies all necessitarian systems. It ignores the fact that judgment was never absent before the war, and that respon-

sibility continues during the war, even as the judgment falls.

Dr. Morrison is perfectly clear as to the amorality of this position. He recognises no moral significance in what the Christian does relative to war, simply because he recognises no area of freedom in which he may operate. If his premise of necessity be correct, his conclusion is also right. But it is just this amoral conclusion that raises the question concerning the premise of necessity. An absolute necessity means an absolute amorality. There is neither moral significance nor responsibility in supporting the nation at war, or in attempting to withhold support. There is no merit either way, nor any accountability. All do what they must, going along with the dire fatalism of the hour, rendering taxes to whatever Cæsar they may unwillingly serve. By the very fact that they are alive in a total war economy, they participate in the war.

But here, even the rigorous position of *The Christian Century* must qualify necessity with liberty. There is one choice open. The citizen in wartime may not choose whether or not he will fight; but he may choose which side he will support. He may go along with his own nation, or, under the illusion that he is not participating, he fights on the side of the enemy by withholding support from his own country. This is a concession to the liberty which the main thesis of the editor minimises. The concession is more significant than he realises, and profoundly qualifies the main contention if followed through in its implications . . .

As Jacques Maritain shows in his *The Rights of Man and Natural Law*, man is not wholly a citizen. In the larger part of his being he transcends citizenship, having rights and duties independent of any claims of the state. He belongs not wholly to any nation, but to humanity, the universe, and to God. Christian

thought considers it to be the very essence of tyranny when that which by nature transcends the state, is claimed by the state. And by the same token, Christian thought holds that the grant of allegiance to such a claim would be state-idolatry.

As a matter of plain fact, Dr. Morrison sees and practices many important liberties not taken into account in his thesis. He recognises that, though "condemned to fight", one may yet fight self-righteously or fight penitently. Now this is a tremendous concession to freedom, and one that deserves more formal treatment than the editor has given it. It will raise a question as to how effectively a man fights if he fights "penitently"; or whether he fights at all if his penitence is genuine. At any rate, it would be a poor grade of penitence that would make no difference at all.

Further, Dr. Morrison himself has effectively rejected his dogma in his position on the place of the Church in a warring world. The Church may not and by its nature cannot declare war nor participate in it as a belligerent. It is supernatural, universal in its given character, and may not compromise its redemptive concern for all mankind by the partisanship of war.

But when the editor considers the individual Christian he completely reverses his position, and recognises no transcendent reference-point from which such an individual can, in any sense, remain above the battle. Thus, he presents two distinct views, one of non-participation by the Church,

and one of necessary participation by the Christian. To take his argument for the non-participation of the Church in war, and to substitute the term "Christian" whenever "Church" appears, would be to establish a pacifist position with great clarity and force. Or, it would be just as reasonable to substitute the word Church for Christian in the argument for necessity, and thus demonstrate that the Church, in trying to remain out of the conflict, only serves to aid the enemy.

This inconsistency may not be saved by using the Church only in the sense of "the Body of Christ", a mystical entity of super-historical character, while the individual Christian is referred to only in his citizenship capacity. The Church, as well as the Christian, is both corporal and transcendent. And Dr. Morrison himself insists that it is the corporal as well as the transcendent Church that cannot engage in war. To this end he opposes such pronouncements in councils, as would put the Church on one side of the struggle. Every argument he has advanced on this point could be presented with equal validity concerning the individual Christian. Or, on the other hand, if the law of necessity holds for the individual, it holds also for the visible Church. The editor must resolve this inconsistency if he would save his logic; he must either affirm that in maintaining non-participation the Church aids the enemy, or deny his dogma that the individual Christian is limited to that tragic dilemma.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

The Kershner Plan in the House of Lords (P.P.U., 4d.) is a verbatim report of the plea by the Earl of Darnley on May 23rd, 1944, the reply by the Minister of Economic Warfare, and the rejoinder with some additional notes. *Bernard Shaw on Imprisonment*, a re-issue of the famous Preface, with a cover design by Arthur Wragg (48 pp., 1s.), and *Bombs on the Prison* (6 pp., 2d.), by Reg. Jenkins, are both published by the Prison Medical Reform Council. *Abundance of Creation*, by Michael Tippett, is an artist's vision of creative peace by the composer of the

modern oratorio "Children of our Time" (8 pp., 1d., P.P.U.). *The Fifth Year*, by Corder Catchpool, is a survey of the past year's work of the C.B.C.O., which we hope will be read by all our readers. Free from 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. *The Pied Piper of Death*, by Clare Boothe, is a plea for Food Relief now issued by P.P.U., 4s. per 100. *The Wheathill Burderhof*, issued by the Society of Brothers, Bromdon Farm, Burwarton, Shropshire, briefly sets forth the history and hopes of this famous movement.

A PACIFIST "CHURCH"

R. H. LE MESSURIER

The writer is the Vicar of Holy Cross, Cromer Street, London, W.C.1, and author of "The Absent Christ," "The Hidden Life," "The Inner Circle," and other books.

I feel something akin to horror at the proposals put forth in some Christian pacifist circles to "found a pacifist church".

I have no doubt whatever about the good intentions of those who are attempting this move. None the less, I would plead with them to reconsider their move with more careful thought.

No doubt every Christian pacifist feels deeply about the fact that the Church of Christ supports war. For that reason we have to be on our guard against any feelings of impatience over the apparent shortcomings of the Church. Further, our special temptation, as pacifists, is to think of ourselves as more holy than the militarist Christians. And I believe that the move to found a pacifist church is really based on these two attitudes of mind, impatience and spiritual superiority. These in their turn lead to a spiritual isolationism and the desire to withdraw from all contact with an unclean world and Church.

