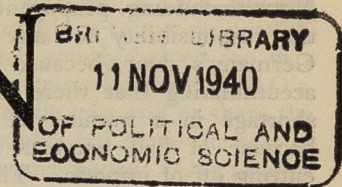


# The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST



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THREEPENCE

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## THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

### What is to Survive?

In his broadcast speech to the people of France Mr. Churchill outlined in some detail the war aims of Germany. We wish that he would now make another speech to announce the war aims of Britain. We realise the truth of what the Prime Minister said a few weeks ago in Parliament that among the more obvious things for which the nation is fighting is the nation's survival. But what thinking people want to know is, what kind of nation is going to survive? Obvious as the importance of survival is, it must be equally obvious that everything depends on what is going to survive. Suppose we knew that Britain were only going to survive as a dictatorship, that would cool the enthusiasm of many for her survival. There are quite enough dictatorships already, or if the nation is only to survive as the preserve of the dominating capitalist, interest in its survival on the part of the masses would naturally diminish. It has been denied that Britain is fighting to maintain the *status quo*. What then are the objects the achievement of which would permit the consideration of peace? We think it not untimely to press this question and therefore hope that widespread support will be given to the National Peace Council for its campaign in favour of a more positive statement of British peace aims. Local organisations

and individuals are urged to secure publicity for the manifesto entitled "The New World Order," copies of which have been distributed through national and local peace organisations. It is intended to invite Ministers to receive a deputation from among the memorialists. The Council is also resuming meetings of its Peace Aims Conference which earlier this year discussed the moral, political and economic bases of a peace settlement and published its discussions in the booklet entitled, "What kind of Peace?"

### Famine and Blockade

At a recent meeting of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups some time was spent in discussion of the attitude of the public mind to the present phase of the war. Naturally no one was prepared to defend indiscriminate bombing, and yet it was felt that there was something artificial in the indignation about it expressed in the press. It is only one of the ghastly horrors of war. Nor can we use it to put the blame wholly on Germany. There was cause for thankfulness in the tone of many letters in the correspondence columns on the subject of reprisals. Whilst some people argued against them simply on grounds of military economy, many others showed that they were fully aware of the moral con-

siderations involved. It could be wished that there was equal sensitiveness on the subject of blockade. Notwithstanding propaganda statements arguing that the responsibility for any suffering must be laid at Germany's door, because of her looting, evidence is accumulating that there is going to be very serious shortage in a number of European countries partly because of bad harvests and partly because of the cutting off of imports. Though the Government feels that it cannot dispense with the blockade weapon, we have to face the fact that whilst indiscriminate bombing will bring deprivation, pain and death to large numbers of all sorts, famine and consequent disease may seize the whole population.

#### Mr. Hoover's Proposals

The movement in the U.S.A. to appeal to the belligerent nations to allow the feeding of the peoples of German-occupied countries has issued a powerful appeal based on Mr. Hoover's proposals and putting to the American people this vital question: "Should Great Britain and Germany enter into agreements with a neutral commission which would allow these little countries to save the lives of millions of their men, women and children from their own money, by their own ships and under safeguards that assure that they alone shall eat their food?" In a statement made last August ex-President Hoover said, "Somebody must raise a voice for food supply during the coming winter to the 27,000,000 innocent civilians, mostly women and children, in Norway, Holland, Belgium and Poland. There will be wholesale starvation, death and disease in these countries unless something is done. . . This food must come over their borders, either from other parts of the continent or from overseas. . . The native production degenerates during war by inability to import feed for animals. These little nations are being ground between the millstones of the food blockade, Great Britain and Germany against each other." The proposal is that Germany should guarantee to take none of the domestic produce of these peoples and that Britain should allow ships carrying cargoes solely of food for them to pass the blockade so long as the guarantee is fulfilled.

#### Effect of Blockade

Another and at first sight an apparently contradictory argument for the suspension of the blockade in so far as it is applied to food is based on the view that the consequences of the blockade are not sufficiently severe to reduce German resistance and so shorten the war. An article in this issue by the Rev. B. J. Coggle adduces some interesting statistics in support of this plea. The two views are not of course really opposed, though they may estimate differently the highly incalculable effects of the blockade (a) on Germany itself, (b) on German-occupied territories. The important point on which all are agreed is that while the blockade is not in the least likely to reduce the German people to sub-

mission within a year or two, it must of necessity impose acute suffering on the smaller nations who, as the war continues, will naturally become more and more prejudiced against the authors of their privations. This is exactly what the Nazi government wants, and to that extent the food blockade might be said to be playing into their hands.

#### Pastor Hall at Liverpool?

The recent treatment of conscientious objectors at the Dingle Vale Schools in Liverpool, which has been mentioned by several newspapers has been the subject of strong protest. A War Office enquiry has been set up and at the time of writing a report is awaited. Letters smuggled out of the guard-room from men who have been the victims of persistent bullying fill one with disgust. We have no wish to dwell upon the unpleasant facts, least of all in any vindictive spirit, but we believe that the best way to put a stop to this scandal is to expose it. A very few brief extracts from letters received will be sufficient to indicate the conditions imposed upon men who on grounds of conscience are constrained to refuse military orders. "We were hit, punched, kicked and whacked again and again by each N.C.O. as we passed them, if we went down we were picked up and pushed on, if we were too bad water was thrown over our heads. Noses were bleeding,—received two very black eyes, we all had blows on our jaws, bruises on the posterior and ankles. We were all finished off one by one with a blow below the belt; then, winded and almost unconscious, an N.C.O. held us against the wall and the officer demanded we gave in." "He refused to work and was brutally assaulted in our presence and taken back to solitary confinement. We asked to see an officer but none was produced so we could not register any complaint. The sergeant who assaulted him was the sergeant who is an ex-boxer." "We were made to run round the inside of the shed having our ankles kicked and our heads and bodies punched. One or two passed out on the floor." "Taken out for physical training with others and the party of men with rifles who continually hit us in the back and stomach and kicked us and struck us on the face." "Marched back to guard-room receiving a blow on the head almost every step I took. Butted back and front with rifles, kicked on legs and struck on the face. That afternoon put in solitary confinement in a cell less than four feet wide, about ten feet long and ten feet high. No light save from tiny grating near ceiling and tiled floor. One blanket for covering. Bread and water diet. Roused three times during that night."

#### Cause to Rejoice

We could fill several pages with such quotations from well-attested documents but have no wish to say more than is necessary. Letters do not come only from the men themselves. A Liverpool magistrate writes,

"Eleven of the C.O.'s again refused orders and were badly beaten up"; while a chaplain in Liverpool says, "There is no doubt at all that the treatment has been most brutal and could hardly have been excelled in a German concentration camp." The Officer Commanding the Dingle Vale Schools in a letter to a lady who wrote to him about one of the men concerned uses language which must be most unusual for an officer and a gentleman: "It would seem from your letter that you are one of the misguided females who, instead of spending your leisure time in useful war work . . . utilise what brains you have in assisting able-bodied young men to evade military service after the Military Tribunals have satisfied themselves that the men in question are not genuine or truthful in their reasons for professing conscientious objection to service in His Majesty's forces. After questioning the men here my own opinion is that 99 per cent. of them are hypocrites in this direction." At a time in which there is so much suffering we are not complaining about the sufferings which these conscientious objectors have undergone. Some of them are suffering purely for the sake of their Christian faith and they have cause to rejoice and be exceeding glad. We are not sorry for them. But we are grieved for the generation in which such religious persecution is still possible.

#### Pacifist Service Units

Pacifist groups in London continue to respond to the call for help to the injured and homeless. The following extract from a letter received speaks for itself.

"We have been rather split up lately. We have all taken parties of mothers and children down to the West Country from Plumstead and Woolwich under the L.C.C. evacuation scheme; each day we send three over to Stepney to disinfect the air raid shelters. The requisites are creosote, carbolic, bug-powder and no sense of smell—it really was a filthy job when we started. We smoke some tobacco at 3d. an ounce—herbal stuff, it's all we can afford—but even the stench of that was overpowered, so we had to burn rag. Brother Lawrence washing dishes to the glory of God just wasn't in it! Anyhow, it's a most useful job and we're thinking of having an armband marked "Cleanliness is next to Godliness. We are on most amiable relationships with all the authorities we have approached, especially our local Post Warden, whom we have discovered to be a fellow member of F.o.R. There's another member at the evacuation headquarters in Woolwich and another who was at Easter Conference at Greenwich Town Hall. We'll soon be running the country for them."

#### A Message from Poplar

The Rev. Alan Balding writes from Trinity Church, Poplar: "The burden of the past month in Poplar would have been quite intolerable if it had not been for the prayer and the gifts of our friends. It has been a peculiar joy to receive help from members of the

Fellowship throughout the country. I should be glad to assure those to whom it has been impossible to write that they have mediated the strength of God and the charity of God to us, and through us to our desperately needy people. We have been greatly helped too in a wide variety of ways by the personal service of C.O.'s. Their readiness to do unromantic jobs and to share the risks of life in Poplar these nights has made the sort of witness for which one would have hoped. Our need of every kind continues. Thank you and blessings on you all."

#### Victims of Air Raids

It is with great regret that we hear that Ethel Alcock Rush and George Bickers, two active and devoted members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in London since the days of the last war, have been killed in air raids during the last month.

#### Passed by Both Censors

"A message the Nazis did not suppress" is the title of a leaflet published by the Friends' Peace Committee. It is a translation by Stephen Hobhouse of the report of an address on the words of Matthew vi. 21-6, given by a woman member of the Berlin Quaker group at a "Family Day" meeting held in that city near the beginning of 1940. The report appeared in the April issue of *Der Quaker*, the monthly journal of the Society of Friends in Germany, which up to that month, at least, has been allowed by the German Government to be printed and to circulate freely. We have here one of a number of indications which suggest that there has been hitherto no systematic attempt in Germany to prohibit the production and reading of literature of a genuinely Christian and even Christian pacifist tendency.

