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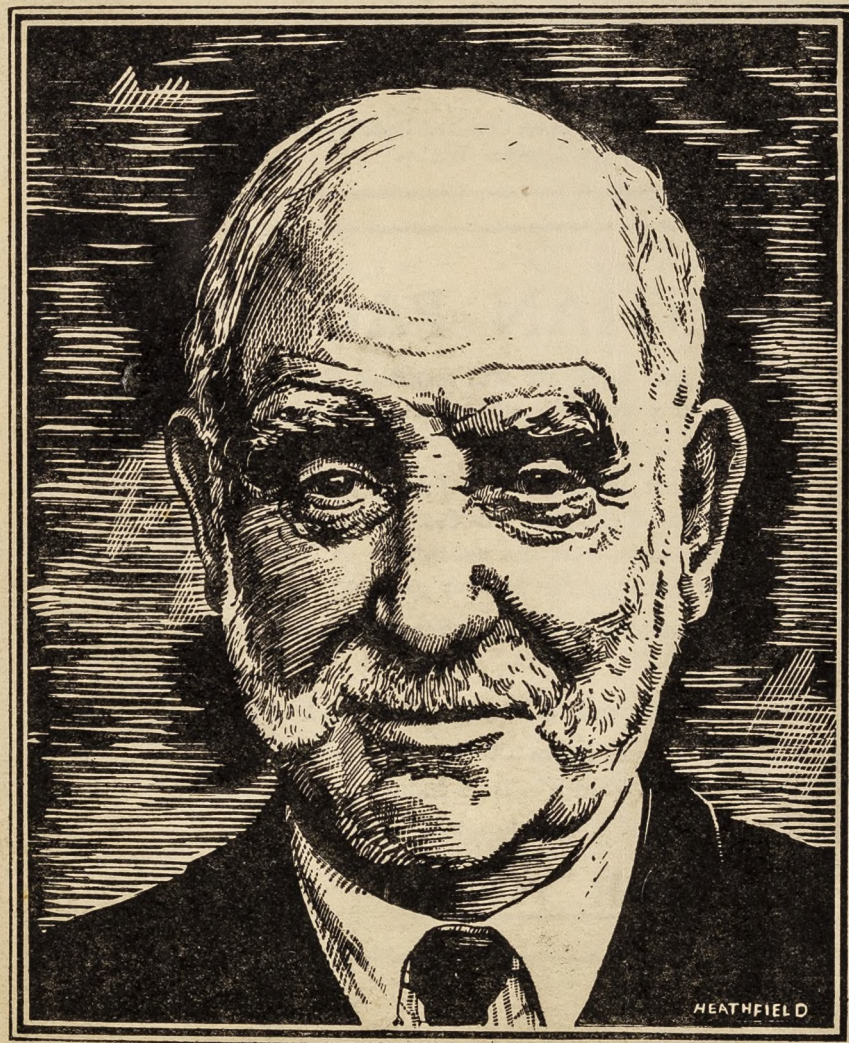
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**CHRISTIAN  
PACIFIST**



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# The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

SILVER JUBILEE NUMBER - JANUARY, 1940

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## THESE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

LESLIE ARTINGSTALL

THE story of these twenty-five years cannot be put into the space of a magazine article, nor could it be told within the covers of a single book. It is writ large in the lives of thousands of the members and their descendants and in the churches where they worship. It is the story of a great vision being translated into reality, of great daring in its earlier days, of quiet plodding work and thought, of uncompromising witness. It is a glorious inheritance into which the members to-day are privileged to enter and it is a striking challenge to us to carry the work of the Fellowship to a successful conclusion.

### The Passing Years and the Remaining Purpose

"The Fellowship," so reads the Basis, "originated with a group of about 130 persons who met at Cambridge during the last four days of 1914. Without wishing to bind themselves to an exact form of words they recorded their general agreement to certain principles, and declared that it is the aim of the Fellowship to state positively and constructively the message of reconciliation and not to spend itself in mere protest. No literalistic theories of non-resistance, no prohibitions of the use of force, no mere negations, can of themselves cure our social diseases or eradicate war; nothing but the positive overcoming of evil with good. The members of the Fellowship believe that Christians should not accept the present order as inevitable, but are called to search resolutely for the Will of God for modern life."

The modest but far-reaching purpose was restated by our beloved first Chairman, the late Henry Hodgkin in a foreword to the story of the International Fellowship. "The Fellowship of Reconciliation," he says, "makes no claim to be unique and it does not call for public recognition. In these records it offers its experience to those who care to study in the hope that here and there an answering chord may be awakened, and that these things which it partially sees and imperfectly expresses in individual and corporate life may be more clearly seen and more truly expressed by not a few who may never enter that particular fold. What is true in its testimony will prevail; let what is false perish. All it asks is the honest facing of the issues raised by the record of its few short years."

In 1939, as the Fellowship celebrates the passing of the first twenty-five years, there is the same vision in the hearts of all of us, with a real thankfulness for what has been done, with a good deal of heart-searching that after all it is so little that has been accomplished and with a deep hope that the time is at hand when the whole Christian Church will find it impossible to avoid facing the issue of pacifism as a way of life.

### The Early Story

The early story, of course, coincides with the period of the Great War. Following the founding at Cambridge came the writing of the Basis, no word of which has ever yet been altered, not because it is in any sense a creed but simply because the insight and wisdom of its writers have not been excelled. It expresses to-day what is generally felt amongst us in regard to these high matters of faith and practice. Then came the gathering of members, the forming of Branches (many of which, however, just grew up of themselves), no little social service, the helping of Conscientious Objectors and the publishing of two magazines.

### Denominationalism Lost in Fellowship

It was evident from the first that the Fellowship answered a great need in providing a focal point for the people in all the Churches who were not deluded by the various war slogans and who could not reconcile what they had learned in Christ with the methods of war. Membership grew apace. The first list of members was published in a News Sheet in March, 1915, when the Fellowship had been in existence not much more than two months. It contained 451 names. Within a year the membership had grown to 3,700 and there were 59 Groups and Branches. At the end of the Great War the numbers had reached 6,981 members and 165 Groups and branches. The Report for 1918 contains a pregnant word: "No tabulated record can possibly cover all the ground of our work. The mere fact that, through four years of war, in the teeth of persistent and all but universal opposition, we still exist to bear witness to the way of Christ and to challenge the whole temper of modern civilisation is itself something. Many have confessed that only through the membership of such a fellowship as we have

been able to offer could they have maintained their stand. The Fellowship has itself been of a remarkable character. It has brought together in religious communion men and women of all sections of the Christian world and many who have never identified themselves with Church life of any kind . . . . But this, like so much else, find no place in the official records of our work." Nevertheless, the official records are very revealing.

### Magazines in War Time

Propaganda took various forms, and one of the most important was the printed word. The first venture was called the "News Sheet," of quarto size, varying in size month by month and issued from March, 1915, without intermission until long after the war. At the end of the first year 476 copies were being circulated and, at the end of the war, over 1,600. This was a very frank war-time paper and grave difficulties arose at times in regard to the printing and circulation. Perhaps this was the reason that the monthly magazine, called "The Venturer," did not at first have the name of the Fellowship appearing on it, nor did it appear for eight months. "The Venturer" was commenced in October, 1915, and ran without intermission, but mostly under great financial difficulties until September, 1919. After this it seems to have been brought under new management and ran for a little time, outside Fellowship control, as a "Magazine of Freedom and Fellowship." To those of us who took "The Venturer" it was simply invaluable (the writer was then 50 miles away from any known pacifist and spiritually it was, apart from the Bible, his chief means of sustenance) but it had a somewhat chequered career and did not long survive the war. The "News Sheet," however, continued until the end of 1923 and was succeeded in January, 1924, by the Magazine so long known amongst us as "Reconciliation."

### Propaganda

Meetings were held all over the country wherever a room could be obtained and, where no room was available, in the open air. There was no limit to the enthusiasm for "witness" of those early days. One famous exploit was attempted in what was called a pilgrimage; a van was obtained and a tour was commenced and partially carried through in the Midlands, but, by this time, the war-fever was raging, and one night the mob burned the van and its occupants

narrowly escaped with their lives. Propaganda on the part of a specifically religious society is a difficult matter to decide upon—should it take the form of witness and preaching the Gospel, or should it take the form of definite political action? These questions are recurrent. In the early days of the Fellowship the general feeling was that members were called to witness and to take any risks involved therein, but that they were not called to support this party or that, nor to set up political candidates. It is interesting to observe that, in the present war emergency, when innumerable letters were received asking the same questions, the General Committee issued a statement in terms much the same as of that issued nearly 25 years ago.

### Conscientious Objectors

It is not a contradiction to this attitude that the Fellowship took a very considerable part in the Great War in helping those who were conscientious objectors. The Conscription Acts then allowed the conscientious objection as valid, just as the present Act does, and the obvious duty of the Tribunals then and now was to decide not whether the conviction was good or bad (which, in any case, is outside their capacity to decide) but whether it was sincerely held. There was, then, little understanding of the position and even less sympathy, in great contrast to the position to-day, for which improvement we may indeed be thankful. A curious sidelight on this lack of sympathy is recorded in the minutes. A circular describing the treatment of C.O.'s. was sent to 40,000 people, including every minister of religion in the country. To this only 137 replies were received, most of them unsympathetic and many abusive. At the end of the Great War the record was given as follows: the number who had resisted conscription was 6,309 and of these 5,783 were court-martialled, of whom 3,612 later accepted what was known as the Home Office Scheme. Of this total over 600 members of the Fellowship went to prison out of the 1,000 who came before the Tribunals and in April, 1919, six months after the war had ended, no less than 178 of these were still in prison. In the joint action that was taken with the Friends' and the No Conscription Fellowship, the F.o.R. was entrusted with the very extensive work of caring for those who were being liberated for ill-health or discharged at the Armistice. Special funds were raised and homes secured for convalescents. Clothing and

hospitality were needed and were found. The devotion and sacrifices of the men and of those who cared for them are amongst the things that cannot adequately be described. Compared with the early days of the Fellowship our lot seems to be cast with those Estlin Carpenter describes in his hymn—

"No more on us is laid the Cross"—one wonders!

#### Through the Years

Even during the tragic days of the Great War the hands of the Fellowship were stretched across the seas and, as early as 1915, first Henry Hodgkin, and, later, Leyton Richards had visited the United States and found a welcome for the Fellowship there. America was still neutral. Following a gathering of interested people the American Fellowship was started on very similar lines to the British and 89 persons enrolled. Growth through the years has been steady and to-day the Fellowship in America is similar in strength to the British and is a nation-wide organisation with its Headquarters in New York and its regional officers covering every part of the United States. In 1916 the movement spread to Holland and, two years later, to Sweden.

#### The International Fellowship

As Lilian Stevenson says in her book *Towards a Christian International*: "The ground was prepared when, a year after the Armistice, it was possible once again to cross the frontiers and to call together at Bilthoven, the home of the Dutch Brotherhood, an international group. Fifty men and women from ten countries were gathered. The countries represented were the U.S.A., France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, Hungary and Great Britain. From the gathering sprang the International." At first the British Fellowship seems to have been mainly responsible for the International Secretariat, but later it was given an entity of its own, after which all the countries which had formed a Fellowship of their own joined to form an International Council and shared in the responsibility for both policy and finance. Naturally, the main burden of finance fell on the British and American Fellowships but the other countries have shared in this according to their means. The Headquarters of the International has, of set purpose, been shifted from country to country and at present is in London.

This last move followed a development that took place at the Council Meeting held at Lunteren in August, 1938, when the Secretariat was enlarged to four members and a greatly increased plan of work was entered upon, only to be sadly disarranged by the present war. The development of the international side involved a Budget of £2,000 for 1939, towards which the British Fellowship is providing £750. To-day the International Fellowship exists in nearly every part of the world. The full story of this is to be found in Lilian Stevenson's "Towards a Christian International," which can be obtained from Headquarters.

#### Ebb and Flow

The work of the British Fellowship through the years has seen ebb and flow. Perhaps it was inevitable. Perhaps it was due to the general hope that the establishment of the League of Nations had settled the issue. Perhaps it was a failure in approach to the after-war generation. The membership increased very slowly for a period after the Great War until in 1927 it stood at 7,508, the highest figure reached until the present time. At this point, owing to the lack of response to various letters sent to the whole membership, it was felt that the roll should be recounted. This led to a drastic reduction and, in the figure given for 1928, the membership on the new roll was only 3,328. This was rock bottom. From that date small increases were recorded until September, 1936, when the total stood at 4,405. Since then, owing, on the one hand, to the growingly critical situation leading a whole new generation to face the issue of pacifism, and, on the other hand, to an extensive development of home organisation, the membership has increased in an almost startling fashion and, at the date of the writing of this article (December, 1939), stands at 11,000, apart from those enrolled as sympathisers.

#### Social Concern

While the Fellowship has, of necessity, been concerned with the issues of peace and war, nevertheless, by implication of its first principles, the social and economic problems are among its concerns. At one time a Social Committee was set up, examined a good deal of evidence, and prepared various statements. A typical statement, describing what are called "next steps" to a more Christian order of

society, was drawn up in 1934. Amongst the "next steps" are the following recommendations:

(1) In personal life—to seek an occupation the main aim of which is service of one's fellows rather than personal gain—the support and use of existing co-operative societies.

(2) In political life—to seek to influence members of all parties by our aims.

(3) Outside political life—to carry out group experiments in production, distribution and in profit-sharing.

(4) In international life—to develop personal friendships with those of other countries.

Other statements were drawn up from time to time and made the basis for much fruitful discussion and some action on the part of individual members and groups—such subjects and problems as Prison Reform, the Abolition of Capital Punishment, Community Living came under review. And, all the time and all through these years, went on the incessant work of witnessing against the war-method. An order of servants was created, men and women who gave their whole time to travelling through the country. At length there grew out of this work and witness a desire on the part of various Church denominations to organise in their own denominational pacifist groups.

#### No Longer Standing Alone

Apart from the Society of Friends, the Fellowship had for long stood alone as an organised body of Christian pacifists. The formation of denominational fellowships within the Christian churches greatly accelerated its growth. Later these denominational Fellowships were united in the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. The Fellowship has been closely associated with this new movement, providing the Christian Pacifist magazine which is in common use amongst them all, helping everywhere to increase the various memberships and co-ordinating the work all over the country. The difficulty always is that, as the work of each denominational fellowship grows, it becomes increasingly difficult for an honorary secretary to cope with it. To-day the Fellowship provides the Secretaries of five of the denominational fellowships in the persons of five of its full-time Regional Officers, who add their denominational work to their general work for the Fellowship. The five denominational Fellowships referred to are the Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian and the Church of Scotland.

#### The Position To-day

Very little needs to be said of the position to-day, for it is well known to most of our readers. We stand where we did twenty-five years ago in our basis and our aim. We find signs of a new understanding of, and a new determination about, the pacifist witness in the fact that membership is nearly three times greater than three years ago and that, in the same time, the number of branches has risen from 70 to over 300. But much remains to be done before our objective is reached, for that is nothing less than to convert the Christian Church to the pacifism inherent in its own Gospel. To this end there has been set up a Regional plan of organisation and the whole country has been divided into 12 areas, each with its own Regional secretary. The simple but all compelling reason for this form of organisation is efficiency. There is no other way of meeting the demands for speakers, for organising groups and branches, and, for oversight of all the work.

Efficiency is rarely inexpensive. The Budget for 1940 is on the same level as for 1939, and that means we need to add to our present income the sum of nearly £2,000 of regular giving. The special appeal recently made had a splendid response, all things considered, and relieved our anxieties completely for 1939; but, for this new year and in thankfulness for all that the Fellowship has been enabled to do during 25 years, we earnestly appeal to our members to provide the necessary means.

#### We Press On

In the little book already referred to, "Towards a Christian International," Lilian Stevenson closes her account with words of penetrating wisdom.

"We represent only one imperfect attempt among many movements of the Spirit, but we believe we have a clear call and a proved method. We need material support to help make possible the work that could be done. We need mental, moral and spiritual strength and counsel. We need co-operation and offers of service—nay, we need something more personal and more sacred, men and women of faith and love, friends of God and friends of men. So we press on, asking you . . . to press on with us, confident that "the Power, Wisdom and Love of God reach far beyond the limits of our experience," and that "He is ever waiting to break forth in human life in new and larger ways."

## THE WAR TO END WAR

FATHER ANDREW

WE HAVE often heard of "a war to end war." The phrase expressed first of all a genuine hope and was a slogan of sacrifice for many brave men, who enlisted and laid down their lives with that belief that you can end war by war. Their sacrifice was made in faith, and in the sphere of spiritual realities was not in vain. The saying is often quoted now with sad disillusion, but, as a matter of fact, for Christians the war to end war has been fought and won. That war was waged on Mount Calvary, where our human nature was attacked by every power of evil that could be mobilised against its resolution to be loyal to the law of love, and Love in that dark day of battle won the victory.

In the long history of human life there has come one challenge after another, testing whether man could rise above his animal nature to the expression of himself on a spiritual plane. That is the real conflict, for we are incarnate beings, and the spiritual part of us has to wage war in its evolutionary ascent against the drag of the animal nature. Shall we seek the higher values of spiritual experience, or shall we consent to think that our life really does consist in material possessions and sensual pleasures? The upward march of our souls is challenged again and again, and statesmen and other men ask the question whether it can ever be possible for men to live true to the best vision that they have seen, or whether they shall just say, "We have to deal with people as they are and not as they ought to be," and leave it there. No doubt it is a great temptation to leave it there, but in the deep of us we are quite sure that that is not the best and the last word about life.

### Christ's Great Offensive

We believe our Lord Jesus Christ to be divine, with all power at His command, all wisdom in His knowledge, all holiness in His heart. He let Himself be taken and bound. He used His royal hand to heal the one whom His servant had wounded in His defence. "Suffer ye thus far," He said, and then He gave Himself to be bound. Upon the Cross He prayed for those who nailed Him there. Every power of hate and unbelief beat down upon Him, but His

love fought on through all, and without one retaliating thought He gave His life for the great cause and won the war which shall end all war at last. Christ was indeed a fighter, but He fought with spiritual weapons. His munitions were forged by prayer and fasting, and His great offensive was one in which the dynamic force of love was expressed in selfless suffering.

Can we do what He did? The answer He gave to His apostles, He gives to us: "Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." Some of His saints have literally shared in His victory and won the war which shall end war in their own experience. Certainly no pacifist worthy of the name would wish to be saved from work and travail for the cause of peace, when his brothers in the field are wounded and dying. He too has his work, which is the spiritual labour of prayer and the service of the suffering and bereaved, and if wounds come to him he would surely not wish to be unscarred in the great cause of the war to end war.

Leslie Weatherhead in one of his books tells this story. "One of the happiest families in China was that of a missionary and his wife and seven children. During fearful riots the father and mother and three children were all murdered. The four other children escaped after watching the rest of the family tortured and killed, and then they met to decide upon their revenge. It was a revenge indeed! They determined to get the best training possible, return to China, and give their lives in service for those who had murdered their loved ones. Everyone of them did so and spent years of fruitful service in the place where their hearts had been broken."

