

New Series. No. 4. Vol. 2

BRITISH LIBRARY

1 APR 1940

OF POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

APRIL, 1940

*The*

51125

# CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

A

*new series of*

*Reconciliation*

A NEGOTIATED PEACE

*G. H. C. Macgregor*

FACING THE FACTS

*Robert Coope*

HENRIETTA M. THOMAS

*Stephen Hobhouse*

FEDERAL UNION FOR PACIFISTS

*David A. Peat*

CHALLENGE FROM EUROPE

*F. Siegmund-Schultze*

THIS QUEER WAR

*C. Paul Gliddon*

Published by the  
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION  
17 RED LION SQUARE  
LONDON, W.C.1

Threepence

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

gets

## "FORWARD"

every week and writes of its editorial articles on the war:

"I am glad to see the vigour and thoroughness with which you are keeping 'FORWARD' up to its old standard.

"Your articles are all to the good so keep hammering away with the old 'FORWARD' flag flying on the front page and more power to your elbow."

Every Friday 2d.

Specimen copy free from  
Manager, 26 Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4

## KENT COLLEGE CANTERBURY

HEADMASTER: H. J. PRICKETT, M.A.  
(Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

A boarding school for boys aged 7-19. (Separate Junior House for boys aged 7-12) in which the education is on progressive lines. There are opportunities for boys to share in the government of the school and for many kinds of creative activity. The School is in a Reception Area, and underground concrete trenches have been provided with accommodation for every boy.

Fee: £80 per annum

INFORMATION AND PROSPECTUS FROM  
THE BURSAR

## EX-COMBATANT PACIFISTS

will address a Meeting arranged by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

on MONDAY, APRIL 15th, at 7-30 p.m.  
in the CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

### SPEAKERS:

The Rev. R. H. LE MESSURIER. (Formerly Sergeant, Royal Newfoundland Regiment.)

Lt.Col. W. L. OWEN, D.S.O., M.C. (Formerly Command West Surrey Regiment.)

The Rev. KENNETH RAWLINGS. (Formerly Lieutenant, 14th York and Lancaster Regiment.)

The Rev. DON ROBINS. (Formerly Flying Officer, R.A.F.)

The Rev. C. M. SMITH. (Formerly Captain and Adjutant, 7th Middlesex Regiment.)

Chairman: The Ven. ARCHDEACON HARTILL

Admission by ticket, which can be had free from  
The ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP, 47 Argyle Square, W.C.1

TICKETS FOR RESERVED SEATS — ONE SHILLING

Will all Anglican Pacifists who have not yet joined the A.P.F. please get  
into touch with that Fellowship?

# The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

APRIL, 1940

*The Christian Pacifist* is the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational) the Methodist Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the (English) Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, the Church of Scotland Peace Society, the Scottish Congregational Ministers, Peace Society, and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

## THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

### Russia's Loss

The cessation of the war in Finland has come as a relief in spite of the cruel nature of the peace terms. One cannot help reflecting that these terms are actually more severe than Finland could have obtained without fighting, and wondering what has been gained by resort to military defence. Russia is said to have won the war, and that seems to be another way of saying that she has won lasting disgrace in the sight of civilisation, and probably lost the admiration of millions of idealists all the world over who believed the modern Russia to be the shining example of the New State without taint of imperialism. It is to be feared that a peace of this kind will evoke resentment and militaristic reactions not only in Finland but throughout Scandinavia, unless the cessation of hostilities in this area can spread to the West and open the way to genuine negotiations for real peace. It is equally impossible, however, not to feel that there is just a dawn of hope in the world. Whatever one may think of Mr. Wang, it is evident that the Japanese are trying to find a way out of the complications in China. And though a settlement in the West is still far off and may be further deferred by some fresh emotional outburst, the work of Mr. Sumner Welles and the less advertised work of Mr. Myron Taylor certainly appears to be a very substantial contribution on the part of the United States.

### Nervous Ridicule of Peace

As though the officials responsible for war propaganda were being made uneasy by the

spread of peace rumours, derision is now being poured on any talk of peace. Any suggestion of negotiation is represented as a timid defeatism. Britain seems now to agree with the dictators that to fight is the part of the strong man. Peace is now only "appeasement" in the worst sense of that word. A press photograph of bayonet practice carries the caption, "Not much peace talk here!" as though one of the lowest barbarisms of war were an amusing refutation of any thought of peace on our part. Soldiers are slandered as spoiling for the fight as though they loved fighting for fighting's sake. Peace is in disgrace and is scolded. Cabinet Ministers, themselves until recently very wisely reluctant to go to war, are now lecturing the neutral States for their degenerate desire to keep the peace. A raid on German bases is relished as our "revenge." Any attempt to bring the belligerents together to tell each other what they are fighting for is greeted with loud and laboured laughter. The peace societies are negligible though not neglected, police reporters having even been to church to take verbatim versions of the sermons of pacifist ministers, for even the Gospel "might be misunderstood." We have even heard of one Christian congregation that refused to join in intercession for peace "lest the impression should be given that we are in need of help."

### Two Reasons for not Negotiating

Two reasons are alleged for this contempt of peace talk. The first is that peace is the enemy's game. He obviously wants peace. He is asking for it—beginning to squeal, in fact. Is that the

time to consider peace terms? By no means. He would not accept peace when we offered it, and so now he can take his war. Let him have it! After he has had his medicine, then *we* shall do the talking. The other reason is that the enemy does not want peace. What's the good of talking of negotiation? *They* won't negotiate. Of course, *we* are always ready to negotiate, always have been, but the enemy is forcing war upon us. Even if he were to propose the discussion of peace terms we should know it was only bluff, a change of tactics but nevertheless just a different sort of offensive with the object of getting his own way again. We are all for peace, of course, but it takes two to make a peace, and Hitler, who loves war for its own sake, is not one of them.

#### Mr. Sumner Welles

Despite the scorn that is thus being cast upon the suggestion of negotiation, peace talk is undoubtedly growing without any help from the press and very little from the pulpit. The visit of Mr. Sumner Welles has inevitably given rise to speculation as to the purpose and progress of his mission and its probable results, and interest was naturally heightened by the meeting of Dictators at Brenner in the absence of any military experts and at the very time of Mr. Welles' return visit to Rome. Whatever may have been the object of that meeting, something of great moment was afoot and it was natural to hope that out of it might come an opportunity for peace-making. It is, of course, perfectly correct to say that the mission of Mr. Welles to Europe is not a peace mission, and it is not surprising to be told that no European Government has put any peace plan before him. All the same, it is quite clear from American broadcasts that public opinion in the U.S.A. expects some result for peace to follow from Mr. Welles' embassy. Something at least has been gained if President Roosevelt can be put in possession of the real aims of the belligerents (as far as they know them themselves) and is thus enabled to judge whether there is what he has called a "moral basis" for negotiation.

#### Hears Pacifist Opinions

As the Prime Minister has said, Mr. Welles was given opportunity during his brief stay in London to become acquainted with all shades of opinion. There was just one exception which Mr. Chamberlain did not mention. Owing to pressure of engagements with leading politicians, Mr. Welles was unable to receive a deputation

from the National Peace Council, whose Chairman, Professor C. E. M. Joad, did, however, communicate with Mr. Welles by letter, the full terms of which must remain confidential, but in which assurances were given of the deep concern of the peace movement in this country for the fruitfulness of the American Envoy's mission, and of "the existence in Great Britain of a not inconsiderable body of opinion which earnestly favours the utmost possible effort to bring this war to an end before hostilities take a wider course." The Council of Christian Pacifist Groups also submitted to Mr. Welles a statement in which it was declared that "there is deep feeling both that war in general is wrong and disastrous, and that this war in particular is a tragic failure in statesmanship."

#### Across the Gulf of War

The Statement expresses the conviction that the Churches both in this country and in Germany would, under courageous leadership, make a large contribution to the peace settlement. It mentions the meeting of leading Churchmen held in Holland at the invitation of the Bishop of Oslo and the document drawn up as its result. This document (published in our last issue) has already received some support in this country, and it is known that Church leaders abroad are earnestly striving towards the possibility of negotiation on the basis of the principles which are here laid down. Embassies of Reconciliation, in circulating this agreed statement, say in a covering letter, "We may be assured that there are many Christian men on the other side of the gulf of war as well as in neutral countries who, though to all appearances they may be quite powerless, share this sense of responsibility to the full. It would strengthen their hands if they could know our thoughts; and our own leaders will be encouraged if they can be assured of our support. The statement is circulated in the hope that those who belong to the rank and file of the Christian Churches in this country will consider it in groups in the atmosphere of prayer and in a sense of communion with Christians all over the world, so that there may go out from this country some clear expression of the will to realise a Christian peace at the earliest possible moment."

#### The Conscientious Objectors

Some hundreds of applicants who failed to obtain exemption from the Tribunals and whose appeals have now been dismissed are awaiting arrest for refusing to obey their calling-up

notices. The Government is apparently hesitating to take action, for up to the time of writing only one man is known to have been arrested, clerks from the Ministry of Labour making polite calls on them instead. Most of the men concerned being genuine conscientious objectors are perfectly ready to suffer if need be for their faith, and are making no complaint about it, but some means must be found whereby their cases can be reviewed and their names removed from the military register. There would be very deep concern in all the Churches and not only on the part of the pacifist minorities if their members were again imprisoned for conscience' sake, and considerable disappointment would be felt on finding that the clear intention of the Act of Parliament had not been put into effect. An analysis of the Tribunals' decisions is given on another page by courtesy of the Ministry of Labour.

#### Save for Victory!

In the House of Commons on March 13th,

## A NEGOTIATED PEACE

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

**A**FTER all that has happened during the past two years, one has a good deal of sympathy with those who argue that an immediate peace by negotiation will give us no guarantee against future aggression, for Hitler's word is not worth the paper upon which it is written. But those who, rather than negotiate, are prepared to prosecute the war "to the bitter end," must be compelled to face this question: What is your alternative? It may be well to remind ourselves what Mr. Chamberlain himself said at a time when his whole policy was directed not to winning "victory" but to avoiding war: "When the war is over, whoever may be the victor, it leaves behind a trail of loss and suffering which two generations will not obliterate, and it sows the dragons' teeth which are the seeds of fresh quarrels, fresh injustices, and fresh conflicts." That was in December, 1938. Yet to-day such a war is presumably going to lead to a new and better world order.

#### The Obstacles to Early Negotiation

In the mind of the ordinary man there are two main obstacles in the way of immediate negotiation. Firstly, there is the pledge to Poland, the giving of which, unconditionally and without an understanding with Russia, was

Sir John Simon moved a credit of £700,000,000 for the purposes of this war. It was a remarkable and indeed sinister fact that after Sir John Simon's brief statement no other reference was made to the subject. The debate was apparently turned off quite deliberately by Labour as well as other speakers on to the question of food supply. When the vote was taken only three I.L.P. men, led by Mr. Maxton, were found opposing, along with Mr. Cecil Wilson. Supporting the Government there were 192 votes, made up of about one-third of the Conservative Party and a quarter of the Labour Party. When we remember the wrangles that have taken place over the granting of relatively tiny amounts of money for the purposes of the League of Nations or of social advance at home, and when we think of the restrictions laid on all good causes at the moment in contrast with the extravagance known to characterise all war expenditure, we cannot but gasp at the irresponsibility of so-called democratic government when emotion has taken charge.

probably the most colossal diplomatic blunder in the history of our country and made war almost inevitable. Yet the fact remains that the Government is apparently unwilling to-day to repeat that pledge in its only logical form—to restore the pre-war Polish frontiers. It is now recognised that those frontiers cannot be justified; and the very fact that we have not yet declared war on Russia proves that the Polish pledge has ceased to be a compelling reason for continuing the war, once there is some indication that Germany would be willing to reconstitute a genuine Polish State.

