

New Series. No. 9. Vol. 1

SEPTEMBER 1939

The
**CHRISTIAN
PACIFIST**



51125

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Reconciliation

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LIBERTY

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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

SEPTEMBER, 1939

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

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Be Still and Know

There are no emergencies in which the Christian faith is irrelevant. Joy and hope and the peace which surpasses understanding are not conditional on circumstances. No Christian man would wish to be so smug in his beliefs as to be unaffected by contemplation of that dreadful suffering and still worse sin upon the brink of which the nations stand swaying perilously. But what is the ground of our anxiety? It is not that we shall be called to suffer—that we might count all joy, were it for Christ's sake. Our sorrow is that our Lord is still despised and rejected of men and that in this hour of crisis when the world so desperately needs a saviour the shout has gone up again for the release of violence and destruction; while as regards that disconcerting man of Nazareth the Scribes and the Pharisees, the chief priests and the elders of the people unite with the crowd to "let him be crucified." Yet even that shameful judgment God used for His redemptive purposes and we shall not now forget that God is at work even when He is most visible. Our faith is not that

amid a welter of competing forces we believe that God is present contending for the mastery, but that history, even in its darkest pages, is the working out of the divine purpose of love in which the very wrath of man may be made to glorify God. Nothing is being made more clear to-day than that this is a world in which nothing is practicable but sheer love, and from which evil can never be abolished except by forgiveness.

The Russo-German Pact

It is a sad commentary on the times that the announcement of a peace pact between countries whose relation has long been a menace to peace was received almost all over the world as news of a calamity. In most quarters, however, further reflection modified the consternation which was caused by the first shock of surprise. It was soon observed that the consequences of the pact (which indeed was not fully concluded), were likely to be both less important than, and rather different from, those which were probably intended. The announcement by

Germany of a pact of non-aggression with Soviet Russia following on the successful negotiation of a trade agreement between these two countries must be acknowledged as a diplomatic victory for Herr Hitler, who, if he intended to administer a shock to the world, certainly succeeded. But while the surprise value of the pact is high its permanent value to Germany is probably lower than would appear at first sight. It has not lessened the determination of France and Britain to support Poland if that country is attacked by Germany, and to what extent it lessens the *ability* of the "peace-bloc" to interfere in Poland's favour is doubtful. On the other hand there is no doubt at all that the pact is a self-inflicted blow at the anti-comintern pact, if it is not the actual suicide of that recently much vaunted alliance. What France and Britain have lost by the pact in Europe they have more than gained in the Far East, these two spheres of action being inseparable in any serious discussion of power politics. But perhaps the most serious consequence of the pact to Hitler, though not to Germany, is the forfeiture thereby of all title to be the bulwark against Bolshevism and the growing unpopularity of the present régime with the Roman Catholic and other considerable sections of the German people. On the whole the pact is not so astute as it is clever and might almost be taken to indicate that Herr Hitler has been reduced to sacrifice the substantial to the spectacular.

Makes Little Difference

The question of most intense interest with regard to the Russo-German pact is, of course, Does it increase or diminish the probability of European war? In some quarters, as in Bulgaria for instance, it has been hailed as a guarantee of peace, but that somewhat hasty conclusion appears to be based there, as elsewhere, on the cynical view that the pact gives Germany a free-hand in Danzig and Poland. If, as the Soviet has averred, there is nothing in her pact with Germany to prevent the conclusion of the three-power defence pact with France and Britain, then it would seem that Germany is no nearer getting her own way with Poland than before. The pact could be construed as a menace to peace only if Hitler were supposed to be so badly misinformed as to the French and British reaction to it as to presume on their failure to honour their obligations to Poland. On the whole the pact turns out to

make little difference one way or the other and we are left in the precarious position of being all ready to plunge into war should Poland deem it necessary. Well may *The Times* pray that Poland "will not allow any incident to drive her to the desperate arbitrament of the sword unless no other method is left to her for defending her independence."

Might in Defence of Right

In condemning the policy pursued by the British and French Governments of resisting force by superior force it is only fair that we should try to understand it. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of its motives, nor is there any question of the Government's genuine desire for peace. It is, of course, obvious as the recent Cabinet statement has repeated that "there is nothing in the difficulties that have arisen between Germany and Poland which would justify the use of force involving a European war." But admitting that Germany has grievances the attempt to impose her will upon Europe by the threat of violence, after the manner of a bandit who trades on the natural desire of his victim for peace, is morally intolerable. The threat of violence must therefore, it is urged, be countered by the show of still greater violence in the interests of international law and order. The weakness of this argument lies in the false analogy which is inherent in it between the action of a police force and the action of military forces. The present policy is an appeal not to law but to a still more widespread lawlessness, and one of the parties in the dispute is to be the judge!

Conciliation Forbidden

But, it may be insisted, what else can be done in the absence of any court of appeal from national sovereignty and of any other means of compelling an international law breaker to keep the peace? We shall not in reply contend that the success of the "peace-bloc" policy is doubtful. Doubtful it certainly is, but that does not condemn it, though pacifism is frequently denounced on the ground that it does not always succeed in averting disaster. Many morally sensitive persons would feel that an honest attempt to check aggression by military measures is preferable to a policy of dishonourable appeasement, though this view is based upon an unrealistic refusal to consider the immor-

alities involved in war. Our criticism of the policy which opposes force to force is that it is based of necessity on fictitious simplification of the problem, by which the German government is made to represent all that is menacing and wrong, and the French, British and even Polish governments all that is chivalrous and right. Moreover this policy rules out all possibility of more reasonable and just means of settlement. Those who pursue it must show themselves "tough" as Mr. Anthony Eden would say, so tough that they must make themselves appear every bit as ready to fight as their opponents. The result is that any overtures of peace in the form of plans for an all-round settlement of disputes or consideration of the economic causes of war, whether proposed by the "democracies" or only supported by them, must seem a weakening of their determination and a sign that they are losing in the "war of nerves." If Hitler is "adamant," Chamberlain must be still more adamant. So there they are glaring at each other like cats, both of them no doubt heartily willing to climb down if only the other would take the first step. But our present policy forbids any step towards conciliation. Thus the peace-bloc nations find themselves all ready in the interests of liberty and justice to put into operation measures which at the best must involve universal injustice and loss of liberty while they abandon all hope of winning back Germany to the position of a good neighbour in Europe, and so whatever sort of victory may be salvaged from the chaos, accept defeat on essentials to begin with.

The War of Nerves

The essence of the so-called war of nerves is to put forward demands under implied threat and to pretend that this procedure would actually be conference in the atmosphere of sweet reasonableness were it not for the attitude of the other side. It is in fact frightening that the proposals put forward by the dictators are at once maximal, peremptory and yet blandly represented as entirely reasonable. Germany apparently wants, with Danzig, the hegemony of Middle Europe and Italy a considerable slice of influence in Africa and at Suez. It is declared that concessions would make general disarmament possible and sweet reasonableness, with its tongue in its cheek, asks how Great Britain, the largest imperial power, with its fleet and with the largest slice of Africa, can possibly object—unless she herself is secretly

aiming at the hegemony of Europe also. Our friends in Europe are terrified lest no answer be found to this sort of argument and other countries should surrender like Czecho-Slovakia. Even pacifists abroad are tempted to prefer war.

Weakening Effect of Arms

The alternative to war is conference of some kind; and at this date the initial demands at any conference table are likely to be steep and flatly contradictory. The war of nerves will continue around the table, unless, in spite of our history and undeterred by allegations of hypocrisy, Great Britain can give a moral answer. Strong armaments are not a support in such circumstances, though the principle that they are is the basis of the Government's policy since September turned into March. Our own anxiety for the future rests on the doubt whether there is anybody morally strong enough to say commandingly that hegemony by land or sea must be a thing of the past and that the political and economic needs of the peoples of Europe, majorities and minorities, including disarmament, can be met only by the establishment of a new league of co-operation, set free this time of the handicap of sanctions. An offer to throw all the resources of the Empire into a genuine effort at world reconstruction should draw around us all the small "neutral" nations as well as the United States and deflate the pretensions of dictators.

A Compliment to Hitler

In so far as the issue is between democracy and dictatorship, the latter may fairly be said to have triumphed already. When it comes to preparations for war democracy is at a disadvantage as Mr. Leslie Burgin, Minister of Supply, said so candidly the other day. So the Emergency Powers (Defence) Bill has been hurried through Parliament and under cover of another "crisis" this country quietly passes from democracy to authoritative government. This is really a very flattering compliment to the dictators which we hope they will appreciate, as a frank acknowledgment that theirs is after all the best form of government. The new measure gives the executive power to act without consulting Parliament. The British Government will in fact be in a position very similar to that of the French Government which has now almost dictatorial powers. An important distinction may certainly be drawn between power

vested in a representative Cabinet and power residing in an individual with monarchical rights, though it would be difficult to calculate how far Cabinets are dominated by their leaders and how far dictators are influenced by their advisers. The fact that goes down to history is that the movement towards dictatorial government captured Great Britain in 1939. Those who since 1931 have watched the trend towards Fascism will not be surprised by its culmination in the events of the last few days. What is surprising is that the final stages of the descent from democracy to dictatorship have been attended by scarcely an audible protest. Leaders of the Opposition, as well as leaders of the Church and of the Free Churches (if there is any difference nowadays), seem to rival each other in giving the Government their unreserved support. It has often been observed as one of the most distressing features of the dictatorships that they suppress all opposition. By quite other but equally effective methods all opposition to the Government appears to have been eliminated in this country.

Federal Union

Both the National Peace Congress in July and the F.O.R. Conference in August devoted one of their sessions to a consideration of "Federal Union." The former indeed went so far as to include in its final declaration a resolution urging the British Government to initiate an enquiry as to the possibility of "an early establishment of a Federal Union of countries over as wide an area as possible." There is no question that the claim of each nation-state to unlimited "sovereignty" is the main political obstacle to peaceful collaboration, and it is a recognition of this fact which lies behind the new movement for Federal Union. The idea has been elaborated in detail by Mr. Clarence K. Streit in a book under the title "Union Now"; and, while there is no need to accept his scheme in every particular, it seems to point to the only solution of the problem of conflicting sovereignties which is in harmony with a Christian standpoint. In simple terms the proposal looks to the merging under a common government of all those powers which concern the common life of the several nations, while leaving at the disposal of each several nation the exercise of those powers which concern the internal economy and régime of each. We hope to publish an article on this subject in an

early issue; but in the meantime we would commend the idea of Federal Union to the serious thought of all who would re-order the political structure of the world in terms of co-operation instead of in the prevailing terms of potential conflict.

Winter School for Women

An International Winter School for Women, will be held, under the general leadership of Muriel Lester, at some centre on the south coast of England not yet decided, from December 29th to January 2nd. The subject for discussion will be that of positive or creative living. Courses of three or four addresses each will be given by four different speakers, and it is hoped to find opportunity for music and poetry as well as for quiet thinking. Olive Wyon has agreed to be the prayer leader. Applications to join the School should be made to Margaret Mangan at the office of the International Fellowship, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. It is felt to be important that everyone should attend for the full five days, arriving on the evening of Thursday, December 28th (any time up to mid-night) and leaving on the morning of Wednesday, January 3rd. Early application is requested. It will, of course, be understood that the number that can be accepted from this country will have to be limited in order to make room for those from abroad. An enrolment fee of 5s. will be charged when the application is accepted.

Scottish Hostel For Refugees

The Fellowship of Reconciliation in Scotland has collected about £300 for the establishment of a hostel in which Jewish refugees from the continent of Europe may be trained for domestic service. Acting on the advice of the Domestic Bureau of the Scottish Christian Council for Refugees a house at 77, Colinton Road, Edinburgh, formerly used by the Ministry of Labour, as a training centre, was obtained furnished and ready for occupation. An experienced lady warden has been engaged and with five refugees is now in residence. There is accommodation for fifteen trainees while in addition five beds have been allotted for the use of other refugees who, between engagements or during convalescence may need a place of abode. It is intended to have on the staff in addition to the lady warden a domestic science instructress and an assistant-warden, this last herself a refugee.