Nevertheless, if such a pacifist church is started, I believe it will, in the end, defeat the very cause which inspired its founders. Human nature being what it is, this pacifist church will become merely another sect, another division in the seamless robe of Christ. It will tend to degenerate into an exclusive and proud organisation, to the over-concentration on one aspect of the whole truth to the forgetting of all others, the rigid exclusion of Christians whose claim to be Christ's disciples would triumphantly pass every test except that of pacifism, and to a rising of the spirit of mutual self-congratulation which will ulti-

mately deprive this body of any effective witness either in the rest of the Church or in the outside world. The history of Christian schisms has, alas, shown only too clearly this pattern. No matter how well-intentioned and well-meaning the founders, true unity in Christ is sooner or later obscured and finally broken. A small group hardens round one aspect of the truth, the rest of Christendom stiffens itself against this aspect, and ultimate Christian unity is made less attainable than ever. What hatred of Roman Catholic for Eastern Orthodox, what hatred of Protestant for Catholic and vice versa, what "religious" wars, what nationalising of religion—to name only a few evil points—have followed the Great Schism between East and West in the tenth century, and that other series of schisms which began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries! Surely we pacifists should be the quickest of all to learn that schism inside the Church corresponds to nationalism and war in the world. Each is based on the spirit of self-aggrandisement and concentration on one's own interests instead of on the spirit of service and the conception of ourselves as the leaven which is to leaven the lump. For if, as we hope, we look forward to the day when the whole Christian Church will utterly renounce war, then it seems to me that the quickest way in which this will be achieved is to remain inside the Church and by our constructive sufferings allow the spirit of Christ to infuse the whole. To separate ourselves from the body corporate may help us to avoid unpleasantness and perhaps some

persecution, but would it be Christ's way?

Finally, I seem to see in the movement to found a pacifist church the tendency to a wrong kind of emulation of Christ Himself. For surely the supreme qualification for founding or refounding the Church is to be found only in dying on behalf of sinners and then rising again from the dead. None of us can take this upon himself. It has been done once and for all by Christ Who therefore alone has the right to found a Church.

CORRESPONDENCE

Scouting and Pacifism

My experience of the Scout Association is very different from that of the Rev. Cedric Baring-Gould.

Some years before the war began I grew uneasy about my position in the Movement. I told my District Commissioner that although I was a Warranted Scouter I was also a Christian Pacifist and asked him to put the matter to Headquarters. He showed me the reply which he had received to the effect that it was a matter of individual conscience with every Scouter, and that Headquarters would not in any way interfere unless, of course, an untenable position arose during war-time.

Since the outbreak of war I have again talked my position over with one of the high authorities at Headquarters, who expressed himself as perfectly satisfied. I still hold a Warrant.

DENIS LANT.

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Plaistow, E.13.

Wings for Peace

I write to ask all possible co-operation from the F.O.R. members with the Labour Party's effort to convert the Air-Services into an

We, who share the benefits of His Cross and Resurrection, can be effective in our witness only inside that Body which He has founded. To set up a rival organisation to His may not be the intention of those who desire a pacifist church, but in effect that is what they will do.

May I plead with them that they think again before taking a step which will mean only the formation of a small group of Christians whose only point of agreement will be based on a negation, viz., not to take part in war.

international, beneficent, constructive power. Their new pamphlet, *Wings for Peace*, outlines in 22 pages a "post-war policy for civil flying". Since the chief aim of the policy is world-peace, and the rightful use of the air, pacifists can surely give it honest and ardent support, even though it contemplates the temporary maintenance of internationalised warplanes.

M. L. V. HUGHES.

At Broadgate,
Broughton-in-Furness.

A Pacifist Church

If we were to apply the Divine advice given in Rev. iii, 18-20, would it not result in a Church faithful to its Lord unaffected by enemy propaganda, standing firm on the Rock and unswerving in its message in peace and war; would it not result in a pacifist church? I think so.

I believe that if a pacifist church is formed many members of other churches not hitherto pacifists will join. For it is not only the pacifist who feels the lack of neighbourly love, though he more acutely, which is prevalent in many churches.

R. H. SHEPHERD.

21, Broad Oaks Road,
Solihull.

NAZIS AND GERMANS

IS THERE A DIFFERENCE?

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

The recent attempt on Hitler's life makes more important than ever the question whether or no we are to approach peace-making on the assumption that a line can be drawn between the Nazis and the German people as a whole. Ominously, our leaders seem less and less willing to make this distinction. Just two days before the "revolt" Mr. Eden, in a speech declining once again to define peace-terms for the benefit of "good Germans", insisted that "it was the German people who put Hitler where he is", and that "anyone who believes that Hitler does not represent a quite definite German mentality is living in a most dangerous world of illusion". And even since the cracks in the Nazi foundations became obvious he has repeated that "the German people has always found war-lords to lead the German hordes willingly and with the full approval of the nation", and that "Hitler is merely a symbol of this lust for power". Yet the distinction between Nazi and German was a political commonplace earlier in the war. In November, 1939, Mr. Churchill insisted that "even in Germany itself there are millions who stand aloof from the seething mass of criminality and corruption constituted by the Nazi Party machine"; while Stalin has declared that "it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State". Who is right, Churchill in 1939 or Eden in 1944? Is Lord Vansittart a true prophet? Or is the truth rather that those who argue that Germans as such are endowed with a double dose of original sin have in fact swallowed hook, line and sinker, the same kind of crude and ignorant superstition that is the inspiration of *Mein Kampf*?