Secondly, there is our Government's vow never to treat with "Hitlerism," so that it is extraordinarily difficult for them to negotiate without "loss of face." But the precise point in question is how ultimately to rid the world of Hitler; and the answer is that only the German people themselves can do that, and that we shall help on the good work not by continuing the war, but by making it clear that in return for a measure of restitution we are willing to offer a just and generous peace. That this is so becomes clearer when we ask two questions.

#### What Raised Hitler to Power?

Firstly, what are the root causes of Hitlerism?

Without seeking for one moment to whitewash the Fuehrer's crimes, or to deny his responsibility for precipitating war, we still have to ask what induced the mass of the German people to rally behind such a régime. And the answer unfortunately is that French and British Imperialism had taught them by their treatment of Liberal Germany that the only way to obtain concessions was to take them by force. Hitler was literally hurled into the dictator's throne by the bitterness and desperation of the German people. When Germany was democratic and pacific, the Allies continued to bleed her and humiliate her, until they reduced democracy to such contempt that the German people repudiated it. But when an aggressive tyranny had made Germany strong, Chamberlain and Daladier went to Munich, out of respect for the military might of a rearmed Germany, and accepted Hitler's terms. If the Germans to-day believe that nothing but force is respected, from whom did they learn the lesson? This leads us to our second question:

#### How to Get Rid of Hitler

How are we to get rid of Hitler? Obviously not by seeking to intensify the very conditions which put him where he is. The external pressure of the war is certain only to consolidate the internal régime. Hitler may seem bad to millions of decent Germans. But a second Versailles, with all its terrible consequences in inflation, unemployment and economic ruin, seems far worse. All the indications coming to us through neutral countries are that Hitler is more firmly in the saddle than ever as a result of the conviction, built up by his own propaganda, ably seconded by Mr. Churchill, that the Allies are aiming at the utter destruction of Germany. Thus a correspondent from Switzerland to the *Spectator* says: "One hears of serious and critical people, anti-Nazi until now, who are willing to support Hitler wholeheartedly, because they believe that Germany's national existence is at stake. On the whole, people feel that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by falling into line and following their Leader" (*Spectator*, 1.3.40). The only way to get rid of Hitler is to correct this conviction; and we shall do so not by intensifying the war, which is daily hardening it, but by appealing to the German people, over Hitler's head if that be necessary, and offering them a real settlement. As Harold Nicolson, Government supporter though he is, has wisely written: "In order to achieve our war aims we have no need to defeat

Germany as we defeated her in 1918 . . . If Germany is to see reason in time, it is essential that the German people should realise what sort of peace terms we have in mind" (*Why Britain is at War*, p. 152). On account of the stringent censorship within Germany, nothing short of a dramatic offer to negotiate, blazoned abroad through all neutral channels, is likely to bring enlightenment to the German people.

#### Is "Victory" Attainable?

Here we may pause and ask whether the military "victory," which our "bitter-enders" declare to be the only possible foundation for negotiation, is in fact attainable. Only an expert can say, and here is Captain Liddell Hart, late Military Correspondent of *The Times*, and an acknowledged authority. After quoting the conclusion drawn from the last war by the Official History compiled under the auspices of the Committee of Imperial Defence that "in a conflict between foes of the same standard of skill, determination and valour, numbers approaching three to one are required to turn the scale decisively," Captain Hart continues: Unless that conclusion be totally unsound, no stretch of the imagination can find on either side now the potential means of victory in a total war. By no calculation, save in a state of intoxication, can two and two make twelve. It would be wise if the warring peoples and their leaders pondered the conclusion before again putting it to the test of unlimited slaughter with immeasurable consequences" (*Sunday Express*, 18.2.40).

Nor does a decision through the economic blockade seem any more probable. The Russian success against Finland, the ominous moves of Germany in the Balkans, the almost limitless possibilities opened up by the German-Russian trade agreement for the exploitation under German organisation of Russian resources have reduced even J. L. Garvin to the admission that "it is useless to blink the signs that the operation of blockade and contraband control may be slower in this war than in the last, though it was protracted for more than four years. The Nazi system is extending its counter-resources every day" (*Observer*, 17.3.40).

#### Is a Negotiated Peace Possible?

But failing victory in the field, is a negotiated peace possible? The visit of Mr. Sumner Welles to Europe has made it abundantly clear that in President Roosevelt a mediator is ready at hand. All the neutrals are desperately anxious for peace. As the Dutch Prime Minister declared

in his Christmas message, the belligerents appear to the neutrals like "two powerful adversaries wrestling with each other on a narrow path on the brink of a precipice. It is evident to the onlooker that . . . each may share the fate meant for the other." Only one thing blinds them to the voice of reason, "fear of arousing the suspicion of weakness."

Admittedly the risks of negotiation are considerable. Are they as great as the probability of both wrestlers falling into the abyss? But would Hitler grant acceptable terms? Possibly not at first. Yet it is difficult to believe that there is no substance behind the constant statements coming to us from neutral sources that Germany would be willing to discuss terms, on the basis of a reconstitution of a genuine Polish and a genuine Czech State, in return for a generous economic settlement on the part of the Allies.

In any case, once a conference was called, however unreasonable Hitler might show himself at first, he would speedily find himself confronted not only by the Allies, but also by the great neutral Powers, whose presence at the conference should be a *sine qua non*. I am assuming, of course, a genuine conference, at which in return for restitution on the part of Germany, both the British and French Empires would be prepared to make their contribution—this time not by way of "appeasement" at the expense of small nations, but by making genuine sacrifices of imperial monopolies for the sake of world peace. If the Allies were to make such an offer and to declare themselves ready without reservation to open negotiations on such terms as the great neutrals might consider just, and might be ready to sponsor, it is very doubtful whether Hitler could again rally his people to war merely to prevent a just measure of restitution to the people he has wronged.

But the matter becomes more and more urgent. Even as I write, Hitler and Mussolini are in conference at the Brenner Pass, and the ether is full of rumours of a new "peace offensive." The danger is that, unless for once the Allies take the initiative by proposing immediate negotiations, they will once again be confronted with Hitler's "terms." We shall then be told that consent to negotiate would "arouse the suspicion of weakness"; we shall be manoeuvred into the position of turning down terms which may appear, possibly on the surface, plausible enough; and having done so, and thereby further alienated all the would-be mediators, we shall find ourselves alone in the

world, with the Balkans rapidly passing over into the German sphere of influence, and confronted by a full German-Russian-Italian military alliance.

How much wiser ourselves to take the peace initiative. The discussion of detailed peace terms is at the moment barren. What is urgent is a declaration by our Government that it would welcome the mediation of the neutral Powers and their co-operation in framing a just and durable peace, and that the British Empire is willing to make the economic concessions due, be it said, not merely to Germany, but to world economic justice.

#### What of the Guarantees for the Future?

If it be asked what guarantee there is against future German aggression, the answer surely is threefold. Firstly, the great neutrals would be interested in maintaining a settlement in the making of which they would have played a supremely important part. Secondly, whatever we may think of the recent policy of Russia, it is clear that it has completely altered the situation and put a considerable check upon German aggression towards the East. Thirdly, the only real guarantee will be in the nature of the settlement itself, including, we may hope, a large measure of disarmament all round, and resulting not only in the liberation of Poles and Czechs, but in a Germany satisfied at last that there are other ways than aggression by which to obtain economic justice. Once again we dare not minimise the risks of negotiation. But they are nothing to the risks of a five-year war.

#### What is the Alternative?

For what is the alternative? It is doubtful whether an ideally "just" settlement is obtainable by any means. But even if we grant that we shall not get it by negotiation, our "bitter-enders" still have to prove that we shall get a better peace after a stalemate or even after a complete military victory. Here Harold Nicolson, himself a participant at the Versailles Conference, warns us: "The greatest of all our misfortunes at the Peace Conference was that it came after a war which had been hotly contested, which had entailed enormous suffering, which aroused the worst passions of the human soul, and which culminated in a victory so overwhelming that the conquered enemy had practically ceased to exist" (*Why Britain is at War*, p. 144). After another such victory, if for the sake of argument we admit its possibility, the

making of the peace will be in the hands, not of those who have learned the lesson of 1919, but of those who say that then we were far too lenient, and that this time *delenda est Carthago*. And the Nemesis will be correspondingly greater.

For consider the consequences of a prolonged war. Secret obligations to allies, undertaken to induce them to join us during the war, will tie our hands and, as in 1919, make a good settlement impossible. The neutrals, whose help in making peace we shall need so much, will be more and more alienated by the ill-feeling caused by blockade and counter-blockade. The inevitable financial and economic collapse will make the "victors" even less willing to surrender those economic monopolies which are one of the chief underlying causes of war. The ideals of a non-vindictive peace, a new world order, a war to end war, will fade out as they did in 1919. Above all, a prolonged war cannot be waged without an increasingly intensified campaign of hatred against the whole German people. Does anyone in his senses imagine that a settlement framed under such conditions will give a better guarantee for the future than one based now on negotiation and consent? Are years of bloodshed and lying propaganda, and ever more frantic destruction really likely to be a help in bringing down from the clouds Mr. Chamberlain's day-dream of "a Europe with a new spirit in which the nations which inhabit it will approach their difficulties with goodwill and toleration"?

**Negotiate Now!**

Listen again to the military expert: "Cannot we find a better way? A way of curing Hitlerism instead of merely crushing it down—to spring up again after another period of enforced and embittered peace? So long as the Allied statesmen use the old military language about 'victory,' so long will the German people, naturally enough, interpret the idea of peace in terms of Versailles. Our chief risk of losing the war lies in trying to 'win the war'—by pursuing the mirage of decisive victory in the field" (Captain Liddell Hart, *Sunday Express*, 10.12.39).

The continued "pause" in military operations is a God-given opportunity for negotiations which may end at any moment, and once missed will never recur. "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him" is counsel as sane to-day as when Jesus gave it, and Christian pacifists should surely be the first to point the better way. The New Year meeting at Amsterdam of representative Church leaders has shown that even in war time the fellowship which is ours in Jesus Christ need not and must not be broken, and has already proved rich in possibilities for a negotiated peace. It is for us to follow up the lead already given and to throw ourselves with renewed zest into the great ministry of reconciliation. The Prime Minister has already told us that "War wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing." Why, then, allow this war to continue for one unnecessary day?

ANALYSIS OF DECISIONS OF LOCAL TRIBUNALS FOR REGISTRATION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS UP TO 24TH FEBRUARY, 1940

Tribunal	No. registered as Conscientious Objectors unconditionally		No. registered as Conscientious Objectors on condition that they undertake civil work or training		No. registered for non-combatant duties in the Armed Forces		No. removed from the register of Conscientious Objectors		Total
		%		%		%		%	
London	74	4%	735	39%	721	38%	358	19%	1888
South Eastern and Southern	121	17%	419	57%	113	15%	80	11%	733
East Anglia	170	35%	158	32%	133	27%	28	6%	489
Midlands	25	2%	689	72%	93	10%	152	16%	959
South Western	207	31%	326	50%	95	14%	30	5%	658
North Eastern	38	6%	195	32%	228	38%	148	24%	609
North Western	133	16%	282	35%	146	18%	247	31%	808
Cumberland and Westmorland	3	8%	18	49%	11	29%	5	14%	37
Northumberland and Durham	36	12%	137	48%	62	22%	52	18%	287
North Wales	45	12%	257	71%	40	11%	20	6%	362
South Wales	70	11%	301	47%	170	26%	104	16%	645
S.E. Scotland	33	12%	80	29%	111	40%	51	19%	275
S.W. Scotland	114	22%	115	22%	98	19%	192	37%	519
N. Scotland	1	6%	4	25%	6	38%	5	31%	16
N.E. Scotland	8	16%	22	44%	13	26%	7	14%	50
	1,078	13%	3,738	45%	2,040	24%	1,479	18%	8,335

**FACING THE FACTS**

ROBERT COOPE

WE reap what we sow; if men sow the wind, they must reap the whirlwind, and if they plough wickedness they reap calamity. Moreover, we pay a heavy price for ignorance. These truths, with their reckoning of terror and suffering for innocent and guilty alike, are part of the make-up of our world, and of the very nature of things; and for all their severity, they are a good and proper arrangement. "Behold the goodness and severity of God."