CONSCRIPTION AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

LEYTON RICHARDS

This is the first of a series of articles by the Rev. Leyton Richards, the second of which will deal with "Conscription and Civil Liberty" and the third with "Federal Union." On page 244 will be found another contribution by Mr. Richards, who attended the first sitting of the Birmingham Tribunal and gives an account of its proceedings.

CONSCRIPTION is now the law of the land; but it has been enacted for three years only, at the end of which period it may either lapse or be continued by an Order in Council following upon a Resolution passed by both Houses of Parliament. Which is it to be? The answer will turn partly upon the course of events in the international sphere, and partly upon the recovery by the British public—and particularly by Christian people—of their traditional faith in civil and religious liberty.

To take international events first. Conscription has been imposed under stress of the European tension set up by Hitler's rape of Czechoslovakia last March. This politico-military *coup* caused sudden alarm among all the neighbours of Germany, and a desperate and not unnatural fear fell upon statesmanship everywhere. But fear is always irrational; indeed, to come under the sway of any powerful emotion is to inhibit thought; and so politicians and peoples alike were stampeded into measures in regard to which sober judgment would have uttered a warning and which, most likely, it would have condemned.

Of these measures Conscription in this country was one; for it is obvious to the most casual observer, and especially to anyone who reads the debates in Parliament while the Bill was going through, that questions of principle were hardly considered and a major departure from time-honoured tradition was made with scarcely a thought as to its repercussions upon the democratic structure of our national life.

But we have three years in which to recover our poise in this respect, and I hope also to feel some sense of shame for our precipitate surrender to the power of fear. If therefore the European tension relaxes (and it can and will if we translate the universal aspiration for peace into terms of a reconciling policy) there is still a chance that clear insight may take the place of fear, and that Conscription will yet prove to be no more than a temporary and ill-starred attempt to meet the menace of totalitarian aggression by resorting to totalitarian methods.

Undercutting Conscription

Even on the most prosaic level of political expediency, there will be no justification for perpetuating the surrender of our freedom to military exigencies, once the alleged necessity for so doing has passed. To work for world-peace therefore and to eliminate the atmosphere of recurring crisis from world affairs is automatically to undercut the case for Conscription and to recover the freedom which we have so lightly cast aside under the spell of a dominating fear.

We have three years in which to do it; but it will not be easy and we shall need all our time. For there are elements in our national life which love military authority for its own sake; they look upon Conscription as good in itself, a needed discipline for unruly youth, entirely regardless of the price we pay for such discipline in terms of fundamental human values. Moreover, the natural inertia of large sections of the population can be trusted to make no effort to think the matter through, and therefore to take the facile path of meekly accepting things as they are.

"The Nonconformist Conscience"

Already indeed the public mind is being deliberately prepared to regard Conscription as something we need not worry about. It has been ordained in high quarters, for instance—and large sections of the press have quietly taken the hint—that the victims of compulsory militarism are to be known as "militiamen." The word "conscript" represents the actual facts of the case, but it has an ugly sound and so it must be suppressed. We have been told on high authority that when the boys of twenty are forced into khaki, they will "have the time of their lives"; and there are not wanting voices which are already demanding the extension of compulsion to industrial life, beginning with the unemployed. These and similar happenings reveal the temper which will have to be reckoned with when it comes to weighing the pros and cons of Conscription as a permanent feature of British life.

This brings us to the second consideration indicated above, which turns upon the significance of religious and civil liberty. Martin Niemöller is imprisoned without trial in Germany because he claims freedom for the Church to order its worship and its internal economy without interference from the State; and in so doing he is offering a spiritual resistance which may yet prove the undoing of Nazi tyranny; for he is the instrument of "heavenly powers" before which even the strongest of earthly authority is finally impotent. But our Genevan inheritance has a wider sweep than the Lutheran tradition of Niemöller, and the Calvinistic strain in the British churches has never allowed the sharp demarcation between Religion and Politics which is characteristic of Germany. For us, the Lordship of Christ covers the whole of life; and the State therefore exceeds its legitimate functions under God, not only when it invades the realm of Christian worship, but no less when it presumes to dictate the limits of Christian living and a Christian reaction to men and things in the world at large. The prime obligation of the Christian disciple is to obey the will of God in Jesus Christ; and from a Christian standpoint neither the State nor any other human group or society has a right to subordinate Christian obligations to worldly expediency.

Religious Liberty Threatened

It is just at this point that the imposition of Conscription is a threat to religious liberty; and Christian people are—albeit unconsciously—"selling the pass" when they mildly acquiesce in the claim of the State to impress men into military service and to decide—through the medium of tribunals—what is and what is not a valid objection to its demands. In due time, young men from our churches may be in prison or otherwise penalised simply because they cannot reconcile their loyalty to Christ with learning how to kill their fellow-men. It is no answer to say that the Conscription Act provides an alternative for the Conscientious Objector. In any case the alternative is offered not as a right but merely as a permissive option; and the permission to exercise the option will turn upon the (doubtless honest but none the less real) prejudice or moral blindness or even the crass stupidity of five estimable gentlemen who—in many cases—will regard Conscientious Objectors as obstinate fools or as merely a nuisance. Also, what is to be done with men who refuse

to accept any prescribed alternative because they feel that already they are rendering to their day and generation the service to which God has called them, but which the five estimable gentlemen will not recognise as such? Under the Act they will share the fate of Martin Niemöller, and as truly as he they will be asserting religious liberty against the State.

Then, what are Christian people generally going to do about it? Will they continue to succumb to their fears and let Christian freedom go by the board in the name of "defence" or under stress of a national emergency? Or will they recognise that Conscription is the thin end of a wedge which, if driven home, will ultimately separate Religion from Politics and disallow the Christian conscience any effective voice in the control of public affairs?

That is the issue. The fact that the present dose of compulsion is a mild one must not be allowed to deceive us; for a vital principle is at stake, and the question before us is this:—In one of the most dreadful decisions that a man can make, is he to be free to act in the light of his Christian faith and without question or inquisition by his fellow-citizens; or is the panic-ridden vote of a Parliamentary majority (which is what we really mean in practice by the will of the State) to determine for him the measure of his fidelity to the Will of God? Is he to be trained in the art of scientific killing, if at all, only by his own free choice and consent; or is he to be forced under some form of penalty—and against his tastes, his humane instincts, his Christian convictions—either to engage in a morally repellent task or to suffer the consequences of disobedience?

A Fundamental Right is Challenged

Our fathers in the faith secured the religious liberties we enjoy because they denied the right of the "civil magistrate" to invade the realm of Christian obligation; and it is because Conscription legalises that invasion that it ought to be condemned in principle by the professing Christian of to-day. The task of the conscript is to learn how to bayonet his opposite number beyond the frontier, how to drop bombs on open cities, how to mutilate and poison innocent men, women and children, how to starve or terrorise into submission those whom his government tells him to regard as enemies. Some men, with a clear conscience, willingly enlist for such a task; most of them however

have never thought about it at all, and they embark upon it merely as a customary if disagreeable necessity. Nevertheless, in the deepest sense it is a religious issue; for it concerns in the most intimate way a man's relation both to God and to his neighbour. To deny therefore—or to qualify by a single iota—the citizen's freedom of choice in this respect is to assault the very foundations of Christian liberty and to challenge the inalienable right of Christian men to follow the Light as they see it.

Is the State made for man or man for the State? Upon our answer to that question depends the future of religious liberty in Britain; for admit the right of the State to dictate our

duty here, and the whole case for such liberty has gone by default. We were caught unawares by the sudden *volte face* of the Government in regard to Conscription; the public had no time to think and they were held in the grip of a universal fear of war; so—almost overnight—our characteristic liberties have been threatened. But we have three years in which to pause and consider. It will be a critical period for Christian values; but if Christian people everywhere are alive to their responsibilities, it will give them an opportunity to show that they are still worthy of the fathers who fought and won for us the battle of Christian freedom against the demands of a sub-Christian State.

A DISCIPLINED LIFE

MURIEL LESTER

DURING the past few years groups of people, young mostly, in U.S.A., in Berlin, in Vienna, in Fano and in England, have met together at odd and awkward hours to work out a set of rules, which shall supply us with the basis for a disciplined life. Their aim has been to acquire the strength of spirit, the confidence and the care-free joy without which life is a lame and rather smirched and maimed affair.

Truth

Let the spy come. Truth has nothing to hide. We play fair with those we oppose. We do not work by hole-and-corner methods. Let us expect "that of God" in everyone we meet. Whenever we have feared them we have encouraged them to misuse us.

We must study history, past and contemporary, our own and other people's, until we are no longer naïve enough to believe that the Great Powers normally keep their promises. We separate the sin from the sinner. Our two opium wars in China, the allied blockade of Germany in 1919, which caused disease and death to so many children, the forcing of Africans through conscription to leave their homes and take part in the war against Germany, the loathsome cruelties of pogroms and refugee camps, and every other act of sin, have probably been condoned and executed by people who lacked imagination and precision in their thinking, victims of a bad education and social environment.

If we cannot find leisure for reading we must claim exemption from chatter and conversation during one meal each day and prop our book up against the marmalade pot.

There are signs that the prophetic order is being revived. Ought not all the Lord's people to be ready to speak out the truth, to face officials, magistrates, editors, archbishops and dictators, and give them a message of common sense in the name of God and the people?

To complain that they won't listen shows a bankrupt imagination.

A Christian Statesmanship

Amos, the shepherd, might have used that excuse, but he did not.

Amateur statesmanship is needed. The professional sort is swaddled too tight by conventions. Between the Armistice and Versailles, a score of East End women tramped in single file all the way to Westminster, holding up above their heads, for the crowds along five miles of route to see, posters giving the facts about the blockade. The daily press for the most part ignored such significant news as that out of a maternity ward where one hundred babies were born ninety-eight died for want of milk before they were a month old. Their mothers had none and the blockade was efficient. The East End women took a written message to the Prime Minister, "We who know what hunger is beg you not to hold back children's food." Then they pointed out that

in twenty years' time more trouble and perhaps another war might be expected to spring out of the anguish and bitterness of having to watch members of the family die of hunger enforced by the British Navy.

A few years later, a well-known City magnate, a member of the board of the Bank of England, affirmed at the annual meeting of his Company, when the dividends were declared lower than usual, that this was due to post-war conditions. "We now realise," he said, "that if we, at the end of the war, had followed the advice of the Man of Galilee and forgiven our enemies' debts, we should be much better off now."

There is great need of Christian statesmanship, amateur or professional. There are plenty of Christian statesmen, but for the most part they have not dared to give the reins to the Christian spirit officially. Owning up to our own share of blame in any awkward situation that arises in home life, or church life, or social life, is a pre-condition of getting a new start made.

Usually it is the most sensible and perhaps least blameworthy person who makes the first move. He may not be conscious of any particular guilt of his own, but he takes it for granted that, being in general a sinner, he had some hand in it, and he sets the healing process going by not excusing himself, and by shouldering his share of the general blame.

Prepare for a possible, unexpected, accidental meeting with whatever statesman to whom you desire to give God's message. We prepare by keeping him in our thoughts, by holding him daily in the presence of God in our prayers. Keep it up year in, year out. Rehearse what we will say. Reduce it to clear, pithy sentences, even to slogans. Keep ready. Expect the unexpected. God's aim is not shortened that it cannot save. There are a thousand possible ways out of the worst of the world's dangers. We have faith, and creative imagination, and shock-proof love for the evildoers, and unquenchable, irrational hope. This can all be obtained by practice.

Economics

The present economic order is not God's. Everyone knows some change must come. Why do we wait either for revolutions or for elections? Why not begin now to readjust our personal economic life? "I claim no privileges that others cannot have the counterpart of on

the same terms," said Eugene Debs. Can't we go a little way towards his position?