The aim of this article is to answer briefly two questions: first, can this distinction between Nazis and Germans still be drawn? Second: if so, why have the "good Germans" been so powerless to resist Hitlerism?

(1) To the first question the very existence of the Gestapo would seem to be answer enough. Hitler presumably does not maintain a secret police to the number of several hundred thousand to spy upon and hold down a completely subservient population. Long before September, 1939, the atrocities perpetrated by these gangsters and assassins against their fellow-Germans were proof enough of the persistence of an opposition. Hundreds of thousands not only of Jews but of "Aryan" Germans, political opponents of the Nazis, Communists, Socialists, Liberals, were sent to concentration-camps, and thousands were executed. And during the war "purge" has followed "purge". For did not Himmler himself, in a memorandum issued to officers in 1937, admit that "in a future war we will have to deal not merely with the front of the Army on land, the front of the Navy at sea and the front of the Luftwaffe in the air. We will have a fourth battlefield to look after—inner Germany. At the beginning of the war mass arrests on an unprecedented scale will be necessary... the majority of political prisoners will have to be shot out of hand". Best known, perhaps, is the opposition of the Churches, both Catholic and Protestant. Even before the war we all honoured Martin Niemöller, Cardinal Faulhaber and their colleagues, who were not afraid to denounce the Nazi government, not simply for interference with religion, but for their denial of political freedom,

their idolatry of race and their rejection of the rights of man. And for the war-period it is enough to quote Bishop von Galen of Munster denouncing the Gestapo: "Our soldiers will fight and die for Germany, but not for those who bring shame upon themselves by persecuting the brothers and sisters of our religious brethren. We continue the fight against the enemy outside, but against the enemy within who tortures and beats us we cannot fight by force of arms. There is only one means with which we can fight—by holding out strongly and tenaciously to the end". This in the middle of a war!

Miss Amy Buller, in her recent book *Darkness over Germany*, written out of an intimate knowledge of Germany immediately before the war, gives ample and conclusive evidence of similar anti-Nazi feeling in all strata of society. She records conversations with teachers passionately expressing their loathing of the prostitution of education for political ends; with army officers planning to devote their lives to the undoing of the false teaching of Nazism; with a high official in the old German Foreign Office (distinct from von Ribbentrop's Nazi F.O.) who welcomed the visitor with the words, "So you have come over with your friends to try and understand the Third Reich. I can only tell you that when you do understand it, you will join with the rest of us in praying God there may be a Fourth Reich and that as soon as possible"—and went on to insist that there was a similar kind of split between Nazi and German in every sphere of national life. All this has been confirmed to me by a personal acquaintance, a Neutral, who occupied an important post in Berlin up to the end of 1942. He tells of high-ranking army officers who confessed to himself their bad conscience about Hitler's aggression, and discussed with him how they

and "their boys" could best "find their way back to humanity".

W. M. Shirer, the American journalist who worked in Berlin almost up to the time of America's entry into the war, and whose book *Berlin Diary* reflects the mood of the German people at the outbreak of war and during the period of the great German victories, gives most striking corroboration. Take this picture of September 3rd, 1939: "I was standing in the Wilhelmplatz about noon when the loud-speakers suddenly announced that England had declared herself at war with Germany. Some 250 were standing there in the sun. They listened attentively to the announcement. When it was finished, there was not a murmur. They just stood there as they were before, stunned. The people cannot realise yet that Hitler has led them into a world war". Little enthusiasm for the "war-lords" here! My neutral friend confirms this and estimates that even among the young people not more than 15 per cent. were in favour of war. Again, here are the German people at the height of victory: "Strange, the apathy of the people in face of this decisive turn in the war. Most Germans I've seen, outside of the officials, are sunk in depression . . . I can't find any Germans who actually believe Hitler's excuse that he went into the neutral countries, whose integrity he had guaranteed, to counter a similar move which the Allies were about to begin. Even for a German, it's an obvious lie". And what of their feelings towards Hitler? Take this, written in April, 1940: "Hitler's fifty-first birthday to-morrow, and the people have been asked to fly their flags. Said Dr. Goebbels in a broadcast to-night: 'The German people have found in the Führer the incarnation of their strength and the most brilliant exponent of their national aims'. When I passed the Chancellery to-night, I noticed some

75 people waiting outside for a glimpse of the Leader. In other years on the eve of his birthday there were ten thousand". Hardly the picture of a people solidly and unanimously behind its Führer in his victorious aggression!

(2) Why then have all these "good Germans" proved so supine, as it would seem, under Hitler's tyranny at home and atrocities abroad? As for the atrocities, it is only fair to remind ourselves that the German people as a whole almost certainly have no idea of their character and scale; there is considerable evidence that the more that they know the more many of them are ashamed and humiliated, and that many have even committed suicide as the only protest open to them, while thousands are in concentration camps because they have dared to criticise. As for our easy talk about lack of pluck in standing up against tyranny, one wonders how we ourselves would have behaved in their place in the face of a similar merciless control by a Gestapo with its swarms of assassins and spies. If it be asked why they ever allowed Hitler to attain to power—the answer lies in a less superficial understanding of the reason for the growth of dictatorship. Part at least of the blame must go to the victors of Versailles and their treaty, of which Keynes has said that "it was a treaty of peace which was not wise, which was partly impossible, and which endangered the life of Europe". The plain fact is that for twenty years no attempt had been made through genuine international co-operation to solve Germany's economic problems. Germany was at the end of her tether and clutched at dictatorship as her last hope. As the Bishop of Chichester has said: "Germany was sick; and when the sinister physician came, the magician Hitler, a large part of Germany fell an easy victim to his offer of poison".