#### Armisticetide

In spite of all the difficulties, a central Armisticetide meeting is to be held again this year, under the title, "Christ and Peace," and under the auspices of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. Dr. Donald Soper has kindly granted the use of Kingsway Hall, and he and Dr. Alex Wood of Cambridge will be the speakers; the Rev. Henry Carter will preside and will conduct the devotional part of the meeting which is to be held on Saturday, November 9th, at 2.30 p.m. It will be over by 4 o'clock. Admission will be free by ticket obtainable from 16, Victoria Street, S.W.1., or from the F.o.R., 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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

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

## MR. GANDHI'S POSITION

THE following extract from the important speech made by Mr. Gandhi to the All-India Congress Committee which met in Bombay on September 15th and 16th, is issued by the National Peace Council.

"... I feel that in taking the step that we are doing, we are rendering a great service not only to Congress but to the whole of India. History will record, and Englishmen will be able to grasp this statement some day, that we are rendering help to the English nation...

The result is this: if we can get a declaration from the British Government that Congress can go on preaching anti-war propaganda, go on preaching non-cooperation with the Government in their war effort; we will not have civil disobedience... I do not want England to be defeated; I do not want England to be humiliated. It hurts me to have learnt that St. Paul's Cathedral had been damaged. It hurts me just as much as I would be hurt if I heard that Kashi Vishvanath or Juma Masjid was damaged. I would want to defend both Kashi Vishvanath and Juma Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but I will not take life for their defence.

That is my fundamental difference with the British people. My sympathy is there with them nevertheless. Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen or anybody else whom my voice reaches, where my sympathy lies. It is not because I love the British nation and hate the German. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or Italians. We are all tarred with the same brush; we are all members of that vast human family. I decline to draw any distinction...

### "I Shall Have Nothing to do with This War"

"Let there be no mistake as to what I am about... My individual liberty is the same as nations... I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and I say that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war, and in this fratricide that is going on in Europe. I admire bravery, but what is the use of this bravery? I deplore their foolishness and their crass ignorance. They do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look at this war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want Congress to do so. The part I would like to take, is the part of peace. If the British people in their wisdom had recognised the independence, not of Congress but of all India, and if the other parties in India had also co-operated with us we would have taken the honourable place of peace-makers between these nations. Such is my ambition. But to-day I know that it is a day-dream. But sometimes man lives in his day-dreams..."

I do not want to hurl civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of government actions—actions beginning with the de-

claration of the Viceroy, then the statement of the Secretary of State for India, and then the actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since. The sum total... has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong... and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled...

### "I Propose to Approach the Viceroy"

"In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy... I will place my difficulties before him; I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced. 'We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to the war effort. We go our way and you go yours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. Left free to ourselves there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure you find they respond—then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from princes, from zemindars (landlords), from anybody high or low—you can have it: but let our voice also be heard. If you do so, it will be eminently honourable: it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you—although you are engaged in a life and death struggle—that you have given us this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you take this great step, although you have limitless powers to choke our voice, and give us the fullest possible freedom consistently with the observance of non-violence to tell the people of India not to join the war effort.' The Viceroy will say 'You are a visionary.' I may fail in my mission, but we will not quarrel. If he says he is helpless, I will not feel helpless... I will place this before the Viceroy. I may fail... but I have never approached the mission in despair. I have approached it with consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. I shall approach the Viceroy in confidence and hope that he will understand the great reasonableness of the request of Congress for full liberty to preach 'no war' in India. Everyone should have perfect liberty to preach by pen and tongue..."

### "My Creed Holds me For Life"

"There are many parties in Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is indiscipline in Congress. I know it is inevitable in a mass organisation which is growing from day to day. If it is all indiscipline and no discipline, the organisation is on a downward path. Let it not be said of you that you come to Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly sign a Congress pledge with violence in your breast? I want complete obedience to a policy of non-violence... My creed holds me for life: yours so long as you hold it..."

## THE RELEVANCE OF AN IMPOSSIBLE IDEAL

(Continued)

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

*This is the second of a short series of articles in which Professor Macgregor deals with the views of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. The series will be continued next month.*

BEFORE attempting a constructive reply to Niebuhr's arguments it will be well to notice the very significant concessions which he makes to the Pacifist position.

### Jesus' Teaching Uncompromisingly Pacifist

Firstly, there can be no question that the teaching of Jesus, if taken at its face value, is uncompromisingly pacifist. Niebuhr has no patience with those Christian theologians and ecclesiastics who still seek to discover loopholes through which war may be actually brought within the pale of Christian ethics and blessed in the name of the Prince of Peace: "It is very foolish to deny that the ethic of Jesus is an absolute and uncompromising ethic... The injunctions 'resist not evil,' 'love your enemies,'... 'be not anxious for your life,' 'be ye therefore perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect,' are all of one piece, and they are all uncompromising and absolute." In the world as it is forces over which we have no control may drive our nation into war as what appears the lesser of two evils; but when Christians take up arms there is not anything in either the teaching or example of Jesus which would justify us in pointing to Him as our precedent: "Nothing is more futile and pathetic than the effort of some Christian theologians who find it necessary to become involved in the relativities of politics, in resistance to tyranny or in social conflict, to justify themselves by seeking to prove that Christ was also involved in some of these relativities, that He used whips to drive the money-changers out of the Temple, or that He came 'not to bring peace but a sword,' or that He asked the disciples to sell a cloak and buy a sword." The necessity of making "relative judgments" may drive us to compromise, but that does not alter the essentially uncompromising nature of Jesus' commands: "Those of us who regard the ethic of Jesus as finally and ultimately normative, but as not immediately applicable to the task of securing justice in a sinful world, are very foolish if we try to reduce the ethic so that it will cover and justify our prudential and relative standards and strategies."

In other words the debate between pacifist and non-pacifist ought to be, not concerning any possible ambiguity in Jesus' teaching, which should be admitted to be unequivocally pacifist, but rather concerning its practicability, its relevance to present circumstances, the extent to which even Jesus Himself intended it to be put into effect in an imperfect world. The question is not, "Does Jesus command this?" but rather, "Does He mean us to obey what appears to be a plain command, and will He give us power to do so?" If the question

was always as clearly posed as it is by Niebuhr, one feels that for most Christians the debate would be closed.

### Love as the Law of Life

Secondly, Niebuhr concedes that "pacifists are quite right in one emphasis. They are right in asserting that love is really the law of life." Such "agape" (to use the Greek word for which there is no real English equivalent) is for most of us an emotion so vague, so diffuse, so inarticulate as to appear little more than pious sentimentality. Yet in times of stress it shows itself to be the chief motivating power of responsible human action and the one secret of social cohesion. Why, for example, does some great natural catastrophe always evoke an outpouring of sympathy and generosity which oversteps all national boundaries? Such universal sympathy "can express itself, even in those rare moments only because all human life is informed with an inchoate sense of responsibility toward the ultimate law of life—the law of Love."

Nor is this law merely a transcendental ideal; Jesus' ethic of love "is drawn from, and relevant to, every moral experience. It is immanent in life as God is immanent in the world." It is commonly argued that Christ's law of love can be expected to operate only among those who have already accepted the presuppositions of the Christian Gospel. That, I take it, was Archbishop Temple's meaning when he wrote that "man is incapable of living by love unless the grace of God has both converted and sanctified him; so that the law of love is not applicable to nations consisting in large measure of unconverted or... very imperfectly converted citizens." Niebuhr, on the contrary, rightly insists on the "relevance of the ideal of love to the moral experience of mankind on every conceivable level. It is not an ideal magically superimposed upon life by a revelation which has no relation to total human experience." The compulsion of the love-commandment is as all-embracing as the love of God itself for men. "The Christian love-commandment does not demand love of the fellow-man because he is with us equally divine, or because we ought to have 'respect for personality,' but because God loves him." All pacifists will feel that in writing thus Niebuhr has done much to build the bridge which must ultimately reunite pacifist and non-pacifist Christians.

### The Place of the Pacifist in the Church

Finally, while pronouncing much pacifist doctrine to be "heretical," Niebuhr allows that there is a certain value in pacifism and a real place for pacifists in the

Church. Modern Christian pacifism "expresses a genuine impulse in the heart of Christianity, the impulse to take the law of Christ seriously and not to allow the political strategies, which the sinful character of man makes necessary, to become final norms." Such Christian perfectionism, provided that it limits itself to "the effort to achieve a standard of perfect love in individual life," need not come under the ban: it does so only when it regards the law of love "as an alternative to the political strategies by which the world achieves a precarious justice." But when it relegates itself judiciously to its own sphere, and when "the political problem and task are specifically disavowed," this kind of pacifism is "not a heresy. It is rather a valuable asset for the Christian faith." It may seem here—to use Niebuhr's own criticism of Brunner—that our author touches his cap to pacifism only at the cost of "neatly dismissing the Christian ideal from any immediate relevance to political issues." Nevertheless he freely concedes that "religious pacifism, as a . . . symbolic portrayal of love absolutism in a sinful world, has its own value and justification. A Church which does not generate it is the poorer for its lack." He would agree with Archbishop Temple (*pace* the Dean of St. Paul's!) that "pacifism is a genuine vocation for some"—though apparently not for Archbishops and Deans!

#### The Peril of Compromising with the Absolute

On the immediate problem of the Church's attitude to war in general and this war in particular Niebuhr utters two warnings to which Christian pacifists will give an emphatic "Amen!" Firstly, there is the peril of compromising with the absolute, particularly in the Church's relations with the State. It engulfed the Church in her early years: "When the hope of the *parousia* waned, the rigour of the Christian ethic was gradually dissipated and the Church, forced to come to terms with the relativities of politics and economics and the immediate necessities of life, made unnecessary compromises with these relativities which frequently imperilled the very genius of prophetic religion." Protestant tradition has given the State "special sanctification as an ordinance of God," and the Lutheran doctrine of the two "domains" has resulted too often in an unwillingness on the part of the Church to apply to the State's actions within the sphere of the latter's own domain the critical sanctions of a Christian morality which was held to function only within the "order of grace." Yet, says Niebuhr, "it must also be noted that the Church usually capitulated in the end to the lower standards which it failed to challenge in the State." So to-day the way of least resistance for the Church is to renounce all criticism of the State, so long as it acts strictly within its own domain, and (like the German Confessional Church) to protest in the name of Christ only when the State claims not only "the things that are Caesar's" but also "the things that are God's." Yet, says Niebuhr again, "a Church which refrains from practically every moral criticism of the State and allows itself only an ultimate religious criticism of

the spiritual pretensions of the State must logically end in the plight in which the German Church finds itself."