Now the machine of our world is out of control, and war, famine and pestilence are on the march. We have asked for it, and here it is—though perhaps we did not know how bad were the things for which we were asking. It may be that most of us had no idea of the connection between the things we desired and the disaster that has come upon us. In like manner, our ancestors paid heavily for not seeing the connection between bad drains and polluted water, and typhoid fever. But I fear that most of us chose deliberately our line of action, thought that we could somehow have our cake and eat it, and shut our eyes to consequences, hoping that somehow we might be clever enough to dodge them.

Once upon a time a doctor told a certain man not to touch gin. The man had already had some disturbing attacks of illness, but he liked his gin; it made him feel on top of the world, it helped him also to get valuable orders from various firms, and if he gave it up, some of his rivals would cut him out in very profitable quarters. He made it quite clear that, whatever others might do, he would never abuse it; but it was impracticable to give it up entirely.

Unfortunately, he developed a hob-nailed liver, and there was no way of exchanging the hopelessly damaged organ for a new one. The doctor, an ordinary practitioner whose name was Jeremiah something, told the relatives and friends that the man was dying; but they could not or would not believe it, thought the doctor a scaremonger and hopelessly out of date, and rushed hither and thither in search of someone with a cure. The case even became one of public interest. While he was thus dying, three kind souls took a great interest in him. Mr. Pacifist, M.P., who believed that all hob-nailed livers were wrong, made a moving appeal in the House to stop this hob-nailed liver before it was too late. The Archbishop of Law and Order, in a statesman-like address to his Diocesan Conference, while deeply admiring those who stood absolutely and in all circumstances for healthy livers, could not himself subscribe to this heresy; in the world as it is, where we have first to establish law before we can hope to achieve grace, it is a Christian duty to oppose all destructive causes of hob-nailed

livers, and so the Christian is fully justified in treating a patient with gin. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Collective (leader of the security party), in a debate on the adjournment, looking sternly across the table at the Prime Minister, said, "The one thing that could, and still can, save this man is medicinal gin—but it must be medicinal gin." . . . The man's death caused much consternation and distress.

The little doctor was sorry, but he was used to the inevitable fact of death and sorrow, as well as to the ignorance or wilfulness, or both, of so many people, who thereby put themselves largely out of reach of his medical help. But he had to get on with his job; it was a life-work which went on persistently and for the most part undramatically even if patients died.

He knew his work, he got on with each practical task as and when it presented itself—the whole varied gamut of deaths, births and illnesses, trivial or grave, of body and mind. If ever he had had time to analyse his work, he would have pointed out that if he was able to help people in their troubles, it was not just because of any personal qualities he might happen to have, but because he was the inheritor of an age-long tradition, a partaker of a slowly-accumulated and hard-won body of medical knowledge, and a partner in a professional community made up of the living, the dead and those yet to be born.

**The Way of Strength**

To face facts and not run away from them, to face truth and then to find enough courage to accept it and build on that foundation—that is the way of strength. There is no way out of difficulty or trouble save through the facts; yet fear to face and accept the truth leads men into chaos, despair, paralysis of the spirit and the will. And if trouble finds us either ignorant of or in error about facts and truth, then the only way out is to discover the truth and then act upon that knowledge. Until we know that our drinking water is polluted with typhoid germs, it is foolish to fight an epidemic of typhoid fever by burning witches, holding prayer meetings to ask God to stop the pestilence, reading incantations to infected houses, or blaming the Government for all the deaths. And when men have the knowledge, the task of altering the old behaviour of the community into conformity with the new knowledge may be as formidable as the moving of a mountain.

I regard the following as facts to be reckoned with in our present troubles:—

(i) We are where we are now, reaping what we have sown, just because God rules the world of nations and of the individuals who make up nations.

(ii) Most men, even Christians, do not believe this. They are frightened to put their hand in the fire—they believe that fire burns. But they are not frightened to "look after number one," or to rely on possessions, or to make arrangements which do not reckon with loving your neighbour as yourself. They do not believe that doing these things will hurt them.

(iii) If even now men could see the connection clear between this calamity and the ignorance or denial of God's rule, they might accept it, "take their medicine," and yet retain a faith that their world was in the hands of a good and severe God. Suffering would not be so bitter if the world were seen to be a good world just because we do reap what we sow. There is hope, if that is true, for men can learn to sow better. They might even look without fear, and with something of the serene strength of the eagle riding the storm, for the removing of those things that are shaken, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.

#### The Challenge of Calamity

But if men did not reckon with God then, they are not likely to see His good and severe hand holding the world when it is perishing and when their hearts are failing them for fear. Calamity is an awe-full challenge to the strongest of faiths; it is much more likely to drive men without faith to disillusion, cynicism, and a despair which may become reckless and destructive.

And indeed something of the sort has already been happening. Long before this present war broke out, mankind had been hard pressed—by the carrying on into the "peace" after 1918 of a war which never really stopped, by economic difficulties which destroyed hope, by widespread despair. To make a stand against the domination of man by the "things" and the machinery which he has created was a desperate, back-to-the-wall affair even in "peace" time; how desperate, is measured by its logical development in modern war, which has become a thing of factories and laboratories and the prostitution of applied science, against which human flesh and blood seem well-nigh helpless. But we had not the courage to take a grip on our fate and mould it to the needs of individuals with supremely valuable personalities. Instead, men huddled together like the Gadarene swine, looking for any likely leader who would help them to feel "together," and hoping that he

would lead them—somewhere, somehow—out of bondage.

It was a true diagnosis that in many countries men's anxieties and tensions had resulted in a neurosis in which conduct and action were founded not on the fundamental emotions and realities of a balanced life, but on perversions and illusions. In this country we were lucky in not being so hard pressed as elsewhere. In all countries, however, there had come a terror and hopelessness into modern existence; the young especially have felt the insecurity of living in a crumbling world under the shadow of death. Very well, they will show courage, and in self-immolation they will at any rate lead the way, even though it is the way to chaos and destruction. This seems particularly true of German youth; it is a pathological, almost suicidal urge leading them under pressure to plunge into the abyss, with their minds excited by mad illusions about the glory of war and the devilry incarnate in various groups of their fellow men.

#### Murder Without Meaning

In our own country there is not this pathological reaction. Most people, old or young, want to save the decencies of life, and indeed life itself, from this dangerous madness. They see no other way for it now but to go to war, and they do it sadly and with something of a sympathy for the other poor devils like themselves—war is a foul business anyway. Most of the thoughtful young people whom I know are going into this war with a scepticism deep inside them that is rather frightening; there is nothing else to be done, but apart from the negative job of "stopping the Germans," they have very little hope of any positive good coming out of their travail. They have lived through the aftermath of the last war, and they know what war does.

(iv) Ordinary men and women are far too sane to allow that war can be squared with the way of Christ. They merely think that the way of Christ is neither practical nor effective. So do most Christians; but they do not like admitting that Jesus was wrong, and so they become ineffective because there is an unresolved conflict\* in their minds and souls.

(v) By war we can make our enemies suffer so much that they may stop their aggression; and

\* I think that this explains such a book as Mr. Hugh Martin's *The Christian as Soldier*, reviewed in last month's issue of THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST by Mr. Leyton Richards.

it may be that out of their suffering a new spirit may emerge. It is very unlikely, if we are to rely on past experience; suffering only softens and mellows a man if he sees and accepts its real meaning. To want a new world, to be ready to make sacrifices for it, to be committed to a method of destruction believing that it will create a good world (as many of the young Nazis do)—that is bad enough; but to be so committed, knowing that destruction and killing are unlikely to create a good world, but seeing no other possible way—that is tragedy, and the end of it will be bitterness and despair.

#### Narrow is the Way that Leads to Peace

(vi) Seen *sub specie aeternitatis*, this war is only an episode in a world gone wrong. The real problem goes deep into the dark places of the human mind and spirit. You may keep a mad person quiet by battering him into unconsciousness, just as you may try to stop wickedness in the world by killing off all the sinners. On the other hand, those who say "stop the war and have a conference," seem to me as superficial as those whose way of dealing with the hysteric is to say to him, "Please be reasonable." Christians should feel that they ought to go deeper than either of these alternatives and find a cure; but there are no short cuts to it. It will come by an analysis of men's motives and emotions measured by the yardstick of the true facts of God's world, by the patient insistence that only as men meet their *real* problems with sincerity and courage will they find peace in themselves and their world, and finally by the advice we can give on the best way of dealing with human beings who through anxiety or tension or wilfulness are in danger of pulling the world about their ears. We ourselves can only help if in quietness and confidence we are resting on the truth of God's universe.

(vii) But at present there is little to hope for from Christians. There is among them no body of accepted practical knowledge based on experience which can be brought to the help of our perishing world, analogous to that available for the medical profession in dealing with a typhoid epidemic or with cirrhosis of the liver.

#### And Few there be that Find It

(viii) If Christians counted for little before the war, why should there be any change now? It is likely that there will be a new Dark Ages, and a dread time of chaos and suffering ahead. The individual will react to it either by indifference;

by the deliberate adoption of some alternative religion to Christianity (Totalitarianism, for example); by a belief in God accompanied by the admission that Jesus was impractical and did not know how things really work in this world; or by a gamble on the hope that what Jesus said about God and the world is true. It is a pity that there is so little convincing evidence in the wider sphere of the community to show whether or not "the way of Jesus" will really work. Even the "Universal Church" has not tried the experiment within its own boundaries—certainly not in large enough measure to offer an experience which might be helpful to our modern world.

What, then, can we do? We can at least start by looking to our individual selves. We can recognise in ourselves the idolatries which make for war. We can strive disinterestedly to learn the real structure of God's world, so that we can go on to act aright—just as the doctor learns his job by study, by laboratory experiment, and by actual practice in hospital and at the bedside; for unless we act according to the true nature of things ("doing God's will" is but another phrase for this), we shall make a bad mess of ourselves and our world. So we must try to stand fast in a perishing world. To do our best individually to work along the lines of God's purposes—that is all that we can do, in the faith that God rules the universe. If he does not, why bother? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

#### WRITERS IN THIS NUMBER

The Rev. G. H. C. MACGREGOR, D.D., D.Litt., is Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow.

ROBERT COOPE, M.D., F.R.C.P., is Honorary Physician to the Liverpool Royal United Hospital, and author of "Shall I Fight?"

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE, M.A., is the author of "William Law: Selected Mystical Writings."

The Rev. F. SEIGMUND-SCHULTZE, D.D., was formerly Pastor of the Friedenskirche, Potsdam, and friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Chairman of International F.o.R. Executive.

DAVID A. PEAT was formerly London Editor of a Scottish newspaper. Founder of "Arbitrate First" League.

The Rev. SEAWARD BEDDOW is Minister of Wycliffe Congregational Church, Leicester.

## HENRIETTA M. THOMAS

A biographical sketch of one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

THE originating Cambridge Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, in the last days of 1914, had reluctantly to decide that the difficulties of sending a written or printed message of goodwill to the people of Germany were at that time excessive; but it commissioned one of its members, as a "living epistle," to carry that message by word of mouth. This was Dr. Henrietta Thomas, an American citizen, who had already been doing fine work in connection with an "Emergency Committee" (of Quaker foundation, the present writer being the first Chairman) in convoying large parties of "enemy" women and children (including on one journey three motherless infants) to their relatives in Germany and in bringing back British girls. In February, 1915, accordingly, and again in two later journeys she visited friends of peace in Berlin, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Munich, Vienna, and elsewhere. In connection with her visit to the Stuttgart Peace Society she wrote that "there is a real response in Germany to the Christian position against all war." Seed sown upon the wide waters indeed! But who can say how much of it has been growing secretly in the years that followed? Probably her most tangible achievement was in making contact with, and giving encouragement to, a struggling Berlin Committee for helping British and other enemy aliens, which continued to function helpfully through the four years of war under the supervision of Dr. Elisabeth Rotten and Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, the latter known to-day as one of the outstanding leaders of the international F.o.R.