We might meet with like-minded people — a group of three is enough to begin with—and state how much money each of us received during the previous month by earnings, income or gift, and exactly how we spent it; confessing thus the measure of our greed and our need with equal frankness. The persistence of the worship of the golden calf is due in part to the secrecy and pride and false sanctity with which we treat money matters. We discuss with our friends our thoughts, our religious ideas, our love affairs, but we rarely let them know our income.

We might leave out one meal a week, not only to provide a little fund for the propagation of our ideas, but to recall our errant thoughts to the hunger of many friends, and raise other people's standard of living by lowering our own. When we go to the theatre, opera or concert, we might take the cheapest seats, even if it means standing for an hour outside. The difference between the price previously paid and the present would enable some one else to satisfy the God-given aesthetic instinct. Ours not to promulgate vegetarianism, to despise the delight of chocolates, to fear the effects of nicotine, but it seems a bit vulgar to consume in a few seconds the price of a week's food for a Chinese refugee family. Behind the glittering cocktail bar, and the expensive faces of its loungers, we can see the swamp wherein young and old are slipping, scrambling, and sinking, while we delicately pick our way across it, preserving our smartness by using their half-submerged bodies as our stepping stones.

We begin to understand what the words mean, "Renunciation is the only true form of possession."

Peacemaking

We disarm not only our bodies by refusing to kill, or to make killing instruments in munition factories, but we disarm our minds of anger, pride, envy, hate and malice. Righteous indignation is soon found to be a noxious growth, fostered by the pleasure we feel unconsciously in comparing our imagined rectitude with the obvious evil of other nations.

When we see every man as our brother, and every woman as our sister, shyness and self-consciousness tend to disappear. No one can suddenly become my enemy because he happens

to have been born the other side of a river, or a strip of sea, and two governments have signed a bit of paper called an ultimatum.. War resistance implies non-co-operation. If our country were suddenly Hitlerised, or Stalinised, we should have to refuse to keep the imposed laws, at whatever cost. We must measure up our spiritual and physical courage against the possibilities of torture. To any place where there is misery and danger it is normal for a Christian to go, not in order to punish or preach or kill, but to share the anguish in the lives of the people.

Violence creates violence. This applies to our mental moods. Our pride, envy, hate, malice, are murderous. However deep they have twined into our personality, we pluck them out, though such drastic uprooting may entail agony. Self-pity is a perfect preparation for dictatorship.

The whole cosmic order refutes the strutting pride of empires and dictatorships who plant seeds of bitterness and expect the fruits of peace.

The only way to get strong enough to keep the rules is by **practising the presence of God**, by forcing ourselves to return many times in a morning from worry and self-pity, from fear and defeatism, from conceit and callousness, to the Unseen Reality of the Eternal.

When we are overtaken in a fault, in sin, in a new realisation of our own pitiful weakness and hypocrisy we do not grieve overmuch. We lift up our hearts to God immediately, as Brother Lawrence advises, not delaying a second, and we say: "Lord, I shall always go on doing such and such, unless I keep closer to Thee."

The Third Person Who is Company

We keep silent, solitary, if possible, for half an hour a day. During this period we enjoy completely relaxed muscles and nerves. We walk or sit or lie and we let our breathing become slow, and deep and regular. The surprising restfulness that ensues at the end of fifteen minutes or so makes one understand that the rhythm of the Universe is God's and is keeping our own bodies and minds sane and sound. God's spirit breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life and he became a living soul. His Creative Spirit is also the Recreative Spirit. Our nights and our awakening are no longer haunted by apprehensions of things undone, by self-disgust, by dread of some coming ordeal,

for each of these fears and shames is faced in the presence of God. How is it possible to dread an interview with anyone, when we know God will be the third Person present at that conversation?

To us who stand amid the wreckage of hopes, in the midst of shame and anguish, the phrase, "For Thine is the Kingdom," sometimes seems merely pious hope, facile optimism, fantasy. Is it possible still to repeat this last clause of the Lord's Prayer? It is. The world is God's, though one has to rally all one's forces to keep aware of the fact. It is, though our breakfast coffee is spoilt by its proximity to a newspaper full of horrors. It is, though improved travel facilities have brought us within a week's distance of Chinese battlefields, strewn with unburied dead, hunted over by dogs, no longer the half-starved scavengers of pre-war days, but well-nourished curs who run intimidatingly in packs.

Still Thine is the Kingdom

We can no longer make the affirmation light-heartedly. Yet to confess that the world is not God's, to say He has failed, abdicated, that another method, not God's, must be adopted, is to court disintegration, to commit the ultimate blasphemy. It would blacken the skies with bombing aeroplanes, and with despair. And by no stretch of the imagination could it be called a noble despair. For if we forcibly detach ourselves from our particular fears and hates, recriminations and regrets, if we submit ourselves to the cleansing power of events, we see that our narrow vision, our callous self-indulgence, our lazy, purposeless living, our profit-seeking, our tenacious hold on national, racial and personal privileges, have materially helped to create the present agony.

Two words are sung to a dozen different tunes by millions of people every Sunday morning: "Govern us." Is it only another glibly-spoken sentence, or is it our newly adopted rule?

Let us think realistically about this.

If the diplomats at Versailles had let God govern them . . .

If the British Cabinet during the blockade of Germany had let God govern them . . .

If the Disarmament Conference at Geneva had let God govern them . . .

"Govern us, and lift us up for ever." Therein lies our hope and our programme, the basis of our self-discipline.

OUT-GOING ADMIRATION

HILDA FRANCIS.

Admiration is the first step we take out of ourselves in getting to know and understand the world outside, and this attitude of admiration may lead on and on through the secret wonders of life, and still on to those deepest joys which are completed in that satisfying action we call divine praise The earth is full of a shy glory which peeps out in radiant joy, where an eager eye awaits it.

When "darkness was over the whole land" then the Cross shone "forth in mystic glow."

It was some such insight into the ceaseless tension of the Cross with human indifference, that swept Catharine of Genoa down to her knees.

Her spiritual advisers, like ours, had urged her to repentance, to which she was trying to force herself. In vain, for it takes more than the sight of the havoc and destruction our sins are producing to make us repentant. It is nothing less than the tenacious forgiveness of God, that literally makes us break through the tedious circle of self-admiration.

Catharine had been aspiring towards what she admired. That sudden insight drenched her with love and adoring repentance. Columbus, her fellow-citizen, had just returned from his voyage of discovery, and given Europe a new conception of the vastness of Ocean. In a moment, Catharine had made discovery of a pure boundless Ocean; the Ocean of Love. From that time, she was freed from self-admiration and its circumambient self-depreciation. She was imbued with the power of finding some good in all, and thus of converting enemies into friendly men and women.

Massive repentance, and turning from self-admiration may be the privilege of the saint, who looks into the passionate ocean of divine forgiveness. It is his great gift to us; and we are not without our massive penitent to-day. Following her straight look, we too may see that even in Gethsemane, it was not by any resort to defensive weapons that the world was to be saved.

What we greatly need to-day are ordinary men and women, who will face life in an attitude of outgoing admiration. Men and women, bent on discovering the humble human traits, refracting the divine goodness, beauty and truth. Glory which is pouring through the universe.

There even seems a tendency in the world

to-day, to condemn, rather than to admire. The reason is apparent. We have reverted to infantile self-admiration, and spend all our energy on ourselves. Yet what we condemn so glibly in others, is most likely just what we are doing ourselves, perhaps unwittingly. "Judge not" The words ripple out with gentle laughter; for, by judging, we certainly do give away our own weak spot!

Giving so much attention to the vices of others (even if they be important folk in some people's eyes) is wasted energy. Our powers of attention are limited, and we shall have none left for the positive work, which admiration calls forth. If we, for instance, consider armaments worse than useless, why spend so much energy decrying them? Why waste our powers on the vices of others, thereby fostering them in ourselves as well as in them? Let us lift up our attention to the things that are worth it. If we are looking up at the good qualities in others, they will tend to spring up in us too.

If, after doing our best to find traits for admiration in a certain individual, we fail to do so, what then? Why, we know that underlying all his actions, which may be bad, is a great fund of being which has not yet found expression at all. At any moment, it may do so. Therefore we hold ourselves in hopeful expectation with admiration standing ready at attention. Our expectant attitude may be the very thing that brings that man's buried glory out to light.

Akin to this is a very arduous and fruitful type of admiration and reparation, not easy to explain. In some churches the sanctuary light indicates the Unseen Presence and Hidden Glory. So, in some lives, the holy deeds witness to the Unseen Presence within the human sanctuary. Both lights call us to adoration. But in those lives, where we can see no external sign of the great glory within, we are ourselves sometimes called to a very special act of adoration: to seek and adore the hidden Glory in the least brotherly of our brethren.

HOW I BECAME A PACIFIST

P. C. Hsu.

THE only boyhood memory I can recall concerning pacifism was a remark made by my uncle during the Boxer Rising, when I was about eight or nine years old, to the effect that the Boxers, being protected by magic from guns, would soon eliminate the foreigner. Uncle was an orthodox Confucianist and thus in those days anti-foreign and anti-Christian. During my middle-school days I became an enthusiastic follower of the cause of national revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. By this was meant the overthrow of the Manchu régime to whose misrule was attributed the chief cause of China's weakness ever since the Opium War in the forties. Political revolution came in 1911 and, after the overthrow of the Manchu régime, the Chinese Republic was established, composed of five races, including the Manchus. This was an eye-opener to me for, up till then, I had thought that most of the Manchus had either been killed or driven back to Manchuria.

In 1913, when I was still in college, I came into contact with Christianity and, attracted by the teaching and personality of Jesus Christ, I made my decision to follow Him. The influence of Christianity led me to give up my career in the Customs and in 1915 I became Student Christian Movement secretary in Peking. One would have thought that I would have carried Christ's teaching into the realm of international relations, but I did not do so. That was the year when Japan presented the notorious Twenty-One Demands. I was embittered and came to the conclusion that the whole Japanese nation was detestable. In 1917-18, I made two successive trips to Manchuria as a speaker at student summer conferences. The impressions I received along the South Manchurian line tended to confirm my former prejudice; and when the entire Christian Church in China announced its intention of not sending delegates to the International Sunday School Convention in Japan and when C. T. Wang released a press statement, explaining the decision on the ground that Japan was a nation of robbers, I applauded inwardly.

A Christian Internationalist

It was in this mental state that I went to study at the Union Theological College in New York in the spring of 1921. For two and a half

years, at the College, in hostels and classrooms, I came into close contact with Japanese students, some of whom were men of very fine character. I came to see the absurdity of my former position of condemning the whole nation, and from that time on I became a Christian internationalist. It was also during those years in America that I faced for the first time the whole pacifist issue and I used to have heated debates at Silver Bay with leaders like Paul Jones. On the whole I was favourably disposed towards pacifism, but I did object to people taking it up without having clearly thought out the issue.

After this "conversion," whenever opportunities arose, I made full use of them to bring about better understanding, especially between the Christians of China and Japan. On my way back from America in 1924 I planned to stay in Japan for three weeks and thus came into contact with many Japanese Christian leaders. Almost immediately upon my arrival in China I wrote an article entitled: "Sino-Japanese Christian Co-operation," urging my compatriots to change their attitude towards Japan. At the Hangchow Y.M.C.A. Convention in 1929 I came into close contact with nine fraternal delegates from Japan whose acquaintance I renewed that winter when I attended the third session of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Kyoto. In 1931 I was again in America. At the Y.M.C.A. World Convention I was instrumental in calling together delegates from both nations. It was there I first met Kagawa. After a few months, Japan occupied Manchuria and then came the war in Shanghai. I spent that year in New York. Relations between Chinese and Japanese students were very strained but, as president of both the Chinese Christian Association and the Oriental Christian Student Association in the city, I was able to call several joint meetings of Christian students during the year. In the summer of 1934 T. Z. Koo and I were instrumental in calling together the Sino-Japanese Christian Conference near Peking. Then for two years I buried myself in rural reconstruction work in Central China.