#### The Invocation of Religion in Support of War

Secondly, Niebuhr warns us against the tragic results of invoking religion in support of a national war effort. There has never been a war in which it has not been found necessary to buttress national morale by appealing to the religious instinct. "All wars are religious wars, whether fought in the name of historic creeds or not. Men do not fight for causes until they are 'religiously' devoted to them; which means not until the cause seems to them the centre of their universe of meaning. This is just as true in a supposedly secular age as in an avowedly religious one." The result has been a vast amount of national hypocrisy and self-deception, as was only too evident in the last war: "A re-reading of the pronouncements of the men of learning and philosophers . . . who were involved in the world war fills the reader with a depressing sense of the calculated insincerity of all their pretensions. Yet while some of the sentiments were no doubt brazenly insincere and calculated to deceive the public, many of them were merely a striking revelation of the pathos of modern spirituality." (Italics mine.)

Worst of all the constant invocation of religion produces a mood of national self-righteousness which at the moment is perhaps the least admirable feature of our own national temper. The very fact that, at least in our own eyes, our cause is so obviously righteous sorely tempts us to identify our cause with God's and our victory with the triumph of God's Kingdom. God grant that it may indeed be so! Yet, warns Niebuhr, in all international disputes "every appeal to moral standards degenerates into a moral justification of the self against the enemy. Parties to a dispute inevitably make themselves judges over it and thus fall into the sin of pretending to be God. . . . The introduction of religious motives into these conflicts is usually no more than the final and most demonic pretension. Religion may be regarded as the last and final effort of the human spirit to escape relativity and gain a vantage point in the eternal." One need not for one moment question the essential justice of the Allied cause in order to see that here the Church must ever be on her guard. Surely even those who are most convinced that Christianity to-day stands or falls with the British Empire will acknowledge the real peril to true religion latent in this (as Niebuhr calls it) "religious sanctification of partial and relative values." To guard against it is one of the Church's primary tasks to-day, and we are grateful to Niebuhr for so clearly sounding the alarm.

It is encouraging that so keen an opponent of Christian pacifism as Niebuhr yet finds himself wholly at one with us over so large a portion of the field. Indeed one is conscious of a growing wonder that, starting from such presuppositions, our author can, on the main issue of pacifism, reach the conclusions set forth in his latest booklet. To justify this judgment will be our task in another article.

## EUROPE'S FOOD AND THE BLOCKADE

B. J. COGGLE

THE popular fallacy that the blockade of food to Germany and her Allies and conquered territories is a cruel necessity for the winning of the war is not borne out by a careful study of European food production and imports. It is said that statisticians are the worst kind of liars, but that is largely due to the uncritical way that most of us usually handle figures and the prejudice which often blinds our interpretation of the facts. We need to make a great effort to see the situation as a whole, to weigh the proportions of the problem carefully, and to make due allowances for items of which we have only partial evidence. Fortunately the League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service has recently brought out a reference book showing production by countries 1935 and 1938. There are some gaps in its statistics but it is an invaluable guide to the present situation.

The outstanding conclusion seems to be that the blockade of food supplies to the Axis powers is going to cause a large amount of irritation and of local hardships with a minimum amount of real effect on the fortunes of the war. What are the facts? We must take almost the whole of Europe into our survey, even including Switzerland and Sweden since they are now within the German economic control. Taking then all Europe, excepting European Russia and Turkey and the British Isles, what do we find?

#### Germany Will Not Suffer

Taking cereals first: Continental Europe produced 117 millions tons in 1938 and the import for 1935 was below 10 millions. This is of course a serious deficiency, but we have to reckon on increased production in the next year or two when the damage to Poland and Northern France will be rapidly repaired under stress of need and German direction. Loss to crops this year owing to war damage is certain but we do not know its extent, neither do we know the present stocks, nor how much of the deficiency will be made up by supplies from U.S.S.R. It is clear that a thorough rationing scheme distributing the relatively small deficiency fairly throughout the continent would avoid anything like starvation, but this is not at all likely to happen, and we can take it for granted that in certain localities and among certain groups there will be a very severe shortage which may approximate to starvation. The peoples most likely to suffer may be gauged better when we note the production and imports of each country. Germany is not likely to go short. She produces 24 million tons of cereals per annum and imports just over one million tons, but on her Eastern flanks is Poland with a vast agricultural population of 63 per cent. Poland and the Danube States have an export surplus of over two million tons of cereals per annum. Italy however has a deficiency of wheat and maize and will want to put her hand into the Danube granaries.

Spain is normally self-supporting but is wasting her strength on armaments instead of restoring her war-ruined agriculture. Switzerland seems to be in a particularly dangerous position with an import of 75 per cent. of total needs, and surrounded by hungry nations. Belgium and Holland also are particularly vulnerable as both import more grain than they produce at home. Belgium has a densely-packed industrial population and Holland needs large supplies of grain for animal fodder. Norway also with a barren soil, of which only 4 per cent. is cultivated, imports more than half her consumption. France is generally self-supporting in cereals and sometimes actually exports wheat. But this year her harvests are damaged by war and 'Vichy' France is cut off from the rich granaries of the North. Thus our conclusion must be that there will be very acute shortages in certain localities, but that Germany is not at all likely to be very short. Is it reasonable to expect that Germany will ration her own people in the interest of Europe as a whole? It seems much more likely that she will do her best to place the blame for the sufferings of these areas on the British blockade.

#### The Dependence of Britain

It helps to set the European production of grain in its true light when we remember that Europe produces more wheat than U.S.A., Canada and Australia combined, in fact Europe produces more than one-third of the total world production. Great Britain alone imports about the same quantity of cereals, taken as a whole, as the rest of Europe combined. The war of course has affected production in various ways, but we must not think that Britain is the only country with a policy of increased war production. Comparisons with the last war are liable to be very misleading, and even comparisons with the year 1940 may mislead us as to the conditions for 1941 onwards, owing to the special conditions of 1940.

It is said that the potato has done much to remove the fear of famine from Europe. Germany produced 53 million tons of potatoes in 1939; Poland (apart from the Russian part) and Czechoslovakia 35 million tons. Most European countries are, or can easily be, self-supporting in potatoes. Continental Europe produces 135 million tons of potatoes per annum. Some of this is used for industrial purposes but most for food. But here again certain areas have a deficiency and some a surplus. Poland has a huge export surplus of potatoes, whereas Switzerland has a deficiency, Denmark and Holland have an exportable surplus, but Belgium only just meets her great needs and may well be short this year.

Continental Europe has a huge production of beet sugar—over five million tons per annum and only a small import of sugar about 350,000 tons. It is in-

teresting to compare with this the vast British import of about 90 per cent. In beet sugar Germany is self-sufficing and is the leading producer in Europe. Here again there is a diversity. Poland has a huge export, and Switzerland, Holland, Denmark and Norway an import. 'Vichy' France will be very deficient in sugar though France as a whole is almost self-sufficing.

#### Her 60 Per Cent. of Imported Food

Germany is well supplied with cattle and with pigs though she has comparatively few sheep. But taking meats as a whole Germany produces four million tons per annum and imports only one per cent. of her needs. But Germany cannot be short of meat or indeed of dairy produce, as in addition to her own vast production her neighbours, Poland, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark and Holland have a vast export. Denmark has a highly-specialised dairy and bacon industry. Dairy products alone account for 75 per cent. of her very large exports of which Great Britain used to take one-half. Germany is not likely to be short of meat, milk, butter and cheese for a long time, so long as Denmark, Holland and the rest can get enough feeding stuffs. (Denmark imports about one-sixth of her cereals.) But Belgium and Italy import a considerable supply of meat. Britain is the chief importer of meat and dairy produce from overseas. In fact over 60 per cent. of all British consumption of foodstuffs comes from overseas.

In fish Germany is deficient. She imports one-third of her total consumption, and the main part of her own huge catch comes from the North Sea which is now presumably closed to her by the British Navy. Great Britain and Norway are the largest fishing nations in Europe and have a considerable export to Europe. Since presumably Dutch and French fishermen are also subject to the British blockade there must be a very considerable shortage of fish in Europe from which Germany will also suffer. One wonders how the fishermen and their families will be able to live. Here is another small group which will suffer hardships out of all proportion to the rest of Europe.

Germany will also be short of whale oil, and of oil from nuts and tropical seeds which make margarine, etc. Europe will have a fairly good supply of green vegetables, and of apples, pears, and plums. France has an export of green vegetables, strawberries and soft small fruits. Spain and Italy have a vast export of citrous fruits—about one million tons per annum, but hardly enough for the needs of all the industrial masses of Northern Europe. Tropical and sub-tropical fruits such as bananas and dates will be almost completely cut off.

#### Decreasing Effectiveness of Food Blockade

As for drinks—Europe consumes very little tea—that is Britain's luxury. There is no considerable consumption of cocoa except in Britain and Holland. But Germany, Belgium, France and their neighbours will be very irritated by the absence of coffee when the stocks are exhausted. Germany is well supplied with hops and rye for beer and is trying experiments in non-alcoholic drinks. France, Italy, Spain and Portugal are world famous for their wines, so apart from coffee

there will not be a 'drought' in Continental Europe.

The main conclusion seems to be that the blockade of food certainly cannot cause the collapse of Germany, and that it will grow less effective, rather than more the longer the war lasts because the special troubles of 1940 will be overcome, war damages will be repaired, the large Dutch, Belgian and French armies will be sent back to produce food and other things, production will be gingered up and rationing will be introduced or extended where necessary. But there will be very severe local hardships especially to 'Vichy' France and to the fishing communities, and probably in Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, and probably also Norway. The blockade will not be effective in stopping the war, but it will be a useful psychological weapon in the hands of Germany against Britain which will neutralise British propaganda and may even turn the tide of European sentiment against Britain. It will cause a maximum of irritation to many, and of hurtfulness to small communities, mainly of our friends, with a minimum of ultimate value.