Henrietta Martha Thomas was born in the year 1879 at Baltimore, U.S.A., being the only child of Richard H. Thomas, M.D., of that city and of Anna Braithwaite, of London. On both the American and the English sides of her descent she inherited a rich Quaker tradition of personal religion and of concern for international and social peace. Both her parents and three of her four grandparents were in somewhat varying degrees wise and active lay ministers and teachers within and without the Society of Friends. To her father Henrietta was deeply devoted, and it was her longing to assist him in his medical practice that led her to take up medicine as a career. She qualified

brilliantly at Baltimore University in 1904, about the time of her father's premature death. After gaining some valuable experience in the West Indian island of Porto Rico at the end of the Spanish-American war, she did fine service in organising, in 1910, a campaign in her home city against the prevalent infant mortality. Early in the year 1914, owing to illness, she had to take an extended holiday and came with her mother to London. It was then that she got caught up in work for the F.o.R. and in other peace activities in war-time.

### Helping Conscientious Objectors

Until her health finally broke down Henrietta served on various F.o.R. Committees, her advice being especially valuable both as an American neutral and as physician. Even more than in succouring the victims of war her heart was engrossed in the struggle with the military and vindictive spirit in Britain. She was Chairman of one of the Commissions (on "Personal Life in Society") preparative to a great international "All Friends Peace Conference" eventually held in 1920 to clarify the Quaker testimony for peace. She was a leading member of the "Friends Service Committee" which looked after the interests of the imprisoned conscientious objectors and their families. When most of the members of this Committee were in prison, she, with Edith Ellis, carried on its work, and it was chiefly due to the overstrain of this, and to lack (owing to the submarine blockade) of food suited to her delicate health, that at last she completely broke down, in February, 1918.

The remainder of Henrietta Thomas' life, until August of the following year, was a very sad period illumined by the thoughts of selfless love, which lit up her suffering. It coincided with the bitter ending of the war and the cruel blockade of Germany and of Russia after the armistice. Her mind, weakened by extreme bodily exhaustion, became distraught with the horror of all this and especially with the sufferings of the famine-stricken multitudes. But there were times, especially near the end, when she seemed very conscious of the Divine Companionship.

One of Henrietta's most intimate friends wrote

of her that, even in her quite youthful days, she was "like some Benignity, wanting to know, to sympathise, to advise, for her natural task was to help and to heal others." She had too a great capacity for that plodding perseverance which can cope with practical drudgery, as well as the gift of clear and original thinking and planning. She was especially drawn to children and young people, and the child was moreover to her the symbol and the earnest of the divine and ever-expanding destiny of the human soul. It was remarked that boys and girls had an instinctive trust in her—Henrietta was emphatically the person with whom to talk things over. Yet she could be a sternly faithful friend in bidding one face up to unpleasant truths.

### As if to go to Jerusalem

About her own difficulties she was reserved and she shrank from burdening others with them. She was often apt to attempt tasks that were too much for her limited physical strength, and it was only her intense determination that enabled her to carry them through. This, and the fact that her many interests were English as well as American, led to a certain diffuseness and sense of incompleteness, associated with a painful dissatisfaction with self, an exaggerated consciousness of failure, which was largely due to frequent tiredness of mind and body. Her large and beautiful eyes were full of kindly feeling, and her tall, thin form had a certain distinction and character, though it seemed, even more than is usually the case with eager spirits, an inadequate instrument for the many tasks which she laid, or longed to lay, upon it. An intimate friend writes to me of a vivid memory of the evening before her last 1915 German expedition, when one of the large convoy was a baby she had herself to carry. "Henrietta, not in her strength but in her weakness, walking up and down an office corridor, hiding from her mother her premonition of coming difficulties, and just holding on to her faith in God and to what comfort she could get from me. There was something in her way of facing her trial which gave me an understanding of Jesus on the way to Jerusalem and the Cross."

Alongside of her enthusiasm for social and religious service (her addresses on peace and in Friends' meetings for worship were often most helpful) Henrietta Thomas had an ardent devotion to the aesthetic side of life, to the beauties of nature and to poetry. Indeed she

used to say that after a certain number of years spent at her medical profession she would like to retire and devote herself to "the greatest thing in the world," the writing of poetry. The little volume *A more excellent Way and other Writings* (1923) includes some poems, of which the following example has real charm and originality.

"Alas, I fail ; yet still I strive  
With purpose firm to fight the wrong,  
And in the future, far or near,  
I may give utterance and be strong.  
Meanwhile, like streams that, e'er they fall,  
Flow silently with bosoms bare  
Catching the light from sun and sky  
And all the music in the air,  
And still flow silent till they reach  
The downward rush, and there they break  
And all the lights and all the sounds  
Of hill and dale again awake ;  
So, like the stream, I'll silent go  
With bosom open to the sky,  
That, when the time is ripe, I too  
May find my utterance by and by."

Here, finally, is a characteristic extract written by Henrietta Thomas, from Baltimore in 1901, to an intimate friend of her youth.

"Life! What a conjuror-up of theories that word is! Thousands of them, and yet, when all is said and done, we do our everyday humdrum duty with now and then a break—for example, a Ball—and now and then a something which stops us short and makes us think and question what life really is, and birth and death, and before and after. Poets have written melodious songs concerning birth and life, and great thinkers have also, but—well, we have made theories ourselves, and what are they all worth?—a sweet song, a fine thought, a beautiful canvas, but life—life itself is none of these. To breathe, to move, to do, to think, to hate, to love—is this life? To be to-day, and to-morrow not to be, to have walked over our stage and passed, never to be seen again—is this life? To have acted our part in the world's great act, acted our part in some out-of-the-way little corner of the world, unknowing—is this life? And is this all of life?"

"Is life to fight against a thousand odds and to be overcome and still to fight on, until, down-trodden and wounded, we drop, and men forget that we have been? Is life to live at ease, when men and women, as good and better than we

are, are suffering for food and clothing, the bare necessities of life, all around us? To have seen a ray of light piercing earth's clouds and to be content with having seen, when men around us are crying 'Give us light!'—is this

life? But tell me, what is life? Christ said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with *all* thy powers, and thy neighbour as thyself.' Is this life? . . . a school in which we prepare for that which is to be?"

## FEDERAL UNION FOR PACIFISTS

DAVID A. PEAT

"THAT'S all very well, but you Federal Unionists have two voices, one for those who believe in armed force and another for pacifist groups." When a friend made this remark to me during a conversation about the merits of Federal Union, I had to admit that there was always this temptation in the propaganda of a young and growing movement. Its advocates are so eager to impart the glad tidings that they are often in danger of becoming all things to all men.

There are good reasons why Federal Union should appeal particularly to readers of this journal. I claim for Federal Union that it offers more to the complete pacifist than he can find in any other suggestion for the organisation of Peace, and that it gives him the greatest opportunity for the next step towards his goal. I base this claim on the fact that under the Federal Union there would be for the first time a real approximation to the use of force as it is accepted by most pacifists in civil life; there would be real international government freely accepted by the nations within the Union. We may think that Mr. Churchill found the blood of Marlborough stirring too easily in his veins when he called out the military to deal with the Sidney Street anarchists, but I do not think any fair-minded person would deny the truth of the statement that under a Federal Union freely entered into—a union of peoples and not an association of States—coercion, if it had to be used, would approximate almost exactly to the coercion used in civil life to protect us against anarchy. As to the defence of the Union against an attack from beyond its borders, why should the pacifist cross that bridge until it appears?

### Pacifist "Idealism" the Militarist's Hope

When I was running the "Arbitrate First!" League, one of the most enlightening experiences I encountered was a discussion with a retired army man steeped in military tradition. We had talked about non-violent resistance, for which I had made the claim that it would play

a big part in moulding men's minds in the future in their attitude towards war—an opinion I still hold—and that I believed this philosophy was gaining ground in the Left, and that he would have to face it as a real factor in the future. As I spoke, the expression on his face grew more cheerful and confident. "Let me tell you," he said, in effect, when I had finished, "that if that is the issue the army is safe. The peoples will maintain their national armies rather than sit down under aggression, if the only defence you can offer them is some kind of political monasticism demanding a moral development beyond anything seen in the conditions of everyday life. If we cannot (or rarely) apply it in our normal lives, what chance will it have under the tremendous emotional strain of threatened war?"

No doubt he exaggerated, but I would beg Christian Pacifists to think most earnestly about the Federal Union solution. If they reject this solution, they will hearten many opponents of the peace movement. Let them come in with us now. Men with the insight—disagree with their view if you will—of Mr. Middleton Murry, Mr. John Hoyland and others, whose understanding of the meaning of pacifism will not be disputed, have pointed out the need for something more than the *status quo* in pacifist thought. More and more the pacifist movement will be driven to choose between law and anarchy, and in choosing the former it will find itself striving for some form of international government. Federal Union, it is true, is only the machinery. It must be warmed by the heart of man as well as lighted by his intellect if it is to succeed. How often have I turned to THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST to find in it that warmth and spiritual wisdom so greatly lacking in the intellectual outlook of the weekly reviews! Let religious-minded men, then, come in and help us to make the movement for Federation not only a political success but the beginnings of a new civilisation.

## THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

### AN INTERCESSION FOR PEACE

#### PREPARATORY PRAYER.

*O God, Whose spirit maketh intercession in us, lift our work and witness for peace above the clamour of strife and the stress of controversy. Save us from wilful struggling to obtain our own way or to justify our own wisdom, but as we reverently wait upon Thee, let Thy will be done in our will, and that mind be in us which was also in Christ. Let Thy Holy Spirit of Truth guide us, and Thy Holy Spirit of Love control us. Give us grace to seek not our own glory but Thy glory, to desire to hear not our own words but Thy word, and to accomplish not our own plans and purposes but Thine. And this we ask in the meekness and gentleness of Christ, Our Lord and Saviour.*

Let us listen to the Word of God as it is contained in these words of Scripture (which should be read each in its own context).

*Blessed are the peace-makers : for they shall be called the children of God.*

*Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee ; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him.*

*Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath : for it is written, Vengeance is mine ; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink : for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.*

*What things soever ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them and ye shall have them. And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any ; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses.*

#### LET US PRAY.

That in the providence of God, Who maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth, there may speedily be given opportunity for the negotiation of a just, honourable and enduring peace.

That the belligerent nations, discerning by God's grace the things which belong unto their peace, may be ready to lay hold upon such opportunity.

That even those who believe war to be an evil necessity may take no pride in it, remembering that "war can only occur as a fruit and manifestation of sin."

For the Church of Christ in every land that it may be a universal fellowship, a supra-racial community, a unity so deep as to be indestructible by earthly divisions of race or nation.

For all men of faith that they may have liberty of conscience and freedom to witness to the truth as they have seen it.

For our State and Nation that it may come under the rule of God and in all things be obedient to His will.

For the abrogation of absolute national sovereignty, so that states shall cease to claim the right to be sole judges of their own cause.

That in all governors and rulers and in the hearts of the people the lust for power may give place to a humble sense of responsibility to God.

For a new world order in which all men shall enjoy equality of economic and educational opportunity and freedom to pursue each his own vocation with joy in his daily work.

For a new economy in which the resources of the earth shall be used as God's gifts to the whole human race.

That there may be recognised throughout the world the equal dignity of all men as alike children of God, and the family relationship of all races and nations.

That we may be saved from the idolatry of mammon, the love of money which is the root of all evil, and from ignorantly supporting policies which impose hardship or injustice upon others.

That the world may be purged of race hatred ; and that the colour bar may be removed in this and every land.

Based on *The Church and World Peace*, by Olive Wyon. Embassies of Reconciliation. 3d.