Invasion and Loss

In the summer of 1937, after resigning from Yenching University with which I had been

connected since 1924, I accepted an invitation from the University of Shanghai and moved into the university only twelve days before the outbreak of war. Our buildings were almost immediately occupied by invading armies. I lost everything I possessed, including all my books. Severe fighting went on until the middle of November when the Chinese troops retreated. For the first time modern warfare and foreign invasion became a reality to me. During the years of war a few Christian people came over from Japan with whom I came into contact. The conference at Madras last year gave me another opportunity of meeting Christians from Japan, including Kagawa, Yuasa and Michi Kawai. From these contacts it has become clear to me that Christian leaders in Japan are in a very difficult situation so long as control continues in the hands of the present group.

A word about the condition and history of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in China may not be out of place here. When I returned from America in 1924, the F.O.R. was very popular. During the tide of national revolution in 1927-8, however, the situation altered rapidly. Several outstanding leaders either changed their position or became lukewarm. It was in this atmosphere that a national meeting was called by Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin in the winter of 1928 in Nanking, and it was there that the first National Council was formed. During the intervening years this Council did some good work, especially in the publication of bulletins, both in Chinese and English. Apart from that the work of the Fellowship has not been pushed with much vigour, and, since the outbreak of the present war, conditions have become more unfavourable. As a national organisation the Fellowship has been completely disorganised but local groups are still carrying on, at least in Shanghai and Chengtu. In these local groups, however, there are very few Chinese members. The membership of the F.O.R. has been predominantly foreign and this fact presents a very serious problem. Why has Christian pacifism not made a stronger appeal to Chinese Christians? Is it because of inadequate conceptions, or poor organisation, or both? Or because of environment?

A Pragmatic Pacifism

When a country is facing invasion and when the whole nation is engaged in resisting invasion, it is certainly difficult to gain a hear-

ing for pacifist ideas. One young teacher who used to discuss pacifism with me in his student days was persecuted because, in a public speech, he stood for better understanding between Chinese and Japanese. This, however, was the doing of the local military authorities: the attitude of the Central Government has been on the whole very reasonable: it has in fact been anxious to keep the intelligentsia of China out of the war for the sake of post-war reconstruction. Therefore there is no occasion for the problem of conscientious objection to arise. The environmental difficulty, as I see it, is of a rather different nature. On the whole the Chinese, as a race, are peace-loving for they have had a long peace tradition: but they do believe in resisting invasion unless it could be successfully shown that invasion could be resisted by methods other than armed force.

This, of course, radically changes the problem of pacifism. To the mind of the Chinese, the question at issue boils down to one of demonstrating the efficacy of our position in international politics. Putting the question in this manner will at once convince anyone that the task should not be left to a handful of Chinese pacifists. It is a world-wide task. That is why I have come to feel the inadequacy of purely individualist or even nationalist pacifism and have come to advocate the idea of a corporate and active pacifism which will refuse to be satisfied by mere war-resistance, but will actively undertake to make the world warless so that all mankind may have the abundant life that Christ came to bring.

But all this will never materialise unless we have first achieved world-wide unity. At the recent I.F.O.R. Council meeting at Fanö, it was remarked that Reinold Niebuhr's challenge to Christian pacifism has never been answered. May I say that it can never be answered by pacifism as a theory but only by pacifism in action.

SPECIAL ARMISTICE NUMBER

So successful did our Armistice Number prove last year that we plan to produce in November a special issue of *The Christian Pacifist* containing many articles by celebrities in the Peace Movement and other interesting features. Basing our hopes on last year's sales we expect for this number a circulation of 20,000 copies. Orders in advance are requested and are now being booked at the office, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

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Covenant: We, members and adherents of Baptist Churches, covenant together to renounce war in all its works and ways; and to do all in our power, God helping us, to make the teaching of Jesus Christ effective in all human relations.

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Subscription: 1s. a year, due on January 1st each year.

This bulletin is being issued by the generosity of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Copies will be sent to every member of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship and to every minister on the accredited list of the Baptist Union. It has there been designed as a statement of the fundamentals of the Christian Pacifist position from the particular angle of the Baptist tradition. The articles in the bulletin are to be reprinted and used as our introduction into many churches where the Christian pacifist position has been misunderstood and sometimes misrepresented. We shall be glad to supply quantities for use in this way.

This page of the bulletin is by way of an interim secretary's report between the annual reports for 1938 and 1939. On January 31st, 1939, our membership stood at 1,024; to-day it is 1,288. The increase has been made up as follows:—

35 ministerial members

102 members of groups

127 lay members.

New groups have been formed in King's Langley, Nottingham, Rugby, St. Albans and Torquay, and several others are impending in London, Liverpool and Manchester.

A number of our members will be sailing for the mission field in Africa, China or India this autumn. We are grateful for this link with William Carey, himself a pacifist, and for this reminder of the triumphs of the pacifist way of life that have been won on the missionary field. By sheer force of circumstances the missionary work of the Church has advanced by the pacifist technique and we welcome the challenge that it brings to us.

In common with others of their age group, the young men of twenty in our denomination have had to face the challenge of conscription. We congratulate them on the witness they are making and we would assure them of the sympathy and support of our Fellowship as they face the tribunals.

Finally, may we urge upon our members the value of reading *The Christian Pacifist*. The atmosphere is so heavy with propaganda and there is so little informed writing on Christian Pacifism that this little review has become a necessity.

G. LLOYD PHELPS.

"I am always glad to hear of a soldier becoming a Christian. I am always sorry to hear of a Christian becoming a soldier."—C. H. Spurgeon.

The following story was told of William Carey, who in addition to being the father of modern Protestant missions, was a life-long opponent of slavery and war. In his early days in India, he felt ill, and the nearest doctor was sent for. This happened to be the regimental doctor. He came to Carey in full uniform and was shown into his room. The sick man stared at him, then jumped out of bed and drove him from the room, telling him that that was no costume in which to enter the sick-room of a Christian man. He declined to let the doctor treat him until he had put on one of Marshman's black coats.

The contributors to this bulletin are: The Rev. H. Ingham, B.A., B.D., B.Litt., Minister at Queen's Road, Coventry, a former chairman of the B.P.F., and the founder and chairman of the Christian Pacifist Political Movement. The Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, B.D., the North-Western Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and honorary secretary of the B.P.F.

THE WARS OF THE HEBREWS

G. LLOYD PHELPS

FIRST let us state the problem that is involved in the scriptural records of the wars of the Hebrew tribes. Broadly the facts are these: Moses brought from Egypt a loose confederation of ex-slaves whom he hammered into something like a nation. These tribes joined with their relations who had not been in captivity in an invasion of the land of Canaan that seems to have been as unprovoked as Japan's invasion of China. At this time the Hebrews are still at the tribal stage of their development, not only politically but theologically. Yahweh is the God of the Hebrews alone. The other races have their own gods, who are quite real, and whose first duty is to safeguard the interests of their own nations. The narratives of the wars record wholesale slaughter, slavery and pillage as the consequences, and the whole business is construed by the writers of scripture as being prompted by Yahweh and carried out under his personal supervision. He is presented as giving orders (Joshua 6, 17f) for the complete destruction and sacking of the city of Jericho. The same treatment was meted to Ai, and later to Makkedah and Libuah (Joshua 8, 28-30). The spoil of these cities is Yahweh's and any private enterprise by the Hebrews is punished by death, not only the death of the looter but all his clan as well (e.g., the story of Achan in Joshua 7, 16-26).

Later, when the children of Israel had settled in the new land for several generations, they had still to fight for their footing against the older inhabitants. War is presented as a religious duty, and Yahweh of Hosts (Sabaoth) is the God of Israel's battle array (I. Sam. 17, 45). The resources of religion—the omen, the lot, the prophecy—are used to find the propitious moment for engaging in battle. The Ark of the Lord accompanies the army into the field (I. Sam. 4, 6f). The presence of God is in the battle and is described in a famous verse (II. Sam. 5, 24), "And let it be, when thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself; for then shall the Lord go out before thee, to smite the hosts of Philistines."

Why is it a problem?

Perhaps it is as well for us to realise that these stories have only in the past few generations

become a *general* problem. Cromwell and his Ironsides, for example, found them no problem but rather hastened to identify themselves with the Israelites and their opponents with the Philistines, Amalekites, and the rest in yet another God-inspired war in which the Lord of Hosts or Armies was on their side.

The fact that these stories have become a problem is yet another instance of the working of the leaven of Christianity in men's minds. We have become more sensitive to the problems of violence than our fathers, and even the Old Testament must be judged by the spirit of the New Testament, and convicted where it denies the mind of Christ. This has become a problem just because Jesus Christ has brought us to repentance—i.e., has made us think again and change our way of regarding life.

We have changed our minds in three important things from Old Testament times. First there are no tribal or national gods, but one God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and through Him the Father of mankind. In this Covenant with mankind there is no favoured nation clause. Secondly, we have received the revelation in Christ of the Way of the Cross, the Way of Love which suffers that it may by its suffering reconcile men to God and to one another. Thirdly, we are slowly working out the significance of this revelation and coming to realise that the Way of the Cross is the only way to the Kingdom. We are *beginning* to believe that, because violence is against the laws of a moral universe, it defeats itself; the power of God unto salvation is Christ crucified.

Towards an Answer

First of all we must try to realize that in the act of revelation there are two participants.

From the Divine side history is the unfolding drama of God's self-revelation; from the human side history is the process of the discovery of God's nature and will. In the pioneer days of experimental science with very imperfect instruments and an inheritance of misleading traditions, many mistakes were made along with genuine discoveries. It was not different in those pioneer ages of the human spirit's quest for God that are recorded for us in the Old Testament. The human mind can be more

treacherous than an imperfect instrument, and it has many powerful interests to sway it from the path of truth and goodness.

Remember the inheritance of these peoples, the tribal idea of God, an unmoralised religion, a theology based on the idea that might was right.

Then recall that these narratives were compiled by much later editors who were obsessed by two ideas which caused them to exaggerate the difficulty as it presents itself to us. These two ideas were the kindred ones of the chosen people and racial purity. For later theories of racial purity it was necessary to have the former inhabitants exterminated, whereas one can see in the earlier records that that was very far from what happened, and inter-marriage took place freely (i.e., the Book of Ruth). Further the doctrine of the chosen people led to the direct attribution to God of the aggressive thrust of a people in search of better quarters. Mammon, not Jehovah, impelled them—but then it is often difficult to distinguish between the wishes of one and the other, and easy for us to identify them. It is an eternal choice that raises itself for every nation. Italy was not the first to fight an Abyssinian war—British soldiers had been there half a century before; nor is Japan blazing a new trail in China, for the British Empire had in mid-Victorian times fought wars with China to reimpose the opium trade which her government wished to stamp out.

Mammon or Jehovah; the Lord of Hosts or that strange Man on His Cross; it is not only a Biblical problem but one we have to solve to-day.

THE SPRINGS OF OUR PACIFIST FAITH

H. INGLI JAMES

CHRIStIAN PACIFISM is a conviction and a spirit derived from the Gospel and fed by three springs—the story of Jesus, the theology of the Church inspired by that story, and the testimony of Christian experience.

It should always be remembered that Our Lord belonged to a subject race. The Jews were in the position of the Czechs in our own time. Their country was in the hands of the Romans, and they bitterly resented their servitude. It affronted their patriotism and galled their pride. It is true that they were allowed to practise their religion and, within limits, to

follow their own customs; but they were reminded continually, and often roughly, of the presence and power of Rome. Roman rule was tolerant up to a point, but it was firm, stern, and, on occasions, cruel in the extreme. Pilate was a tyrant, harsh and ruthless. There is no viler episode in the annals of National Socialism than that to which Luke refers when he talks of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. The Jews were convinced that God would not allow a position that was in manifest contradiction to what they conceived to be His purpose to continue. He would send the Messiah, Who would crush the oppressor and break the Roman yoke. Some thought that they might hasten matters by resorting to rebellion, some that they might wait until the Messiah came. They were agreed that the destruction of Roman militarism was essential to the fulfilment of their national destiny and of His will. The land seethed with disaffection, at intervals breaking into open revolt.