The tragedy is that, at least for a time, Nazism seemed to answer the legitimate needs and yearnings of vast numbers of normal Germans, particularly young Germans. Miss Buller remarks that in frequent conversations with ordinary working-class Germans she found they had two concerns only—"would Hitler solve the unemployment problem, and would he keep them out of war? Many believed, at any rate in the early days, that he would do these things, and upon this belief hung their undoubted allegiance". My own experience while travelling extensively in Germany in 1937 fully bears this out, particularly this passionate longing for peace. Everywhere was the conviction—the very basis of their loyalty—that now Hitler had rearmed Germany "encirclement" ceased to be a menace and peace was secure. Was there ever a more pathetic illustration of the power of the hoary fallacy that if you want peace you must be prepared for war! Then with work for all (even if it *was* preparation for war) came new hope and new self-respect. As a former keen Trades Unionist, who had later become a leader in the Labour Corps, said to Miss Buller: "I saw seven million men rotting in the streets—often I was there too, and no one, not even the Churches, seemed to care that it was a wicked thing that children of God should be thus left to rot. If individuals cared, they could do nothing. Then Hitler came, and he took all those men off the streets and gave them health and security and work".

If we ask how men could imagine that even these benefits were worth the price of individual liberty, the answer is that "freedom" can mean little if one is a slave to economic insecurity. As an Austrian bitterly replied to the same question: "Since the last war the only freedom we have had is the freedom to die slowly of starvation". Perhaps the

most puzzling phenomenon to the visitor to Germany immediately before the war was the obvious sense of freedom and purpose which had come to the young members of a movement which in fact was taking away all freedom. The only ultimate explanation is, I think, the pseudo-religious appeal of Nazism to a people who had almost entirely lost faith. It gave them a fresh idea (even though tragically false) of their value as super-men and of their place in human society and in the cosmic order. Above all it appealed to their instincts for service and sacrifice and personal devotion.

Miss Buller gives example after example of people who, opponents at heart, were compromising with Nazism with a very bad conscience, and rationalising their behaviour by arguing that by remaining within the Nazi movement they might influence it along sounder lines. There is the teacher who sticks to his post in the hope of protecting his pupils against the worst Nazi poison; the priest who clings to his parish that his people may not be deprived of the Gospel-antidote; the civil servant who decides not to resign lest an extreme Nazi should be given his place. All these were "good Germans". Significantly they all made the point, that if only peace could be preserved, the worst Nazi poison might work itself out, and the opposition elements ultimately regain control. But if war were to come, then the whole country was bound to stand united behind any government that might be in power, however bad that Government might be. As one officer, who loathed Hitler and all his works, put it: "I shall fight—we all, although outside the Party, will fight to the last drop of blood to see that *we* get the chance to make the Peace Treaty and not France or England". Such sentiments have undoubtedly become more and more universal as the war crisis has become more intense.

It is this last consideration which makes it so urgent that in our approach to peace we should keep clear before both our own minds and the minds of the German people this distinction for which I am pleading. Slump all our defeated enemies together under a common threat of destruction, and we prolong the war by playing into Hitler's hands, who has no better hope than that Nazi and "good German" alike can be induced to die together in the last ditch. From his point of vantage Shirer saw this from the very beginning of the war: "One of the prime springs which push the German people along in full support of a war for which they have no enthusiasm, and which they would end to-morrow if they could, is their growing fear of the consequences of defeat . . . They are beginning to see that a victory with the Nazi regime, however much many of them may dislike it, is better than another German defeat, which this time, if it ever comes about, will make Versailles seem like a peace of sweet reason and destroy not only the nation but the German people".

The *New Statesman* of August 5th quotes a report from a Socialist underground group smuggled out of Germany last April which states that at present there is, of course, no organised resistance on a national scale and that "the apathy will continue so long as the only perspective so far presented to the German people is unconditional surrender". Contrariwise, fix the guilt on the real criminals, and give the mass of "good Germans" the immediate guarantee of a just and tolerable peace, and we shall shorten the war by hastening the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pious hope voiced in the famous broadcast of July, 1941: "The best solution will be if the Nazi regime is torn to pieces by the German people themselves".

'HUNGERFORD REMINISCENCES'

JAMES E. ELLIS

The Hungerford Club has been in existence now for well over three years and is sailing merrily into its fourth. It is a Westminster City Council special shelter and welfare centre which caters for vagrants, "down-and-outs", and others considered undesirable in the ordinary air raid shelters, and is staffed by pacifists.

Over 2,700 casuals have been dealt with by the Club and never has the number of regulars fallen below fifty-five. Although some of the work in helping casuals has been of the greatest importance, it is of the regulars one thinks when recalling the various experiences in the life of the Club. For them the Hungerford is "home", and their lives have centred completely around this old railway-arch.

Visitors to the Club will almost certainly remember Oscar who, dressed in two or three ragged-overcoats girdled with pieces of string, spends a considerable part of his time conducting the steady flow of music from the radio. One could fill many pages with the stories of his tremendous adventures; even if using only those of which there is no doubt whatsoever.

One of the pictures which will remain printed on the minds of all who use the Club—visitors, staff and shelterers—is of "ye ancient game of bagatelle". Around the bagatelle-table every night gathers a small, devoted band of players, chief of whom is "George", the champion.

