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MARCH 1939

The
CHRISTIAN
PACIFIST

A

new series of

Reconciliation

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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

MARCH, 1939

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

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

A.R.P. Injures Trade

One result of the efforts of the Government to make the nation war-minded is a serious setback to trade. The existence in this country of such a large body of unemployed workers at a time when the rearmament programme is at its height is matter for grave anxiety. It is only natural that people who have been told daily for months by many subtle forms of advertisement that detailed preparations for war are urgently necessary, should get the impression that war is imminent and therefore be prudently reluctant to start building or other operations or to spend money on any kind of production which would be frustrated by the outbreak of war. The settled conditions of peace and the confident optimism in the public mind which are essential to trade have been destroyed, chiefly by the propaganda for A.R.P. and National Service which, even more than the arms race itself, have created a dreadful expectation of war as an early probability. What has been gained by this is a government secret. At present we can only see what is lost and that is not only the material damage to trade with all its deplorable social consequences, but the moral damage to a generation which has been made to think of everything in terms of war, as though the organised massacre of their fellowmen could by

some freak of morality be justified as an occupation for Christian gentlemen.

World Peace Conference?

Government spokesmen have told us that the new departure of extensive civil preparation for war in time of peace is intended to impress the dictator countries. One might have thought that it was not the wisest diplomacy to disclose such feelings of suspicion and fear towards other Powers with whom we understand it is the policy of our Government to make peace. If the admittedly not very important speech of the Minister of Pensions made at Bath on the 20th of last month was reported in the foreign press it would furnish an interesting commentary on some recent speeches of the Prime Minister. "A reluctant, half-hearted, timid response to the appeal" (for National Service), said Mr. Ramsbotham, "would be no small encouragement to those who might think that the British Empire was past its zenith and were looking forward to secure from its collapse a rich and bounteous booty." Who are "those"? And is this the Government's answer to the demand for a world peace conference and a more equitable distribution of the world's resources? The impression made on Herr Hitler by the incessant talk about war on the part of the democracies is that it is meant to stimulate the armament market. We do not

believe that that is its intention, but that is undoubtedly its result.

Why This Mystery?

Why we cannot have a little more optimism now it is hard to see. The public speeches of the Dictators have recently been at least as pacific as those of "democratic" statesmen. An end to the war in Spain is at last in sight, an end which, we are told (though whether we believe it or not is another matter) will vindicate the policy of non-intervention by leaving Spain for the Spanish. Why then should we keep up this unending expectation of "crises" which do not happen? If there is danger, let the people be plainly told about it. If there is no danger, let us put a stop to scare-mongering. If Mr. Roosevelt, for instance, knows of some particular peril to peace, then why in the name of democracy does he not expose it? A little premature publicity would at least rob it of its surprise value. Or if he decides that it is not in the public interest to mention it, let him hold his peace. But what is to be gained by darkly hinting with an air of profound mystery that the gravest events are about to happen without giving any indication what these events may be or on what grounds they are anticipated?

Governments the Worst Agitators

It would be unfair to blame Mr. Roosevelt in particular. Very likely he never said the words attributed to him. But the policy now pursued by all the democratic governments of encouraging their peoples to live in perpetual expectation of an "emergency" is in itself increasing and not diminishing the probability of war. Even words of optimism are being spoken with such an air as to convey a deeper sense of depression and alarm than could any direct prediction of evil, as when we say with a deep sigh and in tones of heavy wisdom, "I hope with all my heart there will be peace, but—" Even more agitating is the cheerful manner of speech so obviously employed to keep our spirits up. "I know you're not ill, dear; I've just called the specialist as a precaution." The Government may learn some day that this sort of thing can be overdone, even with a very stupid public.

Beware of Victory

It is much too early to predict what General Franco will make of his victory in Spain. We are not sure yet whether the war is over. Even if he has ceased to make war, General Franco

must yet begin to make peace, and that has sometimes proved a harder task. If he possesses the qualities of a great peace-maker he has hitherto been modest enough completely to conceal them. It is to be fervently hoped, for Spain's sake, that there will be no more fighting. That can prove nothing and settle nothing except to show which side is the richer and less scrupulous. The greater part of the world will readily agree that that doubtful honour is due to Franco, for whom as he is doomed to go forward to pluck the fatal fruits of victory we are heartily sorry. Like the Allies in the world war, despite his immense advantage in resources, he has, after a much longer struggle than he expected, just won the war and no more. Let him take Versailles as a warning. But such advice is premature. Though General Franco has, if he has, won the war, whether and to what extent he can remain in power will depend entirely on the Government forces against whom he has been leading the mutiny. Suppose, instead of continuing to fight the Government were to begin a campaign of non-violence, the victor would be at their mercy. As Lord Esher says, "A nation of passive resisters is far more formidable than a nation of fighters."

Who is the Enemy?

Comment, published by the Committee for the Defence of Spain, sponsored by many distinguished British leaders of thought, publishes the latest and most complete figures available, town by town, of the losses to the civilian population through bombardment from the air by Fascist air-raids. The figures are by no means complete, but the best that can be had. They show 9,659 buildings have been partially destroyed; in Catalonia alone 764 buildings have been destroyed completely. The number of wounded is known definitely to be at least 12,546. At least 7,072 civilians, largely women and children, have been killed.

Pacifists Welcome Conscription

Every pacifist, and especially those who are men of military age, will be interested in the movement to oppose conscription. The objects of this movement, however, must not be confused with those of Christian pacifism, which is not opposed to conscription but to war. Conscription is one part of the war plan, one weapon. Whether or not it is a really useful weapon we must leave the militarists to decide. Some would argue against it on the ground that it brings into the fighting forces the wrong

kind of man, and that, therefore, inasmuch as even in armies quality is more important than quantity, it tends to weaken the army rather than to strengthen it. Pacifists will not allow themselves to be carried away by a movement of opposition to the use of one weapon only as though the abolition of that one would render warfare morally tolerable. Least of all will the pacifist agitate against a measure, the abolition of which would make war safe for himself, as though his main objection to war was that it compelled him to serve his country. The pacifist objects to military service, not because it is service, nor even because it is compulsory, but because it is military. His personal resistance to conscription is only incidental to his support of a much greater cause, that of the abolition of all war. It might even be argued that conscription is to be welcomed—as indeed by many pacifists it would be welcomed—as providing greatly increased opportunity of witnessing to the pacifist faith. A war without conscription would be a dreadful ordeal for the pacifist.

Ministries of Peace

The Executive Committee of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation met for two days last month in Buckinghamshire. There was a representative attendance and much business. Apart from reports of meetings and conferences and secretaries' journeys and reviews of work in several countries; time was mainly devoted to the subjects of refugees, the general international situation, and the important summer school for peace leaders, to be held in Denmark from next Whitsuntide. For that school an impressive list of real teachers has been obtained, and leaflets giving some of their syllabuses will shortly be available. Barrow Cadbury, the new treasurer of the I.F.o.R., brought forward the suggestion that Governments, particularly those of Great Britain and the U.S.A., should be urged to establish Ministries of Peace. Several proposals for new literature were approved, and it was agreed that the I.F.o.R. *News Letter* should be published six times a year instead of four, the price remaining at a shilling for the year.

COMMUNITY NOTES

Bernard Shaw once remarked that nothing less than a world war would have sufficed to bring daylight saving into Britain. It rather looks as if the same might be true of voluntary community—at least, in any national sense. For already the Government has circulated to us all its handbook of community service. It assumes, not unreasonably, a possible state of emergency and it takes for granted that all good citizens will want to co-operate in meeting it. We become realist, you see, at the point of threatened extinction.

Emergency Already Exists

Because community in the world of to-day is realism. We are all desperately in need of it—not indeed as a preparation against war but as a way of life that can make peace real and possible. As for a state of emergency—if that is the only condition that will justify the surrender of our personal leisure, the undertaking of unaccustomed tasks and the opening of our homes to strangers, then community is long overdue. For we have been living in a state of emergency for years. Though we may not all have been very much aware of it, there are thousands of our fellow-countrymen who have. Malnutrition and hope deferred will kill more

slowly but hardly less surely than high explosive.