### IN MEMORIAM

#### KIRSTEN SVELMÖE-THOMSEN

THE passing of Kirsten Svelmöe-Thomsen on July 21—the news only reached her friends here two months later—following on the death of her husband, Christian Svelmöe-Thomsen, in February, 1938, means not only the passing of the leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Denmark, but to a wider circle the loss of a dear and valued friend.

For those who knew Christian and Kirsten they seemed almost one person, so truly united were they. Yet each had a distinct personality: Kirsten, brilliant student, gifted writer and translator, speaker and lecturer, whose contributions were looked for at conferences, lecturer on Comparative Religion and other subjects at the International People's College at Elsinore, editor of *Fredsvægen*, helper in her husband's work in his poor parish. Yet perhaps it was by certain other qualities that we, her friends, best remember her: a true saint with a saving sense of humour; a deep thinker with the loving, simple heart of a child. One can see her broad, generous smile and hear her hesitating: "Well . . . ?" followed perhaps by some wise, caustic but always kindly criticism or, more often, by some warm, intuitive appreciation where others had failed to penetrate below the surface. Kirsten was one of the fifty who met at Bilthoven in 1919 when the International Fellowship was founded and from that time onward she served with acceptance on its Council. In 1926 she and her husband travelled for the British F.o.R. during the railway strike and they were present at the Conference of the Fellowship at Durham in 1935. Their home in Aaboulevard, Copenhagen, was always open to friends of the Fellowship and many in different lands will now look back wistfully but with deep gratitude to the beautiful hospitality and the peaceful atmosphere of that Danish home.

## THE SOUL OF THE CHURCH

LILIAN STEVENSON.

*Till we all come in the unity of the faith. . . Unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.*

NYBORG, a lovely seaside conference centre on an island in Denmark, in the summer of 1923. The scene, an evening meeting at one of our International Fellowship of Reconciliation Conferences. Three delegates have been asked to tell us what they live by. Premysl Pitter, worker among the children of the poor in Prague, tells the story of his conversion to Christ and to the way of peace right in the midst of the last war. "I was looking for God and came to find Him in me in the moment when everybody was killed around me." Max Josef Metzger, Roman Catholic priest, shares with us the inner secret of the source of his spiritual life as he speaks of the central mystery of the Mass and what it means to him. ("Did I say too much about it, for I *do* live by that," he whispers to the chairman as he sits down.) He tells us how he lives by faith in the Father whose children we all are; by faith in Jesus Christ whom to know is life eternal, who is not only a historic person who once gave us a great example but the Christ from whom in the Holy Communion he himself draws the one sufficient power. He lives by faith in the Holy Spirit, in the surety that over all is the Spirit breathing new life. He lives by faith in the Church; the Church Catholic calling us to realise that Christianity is universal; the Church Apostolic calling us to the renewal of the world. And from that faith springs hope—for without it our hearts would fail us as we look at the world to-day—and love, overflowing all barriers, a serving love in which we are drawn together in devotion to Our Lord. Kirsten Svelmöe-Thomsen, student of theology, writer and speaker, tells us what she lives by—love and forgiveness; and quaintly illustrates it by recalling a picture she has seen of an enormous loaf representing the bread one man had eaten in his lifetime. "Well, it would be a terrible thing to see in one place the amount of forgiveness I have received."

#### Oberammergau, 1930

Oberammergau, 1930. During the four months of that summer, 1,200 men and women from 29 countries have met in the International F.o.R. Hostel in groups of forty for a stay of three or four days at a time, to see the Passion Play and to share in a fellowship which goes beyond barriers of race or language or church division. After supper on the first night of the arrival of a new group, we meet in the Common Room and each in turn gives his name, country and profession or job, and also his special interest in life. A young man from the Far West whose work is shop assistant states that his interest is in work among boys and at once a young man from the Near East, a student, looks eagerly across the room and no sooner are the introductions over than these two gravitate to each other, drawn by their common effort for the Kingdom. Men and women find one another here on the deeper levels of their religious experience.

This fellowship has "something timeless" about it. Before the four days are over, in most cases the forty strangers have become a unity.

The European Youth Crusade for Disarmament and World Peace, 1932, was a venture mainly organised by two of our Catholic fellow-workers. Forty-five foreign speakers took part across frontiers and a total of some 50,000 persons were addressed. The aim was to arouse and unite the peace-minded youth of Europe in a spirit of sacrifice and service. A notable feature was the co-operation of Catholics and Protestants. Sometimes Catholic Youth, sometimes Protestant, took the initiative. The audiences varied in size from small village meetings to crowds of several hundreds. Every night for two months the Crusade passed along parallel routes through Holland, Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland, culminating in an international demonstration at Geneva at Easter, and in the presentation of a petition to the President of the Disarmament Conference. A Belgian woman, a journalist, who shared in the Crusade for a time, wrote: "To see Catholics, Jews and Protestants mutually understanding one another was for me of great significance. We must learn to build bridges across our differences and work loyally together."

#### England, 1937

England, 1937. A letter comes one morning to a member of the International F.o.R., a Presbyterian. It is from a young Catholic business man who had attended one of our Summer Conferences in Bavaria eleven years before and with whom she had kept in touch. It is to introduce a Jewish lad—Jewish by faith as well as race—who has worked in the same firm as the writer of the letter, but has lost his job because of his race. He is coming to London. Can she find him friends there? It is to the F.o.R. that he, a Catholic, confidently turns for help for his friend, a Jew.

A Quiet Room in a certain home is set apart for morning and evening prayer and for remembrance of friends in other lands. Frequently guests in the house are of other nations and of other faiths—Hindu, Moslem, Jew, Orthodox, Roman, Lutheran, Anglican. Discussion is often keen as when one evening a Russian tries to explain to the Roman the difference between their two faiths, and the other guests—a Hindu, a strong Calvinist from Hungary, and a broad-minded Czech—add their point of view. But in the Quiet Room as we pray that each country may bring its gift into the great common brotherhood and that those present may have strength to serve and faith to continue, we have a deep sense of fellowship with these our sincerely religious friends. Though they and we know that our faiths are not identical we can and do pray together. As we pray for the peace of the world or worship in silence, each in his or her own fashion, there is a unity and a fusion. Often it is for those quiet moments that a

guest—it may be a Jew or a Lutheran or a Hindu or a Moslem—expresses his deep thankfulness when writing to his hostess. "What appealed to me most was your Quiet Room. Thank you for having the prayer from Gitanjali. Under your roof we were all brothers and sisters, born of one Father, the Almighty." "Those few days were for me days of great plenitude of soul. They provided me with a new proof of an idea I have always held: peace can only be maintained through religion and as long as people are far from religion peace is far from the earth."

#### The Soul of The Church Universal

At an international Christmas Party a little girl of five quite fell in love with an Indian guest in her graceful *sari*. The child told her father that she was going back to India with her when she was six. He asked would she not be afraid to go so far, but she replied: "Oh, no! You see *I shall have my Indian friend.*" And we who have been privileged in our International Fellowship to have our Hindu friends, our Moslem friends, our Jewish friends, our Catholic and Orthodox friends, know that for us the world need not be a strange and lonely place.

The Peace of God does pass all understanding and those who accept its rule find themselves incorporated into a fellowship which surmounts all barriers. So we go forward in confidence that what we experience between individuals and in small groups is true for the world. Our friends of the Roman communion speak of "the soul of the Church." May it not be that, living in the power of the life to come and daring now to overleap barriers, we can be the Soul of the Church Universal and so help to bring in the Kingdom.

Those instanced above still adhere to their own special forms of faith, but beyond and around these they and we have been aware of something uniting, God's greatness flowing round our incompleteness, the central fact of the love of God and the resultant love of man to his brother-man which, accepted, will one day make this world a home and its warring, suspicious, restless peoples, brothers, and sisters looking to their one Father.

### REMEMBRANCE DAY

**D**ID I buy a poppy last year? Yes! but I pinned it under the lapel of my coat, and when asked by a gay 'Young Thing' if I had forgotten, I turned my lapel like an American Police Officer on the movies to show I remembered:—

The tragic 4th of August, 1914; Mr. Asquith's speech about not sheathing the sword, etc., Kitchener's call . . . the response, the songs, 'Tipperary,' 'Good-bye 'ee,' 'We don't want to lose you,' my own response, my training in London, the Zeppelin brought down at Cuffley, the Silvertown Explosion, Haydon Coffin in 'Young England,' at Drury Lane, my last hours in England passing through ancient Winchester, pretty Wickham, along the front at Southsea, passing near Nelson's "Victory." Portsmouth Harbour, by strange coincidence a brief hour aboard H.M.S. Suffolk, in the early hours of the morning slipping silently down

the Solent, the escorting destroyers, the quiet talk of possible submarine attacks. Striking the Quay at Le Havre, names such as Rue des Galleons, the crowded, dirty tramcars, two or three linked together, a pound worth 27 francs 50 centimes.

Pretty Neuf Chatel with its old chateau on the wooded hillside. Abbeville that lively, almost seaside town, I can see the last lorries of the convoy high up among the apple trees that line the road in full bloom as they wind down the hill. St. Omer, Doullens, St. Pol, along the endless pavé in the avenue of Poplars, Arras, Bapaume, Albert, smaller villages Fuechy, Monchy le Prieux, St. Eloi, the endless months and months, forgetting time, varying fortunes, grave and gay, flush and broke, sober and otherwise. Glimpses of the increasing crops of wooden crosses in fields behind the lines.

The 21st March, 1918, "Backs to the Wall"; Unlucky! oblivion; Casualty Clearing Station, 2nd Canadians General Hospital, Cameirs; Hospital Train, tiers of stretchers, row on row, hour after hour, Nurses, Doctors, tensely quiet but reassuring; Calais at last, Dover, London, Birmingham, Rugby, gallant V.A.D's., generous public, Epsom, Ipswich, Norwich, Camberwell, in and out of hospital, the terrific November 11th, 1918, medical boards, Peace, June, 1919.

Grand Parade winning the Derby 33-1, the meeting at Versailles, the Welsh Wizard, the Tiger, Foch, the Treaty.

The hundreds of thousands of unemployed waiting on Friday each week for 29/- at the newly-established Unemployment Exchanges, hence the nickname, 'the 29th Division,' Lloyd George's Coalition Government to make the land fit for heroes, his defeat (on his own admission) by the vested interests.