Jesus was bred in that atmosphere. From childhood He must have heard His neighbours talking of the sorrowful condition of their country, of the cruelty of the Romans, of the national aspirations of the Jewish people. Not long before His birth the Galileans had revolted, and their pathetic little army had been crushed with savage severity within sight of His own home. Among his friends were those who had lost father or husband in that unequal fight; and as He looked at that sacred spot where the Romans had massacred an army of poor peasants He must surely have wondered if His destiny were not to lead Israel in a campaign for liberty and common justice.

A Child of the People

To attempt to interpret His mind without regard to that background is to betray a singular lack of historical sense. The major criticism that may be levelled against recent reconstructions of His teaching concerning the Kingdom of God is that they completely disregard it. Jesus lived with the sorrows and the aspirations of the common people. His mind was burdened by them. In the desert He faced the question whether He should embark on a fight for national liberty, the last and greatest fight precursing universal peace. He decided that that was not the road that He must take. It was not the road that God would have Israel take. Convinced that He was the Messiah, He preached not revolt but acceptance. He told his hearers to be patient, longsuffering, always

kind, aiming in their own bearing at the promotion of conciliation and peace. In a word, He recalled the Jews to the conception of their national mission set forth by the greatest of the prophets, who had declared that they should be a light lightening the Gentiles, and a covenant people. In suffering adversity patiently and unresistingly, they would lead mankind to God and the nations in the path of peace.

To that mission Christ called the new Israel, when the old finally rejected it. It was the discovery that this was, in fact, His conception of their national destiny that impelled even the common folk to demand at last that He should be sent to the cross. The Crucifixion was the final sign of their failure to grasp the plan of God for their own nation and the broad sweep of His redeeming purpose. The Crucified on His part, convinced though He was that God would triumph in and through His death, was burdened to the end by the tragedy of His own people. "Daughters of Jerusalem," He cried, "Weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." They had chosen the way of war, and forgotten the things that make for peace.

While we were yet Sinners Christ Died

It is the conviction of the Christian Church that the Crucified was God manifest in the flesh for the redemption of our sinful race. Israel was mankind in miniature. It has rejected His plan and rebelled against His purpose. He is righteous, and because He is righteous, righteousness is the condition of stability and of peace. Because He is righteous, a righteous world will be a happy world. Because He is righteous the world in which we are living is what it is. How, then, will He deal with a world that has refused to accept His rule? He will not break the law of righteousness, to offer a magical security to those who will not amend their evil ways. Neither will He allow them to drift to perdition whilst He stands apart in Olympian indifference. He enters the world they have besmirched, begirt not with a sword to slay the wicked but with mercy and with humbleness. "See!" He exclaims, "this is what you have done to My creation, this is what you have done to Me. This is what I will do for the restoration of the creation, this is what I will do for you."

Many theories of the Atonement have been formulated in the course of the centuries, but in this their authors agree—that in the work of

restoring our sinful humanity God has taken the initiative. Before we had repented, or changed our ways, or given a guarantee of good faith, "whilst we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." That is how God deals with evil, and in that fact is the ground of our faith—and hope. Man is never beyond reach of redemption, for in every man is that for which Christ was willing to die.

We are called to meet evil as He met it. His sacrifice is, indeed, unique. It represents an act of the Divine love that we cannot repeat; but there is not a suggestion in the New Testament that we are ever justified in acting in a different way than that which God, on Calvary, has commended to us. We are to walk in love as Christ has loved us. That is the Christian way of conciliation, the Christian way to peace—the way of the cross.

"Manfully to Fight Under Christ's Banner"

When Christians have been in closest touch with the spirit of their Master they have felt that they could not employ the weapons of the world in dealing with evil, but must follow this way of the cross. The early church, as Dr. Cadoux has shown, and as Harnach admitted, realised that participation in and preparation for war was not consistent with the way of life inspired by the faith that works through love. Luther shared that conviction until his enthusiasm was blunted and his vision blurred by care and strife. The Anabaptists have been described as Protestants who carried his doctrine of redemption by faith in Christ alone to its logical issue. They stood, says Troltsch, for the sole and sufficient sovereignty of Christ, for a far-reaching system of mutual aid—and for the complete rejection of warfare. Such simple faith in the Crucified is urgently needed in this difficult time. The pressure of events tempts Christians continually to resort to the methods by which the world seeks to counter evil, to fight under the world's banners, to echo the world's slogans; and thus to unfit themselves for the service of the world by sinking to the level of the world's hopelessness. It is a temptation to which we all succumb in our different ways, and none of us is entitled to judge his brother; but never was it more necessary that we should all remember an ancient battle cry: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

"DO BE LOGICAL"

PAUL GLIDDON

WE are always being assured that, if pacifists were really logical, they would refuse to eat the food the community provides and elect to starve to death. As an example of logical reasoning this declaration falls a little short, for what it really says is that, if we were truly opposed to taking human life in general we would take one particular human life, for deliberately to starve oneself is an act of self-murder, which, unlike attempting to shoot oneself, leaves no chance of failure. It is queer that those who oppose pacifism should find it necessary to argue in this way; nobody says that those who are against taking to drink should become dead drunk and so be, at least temporarily, total abstainers, or that conservatives travelling in Russia should not eat food provided by a communist state; or that absence of voluntary starvation among British residents in Germany testifies to their agreement with fascist philosophy. It is only when search is being made for a weapon with which to defeat pacifism that logic is so strangely handled.

But this particular argument raises two rather important issues. If the community provides our food, then it is obviously from the community that we should purchase it, and it is the community that should receive the money we pay. But this is not the case. Our money goes, not to the community, but to a limited liability company or some kindred organisation which may function under the protection or patronage of the community but is certainly not the community. Therefore the community either provides our food and is regularly swindled of the cash, or the food is provided by the people to whom the money is paid, a body on whose behalf it can hardly be suggested we should be ready to die. Nor is the state the community either. The state is an organisation controlled by a majority of the community and empowered to take money from the community as a whole for services which the minority usually feel are not being rendered. The state is not a philanthropic institution, and the duty one owes to the state, which in war time controls the railway companies, is not different in kind but only in degree from the duty that one owes to the railway companies themselves. But the community is a very different body, for in the community the back streets matter as much

as the stately homes, and the brats can balance the baronets. The state governs the community, but it is not the community; it is the state that declares wars and informs us when we are to be enemies and with whom, but it is to the community—and that as far-flung as we can conceive it—that our loyalty is due.

The Horror of Logic

This argument about the logical necessity for pacifist starvation raises another interesting issue. We are told that, to be logical, we must either give our assent to war with all the meanesses and barbarities that become necessary in the winning of victory, or we must make our exit from the nation through the gate of death. Now if one logical course is to say, "I believe that we should, in the event of war, refuse to eat and so do ourselves to death," and the alternative logical course is to declare, "I believe that we must be ready, in the event of war, to tear to pieces with bombs the bodies of women and children," if, to be logical, we must either kill ourselves or be ready to "bounce babies on bayonets," then it is not the alternatives which must be accepted but the logic which must be rejected.

Of course, if those who oppose pacifism insist on the importance of being logical, it will not only be the pacifists who plunge into strange experiences. If it is true that "we have got to be prepared," then it is most important that we should be prepared to strike effectively the moment war begins. That means there must be a directing authority which can act outside the slow movement of the democratic system, which suggests that there must be a war-time dictatorship. But a dictatorship which was being improvised in the face of a prepared enemy would lose essential time, and this means that we must have a peace-time dictatorship. Therefore, if the only way to keep war off is to be prepared, then to keep it off indefinitely we must become a dictator-governed country indefinitely, which would seem to imply that, in order to enthrone democracy for good, we must scrap it for ever.

Those who advocate adequate armaments as the one remaining hope must have some idea of what they want to do with them, either they are sometimes to be employed or they are never

to be employed. If they are ever employed on a large scale we are assured this will involve the collapse of civilisation; if they are never, why go to the expense of making them effective? After all any cow can be regarded as ready to jump over the moon provided it is never to be requested to perform this unusual feat. Perhaps statesmen can learn something from rather penurious gentlemen who have to divide their handkerchiefs into two classes, those for showing and those for blowing, and should ask themselves to which category their armaments belong, "shows" or "blows."

"The State is All"

If non-pacifists really believe that the Christian citizen must conform with the requirements of the State to which he is so greatly indebted, we may well ask them, not what they would do if they met a bully kicking a woman in a dark lane, but what they would do if they happened to live in Germany? Would they, as citizens, assist in the official persecution of Jews, or would they disobey the commands of the duly constituted authority? If they were Germans and would, under orders, agree to become persecutors, how can they claim to care so profoundly for compassion or freedom? If, on the other hand, they would refuse to obey the State, what becomes of their claim that pacifists should set aside their private objections to war in the face of the State's overriding claims? We may further ask our logical critics if, when the worst comes to the worst and no other form of redress seems possible, men are then entitled to resort to violence, why should not the working class in this country, so long oppressed and so long cheated of its just rewards, rise in rebellion against a governing class that has treated it as a conqueror might a nation? If fighting for liberty is a right thing when that liberty is the liberty of a nation, how can we logically oppose it when that liberty is the liberty of a class?

But it is a little difficult to see why this question of how we are to behave towards a woman who is being bullied should be regarded as one to which militarists have a clear answer, while pacifists are tongue-tied. Here is a case reported in the "News-Chronicle" of August 17th, by the side a photograph of a weeping woman being led away by an official.

"When a thirty-year-old German refugee and her two-year-old daughter were refused permission to enter the country at Croydon airport

last night, the woman threatened to commit suicide. Saying that she would be killed if sent back to Germany, the woman . . . ran out of the immigration office. Officials ran after her and carried her to the office . . . Despite further appeals to be allowed to stay the woman and her child were sent to Amsterdam. . . She said to the 'News-Chronicle': 'My husband was in business in Frankfurt, but for six months he has been in a concentration camp. I have been trying to leave the country with my baby since he disappeared'."

The Necessity which knows no Law

The treatment of this woman is not supposed to be in contradiction to the general policy of this country but its necessary corollary. That woman suffered in that way because she was a weak thing at the mercy of the strong, in other words she was bullied. The question that stands first to be answered therefore is not what a pacifist would do were he in power and the bully got busy, but what will non-pacifists do, being in power and the bully being busy. From the pressure of such a question he can in part escape if he renounces his attempt at being logical, a renunciation which will be formal rather than actual, since such he has never been.

But not to be logical is regarded as a weakness, whereas to be strictly logical would involve all of us in acts utterly insane. It is because experience or common sense or humour saves us from the horror of entirely logical conduct that there is still hope for to-morrow. For life is larger than logic and love which makes the world go round is no product of a syllogism. There is an art of living which each must learn for his own self and practise with such skill as he may draw from the wisdom of others or the recesses of his soul. The finished product of each man's studio will be a picture different from all others, but it will have a definite outline, with some lines very firmly drawn. Not according to logic and not by imitation but by a native skill of each man's self we draw our lines and so give form to life. Never to draw the line anywhere is to produce something void and without form, while to draw it just where others do is to regard life as a coin to be struck off from a determined die, not a picture to be drawn. We draw our lines in different places and relationships and then seek to buttress our decisions with the crude tool of logic, conscripting reason to our service. But

we are wrong, for man is larger than man's mind and has access to fields of knowledge of which his intellect knows nothing. Therefore when we are met with the challenge to be logical,

we are entitled, whether we be pacifists or otherwise, to reply with proper gravity: "Most gladly, but only in so far as it is consistent with our dignity as men."