A Reversed World

But no handbook has been issued to mobilise the national conscience to constructive comradeship for peace. We are counselled rather to busy ourselves about our dying. And even in these dismal tasks, many may discover a generous fellowship of service which they have seldom discovered in their everyday jobs or their enforced journeys to the Labour Exchange. So it remains, as it always has remained, for ordinary men and women of goodwill to get together and consider what lies to their hand to do and how to set about doing it—not in the spirit of fear but of reconciliation. In order to do anything very effective it seems that we shall have to reverse a great many familiar notions about living. It has been said that

"if the Kingdom of God is a reversed world, then the contrary is also true: the world is a reversed Kingdom of God. To turn over again what has once been turned over means to re-establish it, to right it, to raise up the fallen, to bring life to the dead, to save the dying world."*

* Merezhkovsky. "Jesus Manifest," p. 58.

The crisis of our civilisation has come upon us because we have not very well understood this: have not grasped that the tremendous paradoxes with which the teaching of Christ abounds are not picturesque figures of speech but sober rules for daily living . . . the spiritual basis and the only one for a personal, social and economic pattern that will work.

Our Complicity

Saul, consenting to the death of Stephen, stood by the clothes of those who cast the stones. In offices, behind counters, at workbenches, in the market, have we not also stood

by, consenting to those things which are even now working out their destiny of desolation for our world? We have fought our brother in the rough-and-tumble of the competitive struggle for the sake of our job and our home and our youngsters' education and our own place in the scheme of things. And in so far as we have achieved our measure of comfort and security, we have won. But what will it avail us that we refuse to make shells and feed guns? These are no more than the by-products of that wider warfare to which we are already, so many of us, deeply committed.

RENUNCIATION OF WAR

MINISTERS' DECLARATION

During this month a great attempt is to be made to get the names of 5,000 ministers and clergy in support of the following Declaration:

"In face of all the evil and fear in the present international situation, we are led to declare our conviction that peace cannot be won by armament and military victory, but only through sympathy and understanding, mutual trust and right dealing between the nations. Renewing our faith in God, we therefore appeal to our fellow Christians to unite with us in utterly renouncing war, in calling for the opening of the earth's resources to satisfy the needs of all peoples, and in proclaiming, in the spirit of the Prince of Peace and within both Church and State, the message of the Cross."

Those who have already signified their willingness to support the Declaration include:

J. R. Ackroyd, Wilfred S. Andrews, Leslie Artingstall, Eric Baker, John C. Ballantyne, H. J. Blackmore, Alan Balding, W. Harold Beales, S. H. Benson, Henry Bett, C. Leslie Brewer, S. C. Bryan, Henry Carter, H. Chalmers, R. O. Clack, John R. Coates, Constance M. Coltman, G. Oswald Cornish, John Ivory Cripps, T. Harold Davies, D. Myrddin Davies, E. Tegla Davies, Oliver Dryer, Denis Fletcher, James Fraser, C. Paul Gliddon, W. H. Haden, Percy Hartill, A. H. Hawkins, W. I. Hinsley, C. G. Holland, Hugh L. Hornby, A. Gordon James, H. Inglis James, G. Hickman Johnson, R. J. Jones, Leslie Keeble, D. D. A. Lockhart, Walter M. Long, George H. C. Macgregor, Lewis Maclachlan, George Macleod, David C. Mitchell, Gilbert Molesworth, Stuart Morris, E. Benson Perkins, G. Lloyd Phelps, Eric W. Philip, Watcyn M. Price, Charles E. Raven, Kenneth Rawlings, Leyton Richards, Colin A. Roberts, Norman L. Robinson, William Robinson, H. D. E. Rokeby, Maude Royden, Sam Rowley, T. B. Scrutton, Cyril M. Smith, W. J. Smith, Donald Soper, Martin E. Tupper, W. Upright, E. C. Urwin, William Wood, R. S. Wright, D. Gordon Wylie, H. H. Farmer.

This Declaration offers to our members and friends an extraordinarily good opportunity not only for bringing this whole matter before their local ministers, but also for co-operating in a movement which may make a substantial change in the whole witness and authority of Christian Pacifism. If these 5,000 names could be obtained—and they would, of course, include those who have already become members of various pacifist societies—then a really deep impression is likely to be made upon the public mind.

It is, therefore, greatly hoped that, in every town where there is a pacifist, an attempt will be made to interview all Ministers on the subject of the Declaration and that, to this end, friends will write immediately to the office of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, asking for copies of the Declaration Form.

If our pacifist ministers would themselves get ministerial signatories, bringing in for this purpose many who have not hitherto joined any pacifist society at all, they will be performing a very useful piece of service. It must be clearly understood, however, that a minister's membership of a pacifist society does not entitle us to add his name to this Declaration, and therefore we must hear from all such ministers of their approval, if their names are to be reckoned.

Please remember our aim is to get the support of 5,000 ministers and clergy to this Declaration before the end of March, and this means that the question of the Declaration ought to be the first item on the agenda of any pacifist committee meeting.

A FAIRY IN A CAGE

A. RUTH FRY

IN the crisis of September, 1938, every thoughtful European must have been brought face to face with war, with a fresh vivid realisation of its terrible meaning. We saw the imminent possibility of the death, not only of ourselves and our dear ones, but of the whole of civilisation as we know it. Our art, our literature, our architecture, our music, which belong to the future as much as to ourselves, these stand imperilled by the all-embracing catastrophe of war. Worst of all, war destroys our precious spiritual values, for it can only be waged with complete disregard of men's souls, and the freedom of his divine spirit dies with the first breath of hostilities.

But the crisis was, in fact, a thrilling moment in world history, because it gave expression to an unprecedented hatred of war, from far and wide, and a realisation, too, that it is a futile method for attaining the ends of peace; it is the wrong tool, in fact, for the job. Despite the shame at being unable to avoid the incidence of great cruelty, misery and injustice, there was a realisation that to attempt to cure these evils by war, was no more sensible than trying to cure your headache by cutting off your head. Or, to put it another way, to use war to stop violence is like turning an hour-glass, merely reversing the positions of the same grains of sand.

Perhaps the very increase in devilry of the machines of war is helping to open men's eyes to its true nature, which those who have come near to it with open eyes have always known. We find even Clemenceau, whom we connect with the wholehearted belief in military methods, writing, in the wisdom of his old age, "I have seen too much and know too much. If I wrote my memoirs, not a man would go to war, even if the security of his country demanded it."

The Hurt of Harming

We have only to think for a moment of the great truths of Christianity to know for a certainty that this must be so. For they teach us that, paradoxically, by taking things, we lose them, by crushing others we are overcome by them, by harming others, we ourselves are hurt, and that by saving our own lives we lose

them. As Saint Paul has told us, "Know you not that you are a temple of God, and that the spirit of God is dwelling in you? If anyone destroys the temple of God, him will God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, and this temple you are."

Yet Christians have often ignored this complete inconsistency between allegiance to Christianity and to war. This inconsistency is forcibly expressed by the great mystic William Law, for access to some of whose beautiful and little known mystical writings we are indebted to Stephen Hobbouse. In "An Address to the Clergy," William Law writes:—

"Look now at warring Christendom. What smallest drop of pity towards sinners is to be found in it? Or how could a spirit all-hellish more fully contrive and hasten their destruction? It stirs up and kindles every passion of fallen nature that is contrary to the all-humble, all-meek, all-loving, all-forgiving, all-saving Spirit of Christ. . . ."

What then must we do?

Before committing ourselves to schemes for the annihilation of the wicked by the good, let us try to learn whether that is the best way to attain our object. Wise words come to our mind which do not uphold that idea. "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God," as St. Paul tells us, and the perfectly direct command of Christ. "Love your enemies." These words are not merely a pious exhortation, but an inevitable truth which we cannot afford to neglect.

It is so tempting to hate not only evil, but the men who do it, and to feel warmed by our own self-righteousness. Yet if in our desire to eliminate evil, we allow it to get into our hearts, we have been conquered by it instead of ourselves dominating it.

Beating the Devil

A recent writer (E. L. Allen in *Reconciliation* for May, 1938) has said:—

"It is a simple psychological fact that one can only effectively oppose evil outside one, when one has such an abhorrence of it that one will not suffer it to advance an inch within oneself. We are always exposed to the tempta-

tion which Jesus met at the outset of His ministry, the attempt to oppose Satan by first worshipping Him, to resist evil by adopting the methods which it employs. But he who yields to that is really on the side of evil. When, for example, a nation preaches a creed of force and we reply to that by assembling against it a preponderance of force, we may put down that particular nation, but at the cost of adding ourselves to the list of converts to its creed!"