President Wilson's League of Nations, America's abstention, Germany's detention, Kellogg, Briand, Cecil, Stressemann, the Kellogg Pact, I remember praising it to a local and being told we were getting "milky," Lord Cecil's resignation because of being sent to Geneva with his hands tied, Lord Londonderry's defence of the Bombing Plane at a conference for its abolition, the failure of Henderson's disarmament conference and the Washington House conference.

Dick Sheppard! his denunciation of hollow sham and declarations for honesty of purpose and peace, the birth of the P.P.U. by postcard, Beverley Nichols' bombshell, "Cry Havoc," Sherriff's "Journey's End," Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front," The strange "Baron Zarahoff." The remark of the Chairman of Vickers when a shareholder protested at the products being sold to possible enemies, "business is business."

The unveiling of the local War Memorial, the first broadcast of the Armistice Service, Hannen Swaffer's remark in the *Daily Herald*, "And the grey-headed generals went back to the War Office and ordered some more guns for a future war." The slogans, 'War to end War,' 'Never Again.'

With Binyon's words on my mind I hid my Poppy in 1939 for Shame.

## FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

### Prayers for a Day of Remembrance

#### *We Remember God.*

Since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides Thee, what He hath prepared for him that waiteth for Him. Thou meetest him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness; those that remember Thee in Thy ways.

#### *We remember our sins before God.*

Behold we come unto Thee for Thou art the Lord our God. Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains; truly in the Lord our God is salvation. We lie prostrate in our shame, and our confusion covereth us: for we have sinned against the Lord our God, we and our fathers, from our youth even unto this day, and have not obeyed the voice of the Lord our God.

O Lord our God, we have presumptuously gone about to establish our own will and have not humbly sought to know Thy purposes. We have approached Thee not for love of Thee but because we loved ourselves and sought Thy favours. We have called upon Thee to help us and have not given ourselves to help Thee, as though Thou wert our servant and not we Thine. We have been so clamorous to command that we have not observed Thy word to obey it. But now O God, in Thy mercy, cast us down from our pride and spare us from our folly, for we repent of our former ways and we seek Thy way. We will do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with our God.

O God, Whose glory fills the whole earth, we have not stayed our minds on Thee, but our hearts have been filled with fear and anxious care, with envy and jealousy, with suspicion and covetousness, and we have looked on violence and lust and studied folly, and Thou, Lord, hast brought evil upon this people even the fruit of their thoughts. But now, O God, we would forsake our wicked ways and our unrighteous thoughts and return unto Thee who will abundantly pardon. Occupy our hearts, O God, with the beauty of Thy holiness; flood our thoughts with the majesty of Thy glory, and let all that is within us be stirred up to bless Thy name.

#### *We remember the Word of the Lord Jesus.*

Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

All Holy God, Who hast reconciled us to Thyself by Jesus Christ and hast given to us the ministry of reconciliation, how shall we worship Thee Who are not reconciled to all our brethren! How shall we love

Thee Whom we have not seen if we love not our brothers whom we have seen! O Lord, have mercy upon us and fill our hearts with Thy forgiveness that our own sins may be consumed and our minds cleansed of every evil thought. And as there is no remedy for sin save Thy forgiveness, enable us both to receive it for ourselves and to extend it to our neighbours, for the sake of Jesus our Redeemer.

*And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee . . . to humble thee and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart whether thou wouldest keep His commandments or no.*

O changeless and eternal God, we who are always changing turn to Thee; we who glory in appearance turn from that which is transient and apparent to that which is real and abiding. We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. Show us the truth of things, O God. Take us within Thy dwelling place and let us see where Thou art working. Let not our hope nor our despair lie in the shifting scenes of day to day but set our assurance on the fulfilment of Thy promises. For Thou art watching over Thy word to perform it. Help us to walk by faith, not by sight; to live not by what seems but by what is, in Jesus Christ our Lord.

#### *We remember the Promises of God.*

Remember this and shew yourselves men: bring it again to mind, O ye transgressors. Remember the former things of old: for I am God and there is none else; I am God and there is none like Me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things which are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.

And here may also be read Isaiah xliii. 16-21; Jer. xxxi. 31-34; Psa. xcvi.

#### *We remember those whom we love.*

If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Beloved Father, Thou canst not forget those whom we remember,

some because they are very dear,  
some because they are in need,  
some because they are in peril,  
some because they have disappointed us and done us wrong,  
some because they have been a blessing to us.

In Thy presence, O Father, in Whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, we treasure the remembrance of all those with whom we have worked and worshipped and with whom we are united in the sanctities of love. Do Thou, O God, meet them on their way and abide in their hearts.

## CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

MAX WALKER.

A COUPLE of years ago in London some of us met a friend from India who was devoting his whole life to social service for the sake of poor Indians in the East End. If at first his community fellows stole from him he said: "Anything that is mine is also yours, so what is the point of transferring money from one of your pockets to another." Slowly the truth would dawn upon these victims of a ruthless society that they had amongst them one who was prepared to love his neighbours as himself. The fact that our friend did not profess the Christian faith merely emphasises the manifest truth of a key-text in the Gospel.

It can be shown by undeniable and widespread evidence that, from prehistoric times, the natural way of life has been largely built up on the fellowship of neighbour with neighbour. On many occasions community life has been a condition of survival in the biological sense because the basic duty of individuals was to their neighbours rather than to themselves. At a certain period in history, tribal wars appeared probably leading directly to the employment of slave labour and domination by warriors, thus killing the true fellowship spirit.

As man evolved, therefore, the community life in tribes and villages disappeared to make way for the birth of nations and empires. To this day, however, real community life is preserved in certain rare places on the Earth, where men have not yet started, or been compelled to start, shirking their human responsibilities by leaving more and more power of material control to oligarchies or central governments. Such forces of evil had played havoc with community life for some centuries when Jesus Christ's ministry clarified human relationships, extending the scope of the word "neighbour" to foreigners and thereby to the whole human race.

### The Law of Love Taught by Jesus

The moral of evolution is this. If there were a purpose in this disciplined order of life in primitive man and at the same time a purpose in the life and teaching of Jesus, both of which purposes sprang from a common and divine source, we should expect to find the early and untarnished way of life congruent with the inspiration and example of Christ. It seems abundantly evident that that expectation is fulfilled. The law of Love taught by Jesus, the only law that really matters to Christians who have seen that all relationships with fellow men spring therefrom, enshrined for ever the human brotherhood upon which primitive man had begun to found civilisation.

Again, this natural urge to community found an outlet in the early Church with its joy, faith, brotherhood and spirit of unity. A readiness to be charitable and to share all possessions is one thing, but the actual doing of these things was the way in which the early Church fulfilled the law. Professor Heering shows clearly how the gradual loss of these early Christian

values through the growth of the material power of the Church was partly responsible for the fall of Christianity. It is our duty, not to be enslaved by a false adherence to the letter of early Christian ways of life, but nevertheless to refer back continually to those days to learn what ought to be recaptured.

The early Church was nourished in the soil of its great spiritual enemy, the Roman Empire, which it was ultimately to help Barbarians from the East to overthrow, but it has never been able to shake off imperial soil, and surely it is high time at this critical period of history that it should be properly transplanted into the good earth of freehold property. The World Church has elected instead to remain the vassal of the State and is now in the same plight as the lady of Riga *after* she returned from her famous ride.

It is a matter of urgency that our faith and deeds, our worship and work, should unite to give re-birth to a Christian social order. Agriculture should be the basis of our economic system, in place of foreign and imperial investments for which we are needlessly spilling our blood at this time. Our wealth should depend upon a fine grain of corn instead of a fine ounce of gold.

### The Cultivation of the Soil

Let us understand quite clearly that it is not sufficient for the aims of Christian community life just to accept land work as alternative service to the State in conjunction with Tribunal decisions. Toil upon the land at this moment merely releases more national wealth for destructive purposes, but as a matter of vocation we can now be training ourselves for what is likely to be an urgent necessity in the near future, namely the proper cultivation of our soil.

Englishmen are extraordinarily prejudiced against land work. The farmer is a funny fellow with an accent who grumbles at the weather and is a nuisance to the town dweller who wants to hike. As our purpose in speaking for Christian community is to unite religion and creative toil we ought to examine the present position of the rural churches. A recent article in the Christian News-Letter suggests that church life in the country has fallen off during the last two decades (though not so badly as in the towns) and a friend from Cambridge states that County Council evening classes have, with the best intentions, hastened that decline. Let an Anglican Clergyman speak for himself: "The various schemes . . . for uniting groups of country benefices and providing for their separate needs with a staff of clergy living all together in the nearest town and patrolling their allotted areas with motor cars and motor bicycles, are based upon a complete misunderstanding of the very nature of the rural community. . . . The Christian religion cannot be disseminated by the methods which have proved so successful in the selling of the vacuum cleaner, least of all in the countryside. The rural priest has his essential part to play in the

life of the rural community. . . . He must live in it and share its life."

Inadequate as the foregoing notes are when compared with the magnitude of the subject, the challenge which confronts us can be summarised thus:

- (1.) The natural basis of primitive human life was communal.
- (2.) The teaching of Jesus developed this natural urge into brotherly love between all men.
- (3.) The Christian Church has failed to maintain the way of communal life largely because of absorption by the State and of reliance upon material security.
- (4.) The economic situation demands a renewal of the agricultural basis thus restoring a balanced life to society. The Church needs to give the rural community every support.

The best way of answering this challenge is by expressing the principles upon which our lives should be built:

- (1.) All property in a Christian community should be held in common. Likewise all labour should be shared. The motive of self-interest and private profit breaks the law of Love.
- (2.) The community should be pacifist in spirit.
- (3.) The community should support itself as far as possible, having an agricultural basis and extending to fundamental crafts. Complicity with the evil economic order will not help either the community or society.
- (4.) The sanctity of family life must be maintained and one of the essential features must be education of children entirely within the community. Children from outside the community should be invited for educational purposes whenever possible. Adult intellectual and cultural activity must not be neglected.
- (5.) The community should aim at simplicity of life in a land where poverty and luxury are side by side.
- (6.) The community must avoid being "exclusive" and should always be ready to co-operate in national and international religious and social movements towards true progress. In its turn the community should present a challenge to the World Church.