### Peace is Positive

Of course such doctrine presupposes that those who hold it recognize that they are called to be saints. The high ideal to which they must always aspire involves an absolute obedience to God Who is Love, and, as an outcome of that, a forth-showing of selfless love to men. Pacifism is only a part of this. Peace is positive. It is not just a negative denial of the use of force, but the active manifestation of the

power of love. We do not want peace in order that we may have a "close time" for our own comfort and be assured of protection to do what we like and to go on being very much the same people we have always been. We have to work for a world which recognizes the brotherhood of man, and all men, to be the inevitable consequence of faith in the Fatherhood of God, a dogma which has been constantly preached by the Church and often practically denied by the Church people.

Canon Morris put the points most cogently when he said, "Prayer is not an easy way of

getting what you want, but a difficult way of becoming what God wants you to be . . . . We must remember that it is not peace at any price, but love at all costs, that is our aim." The word "crisis" just means "judgment," the judgment that is revealed by the challenge of the times, whether we really are Christians or not. We are not punished for our sins, but we are punished by our sins, and it is our punishment now that we are at war, because of our unbelief in the victory of that war that was waged to end war by God in our human nature on Mount Calvary.

## NEUTRALS AND A PEACE OFFENSIVE

PERCY W. BARTLETT

IF war is totalitarian, peace is indivisible: it cannot be accepted here and refused there.

Neutrals as well as belligerents must bear a part in resolving the war problem and discovering a new and sufficiently broad base for a sound and durable peace: that, at any rate, is acceptable doctrine to belligerents caught in hopeless deadlock. But can any neutrals be found ready to accept a share of responsibility—before the flood of war actually crosses their own boundaries? If not, what hope is there of finding any bridge across the gulf between the belligerents? Without their help it seems to be impossible to reconstruct the confidence which, far more than any series of political or economic points, is of the essence of peace.

A recent visit to several neutral countries, among the most civilised in Europe, leads to several rather disquieting conclusions that ought probably to be carefully considered by pacifists as well as those in charge of affairs. One concerns the attitude of the neutrals themselves, another their criticism of the policy of this country and a third their opinion as to the prospects of the war and as to means of bringing it to an end.

American opinion is not here considered except as regards one point. The United States is not likely to overcome her instinctive isolation until Europe has herself taken the initiative: from that point onwards Washington

may feel able to offer strong and effective support.

A Dutchman of some experience and many contacts declared weeks ago, "There are no neutrals in this war, unless Italy and Spain can be so regarded." But he was thinking of opinions rather than of policies. Everywhere it is the obvious determination of every small country to be neutral at all costs, in the sense of keeping war off its territory if it possibly can. At the same time, everybody on the Continent seems to be strongly anti-Nazi, for reasons well understood here. Whatever the mistakes, and even the crimes, of the policy of the Allies for twenty years past, the barbarous régime in Berlin, with its shirted gangs and its secret police, its systematic persecution of Jews, Christians and political opponents, its dishonest economics and its corruption, its international faithlessness and its aggression upon surrounding countries, appears to be the enemy of the rest of Europe. The strength with which a couple of leading Swiss expressed views of this kind led almost inevitably to the question "Why then do you not join the Allies?" But memory of the sufferings of Belgium in 1914 and of Poland in 1939 made it impossible to put that question: the small countries are ruled by the terror of being overrun. There is a pacifism, not perhaps of principle, but of experience.

While no complaint could be made on that score, an independent and responsible person might well urge that refusal to deal with crime by force involves the more obviously the responsibility of attempting to deal with it effectively by moral and spiritual means.

Fortunately, there is reason to believe that considerations of that sort weigh strongly with certain leaders of the Protestant Church in Scandinavia and, on the other hand, with the Vatican also. Only one newspaper, to my knowledge (*Le Journal*, November 27th) published a report that a group of Scandinavian bishops had met at Oslo and had made an appeal for peace action on the part of the Christian Church. Regrettably, the text of that appeal has not yet been made available. But at the moment of writing one of the bishops chiefly concerned is in London, pressing this matter on Church leaders. It is important that the Churches in this country shall be ready to respond to any call that may come from such a concern and to influence the British Government in accordance with it. Christian pacifists must be on the look-out for this appeal, to draw attention to it locally and centrally and to win support for it. The letter of the Archbishop of York in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 4th December and letters from the Bishop of Chichester in *The Times* before and since then all suggest that, whether they agree with us or not in deepest principle, certain of the responsible heads of the British Churches have this subject very much on their minds.

While the neutral countries are thus strongly anti-Hitler, they have serious criticism to offer to this country also. Why, they ask, was Mr. Chamberlain morally unequal to the demands of the Munich situation? Turning away in disgust with a feeling that it was impossible to talk to those people, he permitted the other side to exploit the situation and to cheat over the boundaries. Feeling weak in a military sense, he surrendered, just when he ought to have been strong before the whole world in weapons that his opponents could not possess: and he ought at once to have followed up Munich with a great peace offensive and a call to a new world conference. Instead, he resorted to a re-arming race which in fact precipitated war.

Again, the neutrals pointedly remark, the British Government, as everybody now sees, gave guarantees to Poland with utter recklessness. If the urgency of the situation seemed to

demand that sort of thing, then Poland herself ought to have been held in leash. In the result Great Britain finds herself at war over an issue—ostensibly that of Danzig and the Corridor—hardly less confused than those of the re-militarisation of the Rhineland, the Anschluss with Austria and the absorption of Sudetenland. The brutality of the Nazi proceedings in all these cases and the fact of aggression do not, in neutral eyes, excuse the clumsiness which has now brought Europe to the position which she most dreaded. And finally, everybody knows that the seeds of this war were sown at Versailles.

Nor is there any certainty that the arbitrament of the sword will bring justice, early or late. The neutrals think we are over-confident, that we fail to recognise German industrial and even economic strength and resource. They are not so sure as our jingoes that we can hope to win and they are very conscious of the cost of war and of the fact that victory is expensive. Perhaps they are right in advising us that a victory for neither side would be the result most to be desired. Such an issue would, at any rate, convince the world the more quickly that, after all, war is always a fraud.

Have neutrals then no positive help, not even any constructive advice, to offer us? Confessedly, they cannot give us very much guidance to the solution of the problems that are most on the minds of Whitehall. The British Government would gladly negotiate a peace if there were any certainty that that peace would be sound and durable. But what guarantees can they require—or give? We are back on the question of confidence. With the failure of Versailles in mind, and no great moral strength available anywhere, neither in Geneva, nor in the Church, nor in any neutral group, the question appears to be unanswerable. Peace would be a leap in the dark, a great risk, an act of trust . . .

Again, when we ask the neutrals to take the initiative, they turn the responsibility back on us. They point to various mediation offers that they have in fact made, with little response, but add that the next step must lie with Great Britain. Why? We are not counted the aggressors. We have not occupied territory. We do not need—or do we?—to sue for peace on our own account. We are indeed accused, perhaps truly, of lack of understanding of the psychology of our opponents and of failure to

agree with our adversary quickly whilst we were yet in the way with him. But if so, what can we say now? Our neutral friends press us, without suggesting that there is not responsibility on the other side also. The Continentals think of us as hypocrites, but they nearly always finish the argument by implying that when a moral lead is required, or any act of leadership, it must come from Great Britain, the country of the religious tradition—a surely humbling and challenging hint. One suggestion they offer clearly. We must chain up our Churchills and Duff Coopers and all who talk about a stronger Versailles and the destruction and dismemberment of Germany. If Nazism is really strong, that is foolish talk. If Nazism is weak and therefore desperate, the talk is still more foolish; for the psychology of desperation is dangerous in the extreme. Foolish, too, is any attempt to drive a wedge between the parts of the régime or between the régime and the people. The approach of the enemy unites any nation; and any offer to save it from itself can carry no conviction. What is wanted, so we are

advised, if we would appeal to the best in Germany, is a definite and convincing declaration that we and France have no desire at all to destroy or in any way to injure Germany: we do not propose to invade her. We regard her as guilty, as she well knows, of certain crimes; but we know that she accuses us also. We are ready to enter at once into negotiations and to refer all issues, if she will agree, to the judgment of an independent international court and to accept the findings of the court. We are ready now to prepare a new peace conference and to suggest some of the items for its agenda. We are ready to make very substantial contributions to the economic reconstruction of Europe and to recognise throughout that Germany must enjoy a safe and important and even leading place in Europe. We are prepared to discuss with her and with Russia, Italy and all the other countries the guarantees required for the safeguarding of the deepest and widest interests of European civilisation as a whole, and we regard common disarmament as the best of guarantees.

## “PEACE AT ANY PRICE”

ALAN BALDING

THE common judgment is right after all: it is only the pacifist who stands for peace at any price. For years the National Government had appeared to accept the idea, under the name of “appeasement.” The Premier in the House of Commons in December, 1938, stated the ethic of it quite bluntly, when he replied to the speech of Mr. Eden on his resignation from the Foreign Secretaryship. “I have always taken the view, for instance, that the question of the formal recognition of the Italian position in Abyssinia was one that could only be morally justified if it was found to be a factor—and an essential factor—in a general appeasement.” Our protest against the invasion of Abyssinia had been ineffectual, and if peace could be maintained only at the cost of acknowledging the Italian conquest, then the recognition must be made.

The annexation of Austria was no occasion for war, and after the partitioning of Czechoslovakia (in which fate unhappy Poland later shared) Mr. Chamberlain returned from

Munich with the promise of “peace in our time.” Not even the integrity of Bohemia and Moravia was worth a breach of the peace. But the price was raised again, and at last we would pay no more. The demand on Poland set the price too high: the war must now be fought and won before there could be peace again.

None of his hearers can have listened unmoved to the Prime Minister's words on September 3rd: “You can imagine what a bitter blow it is to me that all my long struggle to win peace has failed.” It was a bitter blow indeed. We had not realised that peace is won only by paying a different sort of price.

Is not this our error, that we have thought of peace as something in itself desirable, for which we would pay what we must when we must? We have thought to maintain peace by compromise and concession made as occasion demanded: we had not seen that peace is an adventure, forestalling the hour of crisis; that the price is something to be paid before ever it is asked.



### Abolish National Sovereignty

Part of the price of peace is surely the abandonment of national sovereignty. There is a dangerous tension in the very word "international." No League of Nations can establish peace unless its members are prepared for drastic modification of the idea of nationhood. An uneasy alliance of Great Powers which intend to remain Great and of small powers ambitious to be Great cannot win peace.

Part of the price of peace is surely the abandonment of Empire. "Backward races" will indeed remain "a sacred trust of civilisation." That will mean that the interests and needs of these races are, on their own soil, paramount. Exploitation of natural resources will be primarily to the gain of the people themselves and secondarily to the advantage of the whole world.

Part of the price of peace is surely a new economic order. Economics is one part of the science of human relationships. Its "laws" are subject to ethical judgment: "the meek" are the true experts. The issue between free trade and protection is not a question of pure economics. Basic moral questions are involved, to which consideration of apparent gain and loss are to be held subordinate. There is a direct connection between the Ottawa Conference and Italian aggression in Abyssinia, the German demand for living-space and Japanese aggression in China.

Part of the price of peace is a willingness to make restitution. The peacemaker takes the initiative in setting wrong things right; sharing the divine initiative, he is a son of God. We have found a certain relative justification for each of Hitler's aggressive acts except the violation of the Munich agreement and the attack on Poland. But if there be any justice in the claim of Germany to the incorporation of Austria and of Sudetenland, the justice of that claim ought to have been acknowledged before the claim was ever asserted. Mildly to accept each new *fait accompli* and to find a belated justification for it may avert war; but it averts war at the cost of encouraging aggression. The sense of insecurity is deepened and ultimately war becomes inevitable—inevitable because we had been content with the caricature of peace, a peace that was morally worthless.

Part of the price of peace is a readiness to begin to assume good faith in the enemy. Hitler's word is, on his own confession, not to

be trusted: it is unhappily true that "it is evil things that we shall be fighting against, brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution."

But these things are not native to the German people, nor even to Hitler and his entourage. Sin, in Germans as in ourselves, has a history—and we have had considerable responsibility for the writing of the post-war history of Europe. A common hate binds men together insecurely: we are not likely to be more successful than in 1914 in uniting the German people with ourselves in hatred of the common foe, Prussianism, Nazism.

### A Fruit of the Spirit

Is it not the measure of our own present failure that we can define our war aims more precisely than our peace aims? Have we not often failed just here? Was it not for this that successive Disarmament Conferences disappointed our pathetically urgent hopes—that we did not see that justice and mutual esteem must precede all limitation of arms? Is it not clear at last that peace is not something in and by itself to be accomplished? Peace is surely nothing more than a sense of security, grounded in mutual confidence. It will at last begin in an heroic adventure, when one great nation flings caution to the winds and dares to be militarily weak and strong only in faith. Peace can never be secured by victory in arms. The price of peace may yet be the burial for three days of a nation which dared to trust too much the good faith of the other nations.

Is it not in substance this, that the price of peace is personal and national surrender to the doing of God's will? We have believed in God, but not greatly, not deeply enough. Christ's message of the Kingdom has fallen on deaf ears. He spoke continually of the Kingdom of God, at once a present and a future reality, at once something to be liberated within the individual and to be realised in the community. Costly in its inception—"this is My body, broken"—it may well be costly in its consummation. But in His will, alone, is all our peace.

We who salute them with gratitude can see that those men and women who met in Cambridge in December, 1914, were surely guided. Their statement of conviction, by which our hearts are still searched, has a great deal to say about love; it makes no mention of love's by-product, peace.

## STEP BY STEP

ETHEL COMBER

**I**F YOU take the first step, you must take the last." So says Kipling of Napoleon; and it is as true of the way of peace as of the way of war—and of that it is true enough. Gradually but surely we sink from the Knight in Shining Armour to the horrors of modern warfare. Take up "the sword," and you are committed to the cruelties of poison gas, the bombing of civilians, the starving of children. There is no halfway house: if you take the first step, you must take the last.

What of the other road? It may seem simple at the beginning: a mere repudiation of war. We start perhaps with little more than the conviction that it is impossible to reconcile the belief in a loving Father with the indiscriminate slaughter, maiming and starvation of thousands of His children. We cannot touch this thing, we say: it is too dirty, too blasphemous. We could not rise from our knees at the altar and straightway kill the brother who knelt beside us; and this holds good, although the altar at which he kneels lies beyond the sea.

That is pretty drastic, but negative. When we turn to the positive and begin to work out its implications, we set out on a long journey.

If we may not hate our brother, still less may we be indifferent to him and regard him as having no importance except for the service he renders us, the position he occupies, or the nation to which he belongs. ("Errand boys are so careless." "The capitalist's god is his pocket." Or, as we heard during the last war, "The only good German is a dead German.") But if we may neither hate our brother nor remain indifferent to him, then we are committed to loving him—"as ourselves." And this matter of loving, this business of founding our whole life and outlook on the basis of a common brotherhood, has to be worked out step by step on two planes at once—the intimate plane of our personal life, and the wider one of industrial and international relations. If I am forbidden by the constraint of love to hate the neighbour of whose conduct I whole-heartedly disapprove, so I am also by the same constraint forbidden to hate Hitler or Colonel Blimp, the armament manufacturer, or the editor of the "Daily

Scream." The whole of this two-camp mentality has got to go—and that is not easily done. It is not to be achieved by a glossing-over of faults. ("My dear, I don't like to think that such things happen.") That sort of facile sentimentality is an insult to Christ on the Cross. We must face up to facts, to the deeds of darkness done by the children of light; and if we may not meet them with resentment or indifference, we must accept them as pain, and accept too some measure of responsibility for them. Even if we are guiltless of our brother's particular sin in another of its manifestations (which is unlikely), we have contributed to that general atmosphere of sinfulness which makes it easy for him to fall. If we can meet him nowhere else, we meet on the common footing of miserable sinners.

### This Pacifism is no Painless Business

So it becomes more and more clear that this pacifism of ours is not a thing separate from the rest of life, which a man can take up or lay down at will; it goes down to the very roots of life itself and sends us out, like the heroes of old, not knowing whither we go. If the world disarmed in a night and war became a thing of the past, we should still have to journey on.

If we are bold enough—as we should be—to ask others to take this road beside us, it seems only fair to make this clear. It is fairly easy, and very tempting, to make a good case for pacifism—at least a better one than can be made for its alternative—and leave it at that. If we do express our belief that pacifism is an integral part of the Christian gospel, how easy to overlook the fact that the Cross, not only Christ's but ours, is also an integral part of the Christian gospel, much as we may wish it were not. We have no right so to mistrust those who do us the honour to listen to us.

There are joys ahead as well as endurances: exhilarating moments when, having after weary struggle and stern self-discipline taken a step forward in our attitude to the questions facing us on one plane, we find it reacting on the other; so that problems which we had come to regard as insoluble are found to have solved themselves while our attention was elsewhere.

There is the companionship of our fellow-seekers, to make up for those other companionships which we shall inevitably lose. There is increased sensitiveness to beauty, as we shed some of our hardness of heart; increased sensitiveness to our fellow-men; we may hope, increased sensitiveness to God.

Yet, to be honest, it is an austere business, this mountaineering of the spirit; and there are times when we look back wistfully to the plain, to the sunny days and the warm breezes. Then why, why, why don't we go back there?

## PACIFISM IS NOT ENOUGH

GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES

MUCH of our public life, Government and Opposition, is like the Lion and the Unicorn, the symbolic supporters of the Crown. The Lion certainly looks a ferocious fellow, but the Unicorn, with his piercing point of difference, is not an easy fellow to live with. I have met pacifists who fairly bristled with points of difference—Socialism, Quakerism, Absolutism, Vegetarianism and the rest. Some types of High Anglicans have been called "spikey." I suppose the point is that they have seemed more conscious of their difference from their fellow-Christians than of their unity, and so their catholicism becomes a cult rather than a compassion.

As I mused thus while wandering away from St. Martin's, I passed that singularly gaunt monument of Nurse Cavell, and thought of her last testimony, "Patriotism is not enough. I must have no bitterness or hatred towards anyone." Many years ago in Berlin I had met the German Army Chaplain who was with her before the end. He spoke of her with such reverence. "When we knelt down together at the last," he had said "we were simply brother and sister together with our Father." That was the Catholic faith.

### There is Joy over one U-boat that is Sunk

There is a saying of Coleridge, "It is the sign of an essentially vulgar mind that it knows not how to distinguish without dividing." If the vulgar mind is literally the "crowd mind," how tragically is that truth manifest in war. Our final moralities are divided. Across the frontier homicide is not murder. Men are divided by map, not by mind. We jubilate at the sinking

Nothing hinders us but ourselves: why have we this compulsion to go on? It is said that a man who plays poker finds every other game childish. Perhaps it is something like that with us; but may it not be that we are mountain-born, and even at these foothill levels, catch a breath of our native air from the mist-covered heights beyond? And for our comfort at those times when the exhilaration dies away and only the mists remain, we have our Master's word for it that, as well as being the End, He is also the Way.

of a German U-boat, and are full of compassionate sorrow when the Thetis sinks. The gregariousness of the crowd covers a multitude of sins, but leaves the mind in a welter of moral anarchy. That, too, according to H. G. Wells, is an infallible sign of the natural man and of the crowd mind. "He thinks he is united when he is united against something."