So we see that we must turn to positive from negative methods; we must be so strong in good, that the evil is overwhelmed by it as the dirt of a town is overcome by the whiteness of a fresh fall of snow. As the Duke of Argyll wrote: "There is no method of reform so powerful as this. If alongside any false or corrupt belief or any vicious or cruel system we place one incompatible idea, then without any noise or controversy or clash of battle, those beliefs or customs will wane and die." But, nevertheless, we must not deceive ourselves, the way is not easy, and it presupposes vigorous strength of soul and searching self-criticism and self-sacrifice.

Or we may put the matter in yet another way and say that there are two methods of eliminating an obstruction, first, the way of the murderer or the bomb, and, secondly, that of the growing tree. The first desires to achieve its aim instantly, with no delay and no pity. As we have tried to show earlier, this way really produces greater difficulties than the original ones, although at the first instant it may seem to have attained success. But it leaves out a whole dimension of man's being; two guns may be stronger than one, but the power of man's spirit is unmeasurable and the powers of friendship and generosity are incalculable, for truly we may say that they work by compound interest. These are the powers which we have likened to a tree, with its roots in the unseen, giving solidity and security, and with trunk and branches silently pushing up against the force of gravity.

In dealing with evil, too, we need to study the reasons for its existence. Evil, as for example, in the pogroms of to-day, seems to be so unnecessary, so simply bestial, that we feel there must be excuse for any violent measures against it. Yet a recent writer in the *Lancet* (November 19th, 1938) argues that the most probable scientific explanation of such crimes is that they "are not due to a simple increase of the impulse of aggression which must find out-

let, but arise from the interaction of an impulse to destroy something and at the same time to protect something." Men need to find an excuse—a grand cause for their violence, otherwise "the reaction of guilt becomes oppressive."

The Safety Valve of the Pogrom

When discontent arises amongst a people, it can be dealt with in democratic countries by ousting the Government as apart from the constitutional monarch, the functions of ruler being divided between the two. "In autocratic countries there is no such duality to bear the shock of antagonism," and, in the old phrase, a scape-goat must be found to bear the brunt of the people's hatred. Either war or pogroms and purges must be resorted to, and far from demonstrating strength, they clearly show weakness. Therefore, "when a propaganda minister as able as Herr Goebbels incites to an attack on the Jews, he discloses to the world that the popularity of his leader is in jeopardy; when the astonished world urges the régime to desist from such violence, it is, perhaps, without realising the fact, asking the leaders to run the risk of the violence being directed against themselves."

But just as in illness, there must be a cause for the symptoms, so in national ill-health, which we see widespread in the world to-day, we have to go back to find the reasons for present chaos. There, if we are honest, we shall find the many crimes which we have committed, mirrored to-day in the crimes of other nations. Repentance, therefore, is our first duty, and a realisation that we too are guilty and do not appear so guiltless in the eyes of others as we are in our own.

We who love Peace, love our country so dearly that we long for her to do only righteousness; we love something, too, greater than the narrow idea of a nation, we love the whole human family. We see a vision of our dear England venturing everything in order to lead the world to brotherhood, remembering that "nothing is securely your own, neither life, love, nor possessions, unless you are prepared at any moment to give them up. For as soon as you want to keep anything possessively and safe from all risk of losing it, you have lost it already, and freedom of spirit also. The husk may remain, but the living truth is dead."*

So we may as well try to preserve a fairy in a cage, as the spirit of peace in an armed world!

* From "Speak to the Earth," by Vivienne de Watteville.

CIVILISATION UPROOTED

J. NEVIN SAYRE

Part of an address delivered to the Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and broadcast nation-wide, by the Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation on 15th January, 1939.

I THINK it is in part a sound prescription for civilisation's malady that George Lansbury, Paul van Zeeland, Herbert Hoover, King Leopold of Belgium and others have been urging that all the nations begin to undercut their international political points of conflict by making a flank attack on the economic side. Mr. Lansbury put the proposition briefly and persuasively when he said that the great necessity before the world to-day was for *co-operative planning* instead of *competitive killing*. He is sure that there could be enough wealth and employment for all the peoples of the world if only the governments of the world would get together around a table and sincerely and co-operatively plan how to utilise the power of science to produce abundance and distribute plenty instead of mobilising science as the nations now do for arms production, nationalist propaganda, ideologies of persecution and hatred, and for war. Ex-President Hoover said last October:

"The first step should be to resume the world conferences which were ended by our country in 1933. Relief of economic pressures would do more than contribute to peace. It would do more to relax those philosophies of despotism, and to remove their brutalities, than all the armies and navies in the world. Food, clothing and general welfare make the atmosphere in which we can alone expect personal liberty to assert itself. And people who have experienced intellectual and economic liberty will sometime regain it. That is the hope of world peace."

A Deputation to Roosevelt

Less than three weeks ago I had the honour of heading a delegation of the National Peace Conference, which urged upon President Roosevelt that before another crisis should occur in Europe he and the democratic nations should take the initiative in inviting all nations to a conference, or series of conferences, aiming at

economic and military disarmament. In his message to Congress a few days later the President said: "We stand on our historic offer to take counsel with all other nations of the world to the end that aggression among them be terminated, that the race of armaments cease and that commerce be renewed." However, I have not the impression that any government is moving very fast in this matter. The speed seems to be like that of the automobiles in a traffic jam in New York the other evening, when two miles an hour was about the rate of going across town. Apparently some other trouble besides imperfect economic and diplomatic machinery lies at the root of civilisation's sickness.

On the first of last October, the day that Hitler had set as the dead-line for Czechoslovakia to yield to his terms, there appeared in a British magazine an article by a young Czech who is a friend of mine, which said:

"We must not put too high the ideal of a State or a nation. There are much higher ideals.

"We must never forget that we all are children of one God and that there is loyalty transcending flag or country . . .

"There is no sense in working for peace from Hungarian or Czechoslovak points of view; we know only too well what Pax Romana means, and we now what a Pax Hungarica, a Pax Bohemica, or a Pax Britannica would mean!

"The Hungarian, the Czechoslovak, or the English viewpoint is something temporary, something mortal. Respect men as brothers with both good qualities and faults—but always brothers, and not as Hungarians or Czechs.

"It is not by changing the frontiers, or by an administrative decision that national problems will be solved. *A correction in laws or frontiers is no solution. The only solution*

is a correction in spirit. All those problems will find their solution in surmounting the frontiers—economically, but first of all spiritually and morally.”

Civilisation is Languishing

You see that the grass roots of civilisation are spiritual even more than they are economic or political, and civilisation is being uprooted and languishing in the world to-day because much of its spiritual rootage has been destroyed. In greed we have denuded the forests, ploughed up the hillsides, destroyed the earth's natural coverage; and nature has struck back with floods, soil erosion, dust storms, and similar consequences of civilisation's disobedience to her commands.

Once we view things in this light it is perfectly evident that the primary need of our time, and the first way in which to try and meet the refugee problem, and many other problems, is by something which must happen in ourselves. Governments, the League of Nations, and other social machinery are at fault; but before they failed, there was a moral failure in the people of the nations. There was a primary failure in their religion, in their hold on God, in their perception of what God required, and in their idolatry of nationalism, armaments, financial success, the glittering power and glory of imperialism in the nineteenth century world.

So I believe that there must be a return to religion, but not any religion and not to a great deal of custom and conduct which covers itself with religion's high name. The world we are living in right now, it seems to me, is calling for a religion that will give individual men and women the power to do some extremely difficult things.

Helpfulness Counters Hatred

First, we need a religion that will enable us *not to hate but to help*. It is so easy when we read of Nazi persecution to become infected with the virus of hate. There is so much hatred and propaganda of hatred in the world to-day—and often it is based on things that are terribly wrong—that before we know it we get caught by the spirit of hatred, just as we catch a cold. Of course, we call our hatred “righteous indignation,” but it is none the less a very contagious and dangerous thing. By affording some outlet for our emotions it makes us feel good, but the trouble is that, like a short circuit, it

lets our emotions escape the load of something they ought to carry. Hatred interferes with good judgment, with self-control, with power to use love. It is totally unconstructive.