## PACIFISM AND POTATOES

THERE are some plain words to pacifists in a recent book about God and the War.

"It is of the essence of witness that it is directed to the conversion of others. To see a man prepared to die for his faith is witness which has often made a tremendous impression on onlookers in the past. But to see him growing potatoes while others die is not in the least an impressive witness although he is perfectly sincere and even if he is right!"\*

That is entirely fair comment: yet it makes a difference *why* he is growing potatoes—whether or not the difference is immediately obvious to all.

\*John Hadham "God in a world at War."

Communities as at present constituted are growing quite a lot of potatoes. They have also a special responsibility towards those whose livelihood has been sacrificed to conviction and some of the communal experiments are primarily an attempt by pacifists to maintain themselves for the duration. But that is not the only end or the ultimate justification of community.

Many had given up homes and occupations to serve and share together on a communal small-holding, to live simply and to work all hours, long before ever the war became a real issue. Then, as now, they were looking to something more than the prospects of next year's cabbages: they were setting as they believed the seed out of which might presently grow the beginnings of a new society based on clearer realisations than the one that is now in ruins around us. Here is the philosophy behind the potatoes:

"We who seek to know God and to do His will must make a stand . . . without fear or favour we must make our protest against violence, exploitation and intolerance, laying down our lives if need be in the battle for freedom with no other weapon but the Cross. Our protest must be creative. We must seek to fire the imagination of the simple man and woman with a vision of things as they are meant to be. We must lead with a progressive programme . . ."

But in all this the moral is clear: communities must needs be creative or they will be merely abortive. Their influence will be proportionate to the positive service they have to offer to our generation—not by example alone but in every way practical: in their identification with all need and distresses; in their co-operation with all constructive effort; in their simple neighbourly helpfulness at all times. The fear of 'escapism' that keeps so many away from community living will be laid finally only as the community groups are recognised not simply as centres for self-subsistence but as the vital core of a wider communal fellowship that looks beyond their own acres to the claims of their village, their countryside and their world.

All such considerations give special point to some tentative outlines for a new educational pattern which even now are beginning to emerge as a side issue from contemporary communal experiment. Thinking ahead to the world-after-this-war their sponsors realise very clearly the responsibilities that will be the legacy of our children. Inevitably they see the necessary preparation in terms of an adventure in community, building on the best that traditional education has achieved; breaking down every taboo of privilege or patronage it has imposed. The community schools of the coming days will also grow potatoes but potatoes will be the least part of their harvest.

*Community enquiries and requests for "Community in Britain" and the "Broadsheet" to the hon. secretary, Community Service Committee, Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.*

\*Bert Shipley, "Christianity and Human Progress."

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PERCY W. BARTLETT

**M**ORE news is coming through now from friends abroad, though some of it has been long on the way. The Chairman of the I.F.o.R. writes from Zurich, September 21st, acknowledging letters from England and telling of contact with friends in France and Belgium.

We understand that Henri Roser and his wife are back in Paris and Hélène Schott also, all of them no doubt finding much to do in the help of neighbours and the relief of refugees. Some members of the Society of Friends remained in Paris throughout; and their Centre is still open.

Willi Solzbacer is safe with his wife and children and other refugees from Belgium. Jacques Harts, who is Treasurer of the Belgian Missionary Church, has remained at Brussels and is well. W. Mensching is well and able to continue with his written work as well apparently as his pastorate. J. H. Spenkelink has gone to another address in Holland. Natanael Beskow is still at Djursholm, "in sorrow for his country."

Elsa Olsoni writes again from Helsinki, Finland. She says, "In the beginning of July I had the joy of meeting Greta Langenskjold and a few other friends, also two of Natanael Beskow's co-operators. These latter will have their summer council in this month, and hope for a useful time. Unfortunately I cannot go there because of my own work. It would have been so nice, as I remember so well that blessed time we spent together last summer. The friends try to do their best in helping especially the many evacuees. Greta has arranged for a little home for 30 old women. Others have evening clubs for them. I have continued with my investigation work. We have been able to trace many missing persons, thus bringing joy to their loved ones. There are also strangers coming to my office, and I am glad of knowing some languages and thus being able to deal with their problems and sometimes help them in some small way. Although the ocean of suffering is so great, one is still grateful for those small opportunities one gets to help and comfort. Especially one values the privilege of intercession . . ."

Our friends in Bohemia write very cheerfully. The children in the "Home" have been in the country for holidays but are now back. All are well cared for. We hear too from Enrico Molnar, who is now well settled in California.

A letter received from Muriel Lester on October 7th reads, in part: "The (American) Conference and the Council you will have heard about from Nevin, and how much time we spent on planning to feed Europe. The appeal about the foodships which Doris sent on to you from my last airmail letter was brought forward to an extra-scheduled meeting of all the women present—not because we didn't expect the men's help, but we wanted to launch this project not as F.o.R. people, not as pacifists, but as women. The whole content of that

letter was a bringing up-to-date of a book that Jane Addams wrote during the last war called 'Bread and Peace'. A paragraph explaining this is inserted in the leaflet of which we are having ten thousand copies printed. Other groups and individuals are joining us in this. We are in close touch with Hoover for facts of the present situation."

The American F.o.R. magazine, "Fellowship," refers to the American Conscription Bill and to the penalty for counselling, aiding or abetting evasion of registration, and then publishes the first 265 ministerial signatures to the following "affirmation": "We desire to affirm our conviction that no action of government can abrogate or suspend our obligation as Christian ministers to counsel men in all circumstances to render obedience to conscience and resolutely to do the right as they see it. Therefore we must make it clear to our fellow-citizens, and in particular to conscientious objectors to war in any form, that we stand ready to counsel and support in all ways within our power those who may be subjected to difficulty or persecution because they are unable conscientiously to co-operate in the operation of a Conscription Act." The affirmation has been sent to members of Congress.

Professor Carlyle King, of Saskatoon, writes: "The Canadian F.o.R. was just getting under way when war came, and the Canadian War Measures Act put an end to our recruitment of members. We have no idea of how many 'members' we have, or had; some of the people on my list are individual, sometimes isolated, members; others are representatives or secretaries of little groups. In any event, you may count on these people to pass on F.o.R. news and views to other interested folk in their communities. Our war-time regulations inhibit pacifist education much more drastically than the corresponding British regulations, and our conscription measure make no provision for conscientious objection, except that of certain religious sects, as Mennonites and Doukhobors. Several of our pacifist clergymen have been forced out of their churches by irate congregations. But we carry on, hoping for a rapid return to sanity and goodwill. Our thoughts and good wishes are with our friends in Britain and elsewhere who stand in imminent deadly peril."

To reassure those who have heard rumours, let us report that the I.F.o.R. office stands where it did. The adjoining house was destroyed and with it an extra room used by one of the I.F.o.R. staff. But nobody was hurt and the principal apparatus and records were saved though tables and other furniture were completely smashed. We are very thankful that it was no worse.

The October issue of the International News Letter will be forwarded to anyone applying for it to the I.F.o.R., 16, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

## A LOST PACIFIST BATTLE

PAUL GLIDDON

**I**T is not only nations and political parties that tend to magnify successes and minimise defeats, precisely the same tendency persists in the pacifist ranks. This shows itself at present in the refusal to recognise that the great opportunity for witness provided by the Military Service Acts and the accompanying tribunal machinery has been very largely lost and that a long anticipated situation which contained no surprises was one which the movement was yet unable to handle. Most certainly the impromptu pacifist societies of the last war gave a far better account of themselves than the fully-prepared movement of to-day, organised to the point of disorganisation: while the charge brought against the Chamberlain Government that it wasted the first months of the war could be entered with considerable force against the pacifists who, at a time when they might have obtained attention, somehow failed to commend both themselves and their teachings to ordinary men and women—John Bull and his missus. Methods found so inadequate during those earlier and quieter months are unlikely to attain success under conditions grown so much more intense.

It is not that those who support this war with such courage and devotion do so because they see clearly whither things are leading or because they have the east confidence that war will finally solve their difficulties; they do so because war makes demands upon them that correspond with the greatness of the problem and because there is no other solution that has contrived to arrest their attention. Yet, unless this attention of common folk can be arrested, unless they can be addressed in terms they understand, and unless those terms can appeal to a deeply-ingrained feeling about what is honourable and right, there is not the slenderest hope that such ideas as those of the pacifist will receive the slenderest attention. Unfortunately, most pacifists believe that they have discharged their obligation to society if they have delivered their message and do not realise that the mere saying of words is not of any significance unless the words themselves are significant. Propaganda to be of any value must mean something not only to those who express it but also to those to whom it is addressed, otherwise it is no better than the ten thousand words spoken with a tongue that St. Paul so despised when he compared them with a beggarly five words that other folk could follow. Dr. Johnson's remark that he could give his opponent an agreement but that he could not give him the brains to understand it was an apt piece of intellectual impudence but it was not an example for the missionary. The missionary must know for himself the full meaning of his message and he cannot rest content until a little, and then some, and then all of the significance of the message delivered to him has been shared by his hearers. Thus he has to study their language, not expect them to study his; to adapt himself to their customs not await their con-

formity with his own; make contact with them through the things they already value and persuade them, not to cease from valuing, but to begin to value what he has for himself found most precious.

Little of this elementary wisdom has marked pacifist propaganda, more especially its witness in war time to the ways and majesty of peace. We have thought out what we had to say, we have not thought out how it is to be said, or, if we have, we have assumed that the message must be given with words either spoken or written and not proclaimed chiefly by so much more loudly-speaking actions.

And yet those who have recently wrought great changes in the outlook of whole peoples have not been men who have been orators or writers alone, they have been men who have accompanied their various utterances with acts which gave those words effect, they have been men who have sometimes based their speeches on actions already carried through. Yet these dictators have won their most striking successes in the realm of strange ideas and in the overthrow of old conventions by the establishment of new. They have been effective in that very area in which the pacifist hopes to win success and has so far failed lamentably; they have changed the common assumptions of common men.