COMMUNITY NOTES

Through conventions and discussions, congresses and committees, protest meetings and resolutions, lobbying, letters to members of Parliament, parades, manifestoes and storms of printed propaganda, the grim march of world events goes on. Against that unheeding procession words are as wind; it is service of our lives that is demanded of all. Such service many to-day are groping after and a few, through labour and hazard, are achieving. A letter from a friend in the north is worth quoting. It illustrates faithfully the manner in which groups of seekers are waking to a sense of new responsibilities, laid not upon nation or government or church assembly or public body but upon *themselves*, first of all, as individual believers in the way of peace:

"Pacifists everywhere will take the lead in organising communities, since they are the first people to feel the need for such purposeful living. They cannot preach the reality of "love thy neighbour" if they do not at the same time practise its economics.

"I consider the Dick Sheppard centre here to be a first trial essay in pacifist-communal effort and, as such, it has been leading us on to further adventures and giving us a hope of realising greater aims. It would be very undesirable, however, that we should over-

reach ourselves and fail altogether by attempting what we are not strong enough to do yet. Although certain amongst us have talked and thought community for a considerable time, they are by no means ready for it now or even clear enough in their minds about it.

"Some favour the form of the landed community at the very start; others, who have domestic ties to counsel their prudence, desire the income-pooling pattern of life under one roof, ordinary work being maintained, the surplus resources being used to support refugees or to serve the unemployed. I myself would propose to start slowly on a sound spiritual basis, not plunging into anything which went further than the heartfelt convictions of each member would support. The first scheme might well be an initial stage in our development, the final aim being a rural community on the lines of Elmset and using the Dick Sheppard Centre as a town office. . . Such a life would provide a training school of the soldiers of peace, fighting to redeem the world from cruelty and ignorance and all their terrible consequences. Discipline, self-imposed and gladly borne, would replace the barren discipline of barracks and militia camp. . ."

All those living in the N.W. districts of London, who are interested in community are invited to get in touch with Leslie Bryers, c/o 16, Weech Road, N.W.6. Those in other areas can get particulars of community minded neighbours by visiting hon. sec., Community Service Committee, "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Weybridge, Surrey.

MODERN WAR

The following is an extract from a letter written by an International Red Cross Worker in China.

After this raid I felt the same as after all the raids I have been through. I am certain that there is nothing, not a single thing or a single idea or ideal which can justify men or nations engaging in warfare as it is waged to-day. I am also confirmed in my conviction that no nation can possibly be justified in building or using bombing planes. I feel sick when I think that Britain is spending millions every month in developing and adding to its squadrons of bombing planes, and is, indeed, using them to-day in Palestine and on the North West Frontier. There is a case for defence and fighting planes, but I cannot see any for our possession of planes which are intended to do

to some as yet unknown "enemy" what the Japanese did to the civil population of Kweiyang on Saturday. There can be no justification on the grounds that we must be prepared to lay waste some city on the Continent before the people of that nation reduce London to ruins. There can be no reconciliation of this diabolical act of bombing and the profession of Christianity. Civilisation must perish from the known earth while men attempt to justify modern warfare. If the day comes when I feel impelled to support Britain in waging a war as being the lesser evil than submitting to the conditions of peace, then that day I will sever my connection with the Christian Church and acknowledge to myself and to other men that I am no longer a Christian. There is no alternative.

THE FIRST TRIBUNAL

LEYTON RICHARDS

THE decision of the Tribunal is that you shall be registered as a conscientious objector; and the condition of such registration is that you shall” In these words, twenty times over, the presiding judge delivered his verdict within the space of five hours. The occasion was the first sitting of the first Tribunal under the Military Training (Conscription) Act, which was held in Birmingham at the end of July. To this Tribunal eighteen conscientious objectors from all over the Midland area were summoned to have their claims considered and either allowed or rejected.

Why the particular applicants were summoned out of a total of nearly 500 was not explained; they did not appear in alphabetical order, nor were they called from any one district. It was significant, however, that in the main they were men who had expressed willingness to accept some form of “alternative service” as the price of freedom from military training; and it may be therefore that in this way the task of the Tribunal was deliberately eased in its initial stages; for there is no question that the so-called “absolutist” is by far the most difficult case to deal with. No alternative is acceptable to him, and he will not purchase his liberty of conscience from the State by agreeing to any concessions or conditions; on the contrary, he asserts the priority of the moral authority by which he is governed as against any earthly power and claims that an enlightened conscience is master in its own right and not by permission of any tribunal composed of fellow-mortals. Or to put the same thing in religious terms, the will of God in Jesus Christ is his law, and if he is faithful to his Lord, he “can do no other” than obey the divine behests, irrespective of conditions and be the consequences what they may.

Inquisition but no Inquisitors

The Act allows “unconditional exemption” in such cases; but only at the discretion of the Tribunal and not as a statutory right; and it has to be said that the Birmingham Tribunal dealt with one or two men in a way which raised doubts as to its intentions in this respect. Subsequent sittings, of course, will show whether or not the refusal to grant “unconditional exemption” was a pre-determined policy; but it is a

point that needs to be watched, for such refusal inevitably smacks of persecution. It means that a man is permitted to be true to his deepest convictions only if he submits to some form of “alternative service” which is, in effect, a penalty for daring to have a conscience at all.

In every other respect, however, no praise can be too high for the courteous and considerate way in which the Tribunal approached its task. With unwearied patience, the presiding judge made every allowance for nervous and overwrought young men in their stumbling efforts to state their case; and again and again he re-stated their case for them, and asked if that was what they meant. His sympathy with the men—if not with their pleas—was apparent in all his dealings; and before the day’s proceedings closed, there was little that was reminiscent of a court of law and far more to suggest a friendly attempt to come to a mutual understanding. Relatives or personal friends of the men were encouraged to come forward and bear their testimony to the *bona fides* of the applicants, and the “gallery” of interested on-lookers was even drawn into occasional personal consultation with one or other of the five members of the Tribunal, when some disputed or difficult point needed elucidation.

“In spite of all I have tried to teach him”

Some of these interlocutions provided not a little amusement. In one case, for instance, a Birmingham vicar appeared on behalf of an applicant who was a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; the vicar testified to the sincerity of the young man, and freely admitted that in his pacifist convictions the applicant was a consistent follower of Christ; but—added the vicar hastily—“this is in spite of all I have tried to teach him”! The picture of a clergyman doing his utmost to prevent a member of his flock from being a Christian produced an immediate explosion of merriment, and the vicar himself was too good a Christian not to see the joke. But the incident was a mark of the good feeling which prevailed; as was also the fact that when the sessions ended, the applicants and their friends joined the “gallery” in a friendly review of the day’s proceedings with members of the Tribunal itself.

All this was very disarming and very cheering. But behind this informality were, of course, grim realities of the situation. On the one side a body of five elderly men charged with the duty and the responsibility of determining the sincerity of applicants for exemption from military training, and on the other side a succession of inexperienced lads, pathetic in their nervous anxiety to make a faithful witness, who often found it difficult to clothe in adequate language their reluctance to engage in the art of scientific killing. In no case was the application refused outright, and everyone of the men who appeared was admitted to the Register of Conscientious Objectors, albeit under conditions laid down by the Tribunal. In several cases the condition was the simple one that a man should continue in his present occupation, and this seemed at first sight an oblique way of granting complete exemption. But repetition led to the discovery that this condition was invariably imposed after consultation with the Trade Union member of the Tribunal, and that it was applied only to men in the metal or engineering industries. Is it any wonder that the suspicion grew that “alternative service” is only a camou-

flage for “war-work,” and that—if pushed to extremes—it would be indistinguishable from industrial slavery under State compulsion?

Our Hard-Won Freedoms

Compared with the Tribunals of 1916, this first Tribunal of 1939 was a model of fairness, and if the Birmingham precedent is followed in all cases it will be a credit to everybody concerned. That this is intended has been stated again and again in the House of Commons both by the Prime Minister and by the Minister for Labour; but the good intentions of governments are sometimes stultified by those who administer Acts of Parliament, and the experiences of 1916 warn us how easily this may occur. It remains true that “the price of liberty is eternal vigilance,” and it therefore behoves all who would preserve our hard-won freedoms to be alive and alert lest unimaginative members of Tribunals unwittingly undermine the civil and religious liberty which is the mark of every true democracy. The acid test will be the granting or denial of “unconditional exemption to “absolutists,” and by this test the work of the Tribunals will be either approved or condemned.

CHRISTIAN LEADERS SPEAK OUT

The Oecumenical Movement on the World Crisis

Owing to the initiative of our friend Roswell P. Barnes, a member of the Committee of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation and associate secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, who is in charge of the Council’s department of international relations, an important meeting of experts has just been held at Geneva to advise the Executive of the Provisional World Council of Churches. The group assembled included not only leading Churchmen, but also laymen who had been members of several of the great post war international conferences, the Hague Court, various governmental trade and tariff commissions, and the International Red Cross. The Rev William Paton, of Edinburgh House, presided. The Dean of St. Paul’s, Sir Alfred Zimmern, the Rev. Henry Carter and Dr. Hutchinson Cockburn were among the Church representatives from this country and Dr. John Foster-Dulles from the United States. Canon Raven was invited but unable to attend.

The results of this meeting are embodied in a document of some 5,000 words, headed “The Churches and the International Crisis,” which is being submitted in the name of the World Council of Churches to the various Churches of the world. It is not known yet what steps will be taken to publish the document in full, or what action the Churches will take. In the meantime, however, some paragraphs may be printed here to give an idea of its scope, and in the hope that the whole will shortly be available in pamphlet form.

In general, the statement may be taken as a follow-up to the report of the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State and an advance on what was said there on international relations. It is divided into three sections under the headings: “Presuppositions,” “The International Order,” “Some Tasks of the Churches and Individual Christians”; and there is an appendix on the colonial question.

Christian Principles

After analysing the causes of the present disorder, the paper goes on to state the Christian principles to be applied to remedy it:

1. Political power should always be exercised with a full sense of responsibility. All government involves the exercise of power, and there is therefore nothing unchristian or unethical about the nature of power in itself. But wherever there is power there is temptation to use it selfishly and carelessly, without due regard for the needs and interests of those who are affected by it. Such irresponsible use of power is definitely unchristian.

This temptation is particularly insidious in two fields of public affairs:— In international relations, especially relations between a strong state and weaker peoples, because in this sphere there is no constitutional limitation upon the exercise of power; and in economic relations, where there is also often a great disparity between the strength of the parties concerned. International economic relations, where conditions often allow of an easy abuse of power, and where control over raw materials, capital movements and access to markets may be very unequal, are a particularly dangerous field and call for the attention of Christians, both as citizens and participants in the modern economic system.

2. All human beings are of equal worth in the eyes of God and should be so treated in the political sphere. It follows that the ruling power should not deny essential rights to human beings on the ground of their race or class or religion or culture or any such distinguished characteristic.

3. From these two principles there follows a third:—The duty of the ruling power to develop equality before the law, from what may be a passive and a merely formal equality, into a political system, which carries with it positive rights and duties. The function of the Christian ruler is so to use his responsibility as to render those, over whom his power extends, themselves more fully responsible, thereby adding to their human dignity and enabling them better to fulfil their social duties as men and Christians.

Such a system, when it is infused with a spirit of responsibility, affords the best conditions for the practical application of the Christian message of love and brotherhood to political life, both national and international."

The Rule of Law

There follow paragraphs on the development of international government with machinery for conference and co-operation, including this: "At the same time we must recognize that the rule of law cannot become a reality so long as the way is known to be open for resort to violence. It is for the international community to remove this insecurity by providing an effective deterrent against the use of force. For this purpose it is not sufficient for nations to renounce the use of violence on their own part. They have also a duty as good neighbours to take their share of the responsibility for maintaining good order in the international community. The full discharge of this responsibility will require that the collective will of the community shall be used to secure the necessary changes in the interests of justice to the same extent that it is used to secure the protection of nations against violence. As to the use of force in this connection we are not agreed."