Fellowship is improvised rather than organised. The fellowship of the Early Church, improvised so precariously in pagan cities and out of conflicting factions of Jews and Greeks, patricians and slaves, was something very different from that centralised, organised, ecclesiastical Fascism that claimed the title of Catholic Church, with its elaborate legalisms, its mass interdicts and its secular sections of compulsion. That the subsequent Protestantisms and Non-conformities have so often failed to improvise a Christian fellowship and ethic to meet the challenge of the times, only emphasises the perennial danger of negative unity and of nonconformity to some one phase of the fashion of the world. Indeed, the mind may have changed within while the form and outward fashion remain. I spoke this week to a lady of lineage and great possessions, whose sons were away from home, some in the army and some standing as Conscientious Objectors. I asked if there were any sense of constraint or division between them. "Thank God, no, they each respect the integrity of the others," she explained. The home, with all its traditions and heirlooms, had been offered as a hospital. As I listened, I felt I was in the presence of the Catholic heart, sharing and suffering, in the differences and difficulties and outward divisions of the sons of men. Last

week I was in the home of an unemployed labourer, in the poorest part of the mining valleys. The husband seemed to be a feckless fellow, but his Catholic wife had brought up on the dole, eight children—ardent, eager, affectionate creatures—in a cellar dwelling into which the sunshine never shone. But there was present the sense of a fellowship and affection that overcomes the world, and a spirit that no Parliament or County Council or Committee can create.

### "Ca' Canny Christians"

If it be true that the Kingdom of God "cometh not by observation so that one may say Lo here or Lo there," the creative cells of it are in our midst, creating courageous fellowship in obscurity of a kind that is not touched by the circulars and card index of our postal fellowships. Can it be the case that this personalising and localising of relationships is the primary business of peace-makers and that the organising is secondary? Dare we trust such metaphors as "light" and "leaven" to describe our method, or do we feel that the real business of peace is being done by those who use the levers at the centre of great or small societies? It is characteristic of the Gospels that they tell us much of persons and little of systems or of abstract principles; and, in our closer communion of

intimate family or friendly conversations, it is to persons and their pilgrimage that we turn.

I was walking over the mountain a month ago with two unemployed miners—one the nephew of a Bishop, the other a Left Wing leader long ago. The latter said he despaired of any real restoration of society until we came to Peter's experience "and on this rock I will found my Church." I asked him how he interpreted this proof text. He answered, "I believe 'this rock' means Peter's impulsive commitment to the truth as he saw it; he was all out, where we are 'ca' canny.'" The fellowships of faith and peace are not limited to the ecclesiastical corporations. It is singular that the three who resigned from the Government rather than sanction the last war were agnostics. There is a note written to John Burns by Lord Morley in 1916 that sets out something of the quality of such extra-mural fellowships.

"I shall not soon nor ever forget your visit here to-night. I am more melted than for many a long day past. The breadth of social survey and foresight, the angry vision of this hideous war, the tender pathos of the garden and the empty room, it all makes me proud that I hold the hand of such a comrade in a great piece of history. It is, after all, not to be endured that not even two men in the Cabinet should be found to 'testify' for conviction."

## "BUT IF NOT . . . ."

DENIS FLETCHER

A FRIEND and myself were on holiday in early in September two years ago on a Scotch island. We went to the morning service at the tiny Episcopal Church on the 15th Sunday after Trinity, when the appointed Old Testament lesson is Daniel 3. After the service my friend (a layman of no pronounced views on pacifism) began speaking of the story we had just heard read and said "What a magnificent text there is in those three words, 'But if not . . . .'" His words set me thinking.

The story is, of course, that of the burning fiery furnace. Gore's great Bible commentary in an editorial note on the Book of Daniel states that we are bound to accept the decisive reasons which prove that these stories, though they may have some tradition behind them, yet cannot be taken for history. The note concludes: "We

can love these stories still, and teach them to our children as ever memorable symbols of an unceasing experience of mankind, that in the long run, in spite of all the seeming weakness of the cause of God and of righteousness, yet, at the last resort, 'great is truth and prevails'."

Certainly the story has fine lessons, bidding us stand out for the right, regardless of consequences. What is our reaction to such a story? There are many such both in the Old and the New Testament. God protects His servants, delivering them from peril. Elisha is delivered from the King of Syria, Daniel from the den of lions, S. Peter from prison. I fear that we, in our faithless way, often say or think somewhat as follows: "These are fine and encouraging stories, but *would it work out like that for us*, if we stood out for conscience and

the right? Would God deliver us here and now in this life? Would the good triumph and evil be overcome?"

#### Christian Carelessness

It is just there, when thoughts come like that and faith fails, that these three words help us. "But if not . . ." Is the true note of faith struck so surely anywhere else in Old Testament or any B.C. literature? For those three men were not sure of deliverance *there and then*. "God can deliver us," they said, if He so choose; He is omnipotent, *but if not*, if He does not so choose, even so we will not go against His teaching and our conscience. We must do the right." It is magnificent, for the life and death and resurrection of Jesus Christ were yet almost two centuries ahead, and no Easter message of the certainty of life after death was theirs. A true Christian principle of conduct, and real Christian faith and courage, were in their grand answer. We must obey God rather than man, we must refuse to go against our consciences. We must do the right and scorn the consequences.

I can think of no message more needed to-day than this one. Its application to the problems raised by war is an obvious one and it goes wider than that. In a host of ways to-day the world keeps saying in effect to the Christian, "Do what is expedient." But God says, "Do what is right regardless of expediency."

#### We Follow Christ at our own Risk

It is no easy path this, but God does not promise His followers an easy way through

life. The Christian in business may well find that to follow his principles will mean loss of money; the Christian in politics may find that an honest expression of opinion may lose him support; the youth may find himself exposed to ridicule. Worldly loss, of many kinds, may be ours if we follow boldly the guidance of our conscience and what we believe to be the Master's teaching. But God *will* protect His servants, in His own good time and way.

That this test ought to be applied to the gravest of all problems of to-day, the problem of war, no Christian can doubt. Yet it is just here that the Church seems to compromise, to choose the way of expediency. Surely we must refuse to do that wrong and evil thing; and God *will* protect us, our loved ones, our nation, in His own way and in His own time. Loss of prestige, power, possessions there may be, even death. But for the Christian life goes on into the future and continues beyond the grave.

#### We Can Afford to Die

Golden images abound, and the world says that we must bow down to them, or be cast into the fiery furnace of ridicule, unpopularity, loss, death. But the Christian declares his unswerving faith in a God who will protect him here or hereafter.

"If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us . . . *but if not*, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

## PLANNING THE NEW WORLD

RUTH FRY.

A NEW division has arisen as a consequence of the war. Many people are engrossed by war activities, some in the grim and horrible work of the killing and its attendant jobs, others in the often novel pleasure of Jack-in-officedom. On the other hand a great body of people, frequently most intelligent and capable, are suddenly thrown on to the scrap-heap temporarily, at all events, deprived of their work and interests.

Pacifists are obviously many of them in the latter category, but whatever may have hap-

pened to them in their earning capacity, they are certainly not thrown out of mental activity. For European nations are like a lot of naughty little boys who are spending their energies on destroying each other's sand castles: the outlines of these may still be dimly visible, but it is obvious that they are too much spoilt to make exact reconstruction possible. Has any of the culprits the wit and understanding to plan the new castle, or have they all the wisdom to see that one big castle will solve their difficulties, and take away the grounds of antagonism?

Clearly, therefore, the Pacifist has plenty of work before him even while war is raging and the world is in flux. No genius has yet arisen to inspire the peoples with the vision of the new world which must be built, and so it remains for all who care about peace to bestir themselves with all energy to sift the many schemes and ideas which are in the air to-day. Let us see how we can begin to map out the new world we want to develop. There is no restriction on our vision, let us make it the best possible, and then work our hardest to make the real approximate to it.

Our notice is attracted first by the Declaration of the Rights of Man published in a letter to *The Times* by H. G. Wells. Here he enumerates the rights necessary to full freedom of personality—rights material, to the necessary food, shelter, medical care, and then going on to define the immaterial needs. He includes education, safety of the person and character, freedom of choice of occupation, and freedom of movement. Such, briefly, are the rights claimed, and we have only to think of the contrast with the facts of to-day to realize what an immense advance the real acceptance and carrying out of such a Magna Charta would indicate. So, it is a good start for our desiderata.

Turning to the individual relationships between man and man, we find "A new Conception of Business" put out by Frank Murphy. Instead of money-making as the tacitly accepted motive for trade he believes that the "business set-up" must be altered in such a way as to give everyone concerned Liberty of Conscience, Access to Knowledge and Freedom of Speech, these being the rights which men require for the enjoyment of freedom. With these rights go certain obligations which he enumerates as acceptance of individual responsibility, willingness to impart knowledge and willingness to discuss. Or, to put it even more shortly, Mr. Murphy boils down the basis of this new conception of business to an ideal. To apply knowledge with integrity, and a commonly valued end. To express individuality in the service of society.

## AIR GAS ATTACKS

"The chances of gas being used in an air attack on Britain were practically nil, said Professor James Kendall, Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh University and one of the foremost

But our commerce and our ethics must not stop with our nation, and we meet the question, what is to be the unit in which our groups are to work? From the village to the county, from the county to the nation, our units have increased in size and diminished in number, and there may be a temptation to think in terms of Continents—the United States of Europe is often mentioned. In such a stage one sees possibilities of endless further antagonism and wars, and the Pacifist will want to aim straight at the "federation of mankind." There is no space here to enter into the complexities of the problems of Federal Union which are happily so much to the fore. But this must be said. Those of us who believe that the failure of the League of Nations is largely due to the prominence of the punitive idea of sanctions will be on their guard against any idea of an enlarged army called an International Police Force. We shall instead urge with all our strength the attack on the whole problem from the other side, viz., positive co-operation, not negative prevention. And here let us emphasize the ethical necessity for Free Trade. "If goods cannot cross frontiers, armies will" has been wisely said, and it is economic rational selfishness which seems to be one of the root causes of war. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof"—not the perquisite of any one nation.

We are all overshadowed with the grief of what we believe to be the death throes of the civilisation we have known. But it is also the birth throes of the new civilisation which is to be, and we should rejoice to contribute even our tiny mite of thought towards its formation.

Dorothy Thomson, the American writer, analyses the peculiar ingredients of western civilisation as a belief in the Christian Ethic, the Scientific Spirit and the Reign of Law. These truly are values which we need in our new world but which have been too little respected in the old civilisation. Nor will fighting preserve them. Let us work above all for speedy peace and may we endeavour to win a true peace, not a mere victory in war.

authorities on chemical warfare, in an address to the Society of Chemical Industry and Institute of Chemistry in Edinburgh last night."—*Daily paper*.

## LOVE INDESTRUCTIBLE

MARY GAMBLE

A FEW weeks ago there appeared in the columns of a provincial paper a statement about arrangements for a series of addresses to be delivered by a Cathedral Dignitary to the people of the city who were experiencing religious difficulties owing to the war. The statement ended with these words:—"The talks will be given with the idea of helping Christians to reconcile their religious convictions with the thought of war."

As I read those words, I could hardly believe my eyes. Being a member of the Anglican Church, I shuddered as I read the statement; but, as one who is also of the rank and file of people who are striving to be Christians, I rejoiced. It is a tragedy—a tragedy beyond all conception that the organisation which claims to be the Society of Christ, should spend its time at this moment in history, not in preaching the gospel of Love and Forgiveness, but in endeavouring to show bewildered men and women that the devilish game of war is part of God's plan. That is a tragedy beyond all words. But what filled me with joy is that our Church Leaders are finding it necessary to give such addresses. It means that ordinary men and women are utterly bewildered by the fact that the Church of Christ is giving its support to the satanic methods of modern war. The knowledge of this bewilderment is encouraging, for it shows that, deep down in the hearts of men and women is the true seed of Christianity, and that in some blundering, bewildered way they realise that the destruction of our brother man by bomb and bullet and blockade cannot be reconciled with the gospel of the Nazarene. This realisation of theirs is something which not all the pronouncements of a state-established Church can shake. And I do not for one moment believe it will be shaken, even should Deans take to giving classes on the subject.

### OUR NEXT ISSUE

In order to give the fullest possible space to our many distinguished contributors this month, several regular features of this magazine, including the Fellowship of Prayer, Book Reviews, and Correspondence, have been omitted. These will be continued as usual in our February issue, in which will also appear several articles intended for the special number but unfortunately excluded for lack of space.

### They Thrust Him Out of the City

When war started, and we heard on the wireless that the theatres and cinemas were to be closed, I turned to a friend of mine and said it was a pity that the Churches were not to be closed instead. I made that remark in all seriousness because I felt that, if that had happened, there would have been some hope that, on the ruins of the Church we know to-day there might have arisen a society of people who were willing to risk everything—power, prestige, position—for the sake of the gospel of their Lord.

It is useless to dwell upon that possibility. As one who is utterly perplexed at the attitude of the Church towards war, I can only dimly perceive that somewhere, somehow, there is a colossal task before those of us who are striving to be Christian pacifists. It is a task which involves keeping the spirit of imagination alive in a world blinded by the lying propaganda of war, and, through the very power of that imagination, preparing the minds of men and women for a real peace in the future.

We are living at a time when all the forces of evil are being employed in an effort to destroy what has been described as anti-Christ in the guise of Hitler. Yet we know that it is not possible to destroy evil by evil. Incomprehensible things are happening, world-shaking in their immensity. To understand the significance of the whole situation is beyond the power of most of us. All that we have worked for, prayed for, lived for, appears to be descending into the abyss. Not quite all; the Spirit of Man is still alive. As our faith in that eternal spirit dimly flickers, we see in the shadows the Cross of Calvary. Mysteriously, indefinably, we know that even the bestial horrors of war cannot destroy Love.

Permission has been obtained from their authors to offer for sale on behalf of Fellowship of Reconciliation funds the original MSS. of the articles by Dame Sybil Thorndike and Mr. George Lansbury. Readers who are interested in purchasing either of these MSS. are invited to write to the office making an offer. Mr. Heathfield's original drawing for the cover is also offered for sale in the same cause.

## PEACE AND POVERTY

ERIC GILL.

"WE DESIRE peace—but not the things that make for peace." (Ananda Coomaraswamy).

We want food—but not an agricultural England. We prefer to buy foreign food from joint-stock companies whose only concern is dividends.

We want clothing and shelter—but not craftsmen to make them. We prefer machines and dividends.

We want amusement—but do not want to amuse ourselves. We prefer the cinema to the theatre, and the wireless and "pools" and—more money. And what do we want money for? To buy things, of course—and we forget that we can only buy things which have been made by people who only made them to sell them. We work in order to get money to buy things which have been made by people who only made them to get money. We think we want money to buy good things (goods), but we forget that there are no good things to buy, because, when things are only made to sell, the standard is not goodness but saleability.

So we want peace—but "not the things that make for peace." We have set our minds on riches. Men of commerce and financiers rule our world.

For the plain truth is: only in poverty can we have peace—and "he that loseth his life shall save it."

"He has put down the mighty from their seat, and raised up the humble.

"He has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich He has sent away empty."

It is absolutely essential that we should grasp this fact, this truth: Until we have done so and, more, until we have learnt to act upon it, peace is impossible—unattainable.

### Pledged to Peace and Poverty

They say: If you want peace, prepare for war, but this is proven nonsense. If you want peace, you must prepare for peace.

And the first preparation for peace is the preparation of the mind. And the first preparation of the mind is the acceptance of poverty.

But, need it be said? by poverty is meant a good thing—not a bad.

Poverty, chastity, obedience!

When we speak of chastity, we do not mean something evil. We do not mean the evil chastity, the enforced chastity of young people who would but cannot marry. (the banks will not let them . . . .)\*

When we speak of obedience, we do not mean something evil. We do not mean the evil obedience of slaves—the servile obedience of factory hands ("coolies")—men reduced to a sub-human condition of intellectual irresponsibility—whose only responsibility is to do what they are told—who are only fully human when they are not working—whose only motive for working is the pay they get for doing it—whose only reason for obedience is fear of the "sack."

So when we speak of poverty, we do not mean evil poverty—destitution, penury, nakedness, starvation, homelessness—the evil poverty of those who are deprived of the just necessities of living, whose one thought is to get food and warmth, and, when fed and warmed, to sleep. When we speak of poverty, we mean a good thing, a holy thing like that chastity—a holy thing, the fruit of reason—like that obedience, also a holy thing, the fruit of love, the love of God—"whose service is perfect freedom." So poverty is lovely and beloved—"Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

### Such Poverty is the Higher Rationalism

But let us come down to earth—brass tacks. And let us say, with the theologian, that "poverty is the rational attitude towards material things"—the only rational attitude in a material world.

But poverty begins in the mind—it is first of all a way of believing, thinking, feeling—it is a way of the spirit. And it is precisely the opposite way to "the way of the world"—our world, the world of England, of Empire, the way of France, America, the way of Communism, which seeks to make the poor rich—but Christ came to make the rich poor and the poor *holy*.

Do you not see that the whole world is set on riches—on money making and the increase of material things? It is our one idea of advance-

\*Some banks forbid their employees to marry until they are earning a certain salary—a salary not usually received by men under about 30-35 years of age.

ment—more things, more food, more clothes, more rooms in our houses, more speed, more comfort, more luxury, more amusements and, to get all these things, more money, more dividends—more colonial supplies of “raw materials,” more “spheres of influence,” more trading agreements.

War began, in the dim light of prehistory, with robbery—the perfectly natural and innocent propensity of animals to obtain food and possessions by force. But man, whatever we guess about his origins, has always been impeded by conscience, a sense of good and evil, right and wrong, by reason, a sense of true and false, and by law, the “natural” law, the law of God. He has always imposed law on himself—or had law imposed on him.

“Thou shalt not steal—thou shalt not kill . . . .” Such things are not only wicked but unreasonable—not only crime but folly, not only sin but silly.

But not until about two thousand years ago—with Confucius, with Buddha, with Christ . . . . did men see, as it were suddenly, that law could be transcended, that men could do good because they willed good and not merely because they were prevented from doing evil.

#### The Princedom of the Poor

This is the revelation that religion has made. Religion means “rule” and the rule is that “the service of God is perfect freedom.” And the service of God means poverty.

Imagine the opposite! Thou shalt seek riches and despise the poor . . . . Thou shalt bend all your energies to the accumulation of possessions. Give nothing away—rather take away from others. If your neighbour's trade is prosperous, undersell him and take his trade away from him. Buy cheap and sell dear. Hoard your stocks of goods, in the hope that scarcity will force your neighbours to pay higher prices. Take no thought for the quality of the goods you make or of the services you render—think only whether they be saleable. Give nothing for nothing, and as little as possible for sixpence. Value everything in pounds, shillings and pence, otherwise you may be tempted to think of quality rather than quantity. Make everything as cheaply as possible, and in mass, so that you may tap the largest markets. Pay your labourers the least they will take. Remember that your first duty is to your shareholders, otherwise they won't invest their money. Make your bankers and financiers and men of busi-

ness your rulers—what you want is a business government. Make your princes into puppets and your priests into recruiting sergeants for your armies.

For the rich man must be armed that his possessions may be defended and increased, and how should poor men be persuaded to fight for him unless it be made to seem that they fight for honour and justice?

Such are the necessary prescriptions in a world determined to pursue riches. Only thus can riches be won—only thus can riches be defended. The pursuit of riches is the beginning of war and war is the necessary, inevitable, right and proper and logical accompaniment of that pursuit.