The antidote to hatred is, of course, to do something helpful. I was much struck in a conversation which I had with a fine old Jewish doctor in a German city last summer, by an incident of emotion turned to helpfulness which he related to me. His son had emigrated to California, and by a cruel law of the Nazis the son cannot revisit Germany even for twenty-four hours without liability to arrest. Since the father's practice has been largely cut off he has not the money to visit the United States. So the father, weighed down by the oppression of his people, was thus separated by a great distance from his son. But last Easter, at the Passover season, an American family invited the son to their home, and presented him with the gift of a trans-oceanic telephone call to his father. I don't know whether the old man was more moved by his son's voice, or by the kindness of this American family, but I know that his whole estimate of America was raised by this kindly deed. During most of the evening when I talked with him he was greatly depressed, but when he told of this incident there was the light of gladness in his eyes.

Let us increase our personal efforts to help such refugees as we can. Though we cannot help them all, some we can really save. I am sure it is worth while for me to take one refugee family into my home. There are other homes in the United States doing the same. It is worth while to help those refugees who come here to get adequate jobs. By and large, this will not add to our unemployment problem but tend rather to improve it. Experience up to now has shown that comparatively few of the refugees have taken jobs to the detriment of Americans who were in the country previous to their arrival. Instead of that, very many refugees by their talent have created new work and thus opened up additional sources of income to our people. Among those who have come to us from Germany since Hitler's accession to power have been Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and half-a-dozen winners of Nobel prizes. I have seen it responsibly stated that on the whole America has never received in so brief a period from any single country a more desirable group than the refugees who have come from Germany in this time.

Propaganda's Pre-digested Thought

The second thing that I believe true religion requires of civilisation is that *we cease thinking by propaganda* and instead try to *see facts as they are* and to *think accordingly*. A lot of good thinking goes wrong in the world because it starts out from a basis of misinformation. And to those persons who do not wish the trouble of thinking at all propaganda offers easy and painless pre-digested thinking, but thinking according to bias. Propaganda fills our heads with dangerous pictures. They are like cartoons—striking, simple, easy to remember, often clever, and they stick in the mind. But they are exaggerations, or only half truth. Now, a cartoon may be an excellent thing for amusement, but it is a poor map to steer by. And propaganda offers us cartoons disguised to look like maps, and unless we are much on guard we go ahead and use them as tools to think by.

For example, all America to-day is deluged with propaganda against Japan. You would get the idea that the whole Japanese people are aggressors. If there were time I could show you that this is not true. But let me pierce the propaganda picture with a single quotation. Muriel Lester, who went to China and Japan last year, reported the following:

“Many young Japanese are deliberately choosing the way of the Cross instead of the sword. They go through their training so as not to bring disgrace on parents and ancestors—for family loyalty in the Orient is sacrosanct—but when they leave Japan, when they embark for the China coast, they bid a final farewell to their best friend, declaring they will never see him again. It is not a matter of the fortunes of war, of the chance of life and death. They will surely die, because they will surely not kill. They drop their rifles at the first order to fire, and they are shot themselves.”

Victorious in Suffering

Finally, civilisation must have a religion which will enable it to overcome aggression and injury by suffering goodness. How does water resist the intrusion of a foreign body? By yielding and enveloping. Thrust a sword into a lake and the water in time will rust the sword. How shall we deal with the aggressions of Germany?

It is one of the most momentous questions of our time, and no man, I suppose, has the complete answer. But as one who has lived through all the days of the world war and every day that has happened since, I am in full agreement with those words in President Roosevelt's cablegram to Hitler, which said: “Resort to force in the Great War failed to bring tranquillity. Victory and defeat were alike sterile. That lesson the world should have learned.”

I go somewhat further and find myself in agreement with a prophetic passage written by D. H. Lawrence in November, 1919:

“Besides, Germany—Prussia—is not evil through and through. Her mood is now *evil*. But we reap what we have sowed. It is as with a child: if with a sullen, evil soul one provokes an evil mood in the child, there is destruction. But no child is all evil. And Germany is the child of Europe; and senile Europe, with her conventions and arbitrary rules of conduct and life and very being, has provoked Germany into a purely destructive mood. If a mother does this to a child—and it often happens—is she to go on till the child is killed or broken, so that the mother shall have her way? Is she not rather, at a certain point, to yield to the paroxysm of the child, which passes away swiftly when the opposition is removed? And if Prussia for a time imposes her rule on us, let us bear it, as a mother temporarily bears the ugly tyranny of her child, trusting to the ultimate good. The good will not be long in coming all over Europe if we trust it in ourselves. (This is not yielding to the child—this is knowing beyond the child's knowledge.)”

My friends, are we not all of us but children in knowledge, compared to the knowledge of God? I have come to believe that His method of overcoming aggression and evil and sin is essentially by surrounding it with goodness which will bear injury inflicted upon itself but not retaliate with evil measures. God “maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.” Or, as the same truth was put by a prophet some centuries before to a people pondering on national defence: “Not by might nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.”

COUNTRY LETTER

THE world is suffering from megalomania and its ridiculous reverence for size is characteristic of the age. Everybody wants to have the largest of everything. Nations boast of the largest populations as well as of the largest fleets. Herr Hitler has the largest audiences. Britain has the largest empire. France has the largest army. Signor Mussolini works in the largest room. . .

I am not contending that numbers are without significance. I love to hear (as I often do) that the circulation of good literature is going up, of membership of the peace societies increasing and of peace meetings overflowing. Numbers are an index of some kinds of value. Only don't take them too seriously.

The newspaper with the largest circulation is probably not the paper that you will want to read. The longest lived man is not the man of most life. When we were very young we used to believe that if the Church preached a pure and fearless gospel her courts would be thronged with eager worshippers. Far from it. We certainly ought not to be merely high-brow, but anything really good, be it music or art or poetry or the good news of the Kingdom, puts into operation of necessity a principle of "election." "Lord, are there few that be saved? . . . Few there be that find it."

I do not wholly agree with the brother who, after an open-air meeting, reproved me for heresy. I protested that I mustn't be called a heretic for disagreeing with him. He might be the heretic because he disagreed with me.

"I can prove it," said he. When you fellows speak you get a crowd. When I speak nobody listens—because I speak the truth!"

There certainly is something in it, though I am fain to believe that there are other factors which contribute to the result.

I believe that membership of the peace societies and attendance at pacifist meetings is increasing, notwithstanding a number of causes which would naturally tend to reduce our numbers. The strength of our movement, as of the whole Church, lies not in hordes, but in disciple groups. He called twelve that they might be with Him. Twelve is all you need to stir a whole community.

I have come across some very helpful testimony to our faith from non-pacifists. I pass these quotations on, as I know they will be useful.

"Let us at least recognise that a war to save liberty would probably destroy liberty." — Ex-President Hoover, in his excellent speech in Chicago on the 1st of February.

1919, April 22 (from a letter dealing with the German reluctance to sign the Treaty of Versailles): "There seems to be an inclination on the part of the Boche to kick. But there is no impassioned leadership in Germany. If there was there would be no signature of peace terms at all. You remember Napoleon's astonished embarrassment at Moscow when, for the first time in his victorious career, he found no one with whom to make peace. What was to be done? In the end he was forced to walk sadly home. Well, suppose the Boche refuses to sign. What is to be done? It is all very well to talk of military and naval occupation, etc., etc. A nation of passive resisters is far more formidable than a nation of fighters." —Vol. IV. Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher. p. 232.

"There can be no doubt that war and all its circumstances are contrary to the mind of Christ. This is so evident that to adduce particular sayings of Jesus is quite unnecessary. Nor can it be said that the question of patriotic duty in defence of national freedom was not present to His mind as a practical problem of conduct. . . . To come down to particulars, it is surely beyond the bounds of tolerable paradox to assert that airmen raining death and destruction on a crowded city could be doing so in a spirit of love and forgiveness, and it strikes us as little short of blasphemous when they say they are fighting in the cause of Christ. We must not allow ourselves to be confused by the obvious fact that war calls out wonderful heroism and self-sacrifice. Soldiers are enlisted, not in order that they may die for their country, but that they may kill for her, and in modern war this sometimes means that they may have to massacre women and children."—The Dean of St. Paul's in "The Spectator," 10th February. You should read the whole article continued in the following issue. L.M.