As this tall, ragged, hunch-backed tyrant bends over his cue for a vital shot, a tense hush falls over the assembled throng. If he should be defeated—and it is due, of course, to bad luck—the very air turns blue! But there is general jubilation in the neighbourhood as a look of deep, intense despair settles on George's face.

And then there are the memories of the "party nights". We have managed to have one on Christmas Day and one on our "birthday" each year so far. It is on these occasions only that the vast majority sit down together to eat their meals. And to see them, some fifty or sixty, "tucking-in" is a wondrous sight.

During one of the improvised shows which always mark these celebrations, an already impromptu ballet-performance was brightened considerably by the sudden appearance of "Bundles" who insisted on joining in. She normally sits huddled in the doorway to the Club and rarely can be enticed beyond the entrance passage.

Some of you may have heard of Albert. He is *very* deaf and one painfully recalls shouting loudly into his ear. Whenever he loses his "identical" card or his ration books—and this happens approximately every other month—someone has the terrible task of asking him questions at the top of his voice.

His deafness, however, has its compensations. He seems to get his new identity card or ration books fairly easily; the Food Office cannot shout as loudly as we can!

After such an interview it is not so galling as usual to be caught by "Prof." Joad who, at the slightest provocation proceeds to tell one how to get to the other end of the British Isles by three or four alternative routes. He knows every village and should he leave one out will go painstakingly back upon his story and insert the name in its correct place.

His tale, like his progress, reminds one of the slow, unflurried steam-roller which, as he does, pounds the country roads. He is a true aristocrat of "the Road", and although now over seventy still walks each

summer to the South-Western corner of England. But he always returns, as he puts it, "to his base".

It would be a sad day for him if his base were to cease to exist. And what would happen to Albert, who recently told the staff that he liked them because they were "civilised"

BOOK REVIEWS

THE EUROPEAN CHURCHES. By W. T. Elmslie, S.C.M. Press, 2s. 6d., paper covers.

This little book of 80 pages is of singular value to the Christian in Britain who feels the need of a closer understanding of the Churches of "The Tragic Continent", as a recent writer truly names Europe. A brief introduction to European Church history leads on to a clear and vigorous description of the four main groups of Christians on the Continent—Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed—and to well-informed comments on the smaller companies of Waldensians, Moravians, Old Catholics, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers and Unitarians. Mr. Elmslie brings the understanding mind of a Presbyterian to the history of the Churches whose doctrine and polity were shaped in the days of the Reformation struggle, and gives as clear a delineation of the Lutheran and Reformed Communion as can be found within the limits of a small treatise. The chapter on the Roman Catholic Church is a discriminating survey of a situation in which appreciation of piety and spiritual achievement and criticism of repressive policy and action are justly presented. The chapter on the Orthodox Church lacks, I feel, intimacy of knowledge, and the reader who shares the growing desire among British Christians to know much more about "The Church of the Eastern Christian" would do well to turn to a little book with that title by Dr. Zernov (a book which Mr. Elmslie himself commends). Two valuable features in Mr. Elmslie's most serviceable contribution are the view given in successive chapters of the existent Church situation in various European countries, and an informative view of the unity and diversity in the worship, missionary enterprise, social service, educational activity and State relationships of the Churches.

HENRY CARTER.

CHRIST AND OUR ENEMIES. By Stephen Hobhouse. S.P.C.K. 24 pp. 9d.

This is not only a reprint but a rewritten and considerably expanded ver-

and spoke to him differently from other people?

We do not know, but we who are privileged to possess reminiscences of the Hungerford are indeed grateful to those who, by their generous support in the past, have made them possible for us.

sion of the pamphlet published under the same title by the F.o.R. in June, 1941. The new edition bears an introduction by the Archbishop of Canterbury which in itself is of quite remarkable interest. The essay is written in persuasive and scholarly language and at the same time is most simple and readable in its argument. Appeal is made to a number of Scripture passages which are appended. We hope that this new edition (notwithstanding the necessary increase in the price to 9d.) will enjoy an even wider circulation than its predecessor. It is specially commended to preachers who are introducing this subject to difficult audiences.

HERE TO-DAY. Edited by Pierre Edmunds and Roland Mathias. Published at 16, Argyle Street, Reading. 34 pp. 1s. 3d.

This is a very interesting collection of stories and other contributions from writers who are closely connected with the pacifist movement in Reading.

THE CHRISTIAN PARTY NEWS LETTER. No. 17. Editor: Ronald S. Mallone. Price 4d.

This number of the *News Letter* contains the Social Reconstruction Programme of the Christian Party. The type of society for which the party is working—in "which all the relationships of life express the principle and spirit of Christ"—will have the support of Christians everywhere. Where details are given of the method of obtaining such a society large differences of opinion will occur. The method of solving unemployment by reducing hours of labour in the exact proportion that the number of unemployed bears to the total number of workers may seem logical but is likely to give rise to more problems than it solves. The same could be said of many other proposals. No real reform is suggested in the monetary system, a grave omission, nevertheless the programme is worth careful study and discussion.

J. D.

NOT BY MIGHT. By B. A. S. Brunskill. Friends' Peace Committee. 3d.

Mr. Brunskill, a one-time officer in the Indian Army and now a Christian Pacifist, gives in this pamphlet an idea of the faith which has caused his changed position.