And as the pursuit of riches is the natural propensity of animals, so animals are naturally fighters. The country farmyard is full of savage beasts—the quiet hedgerow is full of vegetables armed to the teeth. Hence, as men refuse the teaching of Christ—which would redeem them from their fall into animalism—so they take naturally to war. When you think of the horrors of the shambles which war is—to-day no less and even more than in the past—it becomes clear that unless war be in some way “natural,” no one would willingly endure it.

#### Than War Nothing is More Natural

But nothing is more “natural.” Hence not only priests, but women, rejoice in it. Women are even better in efficiency than priests as recruiting sergeants.

For women are, in the nature of things, more worldly, less childish than men. Women desire possessions, riches, even more wholeheartedly than men, and with an even deeper tenacity.

This is inevitable—their children and their children's advancement, their homes and the support of their homes; honour, worldly success, worldly honour, respectability, all these things are as the breath of life to mothers of children. Hence the amazing readiness of women to urge men to war. This war, here and now, may mean the loss of husband, of sons—and as things are in modern war, it may even mean their own death and the death of their young children—but the deep, hell deep, instinct is not destroyed. Men have fought for possessions, possessions for the home, since the beginning. Two thousand years of Christianity is as nothing to the many thousands of years of man's life on this earth.

Poverty! How should women desire poverty? How indeed should they desire peace? Peace and Poverty!

Do men desire peace? Yes, because war no longer means fighting worthy of the name. But do they desire the things that make for peace? There is not the slightest sign of it. They want a contradiction. They want peace in order to make money undisturbed. But that is for ever impossible—it is as impossible in idea as it is in fact.

Do women want peace? Yes, because war has now come *home* to them. It is no longer a matter of a “thin red line of heroes”—it means bombs in the bedroom . . . . But do they want the things that make for peace? I do not see the slightest sign of that either.

#### As Though They Had Forgotten

“We live in so depraved an age that were a stranger to compare the words of the Gospel with what in fact goes on, he would infer that

men are not followers of Christ but His enemies . . . . and the worst of it is that they don't know it.”

St. John Chrysostom, A.D. 375.  
(Treatise on Compunction and Penance).

What then? Is it as though Christ had not died? No, it is simply as though men and women had entirely forgotten.

Let peacemakers remember. Let them above all remember that it is no manner of good preaching peace unless we preach the things that make for peace—that even the love of our fellowmen is no good unless it means giving rather than taking, yielding rather than holding, sharing rather than exclusive possession, confederation rather than sovereignty, use rather than profit. And it means the subordination of the man of business and the dealer and moneylender, both in the world and, even more, in our own hearts.

“Let him that stole steal no more—rather let him labour, working with his hands . . . .”

## DOWN WITH HITLERISM

PAUL GLIDDON.

SOME people, including certain pacifists, seem convinced that, in a world made up of sinister politicians, press-lords, prelates and plutocrats, there is one man who is the more-sinned-against-than-sinning product of his environment, Comrade Adolf Hitler. It may be true that Great Britain and France created Hitler, but it does seem the wildest jingoism to become fulsome in our praise of what they have inadvertently begotten. To say that Hitlerism is an evil is not equivalent to saying it is the only evil, but, with its record of persecution of the weak and subservience to the strong, to say it is not evil at all is to make nonsense of judgment. Because pacifists and other people may disapprove of the steps being taken to bring about its destruction, they need not necessarily become political Christian Scientists, denying the existence of an evil which, among many others, does menace the peace of the world.

The reason why so many people are convinced that war can rid the world of Hitlerism is probably because we are always inclined to believe that there really must be something in a remedy that is both painful and expensive. Long

after witch doctors had been proved to be most unsatisfactory physicians men continued to consult them because they felt there must be something in a treatment which hurt so greatly, while, in our own day, those who are questioning the success of radium as a cure for cancer would find their task far easier if radium cost fewer farthings per ton than it does cost pounds per dram. The shadow of Harley Street lies across Whitehall, while those who are attempting to cure the plague of militarism by the therapeutics of Dr. Thor find public trust behind them. The fact that our last visit to this famous practitioner left us no better, but rather the worse, does nothing to shake this confidence; there must, we feel, be something in an international operation that costs a few odd thousand million guineas and involves such devastating agony.

#### Mars the Missionary

But it does not necessarily follow that war, if a cure at all, is a cure-all. To acknowledge that some things can be brought about by means of war is not to acknowledge that all things can be so accomplished. In the present war we are out to destroy Hitlerism. Now it must be recognised

that this is an adventure somewhat outside the area in which war has achieved its remarkable successes in past times. If we said that we were out to remove Hitler's head, then obviously war would be a very fit and proper means of executing this end; in decapitation war has won rare distinction. But it does by no means follow that the same machinery which will uproot a head will also uproot the ideas that this head has contained, especially when those ideas have been handed on to some tens of millions of people by a not very bashful propaganda. Drake and his fellow sea-dogs found it much easier to convert the gold of Spain from its intended course than the Spaniards from their faith; while, if Dick Turpin had said to his patients, "I am not removing your considerable wealth because I happen to want it myself but because I wish to undermine your faith in this unrighteous mammon," he would have found that there were definite limits to what violence could accomplish and that a brace of pistols, even when wielded by an expert, are, as a means of propagating the gospel, not a little disappointing. Every operation has its appropriate instrument, and a crowbar, which can be the means of setting captives free, can do little to remove the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and do even less to remove the ideas that are in his head.

The belief that dangerous doctrines could be destroyed by means of violence was held for centuries by the Christian Church, which conducted ruthless and ingenious experiments in this direction. What the Church found was that Crusades were of all wars the most disappointing, that they not only did nothing to advance the Kingdom of the Crucified, but that, where Crusades had once been fought and had failed, there it was most difficult for even the gentler methods of the Christian missionary to meet with any success. The Church did not give up attempting to spread the Gospel by the sword because she had given up her belief in either the Gospel or the sword, she gave up Crusades because she found, through bitter experience, that the spreading of the Gospel was outside the province of the sword. Nor did she find that violence assisted her when, through persecutions and inquisitions, she was trying to stamp out what seemed to her false and fatal doctrines. When the priests, admiring the empire that skilled violence won for national conquerors, seized for themselves the wonder-working sword, the magic went out of the sword, and out of them, a something mightier than magic also went.

#### This Idealistic War a Moral Throwback

These men who in times past tried to put down false ideas by means of violence we now disdain; to send heretics to the stake seems to us the height of madness and of cruelty, and that the Inquisition could ever have been called Holy seems unthinkable. Yet, if what were counted as dangerous ideas, striking at the very foundations of society, could not be put down by violence three or four hundred years ago, why should we think that violence has recently extended the area over which it can be effective? If it could not put down such "isms" as Protestantism or Roman Catholicism, why should it suddenly succeed when applied to Hitlerism?

No pacifist who has given his position serious thought can object to the use of all force as such; what he can and must object to is not force, but violence, for violence is the attempt, through the paining of the body, to alter the will. It is legitimate to try to change the will by affection or by reason; it is not legitimate, it is, in fact, an outrage on human dignity, to try to twist the will and make a man abandon his convictions, not because he has come to regard them as false, but because the poor body in which he lives is being so tortured by rack or thumb-screw or bomb or blockade that it implores the will to offer a surrender to which neither heart nor head assents.

There is only one way of putting down Hitlerism, but it costs neither blood nor gold, and therefore stands little chance of being seriously attempted. If we would carefully and critically catalogue all the evils that we see in Hitlerism, the things of which we feel its supporters ought to be heartily ashamed, and then remove from ourselves and from our nation every trace of these discovered failures and produce their opposite virtues, then indeed a serious blow would have been struck to the extent of the power of Hitlerism upon the earth. Such is surely the scientific way of destroying something which brings destruction in its train; it does not expose us to the infection of that against which we protest, it does not require us to try to ape what we abhor in the hope of somehow compassing its defeat; it brings about a perpetual inoculation against the dreaded disease. Such a destruction of Hitlerism need await no military victory, even now its foundations can be undermined and there can be begun the building of a new society from which it is for ever banished.

## OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPIRITUAL SITUATION

A. HERBERT GRAY.

WAR brings a special disappointment to pacifists, that there arises for them a certain temptation simply to sit down and do nothing. Having worked hard for peace, they are assailed by acute disgust, and possibly by anger, when war breaks out. They find the whole nation involved in an enterprise which they believe to be futile for any really great end, and, having refused to take part in it, they may see no other definite work for them to do. But if one thing is certain it is this—that it is NEVER Christian simply to do nothing. The Christian faith is a creative and constructive faith.

To begin with, I see tasks that call to us loudly in the political realm. To use our democratic privileges, and to call on the Government to find ways of employing the method of conference instead of war, is surely as plain a duty as possible. (My grateful thanks to the Archbishop of York for a truly statesmanly lead!) Secondly, I cannot but think it a Christian duty to think about the root causes of war, and to face the fact that there are forces at work springing from the economic system still tolerated in capitalistic countries which make acute international rivalry inevitable. And thirdly, it surely is our business to be using our minds on that gigantic political problem which MUST be solved if Europe is ever to have peace, and which is being studied by the Federal Union.

The minds of non-pacifists are inevitably much absorbed by immediate issues. If no such absorption has descended on pacifists, they have to justify their immunity by making some constructive contribution along such lines as I have suggested. But in this article I propose to try to speak of something still more vitally important. What is going to have decisive influence in the coming days, both during war and after war, is the tone and temper of the whole nation. In other words, it is the spiritual situation that matters beyond all else. It is with this that we must concern ourselves. It is in relation to this that we can really do something. What, then, may be our contribution?

As a preliminary matter, I would like to say

that we shall not improve the spiritual situation by abuse either of non-pacifists or of the Government. Non-pacifists are standing, even as we are, on the rights of conscience, and we owe it to them to respect their conscientious actions. And as to the Government—is it not plain that a Government that has not got a pacifist nation behind it, cannot put into operation a pacifist policy. Up to the limits of his vision, Mr. Chamberlain is a sincere man of peace. Shall pacifists abuse him? God forbid!

#### World is not a Madhouse

But passing from that preliminary point, I believe the central spiritual need of to-day is a rooted conviction that the universe has NOT gone wholly wrong—that we are NOT condemned to live permanently in a madhouse, and that the eventual triumph of good is certain. Those who lack that faith are condemned to live in a paralysing atmosphere of gloom and dread. They are also all too apt to accept the futile policies born of despair. And, of course, appearances are with them and against those who believe that "good will conquer ill." Yet unless Christ was wholly deluded—unless the Christian faith has no root in reality, and is merely a fond and pretty delusion—it IS certain that good will conquer ill. Take out of the Christian faith the declaration that God is love, and nothing is left worth conserving. Take away that ultimate ground for brave persistence, and we shall all be but the victims of circumstance and the passing hour. But if God IS love, then we can see all the upheavals and agonies of our day as but the groanings and travails through which some divine event draws nearer. We may be tempted to wish that love would intervene to make short work of evil by compulsion. But love cannot take away from human beings the possibility of becoming persons by carrying the almost intolerable responsibility of freedom. Yet does love NEVER give in, and therefore it must in the end prevail. And with that faith a man can face our world without any fundamental spiritual consternation.

And so I come to this—that to live in that faith

without consternation is the first and greatest contribution which any man can make to the whole present situation. Two other contributions will follow. Firstly, such men and women will not be the victims of fear, even though fears are in the way, and there are plenty obvious reasons for being alarmed. But if man's true home is the fellowship of God, who is love, and if NOTHING can take from us that home, then an eternal security is ours and there is no cause for fear. Fears work havoc with all too many in time of war, and not only cause acute misery but unfit them for true thinking and generous action. If we can embody the truth that trust in God destroys fear, we shall do something of immeasurable worth.

#### The Rumbblings of Hate

And, secondly, those who keep in touch with a God Who is love will find that they cannot hate. We may well thank God that the evidences of hate in our nation are as yet few and rare. But I hear the rumbblings of it here and there. And if and when this strange condition of

suspension of major activities comes to an end, we shall have to face the danger of hate running through the national life like a forest fire. And that is the worst of the fruits of war. For men who hate cannot see true justice—cannot, therefore, make any noble peace, and therefore also cannot prevent the tragic result of war which has been so common, namely, the sowing of the seeds of another war. Can we refuse to give way to hate even while hateful things are being done? Can we retain sympathy for the uncounted sufferers through war in all nations? Can we maintain in spirit a real fellowship with all men everywhere, whether or no they are in the meantime called enemies?

And here my spirit shrinks a little. These tasks set to those who believe in love, even while war rages, are very plain. But they are also very great. Who is sufficient for them? I do not know that I have any right to be numbered among the sufficient. But at least I know what the contribution is which I am called upon to make.

## “B.C. 1541 AND ALL THAT”

C. G. HOLLAND

FROM a great meeting at the Albert Hall some three years ago summoned to consider the attitude of the Church to the degrading conditions under which hundreds of thousands of our people were living in an age of plenty, I carried away one ringing phrase uttered by the Archbishop of York. He said “If the present social system cannot be amended, the system must be changed.”

The “present system”! A system under which the majority of our own people are under-nourished, which must accept round about two million unemployed in normal years, under which thousands of tons of good food-stuffs are deliberately destroyed every year, under which the competition of the capitalist system has resolved itself into a huge international dog-fight for markets, and which has now reached its quite inevitable and logical apotheosis in a gigantic war for economic and imperial domination.

Has the Church made any single gesture

under the leadership of the Bishops either to amend or to change?

We have had a beautifully phrased series of pious platitudes, a recall to religion, and a resounding bugle-call to moral re-armament all of which now resolve themselves into a recall to material re-armament and whole-hearted support of a second war-to-end-war. We must “mass Might on the side of Right,” it is now “A Christian duty to kill.” We are told that The Law of Love is not applicable to nations consisting in large measure of unconverted citizens.\*

#### Praying for Victory

We have been summoned to set aside a Day of Prayer. The Form issued for our use contained no note of penitence, no admission of our own responsibility for the present war, but did include Cranmer's prayer that the malice of our

\**York Diocesan Leaflet and The Times, 29th October, 1935.*

enemies might be assuaged, and another that God would give us victory.

Is it nothing to us as followers of Christ that to pray for Victory means to pray that our own armed forces will kill more Germans than they will kill of ours, that God will help us to send to that most horrible death which so shocked us in the case of the “Thetis,” splendid young men who like our own are obeying orders and are told they are “fighting for the right” in the U-Boats? Are we to pray that our blockade may be so successful that the mothers of Germany may not be able to suckle their babies and that those babies, if they survive, are to come to adolescence crippled with rickets or tuberculosis? Is this what we are to pray for “if it be the Will of God” who is Love? Can it be the will of God that we should be successful in killing by shell, bomb and bullet, or by slow starvation those who are our brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus?

Small wonder that we must abrogate the Law of Love if we are to love our neighbour by disembowelling him with a bayonet, dismembering him with high explosive, suffocating him below the sea or slowly starving his wife and children, his sisters, his mother or his sweetheart.

*The Church stands at the parting of the ways. If she is to accept as part of her “Orthodox” doctrine that of a “righteous war,” she is committed to a complete denial of the whole foundation upon which Christianity rests.*

#### The Old Testament Overshadows the New

Are we to revert to the conception of God as shown in the Old Testament and do what Joshua did to the inhabitants of Jericho in B.C. 1541, though of course in a more modern and gentlemanly way?

To justify this attitude of pseudo-patriotism which has led so many Ministers of the Gospel to become Ministers of Propaganda, when, from the sentiments and views heard over the air there is nothing to distinguish the words of an Archbishop from those of a First Lord of the Admiralty, we are now faced by what amounts to complete re-statement of the Sacrifice of Christ.

During the last war a place of honour was given in thousands of British homes to a picture called “The Last Sacrifice” showing a young

soldier dying at the feet of the Crucified Saviour. The sacrifice which a soldier makes in falling in battle—and it is not denied that it is a sacrifice often offered with the highest motives—was thus identified with the Sacrifice of the Sinless One Who died rather than oppose violence to violence.

This “rationalising” of a Christian's participation in war has now received a further blessing from the Leaders of the Church, and has been carried one step further.

On the second Sunday of the war, the B.B.C. broadcast a sermon in which the preacher, after drawing a most eloquent and moving account of our Lord's temptation in the Garden, went on to identify the “Cup of Suffering” which He then accepted from the Father with the suffering which we as a nation are now called upon to endure as a result of our decision to do precisely what He refused to do—to meet violence by violence and to overcome evil by doing evil.

This thesis has been taken up enthusiastically by other preachers and seems likely to become the stock justification of the Church for her participation in this appalling slaughter aimed at “smashing Hitlerism.”

This re-interpretation, or rather misinterpretation, of the Message of the Cross demands also the putting forward of the heretical teaching that we must do evil in order to prevent a greater evil.

#### The Church Challenged by the Cross

Christ is now shown to us “standing up to evil” in the same way that Great Britain is standing up to Nazism. His way of non-resistance to evil is now held to be precisely the same as our way of “bomb for bomb, bullet for bullet and shell for shell.” His method of overcoming aggression and violence and cruelty by trusting utterly in the power of Love is now identified with our method of “massing might on the side of right.” His prayer, “Father, forgive them for they know not what they do,” is now said to breathe the same spirit of perfection as our prayers “Assuage their malice and bless our arms.”

A God of perfect Love, Wisdom, and Justice, we are now assured, offers us in our perplexity only two ways out, both of which demand that we shall do evil. He now calls us to do what the Church Assembly has declared to be

"incompatible with the teaching and example of Jesus Christ."

It is not we who are challenging our Leaders; it is the Cross with its eternal message of self-surrender and self-immolation which is challenging the whole Church.

To assert that God will limit us to a choice

of two evil actions is to dishonour His Holy Name and to deny His perfect Holiness.

The true Head of our beloved Church is neither Archbishop nor earthly King, but He who "when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not; but committed Himself to Him that judgeth rightly."

## WAR IS UNPATRIOTIC

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

**P**ACIFISTS are at present a small minority. By some they are regarded as impractical dreamers, by others they are rather angrily despised as unpatriotic, unwilling to come to the aid of their country in its times of greatest need.

I suppose pacifists have come to their convictions by different roads; some, but not all, as Christians, believing (as the Lambeth Conference of bishops declared some twelve years ago) that war is incompatible with the mind of Christ. I myself believe that to be true; but there is another approach which I want to put before you, which may appeal to minds which are not definitely Christian.

We all love our country; we believe it to be something much greater than ourselves. We believe that to die for the good of one's country is better than to die for one's individual interests; and we have this feeling about the greatness of our country because (both in the history of its past achievements and in what it stands for to-day), it is the summing-up of the product of many noble lives of men and women far greater than ourselves; and it is their goodness and their greatness and their achievements in the past which have made our country great, as we believe it to be.

How is it, then, in defence of something so much greater than ourselves, we have to descend to deeds of cruelty, and wholesale destructiveness, with accompanying injustice toward those who are innocent and helpless, which nothing would induce us to descend to for our own individual interests? How is it that the defence of the higher thing reduces the defenders to a lower scale of morality in actions by which they have to defend it?