THE CHRIST AND UNEMPLOYMENT CRUSADE

ALAN BALDING

MEDICAL research and social reform proceed from one fundamental Christian assumption—that physical disease and the ills of society can be cured, when we find the way. The worker in either field may avow himself an atheist. But he is unwittingly proceeding from a Christian principle—that this is God's world, from which evil can be banished.

The stronghold of atheism has never been in Hyde Park and the Rationalist Press Association: it has been in faithless, unadventurous Christian hearts. The Christian, least of all men, cannot accept as inevitable conditions which involve degradation for a single human being. The ultimate questions by which each one of us is faced are surely: Do I believe in God so really as to believe that His will is practicable? Do I care enough to see that God's will shall be done?

We have too long allowed ourselves to be daunted by that one false antithesis—sacred and secular, religious and political, contemplative and active, "idealist" and "realist." It is clear in all the words of Jesus, and luminously clear in His life and death, that to believe in God is to care passionately about men. Jesus challenged sickness in the name and power of God. And He saw in the wealth of at least one man the sole hindrance to his finding God. There was nothing incongruous for Him between the prayers for daily bread and for forgiveness. But as they used His words His disciples were never to forget that they were members of a family—our Father, our trespasses and our daily bread.

All the life of all the world waits to be governed by the will of God. Nothing must impede His purpose. In His will alone is our peace.

Two Million Unemployed

Many members of the family are unemployed. The Ministry of Labour's report for January gives the numbers of unemployed persons on the register of employment exchanges in Great Britain as 1,594,431 wholly unemployed, 379,027 temporarily stopped, and

65,568 normally in casual employment, a total of 2,039,026, which is the highest figure for three years. This total does not include those who, mainly by reason of continued ill-health, have been removed from the register and are dependent on Public Assistance. It also excludes the vast majority of old age pensioners, who are often in extreme need.

There are 289,000 persons who have been unemployed for twelve months or more. The increase of 207,654 between December 12 and January 16 includes "over 39,000 boys and girls, a large number of whom had registered for employment on reaching the school-leaving age at the end of the December term."

These figures are the more serious in that the peak of the rearmament boom is probably already reached. But the mind can scarcely grasp the meaning of these statistics. The problem is seen in its gravity only as we conceive it, imaginatively, in terms of individual men and women and their families, and in terms of this girl and that boy, frustrated on the threshold of adulthood.

A small group of Congregationalists has been meeting for prayer and thought about the challenge of this social evil. The call to a crusade in Christ's name against unemployment is, they are deeply convinced, the call of God to them and through them to the whole Church. The crusade is not a new organisation; rather is it conceived as a fellowship of men and women working through the varied societies of their own churches who, because they are Christians, are determined that unemployment shall be ended.

The Crusade Manifesto

The manifesto of the Crusade is the first-fruit of this corporate prayer and thought. It begins with a statement of our common consciousness of the need of a religious revival. God is to be newly known, within His Church and in the life of the nation, only as we repent of our failure to apprehend and do His will. That will is surely clear: it is, as Christ revealed it, that all men should find "a wholeness of body, mind and soul." Anything which makes it difficult

for men to find fulness of life—and it is to be firmly held in mind that we repudiate the antithesis between material and spiritual—is therefore not merely regrettable; it is sin. "One such condition is unemployment, and"—since God's purpose does not need to be frustrated in God's world—"unemployment can be cured."

The Covenant of the Crusade reads: "Because I believe that the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth is at once His purpose in the Incarnation and my responsibility as a Christian, and because I believe that the fulfilment of that purpose is continually hindered by the persistence of unemployment, I pledge myself, God being my helper, to use every opportunity and power, political, personal and social, to achieve a complete solution of the problem."

What is it that is asked of the signatories to this Covenant? It is first that they should enter to the full into fellowship with these, their brethren. *Men without work* gives moving evidence of the loneliness and the sense of shame which worklessness involves for the more sensitive. Anyone who has lived and worked within a community of unemployed, or who has known that even lonelier person, the man who is unemployed in the midst of a relatively prosperous district, will know something of the humiliation which unemployment entails.

Hunger and Poverty

There is hunger and poverty, real hunger and real poverty, in the homes of many—probably the majority—of the unemployed. Marjorie Eyres' letter in last month's *Christian Pacifist* conveyed vividly the pathos of the demonstration in Oxford Street. It is not enough to dismiss the organisers as Communists and the

demonstration itself as a sorry stunt. The Christian has two obvious and immediate duties: to join the N.U.W.M. in its demand for adequate maintenance; to live sacrificially, that he may have something to spare for his brother.

Members of the Crusade are asked to make themselves familiar with conditions in their own locality and to study the problem as a whole. Five definite proposals are made for the reduction of unemployment, proposals which have the endorsement of economists of widely-different schools: a lowering of the pension age, with adequate increase in the amount of pension; raising the school-leaving age without exemptions and with family allowances; a shortening of the working week; planning necessary public works; an end to the exploitation of casual, underpaid and women's work. The signatory is not committed to these specific proposals, but he is urged to consider them in the fellowship of concerned groups. And it is upon the basis of these proposals, or of such other proposals as may arise in the living fellowship of the Crusade, that members are to be united in political action.

"Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way?" The Christian can never fully know what following Christ will involve for him. But the way opens out before him, step by step, as he ventures forth. If unemployment cannot be ended within the present order, he owns no final loyalty to any "present order."

Will you who read these words send for a copy of the Manifesto to: Trinity Hall, Augusta Street, Poplar, London, E.14? Will you then offer yourself, and become an agent of this adventuring fellowship?

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

India

Totalitarian states try to defend themselves against charges of barbarism by reporting what imperialist democracies do in Palestine and Syria, in India and in Africa. The reports may be exaggerated and the cases not at all parallel, but fortunately more penetrating criticism comes from within the democracies than from without. The case of India presents peculiar difficulties just now because the news of trouble comes from those areas still under native rule where the princes are by treaty entitled to the

support of the Paramount Power in maintaining order. On the other hand, the new democratic movement within the native states, copying the Congress movement in British India, offers the only hope of a sound basis for "federation," the principle on which the second part of the Government of India Act is founded, and should enable a responsible central legislation to be established and British and native-ruled India to draw together in one whole. Fortunately the murder of a British agent by a mob in Orissa, serious as that is, will not be allowed

to deflect the course of progress. Mr. Gandhi's great influence has been effectively thrown on the side of restraint in that connection, though the increased influence of the left wing has weakened Congress itself.

Japan

A correspondent writes:

"There is always anti-some country sentiment here. It is the very food of the militarist. Some time ago it was the U.S.A., and there was (and still is) good reason for anti-American sentiment, due to the ever-present and never-settled-rightly problem connected with our Exclusion Clauses of the Immigration Law, and other unkindnesses the American people have done to Japan. But to-day the 'enemy' is Great Britain. Great Britain is 'aiding Chinese Communists'; 'But for British backing, China could not last'; 'Great Britain is fighting us to preserve her Empire'; etc., etc., *ad nauseam*. I presume that you must have heard of all this from some Britisher residing here. It is not for me, an American, to write much about it, except that, in our common loyalty to Our Lord, we are all members of the same country, 'that is, an heavenly.' From that standpoint, I know you will not think my suggestion inappropriate when I ask you to consider carefully whether it is not the time for the I.F.O.R. or the Embassies of Reconciliation to consider the possibility of sending to Japan at this time some British representative of Christian pacifists."

From another letter:

"There does not seem to be the slightest possibility that the Army will change its attitude to the cessation of the various treaties that have denied to Japan a place of special privilege on the continent of Asia. Any representations from the U.S.A. and Great Britain insisting upon their 'rights' merely stiffen the opposition. Should not American Christians (and British as well) feel some satisfaction that the exploitation of China by the military and business interests of these two countries is at an end? From the standpoint of China, it will take some time to tell whether the exploitation of one country alone is a lesser evil than exploitation at the hands of three.

"It is reported that primary school teachers

are telling their pupils that Christianity is bad. This news is received by Christians with various reactions. Some feel that this impression should be corrected to bring all Christians 'into line with the national spirit.' Some Christians feel happy that Christianity has meant something different from the current trends. A young Japanese soldier, in active service in the Army, who had been baptised and had been active in Sunday School work before he entered military life, now reports that he is torn with anguish, since he realises that 'it is impossible to shoot a rifle and pray at the same time.' We do not know what decision he will make if called to go to China in the ranks."