## CHALLENGE FROM EUROPE

**I**N a recent message of some length addressed to the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze suggests that the danger of these times is that mankind will lose faith in the power of love, and feel that strivings for peace are foredoomed to failure. He asks whether we must again tread the path of suffering, having lost touch with the divine mercy, and whether our work for peace has not lacked the basic quality of the divine justice.

Our responsibility as Christians is greater now than it was twenty-five years ago. Then men stumbled into war knowing little of its horrors and little of the lying power of modern propaganda. Nor were they ready to seize the opportunity for peace. They did not realise that sacrifices would be required from every nation, sacrifices of possessions, of power, and of prestige. Nor did the Churches arouse the conscience of the world regarding the events that followed. And disarmament was miserably betrayed. At the moment when a few nations consciously decided to gain their ends by the exercise of force, the cause of peace was lost. Neither in Japan, in Italy, nor in Germany did Christians present a sufficiently firm front to the programme of violence. Nor could Christians in other countries lend effective aid.

### Fanatical Nationalism

"There still exist to-day certain naïve fair-weather politicians who, while incapable of insisting on the exercise of moral principles, profess astonishment that the moral bankruptcy in which they connived has now overtaken the world. During the past twenty years, what politicians have affirmed their faith in the validity of moral forces? What States, in a position of superior strength, have waived their advantages and put their trust in the power of justice? Were not the weak kept in subjection? Did not the fully-armed nations turn down all disarmament proposals which would have deprived them of their dominant position? If, then, the stronger nations maintained their superiority only by force, how could the weaker nations be expected to overlook this fact? Was the 'moral' effect of force, as wielded by the more powerful, merely that the weaker were kept in a state of fear? Would not the 'moral,' or rather

the immoral, effect of such behaviour on the part of the more powerful be to make the weaker nations lose all faith in the rights of the weak and in the free exercise of justice by the strong? Now supposing the weaker nations pull themselves together and re-arm, without any effective opposition on the part of the opportunist politicians, how could they be expected to give up the use of their newly-found power the moment they had thereby achieved a bare minimum of justice? Who knows what might have happened if the rearmament of the oppressed nations had been effected by the enthusiasts in the cause of justice and internationalism! But, on the contrary, it was brought about by fanatical believers in nationalism and in force. For it was precisely such men who rose to power in the oppressed States, after the pacific statesmen among the weaker nations had been robbed of all influence by the power-politics of the dominant nations."

Dr. Siegmund-Schultze goes on to consider the position of small nations threatened with aggression, and asks frankly whether they can do anything else but defend themselves if no power on earth, and especially no moral power, exists to interpose itself effectively between them and the aggressor. Can pacifism offer any alternative that would seriously commend itself to the people or to the Government of such a country?

### A Share in our Brother's Hard Necessity

He continues: "We radical pacifists like to confine ourselves to the obligations and opinions which we hold and maintain as individuals. The special vocation that has been given us to place all our trust in divine love, and consequently to renounce the use of all violence, gives us personally a firm footing. We must not undervalue the grace that has been granted to us for this calling and in this fellowship. But even if our efforts in past years have succeeded in obtaining, in certain countries, a secure position for those who take this attitude, we are all the more bound to ask ourselves whether and how far these principles can be applied to larger associations of people, or to whole nations, as such, in these days. If, then, we conclude that this is not possible, we must ask ourselves very seriously what further heavy sacrifices we must be ready to accept in the service of peace that is laid upon

us, so as not to sink into a soft and easy-going life in a world where hard necessity now reigns, which our brothers have shouldered. Those of us who are no longer of military age, or who were never fit for military service, just as much as those living in lands which will presumably never be drawn into the war, must be quite clear whether we are not making demands which are quite impracticable in the world as at present constituted.

"In my opinion, we must say to each individual person even more clearly than before, that he may and should only refuse to comply with the universal obligation to perform military service if his discipleship of Christ has convinced him that he must do so. But just as a special vocation is needed to justify a refusal to perform so universal a duty, so a country must needs act from deep inner conviction if it decides not to defend its freedom."

Remarking that peace workers must now look for the moment when negotiations to end the present war can be undertaken on the basis of justice, Dr. Siegmund-Schultze discusses the difficulties involved and refers to Kant's three principles: that a constitution must be based on free association, that all must be subject to a common law, and that all citizens must be equal; and argues that a League of Nations must conform to these principles. Developing the

principle of freedom, he argues for the right of national self-determination and applies it not only to Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Austrians, but also to Croats, Tyrolese and Alsations; at the same time he points to the advantages of belonging to larger federations. But the principle of freedom must apply also to the sea, to access to raw materials, to exchange of goods, and to the colonial areas. He asks what guarantee we have that such principles could be carried out, or would even commend themselves to a majority among the nations, and admits that we have no such guarantee. But the hesitations and vacillations now apparent, and the growing feeling of horror among men at the brutalisation implicit in war, are not without significance. Yet there is little sign of a common struggle of Christianity against the demons of war. The visible forces against it are not nearly sufficient. "A great deal more courage and strength and confidence in victory must be infused into this struggle if the spirit of war is not to conquer the will to peace. The ultimate catastrophe of mankind is upon us. If we cannot fight better than heretofore, we are lost. Some have fought their way through to the Cross; but so far they have shown little perception of the power of the resurrection. May the experience of these times prove more to us than a Calvary and lead us to the victory of Easter!"

## FRENCH CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IMPRISONED

Philippe and Pierre Vernier were tried before a military court in Marseilles, apparently on the 22nd of February, which sentenced Philippe to four years' imprisonment and Pierre to two years. Both men were in excellent spirit. Philippe was charged with both insubordination and disobedience, and Pierre only with disobedience. As an ordained pastor able to produce testimony from the "Belgian Christian Missionary Church," Philippe was not this time met with the assertion that the Church was against him. In reply to a question about the legitimacy of defence, Philippe Vernier declared that the time was one not for defence but for a Christian offensive against war comparable with that which had formerly overcome slavery. War

was forbidden by the Gospel. His brother, with striking simplicity and poignancy, made an appeal against war for the sake of all the young men to whom nothing but words of death were spoken and who saw only darkness before them. Pierre declared himself ready for whatever his lot might be, but he would not fight except with the weapons of the spirit. The President of the Court closed the case with these challenging words: "At such a time as this the weapons of the spirit are inadequate to defend our homes." It is understood that the two men have now been sent to Avignon. Henri Roser, who was sentenced in December also to four years' imprisonment, has now been moved to Rambouillet.

## THIS QUEER WAR

PAUL GLIDDON

IT was a queer war when we entered it in fulfilment of our promise to help Poland and then, when we looked it up, found that Poland was so oddly placed upon the map of Europe that we could not get to her in time; it was a queer war when we declared ourselves against aggression and yet had to watch Russia quite busily employed in business of that character while retaining "friendly" relations with ourselves. It is a queer war that finds Devonshire ready to detect all the poison gas that is not there, but unready to farm all the land that is there. It is a queer war upon which a nation can afford to spend six and a half millions a day on machinery designed to destroy while, after much haggling, spending far less on things that save and create.

But these may be dismissed as minor oddities: it is when we look at the effect war has already had on more permanent values that the strangeness becomes almost horrific. We are told that we are engaged in a crusade and our minds conjure up the pictures of knights passing the hours of darkness in lonely vigil. The reports of the Metropolitan Police do not suggest that London has been dead after dark, but it is the bottle parties and not the altars that have been drawing the town. It is little use for Church leaders to express dismay over the conduct of a section of the people engaged in a holy war and to devise plans for our delivery from this evil. They seem to forget that the petition in the Lord's Prayer for delivery from evil is preceded by the cry, "Lead us not into temptation," and that those who assent to a method of delivery from evil that involves such leading into temptation have long been forewarned of the impending consequences.

The oddity of their own position is coming home to some of the writers in the religious press. Thus a leading Anglican journal comments on the strangeness of the necessity laid upon peace-loving nations to vindicate peace by success in war. But this hope that lasting peace can be harvested from the seed of war is queer political farming. If by making use of war as a last desperate remedy to rid the world of the evil that menaces us all that evil should be removed, how could it possibly be argued that this would be a final showing up of the uselessness of the war? So far from being discredited, war would be vindicated in its claim to be a

last desperate remedy and, if Mars becomes our saviour, it would not only be dangerous but really bad manners to slight him for working our salvation. Thus we are watching a test case for war's ability to restore peace. If war succeeds, then every nation will be forced to conclude that, whatever else it cannot afford to possess, its very life depends upon an adequate stock of this particular remedy. The only hope of this war's success lies in its failure.

Another of the astonishing tricks that vitiate war-time reasoning is seen in the plea that totalitarianism involves a challenge to the very foundations of the Christian faith, and that the Church should therefore support this war. Quite obviously when the State can say, "I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other gods but Me" there has ceased to be a place for any other God for whom precisely similar claims are made. Even though it is found convenient not to suppress the Christian God, He is only allowed to remain on sufferance; for decoration, not adoration. Under totalitarianism the Lord Jehovah occupies in the body politic a position similar to that of the appendix in the human being—something that belongs to a past age, to be removed when its presence begins to be felt. It would be difficult to exaggerate the fatal significance of a nation that resisted one counter-reformation collapsing before yet another, a centre of missionary enterprise being thus attacked by the idols it has dethroned. Certainly we fail to measure the significance of the movement in Germany unless we see in it a religious revival, remembering always that besides Christianity there are many other religions and that it may well be one of these that is fighting its way back in a country from which it has been long expelled. Those who see in totalitarianism forces which are not only anti-Christian but are the forces of Anti-Christ, may be strictly correct, but this only makes more clear the situation with which the Church has to reckon without declaring the tactics to be employed.

When Anti-Christ arises, what the Church does not do is to bow to the State and say, "Yours, partner." If Anti-Christ has come, then this is the hour for which the Church has long waited and the construction of her armaments have been controlled by the thought of this single struggle. If the rather unusual organisation of the Christian Church leaves her at her

supreme hour hurriedly contracting with the State for the destruction of her mortal enemy, then the hour for which it has come into the world has found her all unready; but, if she is really to join battle, then she must do so with her own weapons and without the alliance of those who use different weapons and employ an entirely other strategy. The defeat of Anti-Christ must not be a shared victory, even were it possible for a coalition to effect his destruction; the glory must go to the cross of Christ alone; to a Church that fights not only for the cross but with the cross, seeing in the cross both the citadel it defends and the only weapon with which it dare put to flight the armies of the evil one.

The attempt to drive back paganism is not one which the Christian Church has now for the first time been called to make. Her whole missionary enterprise is planned for this purpose. But, if the Church is now asked to assist in this struggle because it is a struggle for Christianity, she must be permitted to consult her own experience as to the manner in which this sort of victory has been won in years gone by. Again and again the Church has had to make this attempt. Sometimes she has made it by sending her own armies; sometimes by dispatching her missionaries with the support of the State; sometimes by sending her missionaries with no other assistance than their own courage and conviction, and with an unearthly reliance in a certain Right Arm which they counted as their sure defence. Holy wars have been attempted both by Catholic Crusaders and by Cromwellian Congregationalists, by men whose spiritual earnestness and strong self-discipline would pass unquestioned; yet experience has shown that the sword of the Lord so wielded turns back upon its users, that along highways hacked by the New Model there passes not the Lord of Hosts but Mistress Nell of Old Drury.

Nor is the attempt to advance missionary work in alliance with the soldiery crowned with a more encouraging success. The soldiers who, with the best intentions, prepare the way for the missionary, seem to deprive his message of a certain vital spark, while the army that follows where the missionary has led, impress the heathen with the might that they command but hardly leave them hungering for the bread of Life. Yet the compromises of much missionary work have failed to suppress the lonely glory of men of the outlook of David Livingstone. His is not simply one of a series of alternative

methods; the methods of his school are the only ones that win honour from the world, converts to the Church and glory for the Christ. When we see him we see the Christian Church advancing to the attack of paganism, employing the technique that it has learned from its Lord and confirmed from its experience. Therefore when the Government asks the Church in this country whether it is aware of the grave dangers that threaten the very foundations of our religion, the Church ought to reply that she is alive to those dangers, that she is going to prepare herself by penitence and prayer for grappling with them, that she is convinced that this kind of evil can only be expelled with the weapons entrusted to herself, but that, in the light of her missionary experience, before she can hope to do anything effective she will have to ask the Government and its allies to send back to their homes every member of the fighting forces.