### We are Unworthy of our Real Worth

To me, at least, the only answer to that moral problem seems to be that, in spite of its nobility and its greatness, our country has committed itself to a course of action and a system of power politics in relation to the other nations which is inconsistent with the virtues which we claim for it; and it is because in our international relations we have not made the same effort to do the great and the difficult and the right thing, as we have in other directions.

To form that conclusion, we have but to look back into the shadier parts of our social history: The long delay and the difficulty in securing from those in power justice and right dealing toward those who had not power; the difficulty and the delay in removing from our pursuit of riches the shames of slavery, of child labour, of sweated labour; the difficulty and delay even to-day in wiping out from our rich cities slum dwellings which are not fit for man to live in; the difficulty and delay in removing torture and savage and unremedial forms of punishment from our judicial system; the difficulty and delay in securing the rights of religious freedom, free press, free speech, and free association for labour.

Reform of all these shames and abuses has come with difficulty, and only after persecution and cruel repression; and we are proud of those who were instrumental in their removal; and we are no longer proud of those who resisted their removal. Some of the rights and liberties of which we now boast were won for us in prison and on the scaffold. It is by minorities that history has been made—the history of our liberties, and the abolition of social abuses, on

which, as a fairly free people (when not at war) we now pride ourselves.

### Ye Build the Tombs of the Prophets, but your Fathers Stoned Them

It is for a similar reason that a small minority is fighting now that the country which we love shall, at whatever material sacrifice may be necessary, rid itself of the abomination of war. We cannot get rid of it while we stand committed to power politics, which not long ago the Archbishop of Canterbury defined as an absolute negation of the teaching of Christ. We cannot get rid of it so long as we are indifferent to the lives and the living conditions of the poor of our own country. Only as we rid ourselves of the guilt and shame of poverty, have we won the right to have ease of conscience as regards our social conditions. Only as we free ourselves from indifference to the distress of other races and nations, only as we become ready to reach out a helping hand to them, to approximate their standard of life to ours, their access to markets and raw

materials, shall we have a right to feel ourselves released from the guilt of accepting war as a solution of international rivalries which have so largely been produced by our indifference to the welfare of other races and lands.

I do not think there is much use in trying to humanize war by the elimination of this or that instrument of monstrosity; for that is a mere skimming of the surface. It does not go down to the roots of war, or destroy the causes of its life. War cannot be humanized. And it may even be that the monstrosity, and the blind imprecision, of some of its newest weapons of destruction (the submarine and the air-bomber) will be rather a help than a hindrance to the awakening of the consciences of all people to the abomination of war.

It is because war is an abomination, and my country is not an abomination, that I regard war as incompatible with the virtue and the greatness of my country—as incompatible with all that belongs to its true greatness as it is with the mind of Christ.

## PEACE ON EARTH

GEORGE LANSBURY

**I**N SPITE, and perhaps because, of the "horrors" which accompany the lives of us all these days, I wish my readers a very happy Christmas and a very blessed New Year. Let us celebrate the birthday of Him who was the greatest success and failure of all time with the sure and certain belief that some day mankind will find redemption from sin and shame and inhumanity by accepting without any reservation the teachings of the Son of God—Son of God in a special sense, because we who accept the doctrine enshrined in the words "The Fatherhood of God," think of all mankind as His children. Jesus of Nazareth, whether or no we accept the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, will forever remain as the author and giver of that faith which rests on the foundation of Love—Love of each other, even of our enemies. We who are simple folk, unlearned in the doctrines and teachings of Theologians and others, cannot answer questions as to the origin of evil or why, if there be a God, men whom He has created should act so cruelly towards each other.

No; it is sufficient for us that our minds

should accept as natural the truth that we mortals have it in our power to make this world a place wherein we shall serve God through common thought and service on behalf of one another. This is the cause of our lives. We start at our mother's knee learning the collects or other prayers, or perhaps start only in Sunday School or Church or nowhere at all, but true it is this good will and fellowship we think of as the message of Christmas, at least for a short period known as the one message which speaks truth to the world. Who among us will ever forget the thoughts which flooded our minds during the years of our childhood and early manhood when, in company with others, we piped and sang "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing" or any of the other glorious carols with which we are all familiar. Yet none of us has ever lived as if the glorious message we tried to sing about were really very truth.

### Life Itself is our Teacher

I said this Christmas Message is the "crux of our lives" and I do so because it is my conviction, based not on theory but experience, that



there cannot be any real "Peace" between men and nations until our lives from the very start are founded on co-operation, a co-operation built up from the acceptance of another simple truth, that "mutual aid" is the only way along which we must travel if ever "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men" is to become practical and capable of application to all the varied activities of life. There is not anything I read or hear at public gatherings or from the B.B.C. microphones which ever shakes in the slightest degree this truth which life itself has revealed and made understandable to me. The fact that I myself and others who think like me are absorbed in the competitive dog-fight which is the lot of us all makes no difference because it is a law of life that no man liveth or dieth to himself.

What, then, must we do to make this Christmas happy in any sense of the word? First, let us make up our minds what Jesus means to us. The pictures on windows or canvas do not convey all He was and is. He took part in Life. His life, as was the life of His greatest follower, St. Francis of Assisi, was spent very largely among people like you and me. Sinners and saints as such seem to be unknown to Him; He thought of us only as little children, or as men, or as women. Therefore this "Man," Who spake as no other has spoken since, found His greatest interest teaching simple people simple truths which they heard gladly.

You and I cannot do a great deal at Christmas or any other time; we can, however, do just what we can, remembering the words "She hath done what she could" and, when Christmas time comes, try and share in ever so small or large a way whatever of love, friendship and material gifts we may possess. This season anyhow calls this happy gift from all of us. I know there will be many a loved one missed from tens of thousands of homes in Britain, Europe and the world this Christmas. Some of these husbands, brothers, sweethearts, sons are pacifists. Whatever suffering, mental or material comes our way, we must, if we are "Internationalists," do our utmost to comfort the bereaved, cheer the maimed and wounded in body, soul and spirit and try to bring to the lives of the sorrowing ones the knowledge they are not alone. They must be made to understand that you and many another, silently perhaps or with a look or word of cheer, desire to

share their sorrow and do so because one is our Father and all of us are kin.

#### The Babe and the Juggernaut

Two years ago, during December, in company with Percy Bartlett and Henry Carter, I was in Prague, Warsaw and Vienna. The spirit of Christmas was abroad. Everywhere we went small and big Christmas trees were in the market place and in public places. Everywhere collections were being made for the poor and needy. Some who gathered round were Catholics, or Orthodox Greek Church people; a few dissentients, a few Jews, but everywhere that which we think of as the spirit of Christmas. The spirit of Jesus seemed prevalent among the masses and I dare not these days allow my mind to dwell too much on Prague and Warsaw and Vienna. I can see the people as they were and can only imagine what they are to-day, crushed beneath the heel of a persecuting Juggernaut.

This article started by saying that on Christmas Day we celebrate the birth of a great success and failure—and so we do. Say what clever people may about the great material progress of mankind which has almost obliterated any belief in God among those who occupy the seats of the learned in our time, the simple truth still remains that mankind is in the "rapids," leading to the eclipse of civilisation, simply because so many of these learned men tell us that the religion of Jesus is not practical.

He was, they assure us, an "idealist" dreamer—one to whom the problems of life were and are entirely unknown. Unworthy, inconsistent, faithless as I often am, because, like you, I am so very human, nevertheless the call, "come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest" is a call to which my heart and my intelligence alike respond. So in thought and prayer let us go to the manger in Bethlehem and see the Babe and, from the depths of our being, let us dedicate our most unworthy selves to the service of Him whose birthday we celebrate. And in so doing understand that prayer is not mere words but the soul's sincere desire to learn as best it may how so to order our lives that men may learn the angels' message, so the coming of Jesus will lead us away from sin with all the destruction its illusive promises entail to the very heart of the eternally real.

## THINKING ASIATICALLY

MURIEL LESTER.

### II.—INDIA.

#### The Vow of Truth

Pacifists in India undergo drastic training. They must study, keep their diaries carefully, consult Mr. Gandhi's weekly paper, *Harijan*, for the interpretation of events in the light of their philosophy and apply the vows to their everyday life. They are reminded that Non-Violence implies more than the refusal to fight. It means a complete disarmament, not only of body, but of mind. No shred of anger or pride, no malice or resentment must remain in one's heart. Such are to be uprooted at whatever cost.

Even then Non-Violence is not enough. It still may be rooted in cowardice. It must be allied with the vow of truth. This is not merely avoiding a lie. It means telling out the truth without fear and without exaggeration in places where to tell it may lose you your job, plunge you in poverty, or land you in gaol. It means telling the truth to people who don't want to hear it. It means reviving the old prophetic ministry. After all, ought not all the Lord's people to be prophets? It means bringing truth into public affairs instead of trusting to diplomacy. It means the end of the tortuous process which so often characterized our foreign policy. When we knew Japan was committing crime in Manchuria, because we were unable to stop her by military force, we pretended she wasn't guilty. We sent Sir John Simon to Geneva where the Japanese thought he stated their case better than they could have done it themselves.

The possession of military power seems to necessitate whitewashing the wrongdoer unless one is ready to kill him. The vow of truth led Gandhi to call the British Government "Satanic" when he was completely at their mercy. Again and again he declared its guilt and as often excused the British people, government officials included, always pointing out that the British are victims of the same evil system that causes the exploitation of India.

Non-Violence allied to truth is a potent force demanding the highest standard of courage—but it not yet enough—to these two vows must

be added a third, Non-Theft. "To keep more than you need, when others have less than they need, is to be a thief." It is a succinct statement, equalling in terseness some of the pronouncements of the early church. This is what makes Gandhi's Non-Violence so powerful. He does not depend on the police force backed by the army for the protection of his property, as most of us do. He has, to use his own phrase, "approached the poor with the mind of the poor," identified himself with the dispossessed. The loin cloth is not affectation, it is the normal dress of the workman, both Coolie or farm labourer, in India. When the great ones of India make the lone journey, across the plains and up the atrocious road that leads to his village cottage, they want his shrewd political sense, his advice on national affairs. They purposely harden their hearts against the example of selflessness that his simple way of living presents.

#### The Victorious Spectre

But it often happens that, after they have left him, they are haunted by the contrast of their own luxuries. They cannot get rid of the appeal of India's underfed millions symbolized in him, and so they get rid of their western clothes and their other possessions, give themselves to the work in some remote village area or overcrowded slum, living, eating, sleeping with Untouchables, who previously had seemed to them unclean and on a level with the beasts.

But these three vows are too hard for anyone to keep unless he also follow the way of prayer. At 4.15 each morning and at 7.00 each evening, they give themselves to prayer. "The slopes of the Himalayas are white," said Mr. Gandhi to Pierre Cérésolle on a pre-dawn walk in Switzerland in 1931, "with the bones of our saints and sages who have spent their lives there for centuries past trying to wrest the secrets of God from Him. And the outcome of their search is that Truth in God and the way to Him is Non-Violence. All my strength comes from God—Look at me. A boy could knock me over with a blow of his fist. I have no power of my own. I tell you, if the whole world were to deny God, I would be His sole witness."

## III.—CHINA.

There were many refugee camps in Shanghai. One held 12,000. The total possession of the Chinese inmates was a roll of scant bedding. One hundred and fifty families, and a Chinese family often comprises four generations, lived in one room. Upstairs two double rows of beds stretched along a big room where lay the sick and the hungry.

At the end of a lamentable morning, the Chinese friend who took me round said, "You may be surprised to hear that, though I've been doing refugee work ever since the war began, I have not yet heard one word of grumbling."

China's ancient culture has enabled her people to endure, not passively, hopelessly, because they must, but because in their philosophy the aim is not to set out to master one's environment, but to adjust oneself to it.

The correct, the normal response to calamity is to smile, even to laugh. It is as natural, almost as automatic as the saying of thank you has become to us.

Can one overrate their advantage in being devoid of self-pity?

Their preference for the golden mean, their tolerance and their moderation have enabled them throughout 3,000 years to persist, to think objectively, to absorb their conquerors.

## ONE PEOPLE, ONE KINGDOM, ONE LEADER

G. H. C. MACGREGOR.

**E***IN Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuhrer*: that is the rallying-cry of Hitlerism; this catastrophe need never have engulfed us if only the Christian Church in all lands had made that rallying-cry her own. Even her critics admit that a world-Church speaking with one voice could have made war impossible; and nothing can distress true "Catholics" more than to listen to the strident efforts of Churchmen on both sides of no-man's-land to enlist God as their own exclusive ally. "When you come to think of it," writes an English vicar in his parish magazine, "it is a great honour to be chosen by God to be His ally in so great a contest." On the other hand the German Evangelical Church has already held a nationwide thanksgiving for the conquest of Poland. "In deep humility and gratitude," says their Council, we bow to-day at our Harvest Thanksgiving before the goodness and bounty of our God . . . . But God who watches over the destinies of nations has this year blessed us German people with another harvest no less rich . . . . How could we be grateful enough to God for this!"

Never was it more urgently necessary for us Christians to re-think what we mean when we

say, "I believe in one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church." "Catholic"! the grandest word perhaps in our ecclesiastical vocabulary; and yet for many Protestants it has suffered such a sad degradation, and become so suspect, that we prefer that etymological monstrosity "ecumenical." "Where Jesus Christ is," cried Ignatius of Antioch, earliest of the Christian Fathers, "there is the Catholic Church." From the very first to be a Christian meant at the same time to be a "Catholic," a member of the one Universal, undivided Church in which every frontier of blood and race and nationality is done away. At the great international conference at Stockholm in 1925 Archbishop Soderblom was introduced to a Roman priest who remarked that he was "the only Catholic present"; to which Soderblom replied, "All of us who are here are Catholics!" Only a Church which lives up to that claim can heal a world at war.

### The World's Need of the Catholic Church

It is good for us in these days to be reminded of the enormous stress placed by the New Testament on the indivisible, all-embracing character of the Church. These earliest Christians were grasping something quite

essential to our Christian faith, and above all to the faith of a Christian Pacifist. Just as under the apparently simple ethic of the Sermon on the Mount there lies a profound theology which alone gives that ethic its validity, so beneath the apparent formlessness of much of the New Testament teaching about the Church there lies the conviction that there can be and must be but one Holy and indivisible and universal Church. It is there in the Gospels as we hear Jesus speaking of the Church's authority; it is there in the parable of the Gospel net which brought all manner of fish to land, yet "for all there were so many was not the net broken"; we have it in the symbol of the seamless robe of the Crucified Jesus, which not even His enemies would venture to divide. But above all do we have it under two magnificent conceptions in the letters of St. Paul.

First, there is Paul's teaching about what he calls the "fulness" of God. Have we noticed that the Apostle who writes "in Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. ii, 9) can also write of "the Church which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all" (Eph. i, 23)? That is to say, just as the fulness of God in all His eternal power and grace and love in time first took bodily form in the person of Christ, and God's eternal purpose of salvation found its focal point in time in His redemptive work—so for all future time will that redemptive work find the focal point at which it becomes visible and effective in that Church which is in very truth Christ's Body, one and indivisible as was the Body of Christ Himself.

### The One Body

And here we reach the second of Paul's magnificent conceptions—the Church as the Body of Christ, one living, organic unity which embraces a multitude of members and a multitude of functions: Christ the Head and life-principle of the organism; Christian believers of every race and nation the limbs, each with his peculiar function to perform, but powerless and useless once they are severed from each other and from the Head. Nothing for St. Paul is more important than this incorporation of all Christians in the one Body of Christ. It has its beginning in Baptism where we are "baptized into one body"; it is constantly renewed in the Lord's Supper, where we are reminded that "we, many though we are, are

one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." For the early Church both sacraments are ultimately symbols of the Church's indivisibility, as is so beautifully expressed in the earliest of all Eucharistic prayers preserved for us in the Didache: "As this broken bread was scattered upon the hills and was gathered together to become one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the borders of the earth into Thy Kingdom." Above all, here in the unity of the one Body is the secret of the Church's *peace*: "For He is our peace, He Who has made both of us a unity and destroyed the barrier which kept us apart . . . so as Himself to give the death-blow to that feud by reconciling them both to God in one Body through the Cross; He came with a Gospel of peace for those far away (that is for you) and for those who were near." (Eph. ii, 14ff. Moffatt).

### The True Catholicism and Internationalism

Now we shall be told, no doubt, that all this relates but to a mystic and spiritual unity and has no bearing upon our ideal of a "Catholic" Church outwardly and visibly one and, amidst the babel of war-mongers, speaking with one voice on behalf of peace. On the contrary, the New Testament never allows us to think even the visible and outward unity of the Church to be a matter of small concern. Certainly in speaking of the Church Catholic we must always distinguish between the Church Visible and the Church Invisible. As Augustine once said, "There are many sheep outside the fold, and many wolves within"; and not we, but God alone, can define the limits of the true Church; and it will always be the case, as it was in Jesus' parable, that the sheep will be surprised to find themselves sheep, and the goats astounded to be goats! Nevertheless the New Testament never encourages us to minimize the importance of outward and visible unity. Even St. John, who we might think would put the sole stress on the mystic inward union with Christ, insists at the same time that this unity must so confront men's eyes as to become the best proof to the world of the genuineness of our discipleship and the validity of our Master's claims. For it is John who preserves for us Jesus' priestly prayer for such unity: "That they all may be one . . . that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." And in very truth is there anything that makes it harder for the world to believe in Jesus Christ than

just the distressful divisions of His Church? Yes, perhaps there is one thing that makes it harder still—to see Christians on each side of the firing-line invoking this same Jesus Christ as a Tribal God to bless their fratricidal warfare.

"One People, One Kingdom, One Leader!" That was the Church's watchword nineteen hundred years before the world ever heard of Adolf Hitler! "This title 'Catholic,'" writes

Cyril of Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century, "is the characteristic name of this Holy Church, which is the Mother of us all . . . . The kings of the people who live in various districts have prescribed limits to their might; the Holy Catholic Church alone rejoices in a limitless might exercised over the whole circle of the earth. For God, as stands written in the Psalms, 'maketh peace alone to be her border'."

## THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

LEWIS MACLACHLAN.

### A New World-Order

Christian pacifists want something more than the cessation of hostilities. Peace is not merely the withholding of blows but a right relation between neighbours. The foundation of peace is friendship, and friendship consists not in sentimental feelings but in a certain fine quality of respect one for another. When at the end of the year 1914 the historic meeting was held at Cambridge of Christian pacifists who thenceforth became the Fellowship of Reconciliation, it was in the conviction that as disciples of Christ they were called not only to renounce war but to renounce the things that make for war that they drew up the statement which still remains the basis of membership. The task they envisaged was "to establish a world-order based on love." They were called to be not so much a peace society as a society for the making of universal friendship; and when it was objected in the name of morality and justice that decent people could not extend their friendship to evil-doers, they recalled that that was precisely what our Lord had done. They were to work to remove not the symptoms only but the causes of the world's disease. From that time on we have never ceased to labour for the creation of the conditions in which real peace is possible; the revision of unjust or dictated treaties; a co-operative economic system; emancipation from the bondage of money and from subservience to financiers; recognition of the State as the servant of the people and not the people as servants of the State; disarmament; abolition of national sovereignty; repentance of Imperialism. For these the pacifist movement in the Churches has consistently laboured, realising that unless we

know in this our day the things which belong unto our peace, no diplomatic jugglery or pagan prayers to Chance will keep us out of war.