Palestine

As regards Palestine, preliminary conferences have been necessary between the British Government, and the Arabs and the Jews separately, before a joint conference can hope to succeed. If the Arabs could be helped with education and agricultural development and provision for the non-alienation of land, they might be content with limitation of Jewish immigration instead of its complete cessation. And the Jews might be willing to agree to a limitation so that their numbers should not exceed forty per cent. of the population, if outlets were provided for them in other parts of the world. The news that 100,000 will be welcomed into San Domingo is encouraging. The plight of the Jews in Europe calls for our most profound sympathy and for our practical help. But the fundamental problem in the East, as in the West, is to enable competing nationalism to find harmless and constructive expression. Not all can be sovereign.

Women in India

At the All India Women's Conference held in Delhi in December the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Conscious of the gravity of the situation to-day in the world, and believing that the new order is an imperative need, we wish to stress once more our abhorrence of war as a solution of any problem. We declare ourselves in utter and eternal opposition to all oppression and exploitation. We have been pained and horrified at the betrayal of Austria and Czechoslovakia, at the abetment from

outside and continuance of the internal strife in Spain, at the merciless persecution of the Jews, at the deplorable interference and cruelties in Palestine and at the unjustifiable aggression on China. The inability of the so-called Great Powers of the world to put an end to all this woe and misery is a proof enough of the futility of their methods of approach. We are convinced that it is only through the banishing of all greed for possession that the shadow of war and armed conflict itself can be removed. We therefore protest against the mad race in the building of armaments that continues unabated. We appeal to the women of the world to unite on the platform of non-violence, and actively demonstrate that by this power alone can the forces of hatred and desire for possession be brought under control and a real and lasting peace established."

THE FELLOWSHIP OF PRAYER

I can do all things through Christ Who strengtheneth me.

O God, Who made Thy creatures not for ease but for the joy of labour, and not for rest but for unwearied pilgrimage, spare not Thy workers the hard things in life (which are their glory)—perplexities to be thought out; doubts to be dared; the pain of love; the hazards of adventurous living; but with all these grant confidence to say

I can do all things through Him Who strengtheneth me.

O Thou Who ever bearest on Thy heart the sin of man, Whose hands are all day long stretched forth to a gainsaying people, grant to Thy children patience like to Thine, to plead and not compel, to save and not condemn, so that in suffering unjustly for the sins of others they may rejoice to be in fellowship with Christ, saying,

I can do all things through Him Who strengtheneth me.

Remembering that Thou hast chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and weak things of the world to confound

Australia to India

A letter to India from the Women's International League in Melbourne, Australia, said:

"We are heartily with you in believing that armaments are never instruments of peace and cannot be made so. Many, not knowing what else to trust to, are wearily wondering whether there is any escape from the miseries and fears of the present time. We believe that we women may help to guide their feet into the way of peace, but only if we are true to womanly non-violence. We cannot force mankind along that path—the attempt to do that only means fresh confusion, disappointment, and dismay. Our task is to hold up a light showing clearly the path in which we ourselves are walking, so that others may be drawn to walk with us. And that is happening now. More and more are seeing the light and following it."

the things which are mighty; and base things of the world and things which are despised and things which are not to bring to naught things that are,

I can do all things through Him Who strengtheneth me.

Knowing that Thy grace is sufficient for me, for Thy strength is made perfect in weakness,

I can do all things through Him Who strengtheneth me.

In an age in which men put their trust in might, and find it a vain thing for safety; when men exalt ability to smite, and sacrifice to that which can destroy; while all the world clamours for defence and Christ still hangs defenceless on the cross,

I can do all things through Him Who strengtheneth me.

Because His Church, though it be as a garden trampled upon and overrun, yet still contains the seed of His own planting which, growing again in beauty and in fragrance, will cheer and purify the earth.

I can do all things through Him Who strengtheneth me.

PEACE THROUGH EDUCATION

MARIA MONTESSORI

EDUCATION in these critical times has an importance that cannot be over-estimated. It must become the "armament" on which the people can depend for security and progress. I am not discussing the value of material armaments; I am not talking politics; all I say is that the true defence of the people cannot rest upon arms. For one war succeeds another, and victory never assures the peace or prosperity of anyone—nor can anything do so until we make use of this great "armament for peace" which is education.

But for education to have its full value for the salvation of man and of civilisation, it must not remain so narrow and limited as it is to-day. Education lags behind the needs of the times and must be reconstructed with haste and energy. Clearly an education that will bring about peace cannot consist merely of those measures that keep the child away from every suggestion of war; which never give him toy soldiers; which avoid the study of history as a succession of wars, and try not to suggest that victory in battle is the supreme honour. This negative training will not be enough.

Equally inadequate is the education that tries to make the child love and respect all things—living and inanimate—so that he will then have a respect for human life and for the works of art and monuments that men have set up through the centuries of civilisation. It is only too clear that wars are *not* influenced by such education. What has been the result of the instruction in sociology and politics that have for centuries proclaimed as sacred the lives and liberties of men? . . . And what of those religions that for thousands of years have done their best to teach men to love one another?

For men do not go to war because they are bloodthirsty or longing to use their weapons. Men do not make war because it was suggested to them in childhood by a toy. And one must admit that the memorisation of dates and events in history is hardly calculated to inflame martial passions! The causes of war are more complicated than that.

A Bewildered Humanity

What we have to recognise is that mankind is bewildered by developments of widespread importance with which education has never

dealt. Men do not know what are the forces that draw them into war, and therefore they are absolutely helpless against them. Society has evolved only on the material side, in this field powerful and complicated mechanisms have been built up, and in these modern man, still ignorant of the mind and incapable of co-operation, is helplessly caught.

Yes, the nations of to-day are disunited; they are made up of individuals who are all thinking of their own immediate welfare. The education of to-day actually *trains* people to remain isolated by their own personal interests. Pupils are taught not to help one another, not to make any suggestion to one who is puzzled, to think only of getting moved up from class to class, and of winning a prize in competition with the others. And these poor little egoists, mentally tired, as experimental psychology has shown, find themselves at last, side by side, in the world. Like the grains of sand in the desert, each is dried up and separated from his neighbour, and, if a strong wind blows up, this human dust that has no animating spirit within it will be swept away in a storm, devastating everything before it.

The Education That Can Save

The education that can save men is not a small undertaking. It must include the development of man's spiritual powers and of a harmonious and self-confident personality. Now that production is improved by science and has become well organised in the world, we ought equally to regard human energies as of scientific importance and to organise man. He who has been able to master the cosmic forces that travel through the ether must come to understand that the fire of genius, the power of intelligence, the guidance of conscience, are also energies to be organised, to be disciplined, to be given an effective place in the social life of man. These energies to-day are dissipated and wasted, or worse, they are repressed and forced into abnormal manifestations by the errors of education that still hold sway in the world. The child is misunderstood by the adult; parents unconsciously fight against their children instead of aiding them in their divine mission. Parent and child misunderstand one another; a cloud comes between father and son at the very beginning

of life. And throughout childhood it is misunderstanding that makes a child sullen or rebellious, neurotic or stupid, for all these faults are foreign to his true nature. It is misunderstanding between child and adult that causes those tragedies of the human heart that result in callousness, idleness and crime. Man's whole nature is spoiled and wasted.

In our experience with children we have seen that the child is a "spiritual embryo" able to evolve by itself and to give us actual proof of the existence of a better type of humanity. The child has shown us facts that cannot be disputed about the real nature of *normal* human character. We have seen children who, when they were given a suitable environment, changed completely. Instead of wishing to possess anything that caught their eye, of clamouring for it, of quarrelling with other children for it, only to damage and discard it when they obtained it, they were perfectly content to observe everything, to wait for an opportunity to use any object that interested them, to handle it carefully and return it to its place. Clumsiness and noisiness ceased; they seemed to take great delight in moving about and performing their tasks with quietness and precision. In place of jealousy, aggressiveness, sullenness, and disobedience, they showed only friendliness and willing co-operation to each other and to adults. They worked with perseverance and without fatigue, indeed, the work they did seemed to add to their energy.