Since these notes began with a reference to this strange war, they may conclude with yet another. Criticism is always being levelled against those who are supposed to follow the example of Nero and to fiddle while Rome burns. We need not deny that this display of his musical talents has come in for considerable criticism, based not on the merits but the motives of the performance, and this has been so much the case that most people fail to see that there is much to be said for the policy. At a time such as this, when the mass skill of millions and millions of men is being directed towards desecration and destruction of the things that are beautiful, when exquisitely-made machines are coming out of countless factories designed for the single purpose of robbing of their loveliness the lovely things of life, surely there does seem every reason for seeking to do something to redress the lost balance of beauty, for breaking this flaring ugliness with even the faintest fiddling. Why particularly should pacifists and other peace makers think that, for the duration of the war, they should lock up their music or put aside their paints, their poetry, their drama or their dance; why should they not feel that they can cheat war of some of its victories, rob its dark deaths of something of their sting, by maintaining and increasing their hold upon the finer things in life? Though truth be fallen in the streets and goodness counted as a thing outworn, we can still keep a hold on beauty and so tread our way back to the final Trinity.

## COMMUNITY NOTES

## Escape—or Fulfilment?

We are driven to Community by circumstance if not conviction. There is no longer very much question about living co-operatively. We cannot live otherwise. But herein lies the special responsibility of our Christian witness—because co-operation can be the robot service of a totalitarian State or the spontaneous fellowship of the people of God who are also “members one of another.” But, either way, it must be a matter of deeds and not of words. And the choice is before us.

That realisation is coming to the surface everywhere to-day. It is creating, amongst other things, a very healthy interest in the experimental forms of Community living. But it is possible to become too much obsessed with the forms and too little responsive to their significance.

Our new-born urge to collective sharing falters upon one or other of the familiar formulae, so certain to repeat in the context of any discussion: “Isn't Community a retreat from responsibility . . . a breaking-up of home life . . . an abandonment of the political struggle . . . a recession from the work of the Churches . . . a backward step to primitivism . . . ?”

And to all of this the answer is no . . . and no . . . and no. Community can be and ought to be a *realisation* of responsibility . . . an extension of home life . . . a living demonstration of that transforming power that the Churches proclaim . . . a core of vital reality at the centre of Christian political action . . . a step outward into the more spacious freedom of “the whole man” and, through “the whole man,” to the realisation of “the whole society.”

## Escape from the Claims of Community

If, indeed, none of the existing interpretations of Community life and work\* seem to us to provide the background for our own, then the onus is upon us to interpret the principle in the pattern of life or feel able, here and now and with full conviction, to live out. For “there is one glory of the sun and another of the moon.” But at least let us not evade the claims of prac-

\* A number of the many forms in which Community is interpreting itself experimentally to-day are described in the new “Community in Britain” (1940), where also the question of Community in relation to other aspects of living is considered. Copies of the book are obtainable through the F.o.R. book room or from Hon. Sec., Community Service Committee, “Chancton,” Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.

tical Christian living—which is Community—by repudiating it in the guise of some particular communal group whose specific way of life we do not feel called to share. That is too simple and it will not save us. Because there is far more danger to-day that we shall try to escape, amongst the clutter of everyday preoccupations, from the claims of Community (rationalising our escape to cover our retreat) than that we shall find in Community any way of escape from the eternal claims of life.

## ROPLEY COMMUNITY

The fundamental aim of our community, started at the outbreak of war by a group of the Hindhead branch of the Fellowship, is to provide a creative way of life in time of war for pacifists liable to conscription under the Military Training Act. It is by no means our intention to provide a form of “alternative service” acceptable to the Tribunals, but rather to attempt to realise in practice some of the social and personal implications of that Spirit of Love revealed by Christ as the only true way to Reconciliation and Peace. Thus we hope to do our own small part towards the building up of an ever-widening conviction that it is only through the re-birth of a Christianity which is ready to act up to the implications of its belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man that the world can be redeemed from all those sins and evils which reach their apotheosis in war.

On the material side, both as an ideal and as an economic necessity, our life is of the simplest. (Our average weekly expenditure on food for the first three months works out at about 8/- per head.) We sleep in caravans, and have erected wooden huts as a common-room, kitchen, etc. Our work at present is mainly straightforward digging in preparation for the sowing of seeds; and owing to the long frost which the valiant efforts of the Ministry of Information did not wholly conceal from us, we are about a month behind in the preparation of the ground. We plan to cultivate one acre intensively as a market-garden, and to use as much as we can of the remaining 24 acres at our disposal for the production of corn and potatoes. We are very fortunate in having the sympathetic co-operation of a local farmer; it is essential to the fulfilment of our idea that we should achieve a relationship of mutual respect with our neighbours.

W.B.W.

## THEY SAY—

SEAWARD BEDDOW

## The Truth Comes Out. Fair is Fair

“The Altmark has been described as a ‘hell ship,’ in which the prisoners, harshly treated by all the Germans, lived in verminous filth. That description, however, appears to be based chiefly on the remarks of one of the British captains who was in the Graf Spee and who was never in the Altmark. Judging from the accounts given to me by many of the prisoners who arrived at Leith on Saturday and from their physical condition, it seems quite evident that the Germans—so utterly ruthless in their warfare against defenceless fishing craft and lightships—showed in their treatment of these prisoners, up to almost the end, at least some regard for the dictates of humanity, and (in individual instances) actual kindness . . .

“Finally, the German medical officer of the Altmark was obviously a very admirable type of man, and looked after the health of the prisoners as well as he possibly could—over and above his work of caring for the health of the German crew.”

Naval Correspondent, “The Scotsman.”

## How to Win Sooner

“If women gave up wearing trousers, we would win the war sooner. Apart from the aesthetic sin, the wearing of trousers by women is a spiritual transgression.”—Mr. H. H. Martin, Secretary of the Lord's Day Observance Society, in an interview with the “Sunday Pictorial.”

## “Horrible Beast!”

A man who refused to pay 15s. 8d. of his income tax on the ground that the money would be used for the murder of human beings, came before a London magistrate. Said the magistrate:—“What you need is a jolly good hiding. Horrible beast!”

Reported in “Birmingham Mail.”

## A Little Voice in the Corner

“In a railway carriage three travellers—a clergyman, an R.A.F. officer and a mild little civilian. The clergyman held forth on the sub-human quality of the Germans; they must be reduced to pulp. The R.A.F. man disagreed. Having fought in the last war and known many Germans, he thought them rather like ourselves. Anyway, he said, war was a damned silly way of settling a dispute . . . The little man in the corner said: ‘Gentlemen, may I suggest that you ought to change uniforms?’”

London Diary, “New Statesman and Nation.”

## Savage Manners

“The history of New Zealand . . . affords another fine instance of the difference between savage and ‘civilised’ manners in warfare.

“In the troubles of the ‘seventies, the Maori chiefs heard that General Cameron's forces, operating against them, were short of food while waiting for the river steamers. They argued that there was no glory in fighting hungry men, and straightway sent down the river a little fleet of boats laden with potatoes and milch goats for the use of the ‘enemy.’

“Obviously, we couldn't be enemies on those terms, and we weren't again.”

Observer, “The Observer.”

## Glamour

“Machinery, high explosives and poison gas have robbed war of much of its glamour, but from an ice-bound lake in Finland comes a story worthy of Tennyson's pen . . . A Russian division was trapped on the ice and completely surrounded by Finnish troops, who shot it to pieces with machine-guns and artillery.”—*News Item.*

Having quoted the above, “Cassandra” (“Daily Mirror”) remarks: “If this be glamour, include me out.”

## God's Sword

“So we have His Grace of Canterbury telling us that ‘the sword is the instrument of God for the protection of the people.’ ‘The sword’—such a nice, clean-sounding word. But take the silver wrapping off the word and see what is revealed! ‘The bomb, the high explosive shell, the poison gas, the bayonet,’ are God's instruments!”

A County Clergyman, “Forward.”

## God's Fools

The same clergyman also remarks:—

“What fools, after all, the early Christian martyrs were, just to die for Christian civilisation without fighting for it! But then, of course, they made the great mistake of taking Christ's words literally.”

## The Conduct of Conscientious Objectors

“Even when such lines of conduct run directly contrary to the policy of the State and may seem to endanger its existence, the integrity of conscience has still to be respected.”

Notes of the Week, “Methodist Recorder.”

## About the “Sacked” for Conscience' Sake

“Though British people want to fight and win the war, they intend to fight it cleanly. That means, among other things, that they intend to respect the convictions of genuine conscientious objectors. . . . If a man has been judged by a tribunal to have genuine conscientious scruples about fighting, he is as entitled to a job as anyone else.”

Leading Article, “Daily Herald.”

## Patriot Women

“Rather than pay rent to the collector who was registered recently as a conscientious objector, women in the Northwich (Cheshire) district are walking miles to the Council offices to pay.”

News Chronicle.

## “Nauseating Sight” in Birmingham

“Councillor Sale said that he saw in the street at every ten or twenty-five yards a young man of military age selling *Peace News*. It was a nauseating sight and he wondered whether it was possible to tackle them for obstruction.

“The Chief Constable (Mr. C. H. Moriarty) said that there were about fifty ‘cranks’ selling that day. They were mostly ‘weak-minded people.’”

## CORRESPONDENCE

## ARMENIAN RESTORATION PLAN

## Is our Nation Prepared for Making Peace?

To succeed in so high and difficult an adventure, "forgiveness on the part of all" must be the dominant note, yet what Government dare admit that they have been at fault, and which State, confessing their own guilt, will ask to be forgiven?

But do we, as Christian people of the most wealthy nation in Europe, dare to stand aloof any longer from owning and striving to rectify our nation's failure to render the often-promised assistance to that amazing little Christian nation who claim to have been the first nation to have adopted Christianity and have no Government other than that of their distinctive Christian Church?

The present tragedy of over twenty-five thousand Armenian fugitives, homeless and hungry, fleeing from the dread of Moslem domination, in the province of Alexandretta, where they had made good settlements around their ever-valued Church School, once again rings out a peculiar challenge to the Church of "Christian England."

For the third time since the last "war to end war" when, as our allies, the people of Mount Ararat lost some twenty-two thousand of their faithful sons, shall we British again abandon our fellow Christians in their pitiful plight? While there is time, and in gratitude for the comparative safety and incomparable wealth still vouchsafed to our own homeland, let us not again shut out their fateful cries, but rather offer our immediate support to these destitute brethren, whose past history points with no uncertainty to their own particular contribution being of unique value to the approaching world synthesis.

The first donation of £700 (realised from stock that has already yielded in dividends more than its original value) is already on its way to Syria, where the English wife of a beloved Armenian doctor, with the co-operation of other Armenian Churchmen, will be responsible for its administration, in the district of Aleppo, where Miss Edith Roberts spent her whole fortune and gave her life as a British subject unreservedly.

This sum can provide huts (at £15 each) for twenty small families, and should keep them in

food during the first year, leaving, we hope, sufficient money over to help to establish some in work. But a larger proportion of the newly-dispossessed are seeking refuge in the Lebanon, where the Rev. Henry H. Riggs, of the American Mission, Beyrouth, awaits another gift of the same amount.

FRANCES ROBERTS.

## LORD TAVISTOCK'S PEACE EFFORT

In view of the amount of Press publicity my recent peace effort has received, it may be of interest to other workers in the cause of peace to know the true facts of the matter.

The terms which I obtained through the German Legation in Dublin did originally receive the approval of the highest authorities in Berlin, but all hope of a successful result was probably destroyed by the provocative speech delivered by Lord Halifax at Leeds only two days after the terms had been read by him. Similar speeches by other Cabinet Ministers during the days that followed helped to complete the disaster.