PERIODICALS

Peace Commentary (monthly 3d., from 16, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1) with its shrewd comments on political tendencies deserves the attention not only of socialists. *Quest* (monthly, from 20, Addiscombe Grove, E. Croydon) shows a good old-fashioned faith awaking to face modern situations with an ancient gospel. *Community* (edited by Glyn Phelps) is the organ of the Christian Auxiliary Movement. The July number contains articles by W. G. Symonds on Social Power, and Prisons by Cicely Craven. *New Vision* ("a quarterly review devoted to Freedom for Subject Peoples") appears in a new form, price 9d. Clare Sheridan, J. F. Horrabin and Reginald Reynolds write in the summer number which is chiefly concerned with India. It is edited by G. B. Pittock-Buss, 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. *The Knight Crusader* ("an International Youth Review") is edited by Arthur H. Bird at High Cross, Bishopstowton, Barnstaple, N. Devon. Dr. Harold Moody contributes to the summer number and among writers in future issues will be Reginald Sorensen, Vera Brittain, Leslie Burgin, and Maude Royden. *The War Resister* is the Quarterly News Sheet of the W.R.I. The Summer number gives reports from many parts of the world. 2s. 6d. from 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex. *Land and Liberty* pleads for taxation of Land Values and discusses proposals for land control and relevant Parliamentary debates. 2d. monthly from 4, Great Smith Street, S.W.1. Rhys Davies, M.P. and the Duke of Bedford write in the August issue of *The Word*, 2d. monthly, from 104, George Street, Glasgow, C.1. *The Peacemaker* ("an Australian Venture in Reconstruction") is published monthly in Melbourne, 3s. annually, post free from 14, Banool Avenue, Kew, Victoria, E.4.

UNRRA

The story of this organisation, how it was set up, its constitution, the scope of its machinery for the distribution of supplies and dealing with the millions of displaced persons is authoritatively told in a pamphlet, *UNRRA*, prepared by the United Nations Information Organisation which is issued by the Stationery Office, price 4d.

THEY SAY

SEAWARD BEDDOW

The Flying Man Declines

"When home on leave one of his uncles said to him: 'Look here Tommy, you have had a hard time, and I have got a week's jolly good pheasant shooting for you'. 'No thank you, uncle,' was the reply, 'I've been the bird too often'."

—*Stratford-on-Avon Herald*.

Safe in Quod

"Prison buildings of cellular construction provide a high degree of protection from blast."

—Mr. Herbert Morrison.

Censorship?

"The Report of the Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury on the amendment of the Revised Lectionary has just been published. It abandons the previous method of the consecutive reading of Scripture and—with some wisdom—substitutes an anthology for Sunday use. But it is the anthology that is interesting; the method is used to suppress certain interesting passages. Those who seek, for example, for the fifth chapter of St. James ("Go to now ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that are coming upon you") will seek in vain. Is this really an anthology? or, is it censorship?"

—*Religion and the People News Letter*.

Language Misunderstandings

They easily arise with danger to "international relations". "Miscellany" in the *Manchester Guardian* prints the following cautionary tale in view of the term "neck-stretcher" or "rubber-neck" being applied by our American visitors to inquisitive persons:—

"There is an illustrative story told of an Englishman in a New York street car who could not keep his eyes off a peculiar-looking baby held by a woman opposite. Presently the woman leaned forward and hissed 'Rubber!'. 'Thank the Lord!' exclaimed the Englishman. 'I thought it was real!'"

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

The Summer Conference was held at the George Hostel, which is part of the Normal Training College. I believe at one time the whole of the College work was done from the George Hostel, but a few years ago a very handsome new building was put up for the women which is now known as the Normal College, and the George Hostel was left to the men. It is an old mansion beautifully situated on the Menai Straits with lovely views over the grounds at the back of the mansion and within a mile of the famous Menai Bridge which spans the Straits and leads to Anglesey. The Conference then was in very good surroundings.

It opened sadly; Mrs. Raven passed away suddenly while on holiday, and Dr. Raven was unable to be at the Conference. Alan Balding's Church had received a direct hit from one of the new bombs and he was unable to come. The gaps were filled by several members.

The Hostess was Mrs. Artingstall, who as a hostess is second to none (though I say it as shouldn't!) and equally fortunate is the F.O.R. in having Doris Nicholls as Conference Secretary.

The main speaker was Dr. Alex Wood. A few years ago he very kindly consented to nomination as Vice-Chairman and, of course, was promptly elected by the votes of our Council members. He has been elected every year since. But this is the first time he has been able to serve us in any major capacity as a speaker and everybody was delighted that he could take the series following our Campaign Introductory Statements and speak on the conditions of peace—Cultural, Political and Economic. These friends also we thank most sincerely.

SCOTTISH F.O.R. CONFERENCE

Thanks to the kind invitation of Miss Ritchie and to the energy and enterprise of the assistant secretary, Mrs. Dorothy Moncrieff, the first Conference of the Scottish F.O.R. and Church of Scotland Peace Society was held at "The Glen", Balerno, Midlothian, from June 23rd to 29th. Lying at the foot of Edinburgh's much-loved "Pentlands" the informal but spacious building made an ideal setting for this important event.

In spite of a last-minute change in the chairmanship and, owing to enemy action, delay in the arrival of the chief speaker, the Conference was supremely worth while for the individual members and for the fellowship as a whole.

Professor Macgregor initiated the Conference as chairman and speaker, and later the Secretary, Rev. Hugh Erskine Fraser took the chair. For speakers we were fortunate in having Rev. Alan Balding, Miss Lester and our Leader in Scotland for many years, Rev. Oliver Dryer.