From among the paragraphs on the task of the Church we may quote this: "The Churches should maintain the integrity of Christian fellowship among those who differ on conscientious grounds as to the duty of participation in war. They should cultivate mutual understanding of divergent judgments, and should endeavour to counteract the tendency to identify Christian pacifism with political disloyalty. They should ask of the State that no person be debarred from citizenship, or be denied any exercise of the right of religious liberty, because of conscientious refusal to participate in the use of military force." The document proceeds:

"We face also the task of the Church in time of extreme tension or war. War has come to Eastern Asia and it may come to Europe. The churches of the world had no plans for co-operation when the World War came in 1914. A conference of church representatives was called to meet at Constance, but that meeting was interrupted by the war. In each country such plans of national co-operation were developed as the stress of war permitted. Since that time the oecumenical Christian movement has developed, and the responsibility of a larger co-operation lies upon the Churches. To this end we urge:—

Should War Come

1. That preaching and prayer should be truly Christian. Prayer must not degenerate into a means of national propaganda. While we may

not forget our sense of solidarity with our own people and our loyalty to our respective nations, preaching must not seek to create hatred of other nations. War should not be presented as a holy crusade, but preaching should call men to repentance for a common sin, and urge the righteousness of God's Kingdom.

2. That brotherly relations between the churches be maintained. The pressure of censorship, of official propaganda, and of the whole system of psychological mobilization will be so great that it will be exceedingly difficult for the churches to keep in touch with each other across the frontiers. We cannot now propose definite plans, but techniques can be developed through church leaders in neutral countries for the maintenance of some contacts between churches in warring lands.

3. That the Churches should work, in such ways as are open to them, for a just peace. They should seek to counteract the spirit of vengeance and the lust for power. Mass hatred is difficult to check, but the Churches must make the effort. Groups of churchmen may meet to work out suggestions for a just and lasting peace.

4. That the Churches should guard against becoming agencies for the propaganda of hatred, especially since the use of such propaganda by official church bodies or by ministers of religion tends to give it authority and the sanction of religion.

5. That the Churches should minister to prisoners of war, discourage reprisals against them, face the refugee problem, and aid peoples dislocated by war.

6. That the Churches should give such spiritual help and comfort to the victims of war's tragedies as they alone can give.

7. That Christians should show in their own lives a willingness to share the blame for the sin of war, and that each should reveal in the carrying of his cross a gratitude for God's redeeming Love.

The Immediate Task

The Christian Church, which seeks to promote international justice and to eliminate wars, has also in the present crisis a very definite task.

The Church is not a political organization. It is not in a position to be accurately informed to the precise diplomatic position. But we are of course, aware of the fact that grave international differences exist, which need to be settled; and that grave mistrusts exist, which need to be allayed. We are equally aware of

the fact that war may, at any day, be resorted to as a means of solution.

Upon this situation we must pronounce certain moral judgments:—

War is an evil and non-Christian method. As the world is now organised it may to some seem an inevitable procedure. But this is so only if no alternative possibilities of settlement exist.

We believe that no decision secured by force of arms will be just and that, out of the evil forces thereby set in motion, more evil is bound to come. We believe that decision by negotiation, conference and methods of conciliation should always be an available alternative method. We believe that such procedures should be adopted, free of the menace of force; in a spirit of humility for past mistakes which all States have committed; with a recognition that the existing status has no inherent sanctity, since the world is a living and therefore a changing organism; but that change should and can be consistent with the preservation of basic rights. We believe that these views are in harmony with the fundamental moral principles which we have contended to be derived from the Christian religion. We earnestly commend them to the consideration of Church and political leaders.

We add a reference to two distinctive modes of Christian activity, each of which is directly related to the urgent and instant situation of the present time.

The first is that the Churches and all Christian people should strive to make concrete our Lord's injunction "Love your enemies." The true Christian spirit of forgiveness does not arise from a condoning of evil but from the knowledge that we ourselves have been forgiven. To cultivate goodwill towards all, not only to those within but also to those without the Christian fellowship; to spread the spirit of forgiveness and trust; to increase the habit of charitable judgment; to widen knowledge and understanding of the causes of conflict—these things help to remove the psychological roots of war and are characteristic fruits of the spirit of Christ.

The second is the call to prayer. Prayer is the supreme energy of the Christian. That prayer must be for peace and justice among the nations. God's will is the most important factor in every problem. To seek to know that will and receive power to perform it, Christians must constantly turn to God in prayer.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PEACE CONGRESS

Once again the Peace Movement in England has avoided a split between its two chief constituent groups—the pacifists and the advocates of collective security. At the 29th National Peace Congress held in London last month the groups agreed to compromise, and by an overwhelming majority the delegates accepted a policy representing the highest common measure of agreement. Since the policy of military alliances against fascist aggression supported by one section is directly and fundamentally opposed to the principles of another section, this unity was not achieved without a great deal of careful guidance by the committee of Congress, and especially by its chairman, Dr. C. E. M. Joad.

Curiously enough, this Congress was less disturbed by divisions of opinion on foreign policy than the conference at Bristol last year, although the developments in the international situation have made those differences much more evident elsewhere. The subjects selected by the organisers for discussion at the seven sessions were clearly designed to keep the essential controversy between the pacifist and non-pacifist elements in the background. But it is doubtful whether they would have succeeded but for two things—Federal Union and Conscription.

Federal Union provided a basis for united action in support of a positive and practical object, while the Military Training Act gave the Congress something it could condemn almost unanimously. Both subjects led to an animated and enthusiastic discussion; a contrast to the pessimism, almost boredom, which was apparent at other sessions. There was no doubt that the Federal Union idea "stirred" the Congress. It met with general approval because the F.U. plans are at such an early stage of development that technical objections could be minimized and the principles made more elastic in their appeal.

Dr. Joad adroitly made Federal Union acceptable to pacifists and non-pacifists alike. To the advocates of collective security he demonstrated that a Federal Union of nations, whose armed forces were pooled under international control, would be much more satisfactory for defence and the prevention of aggression. Speaking as a pacifist to pacifists, Dr. Joad said that the absolute menace to-day was the sovereignty of

the nation-state. He commended the Federal Union proposals to them on the ground that pacifists had no other definite, positive and practical policy whatever. He suggested that it would be a step towards the realisation of pacifist ideals if the fifteen relatively democratic nations (notably U.S.A., the British Commonwealth, France and the Oslo Group) would form a union to create international security by abrogating purely selfish national interests. They would have to give up part of their national sovereignty to an international agency which would exercise rights of trade, defence, civil service, movements of population and other rights for the collective good, instead of individual national gain.

The chief objectors to the Federal Union proposals were the Communist and colonial nationalist delegates. The deliberate exclusion of Russia from the list of nations recommended for membership of a Federal Union was regarded by Mr. J. R. Campbell (Communist Party) as "dangerously significant," and another socialist speaker said that the actual effect of the scheme would be to divide the world into two federal unions, the existing union of Soviet republics and the proposed union of capitalist democracies. Mr. Krishna Menon (India League) condemned Federal Union as an attempt to internationalise and sanctify imperialism. Finally, however, the Congress agreed to incorporate in its statement of policy a resolution urging the Government "to announce its readiness to join in an international enquiry into the problems of federation with a view to early establishment of a Federal Union of countries over as wide an area as possible."

The Congress found its greatest unity in its opposition to conscription. Almost unanimously it passed a resolution declaring its opposition to the Military Training Act and its determination to resist any extension of conscription. It also pledged its whole-hearted support for those who resisted the Act on grounds of conscience. Mr. Fenner Brookway, who deputised for Mr. George Lansbury, pleaded for the young men who resisted on political grounds, saying that they should have as much support as those who refused conscription on religious grounds.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

4, Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

WHAT DO YE MORE THAN OTHERS?

I think Beatrice Brown expects to settle too much by "logic." The key principle for Christians is not logic but "love."

As I see it, I am fulfilling love to my family and neighbours in taking part in anything which may save them from harm in this present "madhouse" world, with the exception that I will not do to any others what is contrary to love.

Neither do I think the lady is right to withhold her taxes. If I understand Christ's teaching and example aright on this matter, it was that the cash was "Caesar's" and, if he wants it, let him have it. It frees the giver and puts the responsibility on the owner of the image and superscription.

As soon as my A.R.P. organisation requires me to do injury or to promote means to the same end, I propose to resign and stand in the ranks of the resisters. Meanwhile, I can spare a little time for preparing to be useful if an emergency should occur, without giving up all efforts for reconciliation and spread of the gospel of Him whose "new best Name" is Love.

J. H. LIDIARD.

Chairman N. Camberwell F.O.R.,
A.R. Warden.

19, Kenbury Street, London, S.E.5.

May I be allowed to say how very much I admire and appreciate Miss Beatrice Brown's fine stand against the whole machinery of war preparation by refusing the A.R.P. rate. Her letter in the August number too has been of very real assistance to me . . .

CECIL H. COX.

37, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea.

CAN PACIFISTS REMAIN SCOUTS?

Fellow-Pacifists who are also members of the Scout Movement will doubtless be aware of the recent re-statement of the policy of the Movement on the question of National Service and kindred subjects, and may have experienced, as I have, doubts as to the compatibility of Scouting and Pacifism from henceforth.

If any Pacifist Scouters would communicate with me on the question, I should be willing to circularize all with whom contact was thus established with a résumé of our various reactions to the position in which we now find ourselves.

(The Rev.) F. H. GARDNER.
Eversfield, 180, Coatham Road, Redcar.

PROHIBITION IN INDIA

In a leading article of July 31st dealing with Prohibition in India, the "Daily Telegraph" pointed out—quite legitimately if we accept the existing financial system—that the loss of revenue formerly derived from alcohol might mean increased burdens for the Indian taxpayer if the State services were to be maintained at their present level.

Put somewhat differently, though in no sense unfairly, if Indians decide to drink less they cannot expect to continue to receive the same amount of service from the State unless they also agree to eat less—through submitting to a reduction of income which formerly was available for buying food!

I wonder if this example of the beneficent operations of "sound" finance will make an impression on the minds of any of my friends in the Peace Movement who, I know, think I have a bee in my bonnet on the question of monetary reform?

TAVISTOCK.

Barrington House, Haywards Heath, Sussex.

THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE.

"We believe that a truly just and ordered society will only be built by those who have surrendered their wills to God, who seek to clarify their vision, and who train and discipline themselves to live every day as members of the Christian Community." . . .

"We affirm the task of the Church to proclaim the truth as it is made known in Jesus Christ and experience in the life of the Christian community, and to test all human systems and institutions in the light of this truth. We realize that if we live up to this calling, we will enter into conflict with the world just as some, who belong to our fellowship, have already had to pay high prices for their loyalty to Christ."

Extracts from a Statement from the World Conference of Christian Youth, Amsterdam, 1939.

I went to the World Conference of Christian Youth at Amsterdam already an ardent Pacifist. I returned inspired, thrilled, humbled and ashamed, pledged and more utterly convinced that Christian Pacifism is for me the only way!

I was inspired by the experience of meeting with 1,500 Christians of nearly 70 countries, of all walks of life, all under 35 years of age, come to worship God in a variety of ways; and of studying in small international groups the truths

which Jesus taught and the great problems of the world we live in. I was inspired by the words of great Christian thinkers of our day from nine different countries and by the singing of hymns of many great traditions.

I was thrilled to find myself the only English person at a meal table of 20 from some seven or eight countries, and to find that I could converse with most of them in my own language. (I sometimes felt ashamed of my ignorance of theirs!) I was thrilled to learn from a Chinese Christian of the glorious optimism and fearless spirit of the people who have never put their trust in violence. I was thrilled to hear a Swede proclaim his Pacifist faith in the study group and to be able to talk with him afterwards, with an interpreter's aid, about Pacifist witness in his land.

I was thrilled to speak with Indian Pacifists, followers of Gandhi, who knew and loved Muriel Lester, and who had been to prison for their faith.

I returned conscious of the wonderful nature of unity in Christ and of the responsibility that rests upon every Christian, Pacifist and non-Pacifist alike, to strive to build a truly just and ordered world society, within the will of God, and not subservient to the will of man.

CONNIE L. MANNS.

(A delegate).