It would be well for pacifists to acknowledge their past failure and their blind trust in antiquated methods, to realise the importance of winning the interest and the trust of ordinary folk and to learn a little from those who have succeeded where they have failed. The fact is that common men understand actions, they do not understand words; they know how to judge the fruit of a tree, but to distinguish between one seed and another is beyond them. Technical description and blue prints are for the expert; for the masses, the working model.

Thus it is that the pacifist, in so far as he has piled mountains of words upon yet other mountains and has seldom translated even one consignment of words into popularly understood acts has, for all his strenuous labouring, never even in more peaceful times, succeeded in capturing the imagination of the common people. For all its unconventionality and contempt for traditionalism, there are signs that the pacifist movement has, in some places, developed many of the saddest features of religious denominationalism and has contrived to do so in as many years as these religious bodies have taken centuries. And the cause of failure in one is the cause of failure in the other; both have dealt with ideas but not with ideas that began to enter the realm of happening things; they have preached a word, but the word has seldom become flesh so that men might know its glory.

It is in view of all this that the new move that goes under the title of Pacifist Service Units in so intensely important and might furnish a rallying place and a new



battle ground for the scattered and ineffective pacifist army. It aims at the free service of men and women in the hour of their war sufferings yet it serves them as a man of peace would serve and not a man of war, for it does not aim at destroying the evil man but on removing the evil condition. And yet men engaged in this work share fully the economic position of the service man and, to some extent, the hazards that he faces. They place themselves of their own free will and not by the order of a military authority or at the direction of a tribunal upon a wage basis that would make an ill-paid worker riot; they are simply maintained and they receive in cash less than fourpence halfpenny for a more than twelve hours' duty by day or by night. Some of them go out on cycles as a light ambulance unit while bombs are still falling and carry out skilled and courageous rescue work; some of them take charge of shelters throughout the night and bring comradeship, comfort and courage to literally thousands of people; and some of them have formed themselves into a sanitary squad and, with the kindly aid of the worst tobacco and burnt rags, have brought cleanliness and even sweetness into crowded underground quarters which had become so filthy and so ready to spread plague and pestilence that few could face them.

Here is a movement to be watched and to be supported, for it is the army of the peacemaker going into action. At present it is only at its beginning but already it is bringing to those whom it reaches a new conception of pacifists and a new understanding of pacifism. Somehow we had been manoeuvred into the position of those whose hands were against our fellows and were thought to be concerned only with their own private safety. Of a few pacifists this is already being shown to be untrue, though they are at present popularly regarded as not being true "conchie," else they would not be caring for others and doing it so cheerfully. But, before long, an old and unhappy impression will have been removed and pacifism may find a new battlefield demanding weapons which, though new to the movement because they are not words but deeds, will fit its special genius with a native ease. In the bathing of the torn feet of a weary world there will be recognised disciples of Jesus.

## WRITERS IN THIS NUMBER

The Rev. G. H. C. Macgregor, D.D., D.Litt., is Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow, Author of "The New Testament Basis of Pacifism."

Miss Lilian Stevenson was formerly Chairman of the International F.o.R., author of "Towards a Christian International."

The Rev. Bertrand J. Coggle is the Minister of Worsley Road Methodist Church, Walkden, Manchester.

Mr. Max Walker is N.E. Regional Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

## CORRESPONDENCE

**A**N organisation similar to the denominational Pacifist Fellowships, but on political lines, has recently set up for pacifists who are members of The Labour Party. It is called The Labour Pacifist Fellowship, and all pacifists who are also members of The Labour Party are eligible to join. The minimum annual subscription is 2/-.

Among those who have joined the Fellowship are the Rev. R. Sorensen, M.P. (who is Chairman), Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., Mr. Cecil Wilson, M.P., Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., Mrs. Agnes Hardie, M.P., Mr. Wilfred Wellock and Dr. A. Belden.

It is hoped that the Fellowship will be able to do useful work in its own particular sphere, and new members will be welcome. Applications should be sent to me at 36, Reigate Hill, Reigate, Surrey, or to the London Regional Secretary, Mr. W. R. Page, 127, Fellows Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.

WILLIAM C. ELLIOTT.

### A Just War

I am at a loss to understand Eric Gill's remark: "Very few, if any, Catholics would maintain that the stated cause of the Allies is not a just one." There must be a far greater number of Catholics fighting on the side of Germany and Italy, than on our own. Despite Nazi persecution of the Church, we see no evidence that the one-third of Germany which is Catholic, is making any opposition to the war. The Oberammergau "Christ," according to Hitler, has "honoured the German soldiers by appearing in their ranks." Whereas in Italy, enthusiasm for the war is such that Italian bishops have petitioned Mussolini to extend the conflict to Palestine. Were there an international authority which would inform its adherents as to which side was waging "a just war," one could see the logic of that theory of righteous defence put forward by Catholic theologians, and with such brilliance by Niebuhr. But it is an historical fact that the Church which *claims* to be such an international authority, is really ardently nationalistic and invariably blesses all wars between Catholic, or part-Catholic, countries, on both sides.

FRANCES E. JONES.

119, Sandown Road,  
Lake, I.W.

### AN ABSOLUTE PACIFIST?

The article which appeared in our September issue by the Rev. David Mace has aroused so much interest, expressed in many more letters than it has been possible to print, that we shall return to this subject next month quoting and answering as many letters as space permits. Meantime, correspondents are thanked for their contributions.

## THEY SAY—

SEAWARD BEDDOW

### Smiling Through

"Most of our newspapers are publishing pictures showing smiling faces of people who have just been through air raids. Of course, it's good to keep up the morale, but this sort of thing is being overdone. Thousands of air raid victims and their relatives must resent having their intelligence insulted by pictures which try to give us the idea that bombing is something in the nature of a practical joke."—*Forward*.

### Civilian Casualties Inevitable

"Both sides profess that they only aim at military objectives. Assuming complete sincerity on both sides, it makes little difference in the result.

Under the prevailing industrial system, factories, docks, railways, dwellings are so intermingled in all countries that if you aim at one, you are, especially in the night, just as likely to hit the other.

"The lesson of aerial attack is that for every direct hit on an objective there are scores of misses. It is these misses that kill women and children."—*Lloyd George in "Sunday Pictorial."*

### Reprisals

"All warfare is retaliation, all acts of war are reprisals, and everything belonging to or appertaining to our enemy is a legitimate military objective. Nevertheless, in importance they vary."—*Major-General J. F. C. Fuller in "Daily Express."*

### Indict the Social System

"War is an evil thing, the natural product of an evil social system. The use of the military machine is, after all, only one aspect of the constant war that takes place between nations. The Church should challenge the evil through its official spokesmen, and should refuse to be drawn by the ideals—which the world always throws over even the most dubious of its activities—into so much as even an appearance of condoning so tragic an abomination."—*Rev. R. A. Edwards in "Hibbert Journal."*

### Holy Spitfires

A Welsh Spitfire Fund is called the Mary Fund, and this explanation appeared in the *South Wales Argus* :—

"Mrs. Mary Turton, Dalkeith, Troston Road, Liswerry, who first suggested the Mary Fund, wrote to the Editor: 'I think that MARY is an ideal name for such a cause. Was it not Mary who gave us Christ, for Whose ideals we now fight? Then, who is better-fitted than the MARY of to-day, to give towards such a noble cause?'"

### Nazi and Jew!

"A Messerschmitt was shot down into the sea by an R.A.F. fighter off Folkestone. The Nazi pilot was saved from drowning by a Jewish soldier in the British Army, who plunged into the sea, swam three-quarters of a mile, and held up the airman until they both were picked up by a fishing-boat."—*Church Times*.

### A Hard Job

"It is very difficult" writes Mr. F. G. H. Salisbury, a *Daily Herald* special correspondent, "after a bomb has destroyed one's house, when raids and all their tragedies form part of the daily news, to see the war through the eyes of the High Command."

### Shabby!

A bearded old man who had seen better times was selling matches near the Marble Arch when shrapnel began to rain down heavily. "He could see no public shelter close by and slipped into a big hotel 'and believe me,' he said, 'the porter turned me out into the street. He said I wasn't properly dressed'."—*Manchester Guardian*.

### The Mind of the Prime Minister

In Mr. Churchill's book, *My Early Life* (pages 343 to 346) there is a passage of topical interest at the present moment. Here he expressed his view that War-making and Peace-making must be kept apart. He says: "I have always urged fighting wars and other contentions with might and main till overwhelming victory and then offering the hand of friendship to the vanquished. Thus I have always been against the pacifists during the quarrel and against the Jingoists at its close."

### Declare Our Aims Now

"Let us have from the British Government a Declaration of Aims in words simple, straightforward and inspiring. We need a statement of British intentions in terms which will inspire our people, rally our friends, and shame our enemies. Why should the Government postpone this duty?"—*Leader in "Daily Herald."*

### Mothers' Sons, All!

Replying to one who had written in *Home and Country* about the "fun" she was getting out of the war with its spectacular air-fights, a correspondent answers: "British and German, they are all mothers' sons. . . I think rather than talk about "the fun in this war," we should better follow the example of the Pope, who is reported to be sleeping on bare boards, as a penance for the sufferings of humanity!"

### Bombing London. Tit for Tat!

An interview with a Nazi airman, cabled to America, and reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian*, tells of the airman's feelings when attacking London. I quote: "Our families keep writing us that they are spending night after night in an air-raid shelter. . . They tell us about this or that damage done in the neighbourhood. . . There is so much anger stored up in us that the command to start on a bombing raid evokes cheers and sighs of relief. . . As we think of our wives and children down in the air-raid shelters we grit our teeth, release our bombs, and feel relaxed when we see a great big hole or large flames or a vast cloud of smoke where our deadly load struck the ground."

## CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

THERE are one or two things with which the Fellowship is most intimately concerned and about which I want to make an appeal for the interest and indeed the support of all members.