### God Is Not Mocked

But while Christian pacifists want something more than peace without which real peace itself can never be obtained, we have no sympathy with those who believe that nothing can be gained by stopping the war now. It is not murder that is the real sin but hate in the heart, but if we see a man about to murder his brother we shall stop him if we can. As pacifists, we have frequently been asked, "But would you stand aside and see your loved ones assaulted and slain without even trying to save them?" The answer is, "No. Not if we can help it." With the lives of millions of our brethren threatened by the continuance of the war, we cannot stand aside in silence. There are two reasons for stopping the war now. One is to save the lives that will otherwise be lost. There are values more precious than human life, but even those who have hitherto regarded the war as inevitable will want to be very certain that some solid gain will result from its continuance, something which could not be had in any other way. But what is it that is to be so gained? A just and enduring peace is surely the end alike of the pacifist and the combatant. But can any serious person believe that war will make the least contribution to that most desirable end? Is a continuation of war, perhaps for several years, likely to bring about a better spirit in Europe? Are years of bloodshed and lying propaganda, ever more frantic and desperate destruction, and the ever more cruelly strangling grip of blockade likely to be a help in

creating the conditions in which a fair and generous and lasting peace can be made? Is it reasonable to suppose that years of organised hate and bitterness and misrepresentation and contempt will produce real friendship between the nations? Is God mocked, or shall we reap what we sow? The fact is, as every honest and intelligent person knows, that if it was impossible to make peace on the 3rd of September, it is growing more and more impossible with every day of war. The continuance of the war will certainly not improve the international situation. From the point of view of peace-making, as well as of life-saving, the best possible moment for concluding the war is now.

### Why Are We Fighting?

We do our best to understand the position of those who, though they sincerely hate war as much as any pacifist, nevertheless believe that the war with Germany could not have been honourably avoided. How does the conscience which was compelled by sheer moral necessity to fight Germany tolerate the continued peace with Russia? Not that we advocate war with the U.S.S.R. It only seems to us that if peace and negotiation remain honourably possible with that country, as we think they do, it cannot be so monstrous to suggest that the same attitude could rightly be taken to other Godless aggressors. This raises the question, Why are we fighting Germany? Our answer to India has made it clear that we are not fighting to defend democracy. Our attitude to Russia shows that we are not fighting aggressors as aggressors. Is it possible that the real purpose of the war is an attempt to preserve all that is rotten in our civilisation? Are we fighting to save our crazy economics? Are they right who say that we must fight to keep our markets? Are we ridding ourselves of a troublesome competitor in business? Or, as it has been put by some astute observers, must Germany be defeated lest the financial centre of the world should move from London to Berlin? These are disquieting questions, and as the Government can do nothing to answer them by a statement of war aims, they are likely to persist in the minds of all who are not carried away by sentimental and over-optimistic propaganda.

### What Do You Dream About?

There is something to be welcomed in Mr. Chamberlain's "utopian" broadcast. The recognition by the Government that some

declaration of peace aims is demanded is a beginning. But the distinction drawn between war aims and peace aims is fundamentally wrong. No war is fought with war aims which are different from its peace aims. The whole purpose of the war must be to make honourable peace possible. On September 3rd the Prime Minister said that peace could no longer be maintained with honour. We are fighting, therefore, to restore the possibility of honourable peace. Surely it is reasonable and relevant to ask what kind of peace that will be. Nor is it a sufficient answer to talk vaguely about a world in which our dreams will come true. We do not all dream about the same thing, and it would appear that Mr. Chamberlain's dreams are very much out of date. To wait until the enemy is beaten, that is, until none but a dictated peace is possible, would be a fatal blunder. We must begin now to prepare public opinion, by informing the minds of the people, by leading their prayers, by relating international questions unflinchingly to the essentials of our faith, for the making at the very earliest opportunity of that sort of peace which will be fair not only to the present enemy, but to our own children.

### "Halifax Lashes Pacifists"

This headline description of the Foreign Secretary's speech in the House of Lords on the 13th of December gives a strange impression of what was really a very courteous and mild utterance. Pacifists would all agree with Lord Halifax when he spoke of "the difficulties that would attend Europe in an attempt to make a patched-up peace." But it was no patched-up peace for which the "pacifists" were pleading, but an all-round and far-reaching settlement by negotiation. How a long war won by the unheroic strategy of blockade can contribute to the quality of peace which Lord Halifax himself desires is hard to see. We should never argue that Britain "should be held in any way to blame comparable to Germany" for the present tragedy, but it is a fact that neutral observers whose opinion is worth respecting do not take the same unclouded view of Britain's innocence that is so popular in this country. If we are comparatively in the right, surely for that very reason we can afford to acknowledge manfully our partial responsibility for the unhappy state of Europe and take the initiative in creating the atmosphere in which real and enduring peace can be made.

## THE ABSOLUTIST

Henry Carter's otherwise admirable article in your last issue on the Conscientious Objector and the Tribunals is misleading in two important respects.

Firstly, the writer appears to mix up the functions of a representative and a witness. The applicant is entitled to call anyone with the necessary knowledge as a witness. In addition, he is entitled to have his case put by a representative, who, according to the Act, may be a barrister, a solicitor, a representative of any trade union of which the applicant is a member, or a relative or personal friend. The functions of a witness and a representative are, of course, entirely different, and it is important that they should not be confused. A representative may actually be dangerous. He is, for example, entitled to accept conditions and enter into undertakings on an applicant's behalf; a witness is not, although I have known a Tribunal, most improperly, treat him as if he were.

Secondly, there is a complete misrepresentation of the point of view of the "absolutist." It is suggested that the basis of his rejection is the form of service offered, viz., whether or no in his judgment it may indirectly serve the war. That is not the point at all. The so-called absolutist realises quite well that while he remains alive he is bound to serve the war indirectly. It is unfortunate that he is known by a name that connotes a degree of perfection to which he makes no pretence. He ought really to be called an "unconditionalist," for the basis of his attitude is a refusal to accept any service, however worthy, imposed on him as a condition of exemption from military obligation.

In times gone by it was possible to buy exemption from militia service by a payment of money.

## WITNESS TO GOD

STUART MORRIS

SINCE this issue of THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST marks the Silver Jubilee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation I should like to be allowed in so far as I am able to do so to express on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union our congratulations on all that has been achieved during the last quarter of a century, and our very best wishes for the future of the F.o.R. and THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST. We who are the pacifists of to-day must never forget what we owe to those who at a similar stage in the opening period of the world war came together to prepare the way in which we now walk. As we

The demand for payment is still made, but the price now asked is alternative service, not money. The absolutist recognises the obligation to serve his fellows, but he claims that it is his conscience and not any particular service that entitles him to exemption.

Yours sincerely,

G. A. SUTHERLAND.

Dalton Hall, Manchester.

## Methodist Peace Fellowship

It was reported at the Executive Committee held on December 12th that one hundred and fifty-three new lay members and eleven new ministerial members had joined the Fellowship during the previous three weeks. The ministerial members included Rev. B. Lewis, of Birmingham, and ten students of Richmond College.

An encouraging result has followed the appeal for a special fund to provide help for the consolidation and extension of the Fellowship. To meet the gift of £150 by two generous donors, our members have subscribed £125 up to date. This amount includes about 300 gifts. We still need £25 to meet the challenge of our friends, and in view of the great increase of our work a still greater sum is necessary to meet the new claims upon us. We appeal to all members to do what they can.

A number of the cards recently sent out to our members have been returned owing to removals. We want to trace all our members at their new addresses, and should be grateful if any who have not heard from us will send word of their new addresses to M.P.F. Headquarters, Kingsway Hall, W.C.2.

We receive scores of letters from Conscientious Objectors, and these are promptly answered with suitable advice.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

look back in gratitude for the steadfast witness of that minority we can hardly escape the question as to what the characteristics of such a redemptive minority must always be. History would seem to make that quite clear, whether we think in terms of the story of the people whose records are in special measure the history of man's education in the knowledge of God or in terms of Him who came to sum up in Himself the whole purpose and method of redemption, or of the new redemptive minority whom He chooses. There is the constant need to keep alive the vision of God in a world which

denies Him—to be the conscience of the body politic—and to heal the world's sin and suffering by our readiness to show and bear it. Indeed the task could not be more aptly summed up than in the phrase Fellowship of Reconciliation. Fellowship is obviously essential if there is to be any real attempt to share the world's sin and sorrow, and groups of Pacifists, particularly perhaps those who may be actually living in community, are doing more than they may sometimes realise to minister to the real needs of a stricken world by maintaining the spirit of fellowship. Nor can there be any true Reconciliation without a readiness to recognise the truth about God and our fellow-men which enables us to dethrone the false gods; refuse to tolerate any conditions of life which are unworthy of those whose high calling is nothing less than that of a shared sonship with Christ Himself.

But in a world of war the Vision of God can only be maintained: the essential truth about Him can only be demonstrated by a refusal to take part in the war or to support or sanction it. Pacifism is not only an attitude to others, it is the assertion of the validity of God in a world which still takes His name in vain by pretending that He is other than He is. As a well-known journalist cynically wrote in the early stages of the Great War:

God heard the embittered nations sing and shout,

"God straffe England" and "God save the king";  
God this, God that, and God the other thing,  
"Good God," said God, "I've got my work cut out."

And in truth what a perfectly impossible position it is into which we put God if we try to ask His blessing upon us as we go out to destroy those who, if Christ is right, are as dear to Him as we are.

But propaganda would persuade us that this war is inevitable from a desire to avoid responsibility for it. Insurance companies may talk about an "act of God" when they wish to describe something for which they will not accept responsibility. But war is not like an earthquake that comes upon us from without. Here is not catastrophe but sin—or the consequence of sin. In that sense war may be inevitable as the consequences of flouting the moral authority of God, but inevitable only in so far as it is a consequence. The causes were not inevitable, and since we share in these

causes, we cannot escape responsibility nor pretend that responsibility rests entirely on the shoulders of one man. Still less have we any right to talk as though evil had suddenly become incarnate in one man, or even if it had, forget what is God's way of dealing both with evil and the evil man. That is why the war is neither inevitable nor just. Indeed the more just we are persuaded that the cause is, the more ought we to be concerned to see that the methods used are capable of achieving the end in view, are expressive of the God whom we desire to reveal. And it is the Cross which stands at the head of Christianity and not the Sword. Moreover, if we are to act as the conscience of the body politic we must not only maintain the right of each to a conscience which cannot be expressed in terms of logical argument, but we must claim to bring all issues to a court where a state cannot claim to be the judge in its own cause. It is essential to a peace which may be a real reconciliation that we judge rightly as to the origin and the character of the war, and that camouflaged war-aims are not allowed to jeopardise the future peace terms.

Even if our war-aims are really the fulfilment of a guarantee to Poland and its destruction of the menace of Nazism, how futile is the method we are using.

The method is in point of fact dictated by the real war-aims, which are not so much concerned with freedom and democracy as with the maintenance of a particular economic order of which imperialism is an essential corollary. That is why in spite of all disclaimers the war is prolonged, for if we do not desire to dictate peace terms but to negotiate then we could have a truce to-morrow.

Peace must be seen in terms of reconciliation and of fellowship. A Europe in which national states have abandoned their sovereign claims and found the way to political co-operation in a new scheme of federation, a world in which the private ownership of colonial possessions has been abandoned in the face of a real freedom; economic co-operation involving the sacrifice of monopoly control of markets and raw materials that all may have according to their needs; the genuine all round total disarmament in itself expressive of man's desire to live in brotherhood; that is the practical expression of such a desire to bear the burden for them and heal their sorrows as can express reconciliation and secure fellowship.

## PACIFISM AND COMMUNITY

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

WHAT is the cause of this war? Probably no reader of these pages would answer simply, "Hitler." But probably there would be a difficulty in reaching agreement on what the causes actually were. Or, if agreement were reached, as it obviously might be, in such terms as: "The war is the outcome of man's refusal to obey the will of God," it would become meaningful only if we were prepared to define what the will of God actually was for the peoples and statesmen of Europe during the last twenty years. If it be the will of God that social order, national or international, shall not be based on force, or the threat of force, then it is evident that the will of God has never been obeyed. Man's refusal to obey it is as old as civilization itself: for all the civilized societies we know have been based upon force, or the threat of force. War, though not the same as civilization, is inherent in it. The great *pax Romana* was continually fought for by the frontier legions, among whom were many Christians.

Is the rejection of war a rejection of civilization itself? That, I think, is one of the fundamental questions we have to ask ourselves. I do not think we ought to be afraid of answering "Yes." The content of civilization has vastly changed since the Christian message was first given. A machine-economy has flung us, all unprepared as moral beings, into a totally new epoch of human living. Nothing comparable to the change wrought by the machine has happened in the recorded history of man. And to-day, whatever meaning we may privately attach to the word "civilization," the substance of its actual, concrete meaning is that we live in a machine-age. The future anthropologist looking back on the remains of this present "civilization" (if there are any) will certainly speak of it as the early Machine culture.

### The Menace of the Machine

We may say then that our precarious civilization now consists of the tension between two unequal forces—the desire for an ordered society based, as all ordered societies have been, on force or the threat of force, and the colossal material energies now at mankind's disposal through the machine. Whereas before the

20th century the force or threat of force presupposed by ordered society was not entirely disproportionate to its purpose, now it is. To-day the machine makes nonsense, and worse, of the old principles of ordered society. The force which can now be threatened or unloosed must shatter ordered society into fragments.

Thus civilization has committed suicide. Its own principle is now become lethal to it. It may take generations, or even centuries, before that truth is realized by mankind at large. Or it may be that salvation is nearer than we can believe. But for those who do realize what has happened, a decision is necessary. What are they to do?

Essentially, two courses are open to them. The first is that they should try to convince men that an ordered national and international society is possible, using the machine, indeed, but without using the machine as the instrument of force—in other words, that a machine-civilization is possible which abjures force or the threat of force. It is difficult to see how they can know that this is possible. Assuredly, most people who, without being fully aware what they are doing, preach or teach something of the kind, have not deeply considered all that it involves. Almost invariably, they take for granted the continued existence of a society very like the one they are living in, and a way of life very much like their own. What they have in mind, apparently is this civilization miraculously disinfected of war. They seldom realize that if this civilization were disinfected of war it would promptly collapse. Economically, politically, and spiritually war, and the threat of war, is consubstantial with this civilization. It is common knowledge that the tottering economies of Europe have been kept going since the great slump by intensive war-preparation; and it is roughly true that, if Herr Hitler had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent him.

### Conversion by Demonstration

That is not to imply that there is no way of maintaining a machine-civilization without war. But it is emphatically the duty of those who assume that there is such a way to explain

precisely what it is. The only way that I can see demands a wholesale surrender of private property, and a wholesale surrender of national rights. If that is what people really mean, and are themselves prepared for, they should say so plainly. And perhaps it would be as well if they showed that they mean business. By so doing they would be of material assistance to those who chose the second way.

The second way is this: to say that we do not know whether a machine-civilization is possible which abjures force or the threat of force; but in order to know whether it is possible or not, it is necessary first to *prove* to ourselves as well as to others that it is possible for a body of men and women to live amicably in a society without any open or hidden appeal to force. To expect society as a whole to do this, when we do not know whether we can do it ourselves, is morally disingenuous. If a community of like-minded men and women cannot live peaceably and fruitfully and frugally together with no discipline other than that which they voluntarily accept for themselves, the chances of the enormous national or international society being able to do so are fantastically remote. If pacifism means anything except a pious aspiration, it must mean trying to live in a new kind of community. Unless we are prepared to commit ourselves to the effort of

creating at least the nucleus of such a new community—actual new communities—we cannot escape the charge that, in so far as we dream of a new society at all, we are looking to the State to enforce it. If the State may enforce such a new domestic society, why may not a super-State, or an omnipotent Caesar, enforce a new international society?

### "And I Saw a New Earth"

I know well the dangers of forcing the logic of pacifism too far; and I am not asserting that, in fact, pacifists are required to behave in one of these two ways. But I am quite certain that it is much better for them to face the dilemma implicit in their position; it will cure them of the notion, easily entertained in this country, that pacifism is an easy creed. The only kind of pacifist who can be really sure of his ground is the one who follows the ethic of the Gospels literally and completely. Everyone else ought at least to be conscious of his compromise, and of the point at which he makes it, and for what cause. Furthermore, I hold strongly that pacifists should realize their responsibility towards all attempts practically to realize new forms of community. If we feel we cannot reject this civilization ourselves, we have the more reason to appreciate the creative effort of those who do.

## AN IDYLL OF SUOMI

CHARLES E. RAVEN

WE had been in solemn conference, debating the status of our respective churches, the possibilities of expanding Christian charity so as to permit of eventual inter-communion. In our own eyes and perhaps in those of our Finnish hosts we were an important delegation, two bishops, a dean, an archdeacon and three others of us to represent the trousered clergy. Photographers had done their best with us: interviewers had wrestled with our inarticulateness: we had been received in audience by the President and at dinner by our country's minister. The inevitable formulae had been drafted, discussed, amended and finally with all the ceremony of a treaty of alliance signed, amid expressions of mutual esteem and satisfaction. The whole business reeked of

insincerity, or rather of that peculiarly ecclesiastical enthusiasm for unrealities which thinks the exact mode of appointing bishops far more important than the religious quality of their flocks—as if the style and pedigree of its hierarchy determined the spiritual worth of a church or brought its members into a different relationship with God.

Enough of it—especially as our results had been more satisfying than our procedure. We had made history of the sort that is supposed to count, and could go home with a glow of complacency.

### Unofficial Finland

For me, at least, the real history of our visit only began when its official purpose was over.

Our Finnish hosts had indeed already relieved our labours by quartering us in a hotel on a wooded island where Arctic Terns wheeled and plunged in a reedy lagoon under our windows and a tangle of unexpected wild-flowers—Rosebay, Tansy, Golden Rod, Chives and Orpine and Spiked Valerian, Maiden Pink and three sorts of Campanula—clothed the rocks and invaded the precinct. But when the last meeting had been endured we were promised a day's rest in our chairman's country home at Vihti. If Brändö could show so much, lake and hill and forest should be full of delights.

Cars provided by the Finnish army were waiting for us after luncheon. We were to inspect two of the ancient churches, at Esbo and Lohja, where a sprawl of mediaeval paintings, saints and devils, scenes from scripture and legend and the life of the peasants cover walls and vaulting with colour. The curious can find full accounts of them in any guide-book: for all their quaint interest they only reinforced my already obstinate modernism. But the journey was a compensation. The structure of the land is exactly like that strange corner of Scotland that lies to the west of Ben Arkail and Finavon and to the north of the mountains of Assynt. A honeycomb of ancient rock without perceptible eminences or water-shed encloses a multitude of lakes and, between tree-clad hill and fretted waters, fields of rye and barley, hay-cocks piled high round wooden stakes, droves of Ayrshire cattle, and scattered farm-steads, timbered and red-roofed. Multiply twenty-fold the scale of the landscape around Scourie, increase the number of its pines, remove the glimpses of distant peaks, and southern Finland will be familiar to you.