HOLIDAYS IN GERMANY

I read in "Peace News" of Friendship Holidays in Germany, sponsored by Leslie Weatherhead. I got my passport through in three days and joined one for a week. We were about 27 strong and a good proportion of pacifists, including members of the F.O.R. group at City Temple. Even those who were not pacifists went, as did the Pacifists, with the primary object of making contacts with German people. We had an excellent English hostess and met Germans of all sorts, including members of the official Nazi party. It was a complete rest for the nerves and from the war propaganda of the popular press here. We tried not to talk politics with them and on all sides we were assured of the friendliness of the German people for the English people and that the last thing they wanted was war. These groups are going out throughout the summer, each Saturday. They begin each morning with prayers together. The whole thing will no doubt be scoffed at as being useless, if not dangerous. It certainly must help, however small its area of

contacts, to keep relations sweet between the peoples.
LAWRIE BLACKHALL,
9, Willis Road, Swaythling, Southampton.

THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST

I feel that you will be interested to learn of the formation of a Pacifist Fellowship within the Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland.

In the year 1935 our Annual Conference meeting at Leicester authorised the Churches' Social Question Committee to draw up a pledge which pacifist members may sign. Approximately 200 men enrolled.

This pacifist opinion and witness is now being organised upon an independent basis. Our membership is definitely increasing and there is much activity on behalf of those affected by the Military Service Act. At the moment the Fellowship is under the direction of a provisional committee (the names of which are given below) and has the enthusiastic support of Dr. William Robinson, Principal of Overdale College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. Groups are being formed in many towns and areas led by Regional Committees.

Enclosed you will find a copy of our pledge and membership certificate.

If you would like further details I should be glad to let you have them.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN BIRCHALL (Secretary).

Burn Brae, Brock Mill Lane, Wigan.

Committee: R. H. Dickinson, Wigan; James Gray, M.A., Overdale College; P. A. Smith, Birmingham; R. McDonald, Dewsbury.

MISS GAMBLE'S SPEECH

I have read with some surprise the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier's letter in your August issue.

It appears to me that the reverend gentleman's strictures on Miss Mary Gamble for the use of, perhaps, a somewhat highly coloured figure of speech are excessive, and that his inference from the words complained of is justified neither by the words themselves, nor by the words considered in the relation to their context.

Had Miss Gamble used the more homely phrase "The difference between chalk and cheese," would the writer of the letter have alleged that she was thereby implying that their lordships, the bishops, in any way resembled either of these useful commodities.

ROBERT PURDUE,

Member A.P.F.

Wayside, Croydon Lane, Banstead.

THE FRIENDLY BOOK

Nouveaux Cieux, Terre Nouvelle

This is a prophetic book.* In spirit, if not in form, it is akin to that great book published by Lamennais about one hundred years ago, under the title: *Paroles d'un Croyant*. Here, too, we are confronted with the burning words of a great "believer"; here, too, we are in touch with a mind "which reads the world aright." "Something we know not is moving in the world: God is at work," writes Lamennais in 1834. "When men fail, God alone is at work," writes Ragaz in 1932. It is this sense of the Living God, actively at work in our own day, in the midst of the distress and confusion of our time, that gives unity and force to this series of meditations by Professor Leonhard Ragaz, the well-known and honoured leader of the Religious Social Movement in Switzerland, a man who has been in turn, pastor, scholar, theological professor, Christian pacifist and social reformer.

Behind the reformer lies the theologian, but there is nothing academic about this book. Clear and simple in expression, it springs warmly from the heart of one whose deepest convictions about the world and man are deeply rooted in the truth of God as revealed in the Bible. "You cannot have man without God." "It is always in the evil day that Jesus sets His disciples on the rock against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail," "The moral order of the world being that of the Holy God, it stands firm, more unshakable than the granite of the primeval rocks . . . There cannot be any greater folly than to doubt this . . . Evil is already judged."

The plan of the book is simple: Part I: *The Kingdom of God*, consists of a series of meditations on the great facts of the Christian Faith: the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the coming of the Holy Spirit. Part II: *The Imitation of Jesus Christ*, contains three sections: *For God, For His Kingdom, In following Jesus Christ*. But the bare mention of these headings gives no indication of the wealth of spiritual inspiration which this book contains. To all who are profoundly distressed and perplexed by the events of our day, this courageous and vital book will bring new hope, a renewal

* *Nouveaux Cieux, Terre Nouvelle*. Leonard Ragaz, Traduit de l'allemand par Henri Roser. Editions de "la Reconciliation," 121, Bd. Edouard-Vaillant, Auberilliers (Seine).

of faith in the living God, a new sense of the supremacy of Christ, and a sure faith in His victory. It is also a summons to the utmost courage in action and in suffering. "Let us keep ourselves free for God. Do not let us spare ourselves or others the Cross." "The Cross is the Gate through which the powers of God and of His Kingdom break into the world." For Christian Pacifists this work is timely, and all who read French will be grateful to Henri Roser for his beautiful translation from the original German.

o.w.

This book may be ordered from the International F.O.R. Office, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, 2s. post free.

PACIFISM IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND AFTERWARDS by Principal W. Robinson, M.A., B.Sc., F.O.R. New Series No. 7, 30 pp. (3d., 3½d. post free).

This is as lively a little threepence worth of a book as could be desired. Those who have supposed the Old Testament to be superseded or to be an embarrassment to Christian faith will be introduced here by a scholarly but most lucid study of the prophets to the sources of pacifism in the Hebrew Scriptures. Only an hour's reading it is more helpful and suggestive than many a larger work. The chapters are concerned in order with: I, The Christian dilemma (what value to put on the O.T.); II, Primitive Conceptions of God; III, What is Revelation; IV, The O.T. Examined; V, What the O.T. Reveals; VI, Pacifism and our present dilemma, the last dealing with the function of the Church in Society.

NEW BOOK ON GANDHI

On September 19th Messrs. Allen and Unwin expect to publish a volume of 378 pages priced at 7s. 6d. and entitled *Mahatma Gandhi; Essays and Reflections on his Life and Work, Presented to him on his seventieth birthday, October 2nd, 1939*. The collection is edited by Sir S. Radhakrishnan and the 61 contributors range from Lord Halifax to the President of the Indian National Congress and from General Smuts to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and a number of well-known pacifist writers. A number of extracts from Gandhi's writings are given in an Appendix.

PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: The Rev. Leslie Keeble,
Room 151A, 1, Central Buildings, S.W.1.

The annual business meeting of the Fellowship was held at Great George Street Congregational Church on Friday, 21st July, at 8 p.m. There was a larger attendance of ministers and lay members than in any previous year, and the meeting was the best of its kind the Fellowship has known. The Rev. Henry Carter presided and in re-electing him to the Chairmanship the meeting expressed admiration and gratitude for all the work he had accomplished during the year for the pacifist movement. In view of Mr. Carter's proposed visit to the West Indies next winter on behalf of the Methodist Church, the Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson was appointed Deputy Chairman. Dr. Donald Soper, the Rev. Sam Rowley and the Rev. Leslie Keeble were re-appointed Joint Secretaries. The Rev. E. C. Urwin and Mr. Owen Lewis continue as Treasurers, and Mr. Percy Applegate occupies a new office as Secretary for the promotion of group work. A striking feature of the meeting was the report by Mr. Carter of an offer by certain friends of £150 towards the work of the Fellowship. The offer was made subject to a similar amount being raised by the Fellowship, and to the use of these sums for the purpose of propaganda. The meeting very gratefully accepted this splendid offer, and decided that an early meeting of the Executive should consider the raising of another £150, and the best method of using the new fund in propaganda.

The meeting heard with gratitude that the Methodist Conference itself was appointing a special *ad hoc* committee to care for the interests of conscientious objectors. The M.P.F. was also doing all in its power to assist such men.

Mr. Keeble reported on the varied activities of the Fellowship and on the communications sent out to members during the year. A special vote of thanks was accorded to him for his work.

Mr. Carter introduced what proved to be a very interesting discussion on "The M.P.F. and the Militia Training Act," in which many members took part.

In the course of this discussion it was emphasised that the Methodist Conference had passed a resolution that afternoon urging "the removal of the Militia Training Act from the Statute Book at the earliest possible moment international conditions allowed."

The membership was reported to have grown considerably during the year and now consisted of 800 ministers and some 2,500 lay people.

The Rev. Eric Baker conducted a very impressive short "Covenant" Service at the close of the Meeting, during which several new members signed the Covenant.

By the kindness of the Editor, the M.P.F. Bulletin, containing plans for our future work, will appear as the four centre pages of the October "Christian Pacifist." Copies of this issue will be sent also to all M.P.F. members who do not take the magazine.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: The Rev. Paul Gliddon,
c/o Holy Cross Vicarage, 47, Argyle Square, W.C.1.

Those who read our August report will not need to be reminded that the first of our monthly Wednesday meetings for priests in the London area will take place on September 27th, at 10.30 a.m., in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club. The Club is in Binney Street (formerly called Thomas Street) on the South side of Oxford Street and two minutes from Selfridge's. On this occasion we are to welcome Fr. Jack Winslow, who, as founder of a religious community and one who has been in close touch with

Gandhi during long residence in India, can speak to us both on Community Living and Non-Violence. It is on this latter subject he is to speak at the Priests' Conference, addressing an open meeting at 7.30 that evening in the same building on the former matter.

Wednesday, November 15th, is the date that has been chosen for our annual meeting, when the new Committee and the officers for the ensuing year are elected. Although election must take place at the meeting itself, nomination of officers and committee can begin at any time. Wednesday, November 15th, falls during the meetings of the National Assembly and we naturally hope that some of its members will come to our public meeting in the Caxton Hall at 7.45 that evening. The meeting will be addressed by Archdeacon Hartill, Canon Raven, the Rev. P. D. Robins and the Vicar of Bury, the Rev. H. L. Hornby, M.C.

Lord Tavistock will preside. At 11.30 in the morning of the 15th there will be a Sung Eucharist, with the Rev. R. H. LeMessurier as preacher. Miss Sybil Thorndike hopes to be present at an informal reception which will be held after the afternoon business meeting and before the public meeting.

May we again plead with members to bring the matter of enrolment with our Fellowship before all Anglican pacifists? We need at least a membership of 5,000 before we can be expected to receive much official attention, and 50 of those should be priests. The people are there but we have not got them. We need them greatly.

PRESBYTERIAN PACIFIST GROUP

Chairman: Rev. James Fraser.

On the removal of the Rev. Lewis Maclachlan to Glasgow to be Secretary for Scotland of the F.o.R., the Rev. F. D. McConnell will take charge of correspondence, which should be addressed to him at 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Enrolment forms may be obtained from the office. The Quarterly Circulars will as hitherto be edited by Mr. Eric McKie.

All members are asked to help the Group to make contact with Youth Societies in congregations with a view to making sure that all the young people in the Church hear a fair statement of the pacifist belief and have an opportunity of coming to a decision about it.

ROSA HOBHOUSE MEETINGS

Rosa Hobhouse, who is one of the few pacifist magistrates, is willing to speak at meetings arranged by the F.o.R. during the month of September. She is the daughter of Benjamin Waugh, Founder of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the wife of Stephen Hobhouse, whose experiences as a Conscientious Objector and work on Penal Reform are so well known.

Rosa Hobhouse was imprisoned during the war as a result of pacifist pilgrimages, during which the Beatitudes and F.o.R. literature were widely distributed.

At one time Stephen Hobhouse and his wife lived in a workman's dwelling in Hoxton.

Originally trained at the Slade School as an artist, her enthusiasm for social justice brought her into the peace movement and linked her with important ventures. Her many enthusiasms will certainly interest those who have the opportunity of hearing her.

It will be gathered that many of those problems which are now occupying the minds of pacifists have not only been considered by Stephen and Rosa Hobhouse but that they have taken a courageous part in social experiments.

Will those who would like to arrange for Rosa Hobhouse to speak in September and would pay travelling expenses from London, kindly get at once into touch with Paul Gliddon, of 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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CHURCH NOTICES

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

MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on September 18th. Speaker: Edgar Dunstan.

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SOUTH EAST:

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