These children we have seen; they are both a hope and a promise for humanity. We constructed an environment that contained all things necessary for the life of the little child. The child has not thanked us, but he has revealed a treasure that was hidden in the soul of man. Let us go on, then, and create an environment for the older child and the adolescent, for there is very little provision made for them to-day.

The Citizens of Peace

Education must appreciate the value of those hidden instincts which guide man in the work of constructing himself. Now there is one of these that is very powerful, it is the social instinct. We have found that if the child and the adolescent are deprived of social experience they do not develop a sense of order and morality. Then they have to accept order and morals in the form of submission and slavery instead of in their true form of nobility and freedom. Now it is for us to cultivate man, and

for this purpose we must prepare for infancy, childhood and youth the suitable environments that will allow them to have these formative experiences. In the first years of life it is the furnished house, later on it is the external world. At the age of seven the child begins to feel the need to go out from the home and the school, to see the world and make new friends, to lead the hard and simple life of camp, to submit voluntarily to a stricter discipline, to face new difficulties and overcome them. These are the social experiences that will satisfy the needs of his developing personality, and if it is impossible to obtain them in the family it is still more impossible where every spontaneous activity is checked and regulated by arbitrary authority as it is in the ordinary school. As has been attempted by the Boy Scouts, we must organise to give children the opportunity to explore the world.

But the adolescent can no longer be satisfied with exploration. He wishes to master his environment, to become a worker, to earn money and be independent. He does not need new friends, he wants to become a citizen, a member of great associations. So during his education he should be allowed to have these experiences, to live away from his family and to do a certain amount of real work, to take part in production and exchange, and to realise his responsibilities to society.

Those nations which to-day are seeking war have not forgotten the children and young people; they have given them a position of importance. They have organised them and made of them an active social force. This is the right method, and it is a terrible misfortune that so far it has only been adopted by those who are pursuing a warlike policy. Those who want war are preparing their youth for war, but those who want peace abandon their infancy and childhood in the sense that they do not organise it for peace.

LESLIE STUBBINGS, whose contributions on the subject of Community are so greatly appreciated, is the speaker at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club on Friday, March 10th, at 6.30. On the following Friday, March 17th, CECIL WILSON, one of the small group of Pacifist M.P.s, speaks also at 6.30. LESLIE ARTINGSTALL visits the Club on Friday, March 31st, and it is hoped that PERCY BARTLETT will be there on the previous Friday. These meetings are open to the general public.

WINTER AFTERNOON

DALLAS KENMARE

SPRAYS of yellow jasmine on the wall, winter jasmine. And the wizard trees, vivid green against the purple winter hedges. Still beauty of the winter afternoon, flooding light, dark ploughed fields climbing up the hill. Why are men unquiet, when love is everywhere—in the starry jasmine flowers, the green limbs of the trees, flooding and flowing over the fields in mellow light? (But a triple-engined monoplane thrummed evilly overhead, threshing its way through the pearly fields of the sky.)

In the greenhouse the last of the chrysanthemums flamed and dreamed, fire-copper, delicate pink. She snipped off a dozen shaggy blooms and carried them into the house.

The door-bell rang, and she moved towards the door, the flowers in her left hand.

"Good-afternoon. I have called to know if I may fit you with a gas-mask."

She held out a hand, and the doctor, a kindly man, happy in the certainty that he was fulfilling a national duty, took it in a friendly grip.

"Will you come in? I can't answer you quickly. There's a great deal to say . . ."

After he had gone she went back into the garden, and then wandered on into the fields. The sun had set, and the trees, leafless, were etched darkly on the glowing sky. Already the moon was high, and her shadow moved gently

beside her across the white fields. Only isolated phrases of the talk remained in her mind, only isolated moments. With detached interest she recalled the flowers always in her left hand, and how every now and then she held them close to her, as if for comfort. How she had said at last: "Good-bye, and thank you for coming," and he had replied earnestly: "Thank you." Thank you. Why? she wondered. "Yes, I see. I understand. Nothing I can say will cause you to feel differently. If you do, you will let me know?" "Certainly I will . . . It isn't easy . . ." "Do you think you fully realise the effects of gas?" "Fully? Perhaps not. Ghastly suffering, I do know. Worse than death. But you see, I believe there might be something to be gained even from such suffering. And as for death . . . how can that be feared, when it would surely be happier than life in a world grown so evil?" His long silence . . . "Human beings degraded; human beings, made in the image of God, distorting the image into the likeness of monstrous animals . . . It isn't that I won't. It is that I can't. It seems blasphemy . . ." And again and again his quiet words: "I see." . . .

She stood still a moment in the solitary fields, companioned only by her shadow.

"God," she thought, "if You will only make my love perfect . . . If one, only one, human being could know perfect love, it would heal the world."

THE REMEDY FOR WAR

MEN only go to war at the command of a Government—be that Government what it may. If a man, or any number of men, refuse unconditionally to fight, no power on earth can make them do so. They can be imprisoned for refusing, as happened to many conscientious objectors in the Great War. But if the entire man-power of a country put up a "No More War" strike, it would be impossible to put them all in prison, and obviously that country could not fight. Would

the enemy, then, simply have an easy walk-over and invade the non-combatant country, taking all the men "prisoners of non-resistance"—with the same problem of where to put them, and if relative numbers permitted such wholesale capture? I do not think so. I agree with a theory advanced by pacifists in 1914-18, but not acted upon widely enough to be capable of proof. The younger generation either never heard of it, or have forgotten it, dazzled by what always appears to be "the glory" of a

"righteous" war. The theory is that the invaders would be so overcome by the spiritual and psychological force of sheer surprise that they would be rendered helpless, paralysed—and retreat.

In the Garden of Gethsemane, when Jesus asked the band of officers, "Whom seek ye?" and then calmly told them, "I am He," the effect was that "they went backward, and fell to the ground" overpowered by astonishment and awe. When they afterwards bound Him, they only gathered courage to do so because of His voluntary surrender in order that His self-imposed destiny "might be fulfilled."

It would be impossible, you say, thus to overawe our enemies on a colossal scale. Not if we had enough faith and spiritual force; we either lack them, or they are so weak as to be negligible. They may be had by all—at a price too heavy for most of us to be willing to pay.

NATIONAL SERVICE

The following statement which was issued last month by the Meeting for Sufferings, which is the executive committee of the Society of Friends, has already received considerable notice in the Press and even by the B.B.C. We think that such a sane and timely piece of Christian witness is worth reprinting in full.

The history of our religious Society shows that Friends have always held the belief that all men and women should give voluntary service to the community in which they dwell. Much that is best in our national life has been built on this principle. The idea that such service should be universal is excellent.

We cannot, however, divorce the present appeal for "National Service" from the special purpose with which the Government has associated it. It is the fear of war which has stimulated the Prime Minister and his colleagues to this important extension of the idea of voluntary service; the ways in which we are encouraged to give our services are such as are best calculated to promote the efficient conduct of war. Mr. Chamberlain tells us that "it is a scheme to make us ready for war." To share, therefore, in this particular scheme is to share in the preparation for war.

It is true that Sir John Anderson has added

What is that price? Entire obedience to the guidance of God, the exchange of self-control for Christ-control, the utter surrender of the precious "self" whom we love so much and cling to so passionately. Too many shrink from paying the price—few pay it to the uttermost. When we love our neighbour as ourselves, whether the "neighbour" be of our own country or some other, then no price for others' peace and prosperity will be too great. But we are so appalled at the thought of "losing" our lives to "find" them that we can be hypnotised into obedience when a Government calls upon us to take up arms. Until we are prepared at all costs to "lose" our "selves" we must go on having wars—private, domestic, family wars, the "civil war" of strikes and lock-outs, and the ghastlier kind involving bloodshed, class wars and international wars, all of which cost a bitter price, both to ourselves and our "neighbour."
E.L.B.

his belief that this preparation for war is "one of the surest bulwarks for peace," and to one who holds this view such national service is doubtless right. For any such belief, however, we find no warrant either in the teaching of God or the experience of man. We know that war is contrary to the way of Christ.

His warning that "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword" is as applicable to a whole civilisation as to an individual. To turn this country into a vast war machine is to turn our national life away from Christ. We cannot offer to be trained for this purpose.