Much ground was covered and things personal, national and international discussed, but one recalls a marked emphasis being put on the life and faith of the individual. "Pacifism is the adventure of a terrific faith in God". After the war will come a great chance for evangelism and it is "lives that are persuasively beautiful which will count"; lives too which are "calmly confident in face of storm".

"The vocation of the pacifist is to give a costlier centrality to the Cross." This means, like Paul, sharing in His sufferings but "evil, being resisted only by a certain quality of suffering, is conquered". Pacifists are called to take the lead, to experiment in the way of the Cross in personal relationships and in working for a new social order.

By her intimate talks on the work of the I.F.O.R., Miss Lester drew us together into the larger World Fellowship.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Headquarters Office (first floor), Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

The Annual General Meeting was held on July 21st at Bloomsbury House, W.C.2, Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., presiding. The attendance was good considering the difficult circumstances of the time. Leslie Keeble reported 3,241 lay members (net increase 79), 631 ministerial (net decrease 21), 3,872 total (net increase 58). 1,312 members receive *The Christian*

Pacifist. There are 88 Groups in the country, of which 40 are in London. Monthly letters are sent to Group Secretaries by Mr. E. Parish. The Birmingham Group has established its own Central Committee and local Officers. Two successful London Rallies have been held during the year, and a "Chairman's Letter" has been circulated to every member each quarter. A Sub-Title of the Fellowship, "An Association of Pacifist within the Methodist Church" has been adopted, after consultation with the Executive and members. Rev. Donald Stuart, voluntarily exiled with Channel Islanders to a German camp, had written cheerful greetings. Rev. Frederick Flint is also in a similar camp. Mrs. Maurice Cole had only two cases of C.O.s in prison this year. Contacts are being secured with Methodist Pacifist Societies in the Dominions and the U.S.A. The Fellowship had been affiliated to the National Peace Council and the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors, and was intending to co-operate in the Peace Campaign of the former. An affiliation has also been made with the newly-formed Pacifist Council of the Christian Church, to which ten representatives have been elected, with three on the Standing Committee. Grants have been made to C.O.s in special need from our Assistance Fund.

Mr. F. Mitchell, in the absence of the Treasurer, Rev. Percy Ineson, gave the Financial Report: Income, £866 5s. 5d.; Expenditure, £904 3s. 6d.; turning a balance in hand of £29 2s. 5d. in 1943 into a deficit of £8 15s. 8d. in 1944. The Assistance Fund for C.O.s showed a balance in hand of £63 7s. 8d. A Committee of Women members having recently been called together by Mrs. Percy Ineson, the meeting resolved that four extra women members be added to the Executive, and that a Sub-Committee dealing with matters specially relating to women's peace issues should meet from time to time. The Officers of M.P.F. were thanked for their services, especially Mr. O. R. Lewis, Co-Treasurer since the inception of M.P.F., who is now resigning office. The following were elected: Chairman, Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E.; Deputy Chairmen, Revs. G. E. H. Johnson and F. A. Farley, M.A., B.D.; Treasurers, Rev. P. Ineson and (it was hoped) Mr. J. Gibbs; Secretaries, Revs. L. Keeble, D. O. Soper, M.A., Ph.D., and E. Bilton; Auditor, Mr. G. V. Cooper. The Executive Committee: Revs. S. Rowley, E. C. Urwin, M.A., B.D., E. W. Baker, M.A., Ph.D., T. W. Bevan, M. L. Edwards, M.A., Ph.D., C. A. Roberts, W. H. Beales, M.A., E. B. Perkins, W. Upright, T. J. Foinette, B.D., D. A. Griffiths, L. S. Cheshire, B.A., D. A. Wollin, M.A., A. L. Wigley, B.A., B.D., H. E. Price, C. Newman, G. Vernon, A. Bellwood, B.A., G. P. Blamires, W. J.

Doidge, B.A., B.D., W. A. Harling, Mrs. M. Cole, Mrs. A. Booth, Mrs. P. Ineson, Mrs. D. Melville, Mrs. G. Heath, Mrs. M. Martin, Messrs. O. R. Lewis, P. W. Applegate, R. Bielby, F. Mitchell, G. Tomlinson, R. Burns, J. G. Stirk, D. H. Douglas, H. W. Armstrong, A. Braley, H. Hilditch, H. J. Price and D. Hayes. The Executive was asked to go carefully into the question of the Constitution of the Fellowship.

At the close the Chairman conducted a brief covenant and Communion Service at which several new members took the Covenant.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE

Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Chairman: John A. Kay.

Secretary: KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON.

At the 1944 Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends a Committee was appointed to explore the question of an appeal to rulers for a cessation of hostilities. At present this approach has not been found possible, but the Peace Committee is co-operating in taking to Friends everywhere the renewed certainty experienced by Yearly Meeting that God reigns, and that we are members of one human family. Each one of us is called to be His messenger, spreading His gospel in word and life. This war is the consequence of the moral failure of our civilisation. Unless this is understood, there is no possibility of true peace being achieved.

This message must be taken to all people, and requests for speakers will be warmly welcomed by Horace G. Alexander at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Hon. General Secretary: The Rev. Martin Tupper, 1, Adelaide Street, Charing Cross, W.C.2.