So at least I had concluded when, midway between Esbo and Lohja, the parallel was shaken and reinforced. Over a stretch of hay-field from the farm-land on our left to the forest on our right came a huge dark beast at speed. Our car slackened to let him pass. Twenty yards away a young bull moose, long-nosed, heavy-horned, high-shouldered and pathetically weak behind, careered across the road. A moose in broad daylight and open country: the largest wild thing I shall ever see; the strangest combination of awkwardness and power; this indeed was foreign—a thing undreamed. Yet just so had a stag, smaller, more graceful, but equally unexpected, bounded across our path when we

passed from Loch Stack on the road to Scourie, and revealed in a flash the novelty of the land.

That night we spent at Lohja, and the bishop discovered my passion for the wild-flowers of his country. Very diffidently he (or his wife) suggested that, instead of a few hours with him and then a long journey to the tourist centres and beauty spots of East Finland, we should stay for two nights at Vihti and then give ourselves a couple of days to see Helsingfors. There was a lake, a forest and hill; his boys were interested in plants; it would be very simple; but we could have a Finnish bath. To escape two nights in a train; to stay with friends instead of in hotels; to see the folk, the land not as a passer-by but more intimately; these were more attractive than Olavinlinna or Valamo, the rapids at Imatra or the isthmus of Punkarharju. Once or twice, as she drove us from Lohja, I could see my hostess wondering whether her country home and its primitive ways would be grand enough for these strange rich Englishmen with their luxurious homes and ancient civilisation; once or twice the struggle between her hospitality and her anxieties found sweetly sensitive speech. She could not foresee that she was offering me one of the few perfect experiences of a life-time.

#### A Perfect Day

Perfect is a word that should be used only for those moments when a quality of unself-conscious joy develops out of harmonious surroundings, trustful comradeship and shared activity, when life becomes natural and wholesome and satisfying, when the soul regains its paradise. In our normal days the world is too much with us: we cannot and should not escape the fret of duty, the tension of conflicting claims, the discipline of suffering or the ache of deserved failure. But sometimes when a spell of work has been finished or an illness has interrupted one's course, there comes a season of refreshing; and then, if place and people and pursuits are congenial, the perfect may be realised.

So it was in those days at Vihti. The house stood on a bluff above a lake, small for Finland, very large to an Englishman. Across it rose a ridge of low hill and forest. Round the house were fields of hay and rye, and beds of summer flowers. On the shore were my host's study, the bathing chamber, and a little pier. Other buildings completed the farm. The whole was

peaceful and welcoming: even a stranger knew that here he was at home.

But it was the boys who made this certain, the boys who sealed the promise of perfection. Much of my life has been spent with youngsters, my own and other people's: its happiest work was as a schoolmaster. I am not foolish enough to think that I understand the human boy, nor immodest enough to imagine that he likes me; but at least I can admire and enjoy. These three were perhaps the best specimens I have ever known, and the eldest was very near my ideal.

#### A Rare Friendship

His parents, dear and godly folk, had called him Samuel; and their faith had been fully

(To be continued.)

## WHY I AM STILL A PACIFIST

W. ROBINSON

SINCE the war began I have been asked by many of my friends on meeting them (asked rather wistfully, I think), "Are you still a pacifist? Has the war changed your views?" To all I have answered, "Yes, I am still a pacifist. No, the war has made no difference to my views." How could it? How could any set of events, however calamitous? My views are not dependent on any environmental conditions. I am quite unashamedly what the Master of Balliol called "a dogmatic pacifist."\* But in his book, with much of which I am in agreement, he seems to me quite to misunderstand the basis of dogmatic pacifism. He makes far too much of the Sermon the Mount. Dogmatic pacifism, as I understand it, is not based on the Sermon the Mount and the interpretation of it which Liberal Protestantism gave to it, an interpretation which I personally reject.† The business of juggling with texts makes no appeal to me whatever. To me the Christian Faith is a revelation about the character of God—how He acts towards men—and about the character of man, the one towards whom God's saving activity is directed. This revelation is given not

\*See his Burge Memorial Lecture, *Pacifism as a Principle, and Pacifism as a Dogma*.

†See *Christianity is Pacifism* (1933), Chapter III.

justified. Slim and straight of body, serious and sensitive but with jolly wrinkles round the eyes, thoughtful for others but wholly free from self-consciousness or priggishness, the child was a joy to behold and a delight to accompany. Within ten minutes of our arrival I was carried off into a sanctum under the roof, and shown sheet by sheet his herbarium. I knew neither Finnish nor Swedish: he had no English—he was only thirteen—but plants have names in Latin and we could both string together school-boy sentences in the speech of ancient Rome. "Habes dedum palustre: ubi invenisti." "In monte trans lacum"—and a wave of the hand in the appropriate direction. "Ubi Carum carvi inventum est." "In horto—sed non in horto"—could anything be more tersely expressive?

so much in words as in deeds. It consists of "the mighty acts of God." It culminates in Jesus, where we see God functioning under human conditions, and in whom, therefore, the characters of both God and man are flood-lit. Every other revelation of God must be tested and refined by the revelation given in Jesus Christ. This revelation shews, as the writer of *The Epistle to Diognetus* put it in the second century, that "violence is no attribute of God"; that God wills to relate himself to men by love, which is disinterested self-giving. It further shews that human personality is the one truly sacred thing in historical reality. It makes it impossible to give Christian sanction to war and to a good many other things in the economic and political life of the world in which we live. No one, it seems to me, can watch Jesus at work, follow His life right through up to the tragedy of the Cross, and then put God in the witness box on the side of war. Dogmatic pacifism is really a matter of theology in the strictest sense of that much abused word.

#### "A City Set on a Hill"

But there is a further point: the Christian revelation is an on-going reality. There is the Church, which is the Body of Christ, which is set in the world to redeem it.

The function of the Church is to witness to the holy character of God. This witness she makes in her worship, where the redeeming acts of God are exhibited; in preaching, where the Word of God is uttered; and in her life. The world in its unredeemed state constantly gives the lie to the truth about God's holy character, in the life of society more so at some times than at others. It is the Church's business to keep alive this truth, and at no time is it more necessary for her to bear the witness than at times when it seems to be most completely denied by what is happening in the world about her. Inevitably the Church shares the life of the world, which at point after point is below the level of her own inherent life. There is a kind of inevitable compromise which is bound up with the necessity of her historical existence, as well as compromise of another order which is a deliberate denial of her Lord. This is why it is that, at any given moment of her existence, and in relation to some particular aspect of ethical attitude, she often expresses within herself a double witness. In a crisis moment, when something new is being brought to birth in human society, when a relative situation (in which from the point of view of the Christian Faith only a choice between two evils is offered) is being transcended so that it will become wholly irrelevant, this double witness becomes acutely apparent. Such is the case now, when we are passing from a state of nationalist anarchy to a state of international co-operation which it is hoped will be the starting point for the abolition of war as a political instrument. At such a time, more than at any other time, it is vital—not only to the life of the Church, but to the life of the world—that the Church express within herself the absolutist attitude. Whenever she compromises she puts a blemish on the character of God, and, if her witness should so far fail that in her whole life she completely compromised, she would altogether rob God of His good character.

#### "In an Hour that ye Think Not"

It is often said that, in ethical advance, we must move through the relative to the absolute, and this I understand to be part of the thesis of Dr. Lindsay's Burge Memorial Lecture. I believe it to be a mistaken view of the way of working of the Christian ethic. The Christian ethic is not of this order, but apocalyptic in the way of its work. This means that the Christian Society expresses within its own witness an unfulfilled and unrealised (so far as the world is concerned) event, or structure of events. It is as leaven hidden in a lump which will quite suddenly (as it appears) do its work, or as seed sown in a field, which, without anything apparently happening, will with equal suddenness turn into a field of grain ready for the harvester, that the unrealised event will take shape in historical reality. And this means that when it seems to be farthest off, in the darkest hour, so to speak, the witness must not fail.

The Christian pacifist, therefore, stands in this situation, to-day, not as a perfectionist, but as one who, on this question of war, anticipates the "now" of the "ripe time" in which the vicious circle will be broken. He sees, not simply a choice between two evils, but the possibility of a third alternative. And so understanding his position he makes his witness with humility and without boasting, and with a pure charity (not patronage) and understanding (not superiority) towards his brethren who honestly do not see as he does, knowing that he cannot, if he would, escape the mesh of inevitable compromise, and that he is a sharer in the sin of the world. His ambition is to strive for peace and if necessary to suffer for it, which is the ambition of all good men and women who bear the name of Christ, even of many who differ from him. Nevertheless, it is true that, if this witness which he professes should die in the Church, not only the Church, but civilization would utterly perish.

YOU MAY ORDER THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST TO BE  
SENT ABROAD FROM THE OFFICE.

## MUST WE LOSE FAITH?

MAUDE ROYDEN

FAITH, it is true, is more than reason—because deeper and higher; and unfaith no doubt is more than reason alone can deal with. Yet it seems strange to me that so many people should lose their faith in God because of the war, if the faith they had was that of the Christian religion.

In the Gospels, the Founder of that religion told us how and on what to build. The Sermon on the Mount is generally held to be a summary of that teaching, and it is perhaps the best-loved and most often repeated of any passage in the Gospel. It tells us how to live and, at the end, the evangelist has recorded the parable of the two houses—one built on rock and one on sand.

If, in the material world, we were to consult an architect about building a house in a certain place, he would, of course, have in mind the place in which it was to be built, the character of the land, the situation, aspect and so forth. He would consider the proper building materials for that house. He would take into account questions of climate.

If I were then systematically to ignore all his instructions or observe them only so far as a few details—such as the external ornaments of the building, the presence or absence of a bow window, and the character of a chimney here and there—were concerned, it would hardly, I hope, occur to me afterwards to blame the architect if the building collapsed.

In countries liable to earthquake, scientific building has reached a very high degree of security; but this security is not to be enjoyed by those who defy all that science and experience can teach them. Even these people probably do not declare, when the earthquake occurs and their house falls, that they have lost their faith in the architect whose instructions they ignored. For, in fact, they never had any

faith in him or they would have done as he advised.

#### God is not Mocked

Will anyone read the Sermon on the Mount to-day and claim that any nation in the whole world has built its civilisation in accordance with the principles Christ laid down? Most nations, no doubt, have accepted a hint here and there. They have, so to speak, thrown out a window or decorated a chimney; but that they have built on the foundations (that is to say, the fundamental principles) of the Sermon on the Mount, no one will have the effrontery to claim. When the house of our civilisation founders in war, should our faith be shaken or confirmed?

It should be remembered that, if we could build our civilisation in defiance of Christ's teaching and then find that it stood four square to every storm, we should be justified in saying, with contempt, "I have no faith in the principles of Christianity—I have no faith in its Founder": for it would be clear that He was quite mistaken in saying that a house built on the sand could not stand.

To me the shattering blow of war is at least a little more tolerable—a little more possible to bear—because it confirms in me the conviction that only a truly Christian civilisation can stand; and that we have nothing to do in the future but to accept and act upon Christian principles in order to create a civilisation more fair and more secure than our most glorious imagination can now conceive. We might have learnt this by trying out the teaching of Christ, individually, nationally and internationally: but we refused to do so. The result is as we see. This should not be a reason for despairing but for a much deeper and stronger faith. "Let God be true and every man a liar."

#### YOUTH AND AGE

Mr. Hancock's article has recalled to my mind an utterance I once heard from the lips of the late Mrs. H. M. Swanwick during the last war. Referring to the familiar saying, "Si jeunesse

savait, si vieillesse pouvait," she protested that what we ought to say was the exact opposite—"Si jeunesse pouvait, si vieillesse savait."

SEPTUAGENARIAN.

## PACIFISM IN INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE

A. SALTER.

WE are all agreed that to ensure a happy, harmonious social life there must be the deliberate and conscious practice of pacifism between individuals in the same community. But, if war is to be abolished, there must also exist a corporate or collective pacifist spirit as between communities or nations.

Now what does such international pacifism involve? The German nation has been estranged from us for the past thirty years. A combination of circumstances has now led to the present outbreak of hostilities. We are each trying to slaughter as many as we can of the subjects of the other country. In spite of offers of mediation from influential quarters we, through our Government, have declined to treat with Germany unless Hitler is got rid of and Hitlerism is destroyed.

British public opinion envisages an ambitious tyrant, lustful of world power (cf. Napoleon and Alexander the Great) who has gathered round him a group of semi-human or sub-human fanatics, and who has managed somehow or other to impose his rule absolutely on the German nation. If "he" can be disposed of and a different Government established in Germany, then we can quickly make peace and come to a friendly understanding with the German people.

I believe this to be a fatal misreading of the situation. We must look much deeper and we must try and trace back the origins of the progressive estrangement in recent years. We must ask what made Germany go so mad that she placed Hitler in undisputed power over her life and fortunes, and what made the ordinary, decent German (indistinguishable in his private and family life from the average Englishman) willing to accept a new political and economic philosophy.

I am convinced that, at root, it was the same driving force that has created the war on the other side of the globe between China and Japan. Whatever the result of the present war, if these causes remain, the same or similar effects of an even more far-reaching character will occur again in a few years' time and will provide new Hitlers and other Japans.

### Export or Die

Let me illustrate what I mean by these deeper causes by referring to an address to which I listened in a Committee Room of the House of

Commons three years ago. The speaker was an eminent and distinguished Japanese scholar, who gave fully-documented evidence for all the statements he made to the gathering. His argument was subsequently submitted in the form of a manifesto to every member of the British House of Commons, the House of Lords, the French Chamber of Deputies, the French Senate, and the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America. It set out Japan's case against the western world and maintained that the war in the Far East was the necessary and inevitable outcome of Japan's treatment by Britain and America.

Briefly stated, the thesis ran as follows:—Japan has a population of nearly 80 millions, cooped up in four or five small islands. Only one-sixth of her soil is cultivable, for bare rock comes to the surface over a great part of her area. She has practically no natural resources in the way of minerals and indigenous raw materials. She cannot feed herself from home-grown produce—85 per cent. of her rice comes from Formosa and Korea, which areas she was obliged in the past to seize for this purpose. Her population is growing at the rate of an additional million souls per year, though there has been no propaganda to stimulate the birth-rate, as in Germany and Italy. Prior to the Great War, Japan was emigrating a quarter of a million of her population every year. She can only get foodstuffs and raw materials for her industry by exporting her manufactured products, obtaining foreign exchange thereby and purchasing the necessary substances therewith. She must "export or die." If she cannot export, if her goods are refused entry overseas, she must fold her hands and quietly watch her population starve to death—or she must fight.

### The Dog in the Manger

Now, said the speaker, you British appointed a few years ago a Royal Commission on Overseas Settlement. That Commission visited Australasia and took detailed evidence as to its possibilities of receiving a large increase of emigrants from Britain. The Commission reported, so far as Australia itself is concerned, that that continent could easily maintain a population of 50 millions of people and possibly even 100 millions. Actually Australia has a population of 6½ millions—decreasing at the rate of 4,000 a year for some years past.

As regards New Zealand, the Commission reported that that country could well support a population of 25 millions and probably of 40 millions. The actual population is 1½ millions, not increasing.

Said this distinguished Japanese, "We have hardly standing room on our little islands. You have millions upon millions of acres of unoccupied lands, admirably suited from a climatic standpoint to Japanese settlement. You can neither populate, cultivate nor exploit this vast continent yourselves, and you will not let anyone else do so. You will not allow a yellow man to set foot in the whole country. You have adopted the selfish and intolerable doctrine of 'a White Australia,' and the Jap may starve or suffocate so far as you are concerned.

"But more. Japan must export. By your Ottawa Agreements and your tariff policy you deliberately try to exclude all Japanese goods, not only from your home country, but also from the Dominions and even from your tropical Colonies. You have put up an effective ring fence against us.

### Compelled to Fight

"You have compelled us to fight. At present we are not able to fight you for the right to settle in Australasia and elsewhere or for the right to trade on equal terms. So we have to turn to the continent of Asia, where we can obtain markets, foodstuffs and raw materials from our weaker neighbour, China. We have seized Manchuria, where we can mine important metallic ores that we urgently need, and where we can grow in abundance soya beans, flax and other vital substances.

"Just as you British have tried to exclude us from trade with areas over which you exercise control, so the United States has, by the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Law, endeavoured to shut us out from the American continent.

"We must fight or starve. If you continue your present policy, we shall have to fight you when we have finished with China and have recovered our strength."

When I was in California in 1936, I well remember being taken along the coast south of San Francisco and being shown by a Japanese Christian the terraced mountain side where Japanese smallholders, by patient and infinite toil, had carved out cultivable plots, and by an ingenious irrigation system, had managed to grow almost all the vegetables that San Francisco, Los Angeles and other towns con-

sume daily. Said the Jap to me, "I have brothers and relatives in Japan who are trained and experienced agriculturists. They are hungry, for there is not enough earth to go round in my country. For ten years they have been waiting and I have been trying to get them here. See all that line of barren mountain side? We can make it fruitful and yield abundance, but America will not let us. These Yanks cannot or will not do it themselves. There are miles upon miles that we could utilise to our own profit and to the profit of the State. There is vast unoccupied land here. But no! No yellow man need apply. I hate the Americans. They are no more Christians than you English."

### What Caused this Madness?

Dr. Albert Palmer, the well-known American theologian, delivered an address at Buffalo, N.Y., on December 8th last, in which he made the following statement: "What made the Germans go mad and choose a Hitler for their leader? What driving force sent the Japanese into China? Unless these causes are recognised and then removed they will produce new Hitlers and will cause new invasions. When a child is in a tantrum it isn't enough to punish him. That may only make the tantrum worse. We must ask, 'What caused the tantrum?' Is the child hungry or undernourished? Is he starting scarlet fever? Is he in the grip of some fear? Has some bully up the street been abusing him? What is the cause?"

So with nations swept by tantrums of persecution, threatening military preparations and menacing aggression, ready to defy the world, destroy its peace, take any risks. Someone must have the wisdom to ask why? How do nations get that way, and what can be done to reduce their fever?

Instead of doing this, we short-circuit our resentment into hatred, embargoes, bigger armaments, and finally into war.

It is increasingly clear that the causes of the present world tantrum of hatred, fear and violence are largely economic and psychological. The most important single cause is economic fear. Modern science has given us a world in which every nation needs to import quantities of raw materials from beyond its borders. To do this, it must be able to sell its own products abroad. No nation, not even Russia or America, is self-sufficient. Economically, the world needs free access to raw materials and markets. There is not merely abundance but super-abundance for all. But across a world which ought to be



one economic unit, we have inherited from the past national boundaries, at any one of which goods may be and are blocked by tariffs backed by military force. Military or naval power is always behind the custom house.

### The Economics of Madness

Further, a populous industrial nation must, as things are to-day, possess overseas colonies or dependencies where her own currency circulates, which she can use as a privileged and protected market, and from which she can obtain the raw materials prohibited to her in areas which have a foreign currency and from which her exports are more or less barred by import duties.

Every educated German has realised this, and, as things are to-day, the average German can see no hope for the future except by the Hitler method of using force.

Pacifism, then, has an implication far beyond individual or personal behaviour. The conduct of nations as organised communities must be of such a character that the needs of other

nations are not only recognised but provided for in a truly Christian spirit. "Do unto others as ye would that men should do unto you," must be applied first in our private lives and then in our communal and national relationships.