Judging from recent German broadcasts, it would appear that the German Government has gained the mistaken impression that I was used as a decoy by the British Government to try and trap them into the humiliation of another rejected peace offer, or even that the British Government was using me as an unofficial channel for putting forward peace feelers of its own at a time when, with a singular lack of tact and wisdom, it was not even troubling to modify its own official language! The way of the peacemaker is not easy when he is trying to mediate between individuals or Governments who have lost their tempers with one another, especially when one party in the dispute is at the disadvantage of not being personally acquainted with him!

I did not learn the full extent of the harm which had been done until I visited Dublin not long ago.

Unfortunately, to make matters worse, a too enthusiastic friend, without consulting me or waiting to hear the result of my visit to Dublin, made the whole matter known to the Press. The publicity given in the *Daily Telegraph*, a paper

for obvious reasons by no means popular in Berlin, made repudiation certain.

Fortunately, however, the repudiation has been only in respect of official connection with the sending of the terms. There is still good reason to believe from information which has reached friends from at least three other quite independent and reliable sources, that terms similar to those which I obtained would be accepted as a basis for negotiation by the German Government if offered officially from our side in a non-provocative manner, or if offered to both parties by a neutral.

Yours truly,

TAVISTOCK.

15, Belgrave Square, S.W.1.

## A MACHINE ECONOMY

My mind fastened on a sentence in Mr. Murry's article in the January *CHRISTIAN PACIFIST*—"A machine-economy has flung us all unprepared as moral beings into a totally new epoch of human living."

I find the use of the word "unprepared" ambiguous. Is the word used in the sense that we had not made up our minds to use the resources that were ours to cope with the new machine-epoch, or does it mean that we had not had a long enough moral training in preparation for the new circumstances?

I cannot agree with the latter use of the word. No father with due sense of responsibility will allow his son to carry matches, or a penknife, or to ride a bicycle, until satisfied that the child understands the use of those things and can handle them with a proper degree of safety.

So I cannot suppose that God has allowed man to make all the scientific discoveries and inventions with which the past 150 years have been filled without knowing that man was well able to make proper use of them if he had a mind to.

This is not without bearing on the interpretation of the theme of Mr. Murry's article, for there must be civilisation in some form—the alternative is barbarism—and I am led to think of God working at this moment to change our civilisation into some different form, a directing, managing, toiling God who knew exactly the risk He was taking in allowing us to invent modern machines, but with Whose help we can be well able to control the gifts of science. So we should go on with the work that lies to hand,

content, not with things as they are, but to know that the world is overruled by God.

G. H. BARTRAM.

12, Thornhill Park, Sunderland.

## THE SUMNER WELLES VISIT.

The Sumner Welles visit, most of us are agreed, should be used to the fullest extent. There must be many of us, unable to take the position of those who advocate non-violent resistance alone as a sufficient means for the defence of law and freedom, who yet feel that a constructive and negotiated peace may be within the range of practical politics, if not now, then at a later date.

With this end in view, could the Allies offer to accept the mediation or arbitration of President Roosevelt or the Pope? If this offer were made publicly and openly and were refused by Germany, then our position would be strengthened and indeed vindicated in the eyes of the neutrals, even if the war were not brought to an end: our moral and military position would be stronger than it is now. If the offer were accepted by Germany, then a victory for reason would have been achieved. We have always deplored our inability to speak directly to the German people. This would give us that opportunity, for one condition of our offer should be that this proposal and the pronouncements of the mediating parties should be broadcast *in Germany* as elsewhere.

In addition, if we made an offer—given suitable guarantees—of Federal Union to the German people, a great step forward would have been taken to remove from their minds the fear that we intend a second Versailles—a fear which reliable reports show as one of the main reasons for the support of Herr Hitler, and which he carefully exploits. Such a political offensive would go a long way to giving us victory in the only sense in which it is worth while—the conversion of the German people through the liberation of their minds from the Nazi censorship...

If "peace by negotiation" is left to the Mosleyites and Communists, it is apt to be associated in the public mind with causes which they dislike and not with a durable peace, which should be our aim.

DAVID A. PEAT.

Borrers Platt, Ditchling, Sussex.

## THE FRIENDLY BOOK

THE CHRISTIAN REMEDY. Thomas Edmunds. Hodder & Stoughton. 5/-.

The author's thesis is:—"That there is something wrong with the spiritual life of our time must be obvious to everyone who is spiritually alert. That no quack medicine is going to cure it is equally clear. Diagnosis must precede prescription; for unless we can rightly diagnose the cause or causes of the trouble, it is not likely that we shall be able to deal effectively with it."

### Diagnosis

The breakdown in the minds of men of a positively Christian interpretation of existence has by now produced serious personal and social consequences.

1. Man's estimate of his own worth has been lowered by this loss of faith.
2. There is a large increase in lunacy and the number of suicides.
3. There has come a loss of regard for truth and righteousness. 1914-1918 revealed the inner rottenness. War always corrupts. "War makes more bad men than it takes away" (Kant).

In addition, something is radically wrong with human nature. The Calvinist concept of man as a fallen creature embodied a real fact of experience.

### Prescription

An inspiring faith interpretative of the world as a whole and our experience in particular is our prime practical necessity. This means the enthronement of Jesus Christ in all relationships. Man—unchristianised—unregenerate, natural man—needs supernatural life unless he is to relapse into barbarism.

The above is a bald summary of a vigorous and moving appeal to the Church to proclaim the whole gospel of the mighty acts of God, and to realise that the centre of gravity of their faith is outside this world, but that to it is entrusted the mission of making incarnate and temporal the supernatural and eternal truth of God in Christ.

WHY NOT NOW? Arthur St. John. The C. W. Daniel Co. 5/- net.

Have you opened a book "to see what it is about," and put it down with a regretful sigh hours later, having read it from cover to cover? Such a book is this. Ruskin said, "Very ready we are to say of a book, 'How good this is—that's exactly what I think!' But the right feeling is

'How strange that is! I never thought of that before, and yet I see it is true; or, if I do not now, I hope I shall some day.' Be sure that you go to the author to get at his meaning, not to find yours." You can dream here with St. John; maybe you will catch some of his spirit and enthusiasm and maybe you will not, but you will be ever grateful to him for introducing "Dick Talbot" to you.

If you do not buy this book now, someday someone will say, "Have you read this? You will love it."

Read the introductory note by Dugald Semple—you will want to know something of the man behind this idealism. J.J.L.

### I WAS IN PRISON.

A few days ago a friend placed in my hands a little book which has given me a real spiritual uplift. It is a long time since I read a book which moved me so profoundly. There are no words in my vocabulary which can adequately convey to you, my readers, just what I have felt as I have turned over its pages these last few days. It is a book published by the Student Christian Movement Press, and contains a number of letters written from prison by German pastors to their relatives and to members of their congregations. Its title is *I Was In Prison*, and you can buy it for a shilling and read it for yourselves.

"PETER FAITHFUL."

DOES WAR SHAKE FAITH?—Sermons for War Time. Frank H. Ballard. James Clarke & Co. 3/6 net.

Mr. Ballard is very well known in the circles of one denomination for his keen thinking and clear exposition. He deserves to be more widely known. The volume of sermons before us is the proof of it. The reviewer must be content with quoting a single sentence: "Are we to go still further, drifting with the ever-increasing stream, or will men dare to face the intellectual and spiritual challenge of modern life?" Mr. Ballard has something to say in answer to this challenge, and says it with force and conviction. L.A.

FIVE CLOUD VALLEY. Hope Hay. Hodder & Stoughton. 8/3 net.

This charming book is called a novel, but one reviewer feels sure that in the main it is real life, and as such it is an adventure in the ministry of reconciliation. It is life in China (the China of to-day, but away from the foreign settlements

and the big cities), with its age-long tradition and its immeasurable courtesy, where manners maketh the man, and the impact upon this life of a little group of westerners who seek not to destroy but to fulfil it in the still more abundant life to be found through Christ. By fine characterisation of a score of people, Eastern and Western, by beautiful descriptions of journeyings in a lovely country, and by the charming though pathetic love-story, the author has written a book which will live and which deserves to be widely read. Alas! that the war-time novel has to cost 8/3; the remedy is to clamour for it in your local library, whether free or subscription. L.A.

PEACE NOW! H. Inqli James, B.Litt. (Oxon.).

The Christian Pacifist Political Movement of 23, Clara Street, Stoke, Coventry, issue this statement of their aims together with an outline of the circumstances which have led them to believe in the necessity for their movement. This is not the best thing that Inqli James has ever written, but it is certainly very good and has that vivid quality which we expect from him. C.P.G.

DICK AND JEF. John E. Francis. Joseph Sault. 2/6.

The Dick is Dick Sheppard, of whom there is very little; the Jef is John E. Francis, of whom there is much, but it is a very nice much and his story of his amazing experiences with all sorts and conditions of men who one time and another visit the Crypt of St. Martin's is well worth reading. Although the book is quite slender it does not really need to be read right through, even the reading of a section of it is more than worth while. C.P.G.

WHY THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IS NOT PACIFIST. Reinhold Niebuhr. Student Christian Movement Press. 9d.

There is much that is really excellent in this pamphlet, though the language at times is unnecessarily involved, but its real value as a criticism of pacifism is discounted owing to the fact that the pacifist case that Niebuhr criticises is one either very unusual or even of his own imagining. After pretty considerable experience of various shades of the pacifist movement, we have to confess that we have not yet met those whose arguments are here criticised most strongly, and there are moments when the reader of this pamphlet hopes that Professor Niebuhr knows more about the Christian Church than he does about pacifism. What pacifist, for instance, could feel himself really criticised by the final statement in this pamphlet that, "The idealist would recognise to what degree he is himself involved in rebellion against God, and would know that this rebellion is too serious to be overcome by just one more sermon on love, and one more challenge to man to obey the Law of Christ"? As no one would deny such a statement, why utter it with such urgency?

TRUE PATRIOTISM. P.P.U. 1/- per 100.

An excellent selection of the sayings of Mahatma Gandhi made from his published writings by Stephen Hobhouse. A three-page manual of non-violent opposition to aggression.

PEACE YEAR BOOK. National Peace Council. 6d.

This is a valuable directory of the peace movement, containing also notes on the outstanding events which led up to the present situation.

JUST PUBLISHED

## GEORGE LANSBURY'S

*Important and helpful book*

### This Way to Peace

In this important book, George Lansbury, the distinguished statesman and politician, describes how we may come to establish a permanent peace which will abolish war for all time.

*"He moves us by his sheer simplicity, humanity and inner glow, bringing a genuine star of hope into our night."*

CHRISTIAN WORLD

CLOTH 3s. od. NET

**RICH & COWAN**

37 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

THE CRANK. Arthur Ponsonby. George Allen & Unwin. 1/-.

Perhaps the chief interest of this one-act play is that it was written in 1916. The arguments then being put forward are almost identical with those now employed; but it is very doubtful whether in 1916 or any other period, the Merchant, the Professor or the Secretary ever spoke as Lord Ponsonby makes them do. This is certainly a pamphlet to be read but not a play to be acted.

THE LOGIC OF FAITH. Father Andrew, S.D.C. The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 47, Argyle Square, W.C.1. 1d.

Father Andrew's reputation as a master of clear and homely English is so well founded that the clarity of this particular leaflet is precisely what would be expected.

ANGLICANS AND WAR. The Ven. P. Hartill, Archdeacon of Stoke. Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 47, Argyle Square, W.C.1. 2d.

An extremely lucid statement of Christian pacifism from the Anglican point of view. Free Churchmen, however, will probably find that this pamphlet provides them with quite a lot of useful material for their own propaganda.

THE PHANTOM BROADCAST. James Avery Joyce. Peace Book Company. 6d.

A carefully worked out speech for the Prime Minister, but one he never as yet delivered. British policy would be a very different thing had this phantom speech been its reflection.