First of all, I want to refer back to what was said in regard to the Pacifist Service Units in the October number of the magazine. A good many letters have been received at the office asking for information and also making definite offers to undertake such service. So far most of these Units have been for service in the London area, but it would seem necessary that other large centres should consider creating such service Units, and the kind of training that is required and the kind of work that might be attempted are set out on a circular which can be sent on application being made to us. The second important thing in this connection is that these Units are not self-supporting in the sense that wages can be paid; this, of course, could not be since there is a period for training and the service that is then rendered is voluntary. So it is necessary to provide a subsistence income for those who offer their services. In some cases the Pacifist Service Units Committee has been able to find this subsistence grant, but, of course, that has been done through contributions being sent to that Committee. Our own General Committee feels that in the case of our members seeking a place in such a Service Unit, the amount of subsistence grant that is required should, if possible, be met by weekly contributions from amongst members of the Branch. The general amount of such grant varies from 12/6 to 17/6. One or two of our Branches have already adopted this particular plan and one large Branch is now providing the amount of nearly £10 per week for the purpose of making these grants.

Where a Branch is doing all that it can, or where it is so small that it cannot find the amount of subsistence necessary for one of its members who is seeking such service, then is the time to apply to us at headquarters, and most sympathetic consideration will be given to each particular case. It is essential, of course, to give all particulars about the candidate who is nominated by the Branch. At the present time, there are about a dozen of these Units and they are all full. The Pacifist Service Units Committee will form other Units when they can, but this does not prevent, indeed it should encourage, Branches to form their own units for service in their own locality.

The second matter is that of land schemes for C.O.'s who have been given exemption conditional upon their finding land work, and for others who have been victimised for their convictions and are seeking work on the land. Again there are about a dozen schemes in being, most of them are now filled and with little prospect of being able to absorb very many more. There is often a period of training necessary—about six months—during which wages are not paid and a subsistence

allowance has to be found, and what has been said above about the methods of finding this allowance applies equally to these land schemes. These land schemes are of course quite different from the afforestation scheme which is designed entirely for C.O.'s and particulars of which can be obtained from The Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units, Room 16, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, London, W.C.1.

In connection with these land schemes, it has been found that there is great need for warm clothing. This will be especially so during the coming winter months, and therefore we should be very glad to receive gifts of suitable clothing and pass them on to the various people concerned. The third matter is that of victimisation as it is being dealt with by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. It is impossible at the present time to say to what extent gifts of money will be required, but it begins to look as if the need will be very great. May I, therefore, make an earnest appeal for your consideration of these three concerns of the Fellowship? Any contributions that you care to make should be sent to us here at headquarters, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, and may be earmarked, if that is desired, for any of the above schemes. Branches are being asked to take these matters into their close consideration, but in addition we do want the interest and support of individual members all over the country.

## PEACE IN THE CHURCHES

"PAX"

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

"Pax" membership still increases in this country—and the American "Pax" (formed as an extension of Pax in England) is now very active in the U.S.A. "Pax" (American) news appears monthly in "The Catholic Worker" (American) from which the following quotation may be of interest to readers of "The Christian Pacifist"—although written in May last.

The Rt. Rev. Barry O'Toole, Ph.D., S.T.D. (Professor of Philosophy in the Catholic University of America) writes:—

*No Nation Wins.*

"It is said with truth that no nation ever wins a modern war, that the consequences thereof are literally disastrous for both belligerents, and that even the victorious nation is not compensated for its enormous human and economic losses by the paltry advantage it gains.

"Now if it is unjust for belligerent states to embark upon a war productive of serious evil consequences for their own people, how much more so is it for them to wage a war which brings economic disaster upon neutral nations not party to their quarrel. Hence: 'Avoidance of unnecessary upheaval of countries not immediately concerned and of the Christian community,' is regarded by Stratmann as an indispensable condition of the justifiableness of aggressive war. (Cf. 'Church and War,' p. 79.) It follows that the damage currently being done to neutral commerce by the British blockade as well as by the German tactics of reprisal in the form of floating mines renders the present European war utterly immoral and deserving of condemnation on the part of every Christian. And to take a wider view of things, the incalculable harm that this war is doing to the Mystical Body of Christ, to Christian culture and to world civilisation in general makes it criminal in the extreme. Those responsible for its inception and continuation will have much to answer for before the judgment seat of God. . . .

*"Might and Right."*

"But leaving out of consideration the enormity of the consequences entailed by modern war, we do well to ask ourselves whether any kind of war is adequate to the task of restoring justice. From the very nature of things, war must ever remain an irrational way of settling the question of right and wrong. There is nothing in the nature of armed force that necessitates its dedication to the side of

truth and justice. Victory in war does not show that the victors are right, but only that they are strong or more fortunate.

"But if might and right are not necessarily on the same side, then of two things one is certain: (i) if might is on the side of injustice, then war will defeat rather than serve the cause of justice; (ii) if might is at the service of right, then right will so handicap might by imposing the conditions of right intention, right way and right proportion, that the weaker wicked side, being unhampered by such scruples, is likely to win. Consequently to resort to war as means of vindicating Divine Justice is as irrational as to resort to a trial by ordeal for the same purpose. In other words, it comes close to the sin of tempting God. . . ."

## METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Keeble,

First Floor, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2.

*The Channel Islands.* The following Ministerial members are in the Channel Islands. We ask our members to remember them in their prayers.

Rev. A. B. Brockway, St. Martin's, Guernsey.

Rev. M. C. H. Fell, St. Heliers, Jersey.

Rev. Frederick Flint, Guernsey.

Rev. Philip Homeril, Guernsey.

Rev. W. J. Scott, St. Peter's, Jersey.

Rev. Donald Stewart, St. Heliers, Jersey.

*Annual Meeting of the Christian Pacifist Groups.* Although we cannot hope for the great meetings which have assembled in former years, it has been decided to hold an Armistice Meeting for all members of the Christian Pacifist Groups on Saturday, afternoon, November 9th, from 2.30 p.m. to 4 p.m., at Kingsway Hall. The meeting will be of a devotional character, and will be addressed by Rev. Henry Carter, Dr. Donald O. Soper, and others.

It is felt that many would wish to take advantage of the fellowship and encouragement of such a gathering in this difficult time.

## THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Secretary: The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon,  
17, Red Lion Square (First Floor), W.C.1.

121, Limpsfield Road, Sanderstead, the house which was offered to our service unit for three months has now been placed at the disposal of the Fellowship for a further period of a year in the hope

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that it may become something in the nature of a Fellowship House serving the triple purpose of providing a centre from which there may work the unit members engaged in various London centres; of providing also a training centre for half a dozen men who are getting ready for such work, and thirdly offering to members of the Fellowship who are exhausted through the experiences of air raids and of all the extra demands these make upon their strength, an opportunity for some sort of quiet just outside London. No one would say that Sanderstead was a safe area, but it is certainly quieter than the places in which many of our London members live.

Members of the unit are now serving in Deptford, the crypt at S. George's, Southwark, and the Crypt of S. Martin-in-the-Fields. Two members of the unit being in each of these centres, excepting S. Martin-in-the-Fields, where the demand is greater and is likely to increase. We would still be glad to hear from men who are willing and interested in the work of the unit or who could give some time to its service, provided they were maintained during that period. We would also be extremely grateful to hear of some place where we could house the dozen children we brought out of the bombed areas and put up temporarily at Sanderstead. These children must be sent to some other area, Sanderstead House also being obviously unsuitable for the purpose of housing children for any length of time. Provision would be made for the maintenance of these children and their helpers, what we are needing is a roof in a fairly safe area.

## CIVIL SERVICE PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

The first Annual General Meeting of the Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship is to be held at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1 (opposite Selfridges), on Saturday, November 16th, at 2.30 p.m. The speaker is J. Allen Skinner, of the Union of Postal Workers. Tea can be obtained at the close of the meeting.

The aims of the C.S.P.F. are to provide mutual assistance and fellowship to all Civil Servants who oppose war. Since its inauguration the Fellowship has contacted over 750 pacifists in the Civil Service and has formed centres in many parts of Great Britain. Enquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Mr. D. H. Brims, 239, Northumberland Avenue, Welling, Kent.

## THE LONDON UNION OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The following letter has been issued to all members by the Chairman.

This last month has been a time of great strain and anxiety. Some of our members have been killed, other have lost their homes; all of us are suffering from strained nerves and loss of sleep. The evidences of evil have been so plain that we may have been tempted to lose faith in the power of God. Yet our faith in that power is based upon a moment of even greater tragedy. The death of Jesus of Nazareth was, from one aspect, the supreme instance of the deliberate attack of Evil upon Good in which Evil was, apparently, triumphant. Nevertheless, Paul could say "God proves His love for us by this, that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." At the centre of our faith is a Cross upon which Love in dying conquered Evil. God is not defeated even by the horrors of bombing from the air.

Yours sincerely,  
HAMPDEN HORNE.

## SCOTLAND

Recent meetings of the Church of Scotland Peace Society executive and of the Scottish Council of C.P.G. were concerned mainly with problems of organisation but encouraging reports were also received of regional developments. New F.o.R. groups have been formed in Greenock and Ayr. New enrolments more than balance resignations. Some good meetings have been held, notably the devotional service of the Peace Society on October 5th when the Rev. John L. Kent spoke most helpfully on forgiveness, and the monthly meeting of the Glasgow Branch of the F.o.R. on 18th October when the Rev. D. C. Mitchell confirmed the faith of his hearers. Both these meetings were well attended. The speaker at 80, Bath Street, on November 2nd at 3 p.m. is the Rev. C. Vincent Williams, and at 70, Bothwell Street, on the 15th, at 7 p.m., the Rev. Robert Dobbie.

## Literature

- "ADVENTURES IN RECONCILIATION" leaflets. (Free.)  
 "ASSARHADON, KING OF ASSYRIA." Leo Tolstoy (1d.)  
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 "THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO WAR." C. J. Cadoux (5/-)  
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 "ON TWO FRONTS." Corder Catchpool (1/-)  
 "PACIFISTS AND THE CALL TO SERVICE." (2d.)  
 "PERSONALITY AND PROGRESS." Henry T. Hodgkin (1/6)  
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### 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 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on Monday, November 18th, when the leader will be the Rev. Hampden Horne. There will be time for those who bring it with them to take lunch.

LEWES BRANCH, meets monthly as announced: Lending Library twopence per month; Sympathisers welcomed; Secretary, George Chatfield, 10 Keere Street.

### MISCELLANEOUS

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