Owing to the difficulty, at the present stage of the war, of finding adequate staff on a maintenance basis for the running of the Hungerford Club, the responsibility for the Club has been taken over by a wider Committee of Management which can appeal to a larger field for the necessary staff and finance. The Chairman of this new Committee is the Rev. Donald Soper, and it includes the Rev. Canon T. B. Scrutton and the Rev. Martin Tupper of the A.P.F., the Rev. Eric Loveday—Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Nicholls of the F.O.R., and Father Palmer of the Society of St. Francis. The Hungerford Club is carrying on its work under the new Committee, and further news of its progress and arrangements for the future

will be given later. Meanwhile the A.P.F. is very grateful to those members and friends who have come forward with voluntary help during a rather difficult holiday period.

The new A.P.F. book *On Earth Peace*, reviewed by Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor in the last issue of *The Christian Pacifist*, is now on sale from the A.P.F. Office, price 7/6, postage 5d.

PAX.

Chairman: Dr. Cecil Gill.

Hon. Sec.: Stormont Murray, Green End, Radnage, High Wycombe, Bucks.

Imagine it, had total pacifism been imposed on the country in 1939, in spite of the promises of its "democratic representatives", and because foreigners had done it. Imagine the reception of compulsory pacifist servitude "for the duration", penalty £50 for failing to register; the youth of the country uprooted in the name of pacifism; Glass-houses for the unsound, with a death or two thrown out here and there; a series of colossal pacifist disasters analogous to the "Royal Oak", Dunkirk, Norway, Singapore, Greece, Crete, Dieppe, etc. (but we grin pacifically and carry on...)—warmongers requested to leave their posts in the Civil Service, in City Councils, the Churches, the Schools—well, to be elbowed out of every conceivable job, except keeping the patriotic bellies filled; to receive a quaint black feather from someone discreetly anonymous—yes, face it. Imagine the whole economy and propaganda of the world devoted to peace: plays, reviews, novels, books, the poets, the whole press day in day out, pouring out pacifism. Pacifism from parliament; pacifism from the B.B.C.; pacifism at the variety and from the pulpit, on the carpet and at the picnic; pacifism at the bar, the buffet, and even in bed; pacifist planes hideous overhead; a pacifist loaf, pacifist milk, pacifist pie, and a stock excuse for every moral lapse and blunder: "There's a Peace on, you know"—in short, pacifism adding rot to autumn and a blight on spring—how would the militarists have survived it? For that is the merest fraction of what militarism has meant to the pacifist. Let us ever be aware how strong and wonderful is the measure of the patience He has given us, in which we possess our souls.

T. G. W.

PEACE MOVEMENT IN CANADA

The main problem in Canada with pacifists is to maintain fellowship. Our number is small—about three hundred and fifty have declared themselves—and the distances separating us are sometimes vast. From Halifax to Vancouver is over three thousand miles. It is possible for

pacifists to get together in cities like Toronto, Montreal, and Saskatoon and occasionally at presbytery meetings and conferences. But we have to depend largely on the printed word and correspondence.

It was at a retreat for ministers in Northern Ontario the week the war began that the notorious "Witness Against War" was born. Rev. Edis Fairbairn, who is from England, drafted it and duplicates of it were sent to people known to be like-minded. It was published first with seventy-five names, mostly of United Church ministers, although the list of signers grew to nearly twice that number. The most distinguished signer was probably the Very Rev. Dr. Richard Roberts, ex-Moderator of the United Church of Canada. At first proceedings were threatened by the Attorney-General of Ontario on the ground that the document discouraged recruiting and broke the Defence of Canada Regulations. However, the Minister of Justice refused to push prosecution.

In order to keep pacifism alive as a central element in Christianity a group of ministers meeting at a conference in Toronto in 1941 commissioned two of their number to prepare and send out a circular. After the first few issues various leaders across Canada were asked to contribute the main article. About the same time news-letters began to flow from very capable and socially-minded young men in Alternative Service Work Camps. The dominant idea in the minds of conscientious objectors was that they were being asked to do work of little or no social value, often when they had exceptional educational or scientific training.

Two of these sending out material to maintain conviction, Revs. J. Lavell Smith and C. Clare Oke, decided to try to get the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which had had trouble getting permanently organised and affiliated, functioning again. After much correspondence a National Council and Executive was set up in the summer of 1942, having representatives upon it from the various provinces of different denominations and shades of opinion.

Within the last few months those responsible for the F.o.R. circular and for various C.o. bulletins have merged their efforts in the publication of *Reconciliation*, for which the F.o.R. has the major responsibility. The editor is Mr. Albert G. Watson of Toronto.

The peace movement in Canada is small but there has been a phenomenal growth in its financial support. A munificent gift by an American friend about a year ago gave us confidence to tackle larger projects and the appeal for their support has led to a *tenfold* increase in givings in 1943.

C. CLARE OKE.

Classified Advertisements

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

HOLIDAYS

WYE VALLEY and FOREST OF DEAN—Guest House, own parkland and 150 acres. Very tranquil and mild district. Grand walking centre. From £3. Lindors Settlement, St. Briavels, Glos. THE BRIARS, CRICH, Matlock (Ambergate Station, L.M.S.). Vegetarian Guest House. Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Alt. 600 ft. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow. Tel.: Ambergate 44. WENSLEY HALL, WENSLEY, Near Matlock. A.A. appointed. Small, sunny Guest House. Good centre for excursions. Telephone: Darley Dale 116. Eric and Muriel Bowser.

MEETINGS

A FELLOWSHIP MEETING for communion with God and each other is being held at Fellowship House, 38, Gordon Square, W.C.1, on the last Friday in each month, from 5.30—6.15 p.m. The next meeting is on 29th September, and the leader will be Bernard Eastaugh.

MISCELLANEOUS

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