### PACIFIST LITERATURE IN THE U.S.A.

An extensive list of literature that can be obtained from the office of the American Fellowship, 2929 Broadway, New York City, has been received. Many of these pamphlets would doubtless be of interest to readers in this country, as showing the attitude of American pacifists to the present European conflict, and to such questions as conscription, refugees, and colonial resources.

## PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

### THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Holy Cross Vicarage, 47, Argyle Square, W.C.1.

On Monday, April 15th, at the Small Central Hall, Westminster, at 7.30 p.m., a meeting will be held when, with the exception of the Chairman, the speakers will be ex-combatant pacifists. The Chairman will be the Ven. Archdeacon Hartill, and the speakers will include the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, the Rev. K. Rawlings, the Rev. P. D. Robins, Lieutenant-Colonel Owen and the Rev. C. M. Smith. Admission will be free by ticket, though there are a certain number of reserved seats at 1/-.

Some 400 priests supported our appeal to the Archbishops for a deputation, but the Archbishops have now written to say that, while respecting our position, they cannot share it, and therefore no useful purpose could be served by further discussion.

The Clergy Conference booked for May 27th-30th at Whan Cross Retreat and Conference House, Chalfont S. Giles, Bucks., is already half booked up, and we would be glad to hear from those who wish to be present.

Will members in Birmingham and district kindly note the following engagements:—Tuesday evening, April 2nd—Public Meeting addressed by the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier and the Rev. Martin Tupper, at Smethwick. Wednesday evening, April 3rd—Public Meeting in Birmingham.

### CHRISTIAN PACIFISM IN SCOTLAND

The organisation of groups and branches proceeds and there is much ground for encouragement. Several well-attended Saturday afternoon conferences have been held in Edinburgh, where the F.o.R. conducts two weekly devotional meetings. On February 29th, Glasgow Branch of the Church of Scotland Peace Society held an enthusiastic meeting at which Professor G. H. C. Macgregor and the Rev. D. C. Mitchell were the speakers in the Y.W.C.A. Hall, which was packed with 200 people. The visit of the Rev. Henry Carter on March 12th is memorable. Speaking confidentially on the significance and result of the meeting of Church leaders in Holland, Mr. Carter addressed 32 ministers of all denominations in Edinburgh and to over 90 in Glasgow, many of whom desired to be kept in touch with the movement. The same evening Mr. Carter and the Rev. G. Gordon Cameron addressed an audience of about 350 in the Central Halls, Bath Street, the meeting being afterwards well reported in the press. Mr. Carter also addressed a meeting of the Methodist Peace Fellowship in Edinburgh, at which over 30 were present.

The Scottish Council of C.P.G. now meets regularly every alternate month, exchanging minutes with the London Council. At the March meeting, deep regret was felt on the resignation of the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. Gordon K. Hawes, who was congratulated on receiving a call to Huddersfield. Mr. Maclachlan reported on promising meetings which he had addressed in Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth, in all of which places a branch of the F.o.R. is now established, while it is hoped that a branch will shortly be formed in Dunfermline. The Committee of the F.o.R. in Edinburgh have received with regret the resignation from the office of Secretary of the Rev. Andrew Low, who has given such loyal service to the cause. A large number of C.O.s have been assisted by the Joint Advisory Council set up in Glasgow by the Society of Friends, the F.o.R. and the P.P.U. Over 40 men whose appeals have been dismissed are now awaiting developments. The work of Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units is being extended to Scotland.

### METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: Rev. Leslie Keeble,

Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2.

*The Annual Rally.*—The Sixth Annual Rally and Covenant Service of the Methodist Peace Fellowship was

held on March 2nd at Wesley's Chapel. It was the largest and most impressive gathering yet held in connection with the Fellowship. Six hundred people attended. The Rev. Henry Carter presided over a Conference at which Professor Charles F. Raven, D.D., Master of Christ's College, gave an address on "The Theology of Christian Pacifism."

Dr. Raven pointed out that at the beginning of His Ministry Jesus renounced the methods of "bread and games," miracle-mongering, and marching legions. What was left to Him was the Gospel. Until the Cross we had a right to say the Gospel was impossible, but Jesus chose time and place for facing the prejudice, vested interests, and armed might of Jewry and Rome. He let evil do its worst, refusing to acknowledge its power by either fighting or fleeing. The victory achieved in the Cross is the root of all Christian history, and is the reason the Church exists. The Cross, which is in itself the Resurrection, is the sole means of overcoming evil.

### F.o.R. LONDON UNION CONFERENCE

Some twenty-five London Group Secretaries met for conference at Whan Cross during the week-end of March 2nd and 3rd. Consideration was largely given to the implications of that point in the basis which stresses the need to bring love into all aspects of life. The London Union Chairman, Rev. Hampden Horne, begged that social problems—unemployment, pensions, wages, hours of work and the like—should not be overlooked in the midst of the war situation. It was clear from subsequent discussions on the Church, Politics, and the practical applications of the Basis that those present felt keenly and strongly on this social aspect of the Fellowship's work.

### "PAX"

Chairman: Eric Gill.

Secretary: Stormont Murray,

276, Hughenden Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.

Professor A. C. F. Beales will speak at the next London "PAX" meeting, and his subject will be "*The Practical Steps that Pacifists can take during the War to secure a Just Peace at the end of It.*" Any wishing to attend are asked to write to the above address for details, as time and place of meeting have not yet been settled. Professor Beales is the author of "The History of Peace: A Short Account of the Organised Movements for International Peace" (Bell, 16/-, 1931), and edits the "PAX" Bulletin which is circulated monthly to "PAX" members.

Attempts are being made to start several Catholic Land Communities for "PAX" members. These are not merely to be temporary "Dig-for-Victory" stunts—but are the outcome of our positive conviction that (to quote Middleton Murry) "the only social context in which the reality of Christianity can be re-discovered is the simple community . . ." Conscientious Objection to war is not enough—and can never become effective as a means to a Christian renaissance unless the objection is extended to all things which make for war. All that is covered by the term "industrialism" is, to the sensitive conscience, and for the same reason, incompatible with Christian principles and therefore objectionable. Pope Pius XII said (1939): "When the human person becomes merely a more perfect tool in industrial production and . . . a perfect tool for mechanised warfare, it means that society is breaking down its constituent elements into the mass of materialistic egoism . . ."

The Secretary of "PAX" will be glad to hear from any who are interested in the formation of Communities as means for the practical application of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Those who are inextricably implicated in the present Industrial system can at least assist those who for conscientious motives are seeking to build a new integral Christian Society in the shell of the present order.

## The Silver Jubilee Issue OF The Christian Pacifist IS STILL AVAILABLE

Now is the time to interest your friends in Christian pacifism and in our magazine!

Help your branch funds and increase our circulation by ordering twelve or more copies at a discount of 12½%. Postage paid.

ORDER NOW FROM  
The F.o.R., 17 RED LION SQUARE  
LONDON, W.C.1

## Classified Advertisements

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

### 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 April. Leader:—Eric Hayman.

LEWES BRANCH meets every Sunday at 4.30 (tea provided) at St. Michael's Guild Room. Secretary, Clarence Tritton, Ringmer.

MIDLANDS WEEK-END SCHOOL at "The Briars," Crich. April 20th-21st. Leaders: Dr. Leighton Yates, of Sheffield. Cost for week-end 8/6d. Will all interested write Margretta Oliver, 15 Bar Lane, Nottingham.

### SITUATIONS WANTED

F.o.R. member, 23, 6 years clerical experience wages and invoicing, resigned last employment with munitions firm. Willing to go anywhere. Leslie Joyce, 116 Wayland Road, Sheffield, 11.

### LANGUAGES

FRENCH, German, Spanish, Italian taught by correspondence. Moderate fees. Macrini School of Languages, 36 Osborne Road, Southsea.

Young man seeks weekly lessons in elocution. Would prefer East London district if possible. Terms must be moderate. Write Box C.83.

Young man (28), Christian Pacifist, desires tuition farming, as working pupil. Little experience. Drives car. Sargeant, 46, Whitmore Road, Harrow.

## ORDER 'The Christian Pacifist' NOW! and make certain of your copy

To the Editor,  
'The Christian Pacifist,'  
17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Please send me THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST monthly to December, 1940, (commencing with the May issue) at the inclusive cost of 2/4 which I enclose herewith.

\*Name .....

\*Address .....

\*KINDLY USE BLOCK LETTERS

EXPERIENCED DRESSMAKER requires work at private houses, London or country. Ladies' and children's clothing, renovations and general needlework. Strongly recommended by Miss Lilian Stevenson, Gerrards Cross. Write: Marchant, 57, Lausanne Road, Hornsey, N.8.

For PEACE and QUIET during these days of stress, visit FAIRFIELD GUEST HOUSE, DAWLISH, where the scented violets bloom. (Boxes 2/6 post paid.) Beautifully situated. Own grounds 8 acres. H. and C. in all bedrooms. Good catering. Well recommended. Very moderate terms. Illustrated brochure No. 9 from:—DOUGLAS BISHOP, "Fairfield," Dawlish (Tel. 151).

### DUPLICATION, ETC.

FIRST CLASS TYPEWRITING AND DUPLICATION, ETC. Mabel Eyles, 51, Ruskin Walk, London, S.E.24. Telephone, Brixton 2863.

### BOOKS

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM is truest Patriotism. See "Human Destiny Disclosed." Cloth 2/6 post free. Redmile, Geeston, Ketton, Stamford.

### CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Send for a copy of the important pamphlet PEACE NOW! by Rev. H. Ingli James, B.A., B.D., B.Litt. Obtainable 2d. post free, from 23 Clara Street, Stoke, Coventry.

LEICESTER  
GREAT BRITAIN  
PAID 2/11  
29 MAR 40

## *May we recommend the following Books and Pamphlets ?*

### March Publications in F.o.R. New Series :

- "THE LOGIC OF FAITH." The Rev. Father Andrew. (1d. or post paid 1½d.)  
"CHRIST'S CHOICE OF A BATTLEFIELD." A broadcast Sermon by Leyton Richards. (2d. or post paid 3d.)  
"THE JUSTICE OF THE KINGDOM." The Rev. H. Ingham. (1d. or post paid 1½d.)

### Previously Issued in F.o.R. New Series :

- "THE CHRISTIAN FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE." Leyton Richards. (3d. or post paid 5d.)  
"A MEDITATION ON PEACE." Evelyn Underhill. (1d. or post paid 1½d.)  
"PACIFISM IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND AFTERWARDS." Principal William Robinson. (3d. or post paid 5d.)  
"THY WILL BE DONE." A broadcast address by the Rev. Donald Soper. (1d. or post paid 1½d.)  
"A CHRISTIAN SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMAMENTS." Leyton Richards. (2d. or post paid 3d.)

### Other Christian Pacifist Publications :

- "ANGLICANS AND WAR." The Ven. Archdeacon Hartill. (2d. or post paid 3d.) (Just published.)  
"THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF JUST WAR." The Rev. E. C. Urwin, B.D. (2d. or post paid 3d.)  
"THE CHURCH AND WORLD PEACE." Olive Wyon. (3d. or post paid 5d.) Principles which should govern a righteous peace settlement.  
"CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND THE TRIBUNALS." The Rev. Henry Carter. (2d. or post paid 3d.)  
"THE LONDON TRIBUNAL QUESTIONS THE C.O." (1d. or post paid 1½d.)  
"THE PACIFIST'S SERVICE." Percy W. Bartlett. (½d. or post paid 1d.)  
"PERSONALITY AND PROGRESS." Henry T. Hodgkin. (1/6 or post paid 1/10. Originally published at 4/6.)  
"TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC." The Rev. Leslie Artingstall. (2/6 or post paid 2/10.)

*Obtainable from :*

**THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**  
**17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1**

Will subscribers whose copies of "The Christian Pacifist" have either not reached them or arrived late be good enough to communicate with the F.o.R. Office, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1 ?

LEICESTER  
GREAT BRITAIN  
PAID 2/11  
29 MAR 40