I have written this article because eighteen years in the House of Commons have convinced me that pacifists who are indifferent to political considerations and to the necessary political readjustments between countries and who refuse to exert their influence on the political and economic life of their nation are really traitors to the cause of Christ. In point of fact they repudiate the pacifism they profess.

Similarly, the Church, which ought to be the conscience of the world, must bear an intelligent and fearless witness in regard to the causes of war, and it must try to eliminate the tantrums of which Dr. Palmer speaks, by removal of their causes. No concentration on high spiritual principles will mean anything unless they are applied and applied fearlessly in the world as it is.

## SOME PEACE TERMS

LORD TAVISTOCK

(1) Return by the German Government to the Gold Standard and abandonment of the policy of adjusting the money supply to the goods-output.

(2) Abandonment of all barter trade arrangements which deprive financiers of commissions on exchange transactions.

(3) Restoration of the free exchanges, i.e., of licence to gamble in currencies.

(4) A British and French monopoly of the export markets in the Balkans, including the liberated Polish and Czech States.

(5) Acceptance by Germany of loans from the City of London.

(6) No return of the German colonies or cession of any British territory or economic advantages.

(7) Ninety per cent. disarmament by Germany and 50 per cent. by France and Britain.

The above may be a somewhat cynical and uncharitable summary of the peace terms the Government and its financial advisers would like to impose but do not dare to publish; but only those who, like the writer, know from experience to what a fatal degree members of the Cabinet are guided in their economic policy by men who really do hope for some-

thing like the execution of the first five clauses as a result of the war, can have any idea of what a demand for a detailed statement of peace conditions or acceptance of principles for an international settlement such as the Peace Societies have outlined really involves. The Government cannot possibly comply with either of these requests unless it is prepared to desert those whose advice on economic questions it has relied on; offend persons who represent themselves (quite falsely!) as the bulwark of the nation's commercial and business life; and embark on financial experiments which it has always been led to believe (again quite falsely) will "destroy public confidence," whatever this dread phrase may mean.

They are indeed between the devil and the deep sea and it is hard to know how they can be helped save by the rapid execution at the eleventh hour of a task all too long neglected—the education of public opinion in the basic principles of sane finance. It seems that only the encouragement of a strong popular demand for a monetary and foreign trade policy which promotes peace and not war can give our ministers courage to venture into a—to them—new and uncharted sea where alone is to be found safety from the storms of war.

## CAN THE ACTOR BRING PEACE?

SYBIL THORNDIKE.

I THINK if one were asked what was the greatest need of human beings in the world at this moment, one would say: "We want a way to make us realise that we are all members one of another—that what hurts my brother man must hurt me, too—that what is destroying another nation is destroying my nation, too—that when one member suffers all other members suffer—that, so long as there is any nation or any individual living in sin or sorrow, my nation and myself must feel the responsibility."

If we could realise this, there would be no wars, for there would be instead a desire in all of us that others should share the good. We should want to remove all obstacles that stood in the way of friendship—we should be learning to love.

I believe the Art of the Theatre can point a way to this end. (I should say, rather, the Art of Acting—for that is the chief of the many arts which go to the making of the Theatre.)

The actor knows that in his being are contained all other beings. However far removed on the surface another human being may seem, the actor has to dig deep within himself—down to fundamentals, perhaps—to find a point of contact, to find some quality that in him might have developed differently from the way it developed in the character he has to play, and from that similarity to build in his own person that other one. It is often a very humiliating process, for there may be many beings with whom one does not feel one wants contact—better pass by on the other side and say one does not know or understand such a one. But the actor may not do this, or he is limiting his art. Again, it is humiliating when the actor is called upon to play a great person, a saint, a hero, a pioneer among men; he finds the "point of contact," but realises that he himself has taken an easier, less lofty way than the character he incarnates. "There, but for the grace of God, go I"—this is the attitude of the actor.

It is an interesting thing to note that from this very contact—this realising of some common attribute in another human being—is developed a sympathy and a love for that person—for it is very sure than one can never play well a person one does not love. The benefit is very clear, for when an actor goes about his everyday life in the world he finds he is naturally seeking a

point of contact with those he meets—finding the very people he may have been playing—finding that they belong inside himself, that he is part of them. What is true of the individual is true of the group, or community to which he belongs. A group of actors should be able to become together another race—another group of people—on the surface alien, but having found deep down the contact; so sympathy for another race or group is developed.

### A Sympathy that Could Save

The criticism may be made, "How dangerous this may be—this becoming someone else—sense of reality must surely go from you." The answer is in the dual nature of the actor. He is, completely, the person he is playing, but at the same time he is completely something, someone, watching that person—God—Imagination—Vision—Superior Mind—and it is from that greater side of his nature that sympathy, understanding and love develop. There must be always this Fatherly, Motherly, caring, pitying and protecting Person—the mind above and greater than the smaller person seen. This attitude is an ideal towards which the actor works.

I cannot help feeling that something of this sort might be very helpful to us all in our great perplexity now. When one sees in another nation something which makes us feel angry and antagonistic—great cruelty, perhaps—greed, perhaps—a too great sense of power and importance—at once to find our "point of contact." Cruelty. "Have we ever been cruel? What did we do about it?" "Are we greedy ever—or full of a sense of our own superiority?" These are questions which an "actor" must answer truly, and find that he has somewhere in himself those things which have made that other one seem so impossible and so difficult. Then that other part of us can take charge—that kind which is above and greater—sympathy and desire to love is developed, then nothing is too impossible or too difficult. I believe that this way of finding contacts with others is a very special contribution; this the Art of the Theatre can bring to the solving of our present misunderstandings and unhappiness. True sympathy is humble and creative—true sympathy is inventive and will find a way—true sympathy cannot destroy, it can only give life.

## FREEDOM

ALEX WOOD

THE capacity to make a responsible choice is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the person. It is one of the greatest of God's gifts—a gift involving tremendous risks for man, and apparently for the purpose of God. The way in which the father in the parable hands over the portion of his goods to the prodigal son and watches him depart, is one of the noteworthy features of the story. Presumably the father knew the risks he was allowing the young man to run. Presumably he foresaw at least the immediate consequences. Yet he let him go, carrying with him the means of his own undoing. Parents will appreciate the father's belief in freedom, even if they find it hard to share it, but why should a parent give his boy a freedom that involves the risk of a complete shipwreck of his life, and why should God endow his children with a freedom which leads to all the brutality and horror of international warfare with the bayonet, the bomb and the blockade?

From the point of view of the individual, the importance of freedom is obvious. It is by the exercise of responsible freedom that personality grows and character develops. Every right choice makes future choosing easier. We may be saved many mistakes if right choices are made for us by others, but, if we are always protected against the possibility of mistakes, we never develop. Like Peter Pan, we never grow up. These adult children are continually in evidence in real life—children from whom, in their early days, freedom was unreasonably withheld, and who, in adult life, leave decisions to be made for them by others, or by circumstances, or, worse still perhaps, who make decisions for themselves irresponsibly. It is a hard saying that "only freedom can prepare for freedom," but it is fully borne out by experience. Those to whom freedom has been denied may cease to desire it, or may even come to fear it, and, when the opportunity for exercising responsible choice comes, may evade the choice altogether, or exercise it without any sense of responsibility.

What is true in personal relations, is of course equally true in political relations. Mr. Middleton Murry has defined Democracy as that form of government which secures to the individual man the maximum of responsible freedom.

This is the end or purpose of the democratic state—it must ensure the condition necessary for the fullest development of the person. The state exists for the person, not the person for the state. Some restriction there must be in any community, but even the restriction of freedom for certain persons in certain directions must serve the end of a wider freedom for all.

These questions are all raised for us by war-time legislation. First of all there is rationing. Why should we be restricted in our choice of foodstuffs otherwise than by our means which is the only restriction in peace-time? Rationing has an important lesson to teach. There are thousands of homes where butter has always been rationed by poverty, so has coal and many other necessities of life. In fact, economic circumstances impose tremendous limitations on the freedom of the many in standard of living, education, health and career. Greater economic equality would restrict the freedom of the few, but would greatly extend the liberty of the many, and it is therefore an essential condition of a true democracy. The principle is being partially conceded in rationing, though whether because it is accepted as a principle, or because this concession will tend to allay a growing discontent prejudicial to the effective prosecutions of the war, it might be unfair to enquire.

Other questions have been raised by the regulations made under the Emergency Powers Act. These regulations give powers to the executive, which, if used to the full, would convert this country from a democracy to a dictatorship overnight. Under these regulations, the governing consideration is the "effective prosecution of the war." All liberty of speech or action is refused if, *in the judgment of the authorities*, it conflicts with this over-ruling consideration. So far these powers have not been fully used because public opinion against them has been too strong, but "eternal vigilance" is still necessary. The developments in France ought to be a warning. There the suppression, not only of all pacifist opinion, but even of all peaceful opinion, has been rigorous and complete. Not only are Philippe Vernier and Henri Roser in prison, but the Communist Party has been proscribed, the popularly elected Communist Deputies have

been imprisoned, and the Trade Unions heavily restricted. These are awkward developments in a country allied with our own in the cause of freedom.

It may, of course, be argued—and it is argued—that to tolerate speech, writing and action which hinder the effective prosecution of the war, is to endanger the very life of a nation at war, and that no Government can be justified in taking these risks. In fact, freedom can only be conceded when it can be *safely* conceded. I remember Bucharin maintaining this position in a conversation I had with him in 1933. I had pointed out to him that the communists in this country were allowed greater freedom than the counter-revolutionaries in Russia. He conceded the point, but added this in explanation. "At the moment your government feels safe and ours does not. Wait until communism in your country becomes a real threat to the stability of the capitalist order and then see how much freedom you give them." The time came when, like many others, he fell a victim to the tyranny he had defended.

The truth is, of course, that under the pretext of "threat to the established order" any new movement may be suppressed, all progress arrested, and the community offered the alternatives of stagnation or revolution. It is the recognition of this fact that lies behind the position of the conscientious objector under the Military Forces Act. His freedom of conscience is recognised by statute. There may be some who defend this on the ground that he is an awkward person, no good to a country at war in any case, and not amenable to attempts to change his convictions by penalty or persecution. But the real defence goes deeper. It is a recognition that the true line of development for a country, as for an individual, is discovered only by an attempt to discover the purpose of God and co-operate in it. This purpose is revealed in the conscience of men, and first of all in the conscience of the few. Any particular minority may be misled, but only by toleration and the concession of freedom to all minorities who are prepared to use it responsibly, can the true purpose of the community be achieved.

## Order "THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST" Now!

The purpose of "THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST" is to develop a constructive policy expressive of Christian principles, and to keep peace workers in Church, Colleges and the various Christian Pacifist Fellowships in touch with each other.

To the Editor,  
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Please send me THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST monthly to December 1940, for one year, commencing with the February issue, at the inclusive cost of 3/3, which I enclose herewith.

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# THE ONLY WAY

NATALIE VICTOR

**T**O DESTROY Hitlerism." How often have these words been uttered during these last months! The war aims of the Allies have been formulated again and again, and in every case reduced to these three words as their common denominator. "To crush Hitlerism" is their only variant.

Now there is no reason to question the sincerity of those who utter them, not to doubt their determination to build a new world when the destruction of Hitlerism is achieved. The Prime Minister, in common with all men of goodwill, has his dream of a new Europe, from which the menace of Hitlerism has been for ever removed. But how does he—how do the Allies, propose to achieve this end? By force. "There is no other way." It is here that the Pacifist breaks finally with the policy of the Government.

Evil can never be crushed beyond hope of recovery. Until it is converted, there is no foundation upon which to build, and conversion is outside the realm of force. It is, indeed, the attempt to break spiritual evil by physical force that is (as it seems to many of us) the underlying fallacy of the war aim of the Allies.

### This Is Your Hour

For the Christian it should be enough to follow his Master. It was not the fury of a dictator, nor the brutality of a régime that the Son of Man faced Calvary. It was Evil in its essence—the evil of all ages gathered against Him in one terrific onslaught; evil that must be destroyed if the human race were to survive. And it was in His Power to destroy it: of that there can be no question. He had the right to summon to His aid twelve legions of angels, to pit spiritual force against spiritual evil. But He chose to convert it, and for conversion there was one only way. Evil must wreak its will upon Him—"this is your hour, and the power of darkness"—and in the darkness it should meet Love, and be overcome. Forgiveness: that was the only weapon that could be wielded by the nailed Hands. "Father, forgive them . . ." It was enough.

But all this seems to have little bearing upon the evil with which we are faced to-day. Granted that love is the only converting power at our disposal, how can it be exercised upon

the Nazi régime? Forgiveness is a divine prerogative, not the prerogative of sinful man; nor can it be exercised upon the unrepentant, nor for injuries inflicted upon another. All this is true. The Forgiveness of the Crucified itself could not forestall repentance. Only the dying robber availed himself of it at the time. But to the Crucified all men were forgivable. He could potentially forgive. He could bring them within reach of the Father's forgiveness; and no more than that was needed. Love proved the one solvent of the hardened heart, and the capacity for forgiveness was brought within the reach of all.

### The Battle of Love

This then is the task of the Christian in the present conflict. If it seems to him that force can neither crush evil in the present nor finally destroy it, his only weapon is to bring the miracle of Love to bear upon his enemies, to draw them within the orbit of the Divine Forgiveness. It is a stupendous task. "This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting." It is a lonely and a silent task. While the Allied forces believe the destruction of Hitlerism to be brought nearer by the destruction of a U-boat, by the forcing down of a bomber, by the tightening of a blockade, he himself believes it to be brought nearer by the conversion of souls—but as to these he has no secret sources of information. His travail is known to God and his own soul, its results to God alone. All that he knows is that Divine Love is illimitable, that *he* dare not stagger at the miracle of forgiveness who has been himself forgiven.

Christ breaks the power of cancelled sin,  
He sets the prisoner free;  
His Blood can make the foulest clean;  
His Blood availed for me.

It is with this weapon that the pacifist goes out into the darkness, and lets the brutality of the Nazi régime, the horror of the concentration camps, sink into his soul. When he comes out white and stricken from the conflict, he comes out ignorant of the miracle performed, little dreaming that Hitlerism is already reeling under the blows of Love. Yet this, and not less than this, has been his achievement, for Evil is doomed where Love reigns.

# ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

BOTH in the interests of Anglican Conscientious Objectors and for the effective witness of the Church it is most necessary that the Church of England should completely repudiate war. We are, therefore, gathering into one Fellowship all who assent to the following declaration:—

**"We, Communicant members of the Church of England, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to take no part in war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world."**

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Hon. Organising Secretary:—The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, c/o 47, Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

### ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Organising Secretary,  
c/o 47, Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

During the past few months our membership has grown at the rate of about 160 a month, and at the beginning of December it stood at 2,062, including 323 priests. But still we would urge all members to do their utmost to contact those of their fellow-communicants who are pacifists and have not yet joined the Fellowship.

It has been encouraging to know of the formation of new groups in many districts throughout the country. Of the 31 groups now in existence 11 are diocesan groups, some of which have been able to send deputations to wait upon their Bishop.

Our Fellowship is still very small and there are many districts which are not covered by groups, and we would ask any member who feels able to bring together other members in their district to get in touch with the Secretary, who will be pleased to supply them with the names and addresses of other members in their area. Also, would those members who are not in contact with a group in their area write for the name and address of their local group Secretary.

It is hoped it will be possible to organise during the first few months of the year a number of meetings in various centres up and down the country. Members will be notified of such meetings when arrangements have been completed.

### BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship London Union was formed about a year ago as an outcome of a meeting called by the Rev. A. H. Hawkins with the objects of promoting closer contact between existing members of the Fellowship and of increasing the strength of the pacifist witness in London and Suburban Baptist Churches.

A public Meeting was held at the Baptist Missionary House in May, addressed by the Rev. Paul Rowntree Clifford and Mr. Eric Wilkins, to which an invitation was

extended to every Baptist Church in London. In October a reunion was held at Camden Road Baptist Church when Mr. Percy Bartlett was present. A helpful discussion took place concerning the witness of conscientious objectors at the forthcoming tribunals.

The fellowship is steadily growing in numbers and is represented in ninety of the 248 London and Suburban Baptist Churches.

### CONGREGATIONAL PEACE CRUSADE

The Silver Jubilee of the F.o.R. provides the reason—if one is required—for a review of the work of the Congregational Peace Crusade.

It was the first of the denominational Fellowships and was always closely associated with the F.o.R. It started as a Ministers' organisation but soon it was felt desirable to include laymen within the membership. It grew slowly at first—as all these Fellowships seem to have done—and the slowness of the growth was partly accounted for by the fact that its membership was scattered throughout the country and partly by the fact that its Hon. Secretary was always a very busy Minister who found it impossible to travel and visit districts where groups might have been set up.

At its Annual Meeting in May, 1937, 481 members were reported and at that date the Peace Crusade, while retaining its independence of action in connection with its own members, became the Congregational Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The great advantage to the Crusade has been that the F.o.R. Regional Secretaries have done the Crusade work along with their F.o.R. work. To-day, the membership stands at 2,034.

We urge two things: that all Congregational Pacifists should enrol with us so that we may look forward to the time when the pacifist witness shall not be without effect in the councils of Congregationalism; that Crusade groups should be formed within our Churches where the number of members justifies this, working in close co-operation with the local F.o.R. Branch.

## F.o.R. EASTER CONFERENCES

Thursday, March 21st to Tuesday, March 26th, 1940

Subject : The Present Situation in the Light of the Gospel.

NORTH : PLACE TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER

Chairman : The Rev. LESLIE ARTINGSTALL.

SOUTH : Kent College, Canterbury, Kent.

Chairman : The Rev. C. PAUL GLIDDON.

### COST

The Conference expenses will be pooled, those attending being informed of the average cost per head and invited to fix their contribution above or below as they can. It is estimated that the average cost for the South will be about £1.15.0, in addition to the Booking Fee of 2/6 : the cost of the North will be given later. More exact figures will be given at the Conference. It is earnestly hoped that no one will stay away on the score of expense. This sharing of expenses is one of the practical ways in which we are able to express our fellowship.

### BOOKING FORM

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

I intend to be present at the F.o.R. Easter Conference, 1940, and enclose booking fee of 2/6.

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### LEGACIES

On several occasions the F.o.R. has been generously remembered in the wills of its friends. Bequests, whether small or large, are a fruitful way of supporting the work of the Fellowship.

General Committee hopes that friends will remember this when drawing up their wills, and information as to the exact form of words will be gladly sent on application, F.o.R., 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

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### MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on Monday, 15th January. Leader :—The Rev. Eric Philip.

BRISTOL BRANCH. Meetings are held at 7.30 p.m. on the first Thursday in each month, at the Friends' Meeting House, Rosemary Street. The speaker on Thursday, January 4th, is the Rev. John R. Gibbs. All who are interested in the Christian Pacifist message are invited to attend.

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1 (2 mins. from Bond St. Tube). Every Sunday evening at 6 p.m. a service conducted by various pacifist Anglican and Free Church Ministers.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. EDINBURGH and LEITH. Meetings for prayer, thought and discussion. Fridays 6.30 p.m. Cairns Memorial Church, 196 Gorgie Road. Mondays 7.30 p.m., 36 Dudley Avenue (Rev. T. McKendrick).

### SUNNY SOUTH DEVON

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### BOOKS

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