Let us receive this appeal as a challenge to throw ourselves more devotedly into every form of service for the community that makes for reconciliation between man and man, class and class, nation and nation in the sure faith that justice, understanding and goodwill are the only foundations of lasting peace.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON,
Clerk.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

PAUL GLIDDON

IF the key-word "pudding" be taken as representing the saying that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," then it is with pudding and principles that this article is concerned. Instead of quoting homely proverbs, really refined people would prefer to speak of pragmatic values, but pudding is something most of us can swallow so much more easily and, after all, there is little difference between the idea expressed in the proverb and the ancient declaration that "by their fruits ye shall know them"; for pudding is something made from fruits and ears of corn, it is the raw material of a parable carried a step further.

Almost all puddings are made to please, though, on rare occasions, they have been made to cause pain or poisoning. But this proverb has arisen from the fact that disaster may stalk behind the noblest pudding and that neither the high character of the cook nor the excellence of a recipe can guarantee it against the results of human frailty. Only when the pudding has been eaten, and eaten some time, can its precise place in gastronomic history be determined.

The Proof of the Political Pudding

Most of British politics to-day is simply a variation of this pudding theme. An attempt is made to produce a certain result; if the result is produced, that is success; if the result is not produced, that is failure. But there is this difference, cooking is a matter of hours, political movements of months or of years; consequently by the time the political result is served up, most of us have forgotten what it was ever intended to be. If we are to have a General Election this year—and that we can hardly escape—it might, therefore, be well to do a little thinking along the lines of the political pudding. We shall think about such a matter as our abandonment of Free Trade, and we shall remind ourselves of what we were promised would be the results of such a step, and ask whether the results have, in fact, been attained. It was going to bind the Empire together, to lead to industrial prosperity, greatly to reduce unemployment, make us more easily

understood by nations who were perplexed by our Free Trade system and lead to the general lowering of tariff walls. As people asked to pass judgment, it does become our duty to decide whether or no these results have been reached. It matters little to most of us what coloured caps are favoured by our political chefs, but it does matter a great deal that the dainty dish they serve is the one they undertook to provide.

Similarly, when we think of unemployment or the international situation, what concerns us from this point of view is whether unemployment is being remedied or whether the international situation is yearly becoming more hopeful. Of course, the most expert chef can hardly produce a satisfactory meal if trying to cook on a sea-swept raft, and there may be times when bad is the best obtainable, but, in such circumstances, your cook does forewarn you to expect harsh fare and does not dally before you some imagined delightful repast; whereas, while the menus of our political cooks offer ecstatic reading, it is the stuff they serve that makes us long for the little wine prescribed for Brother Timothy.

The Sovereignty of Principle

But the politicians may well claim that they must not be tested solely by results; that they are men who are serving certain principles, and it is by those principles that they must stand or fall. Now a principle is not a band you fasten round your arm but a brand which is fastened on your living flesh, it is a birthmark and not a button-hole. Principles are not gay companions, going with us a trifling way and then departing; they are united to us in a wedlock so holy that death itself does not break the bond.

Once more it is the kitchen that is called in to supply a characteristic connected with false principles, for we are told that such principles are made, like pie-crusts, to be broken. Now a crust that cannot be broken is not a pie-crust but a prison, whereas a principle that may be broken is not a principle but a plaything. Not so very long ago Great Britain was full of men of principle. Many of their principles have been shown to be inadequate and some of them

grotesque, but we have thrown away the baby with the bath-water and, instead of binding ourselves to wiser principles, have expressed our disgust at the folly of some by the abandonment of all.

Thus, when our politicians claim that they stand by certain principles, they hardly realise what a harvest of trouble they may be sowing for themselves. Standing by certain principles does give one a sort of dignity but, when we no longer feel those principles convenient, it is awkward to find that they are still standing by us. President Wilson was a man of principle, but the principles which brought him such dignity brought him also such disaster, and, since his death, most men of affairs prefer to pay their respect to principles as such rather than enunciate what those principles are which hold their obedience.

An Honourable Slavery

Now it is this distinction between principle and expediency, between that for which pudding stands and pie-crust does not, that is of fundamental importance to the whole pacifist movement, for pacifism, like patriotism, is based on principle and not on expediency, and abides by the soundness of its principles and not by the fortune that follows their practice. A man who, on principle, never plays Sunday games, or never misses Sunday Mass, or never eats meat, or never drinks alcohol, or, in other ways, is bound by his ideals, never claims release because obedience is going to be awkward, costly or even fatal. The patriot does not regard himself as exempt from loyalty if loyalty means death, and, unless pacifism be inferior to patriotism, it must be the vindication by frail man that eternal principles matter more than any price that may be paid for them. Indeed, it is the proud privilege of the physical body that sometimes only in such currency can principle be bought.

The world's inability to understand the nature of principle, seems, alas, to be shared by the Christian Church. Again and again we meet ministers and clergy who acknowledge that Christian pacifism is the inescapable outcome of Christ's principles, but who at once raise the question as to what would happen were such a policy adopted. But that is surely

a matter they should have considered long since and on other issues. To claim that Jesus Christ is the Way, the Truth and the Life, to regard as heretics those who question His divine authority, and then to argue that His principles can ever be set on one side because obedience might mean disaster, is to fall well below the level of good pagan morality. Small wonder that Canon Cockin, of St. Paul's Cathedral, can write: "I believe the Christian Church to be the one hope of salvation for the individual and the community; and I regard it at the moment as itself one of the greatest obstacles to the achievement of its own true aim."

Slipping to Disaster

That Christians, in the light of the method of the Cross, can argue as they do against pacifism is disappointing enough, but the really disastrous thing is this lack of understanding of the meaning of principle, for, unless there be the conception of the final authority of principle, there is nothing upon which any moral claim can grip. If Christ's example on the question of war need not be followed beyond the point where following courts disaster, then on no other issue beyond that point need it be followed either. If disaster to ourselves, our family, our nation or our Church exempts from further progress along lines of complete obedience, then the last word lies not with the Christ but calamity.

This suspending of principles because obedience to them may bring suffering to man, is an act of final treachery to man himself, for it is the peculiar glory of we tiny creatures, loving this little life and dreading the darkness of the shadows that lie beyond, that, nevertheless, out of love for some principle, out of loyalty to a world of dreams, we can toss from us these dear substantial things and barter warm and cherished happiness for an intangible glory we can only worship from afar. It is this passionate devotion to the things that are priceless, partly because no price is sufficient for them and partly because few wish to buy, that marks man off from all created things. And it is sad beyond tears when good men and true men, loving humanity and longing to save it from threatened misery, pay for its prosperity with the price of its soul.

SOME NOTES ON NATIONAL DEFENCE

THE recent crisis, the proposals for air-raid precautions, and a scheme for a national register, have all combined to require of pacifists clear answers to certain questions: What exactly will they and will they not be prepared to do either in war time or in a period of preparation for war?

Equating National and War Service

Many may feel the need of advice in the face of the Government's pamphlet, "National Service," and of the forms it contains. The pamphlet itself is disappointing. The aim of "national service" is narrowed down to organising society for war. Its title ought to be "War Service." The many activities that go to make up the proper life of a healthy civilised community are ignored. Are they unworthy of the name, "national service"? Professional life, trade, education, are only dealt with as helps or hindrances in war time. No place is assigned, no consideration given, to those who already render much valuable service to their country and purpose to go on doing so without joining the military organisation. Most of the voluntary societies, as, for example, those attached to schools and to the municipal and national administration, are ignored. The spiritual and social value of the Churches and of philanthropic organisations generally, without which the social health of the nation would break up, is disregarded.

Caught in the Machine

Modern nations are so organised that the Christian pacifist finds it difficult to avoid participation in its military organisation, though dependent on the economic supplies which are partly dependent on the military organisation. But to be dependent on the community for supplies must not involve total subservience to the community. If it did the victory of totalitarianism would be complete without a military defeat. If the modern nation is so completely organised that to be *in* it is to be totally subservient to it, then it would be necessary to go and live in some other place in order to be true to the moral values and freedom that our religion demands. But we believe that good government has been and still is consistent with a large measure of individual freedom, and we must all help as fully as we can to achieve and maintain government of this kind.

It is unthinkable that the Government really means to ignore and alienate a considerable number of citizens, anxious to render true community service outside the military machine. But how far people of this sort will find it possible in war time to work through official and public institutions must depend on the attitude of the authorities. Perhaps that subject ought to be discussed with the Government.

What Help May We Offer?

The immediate problem is whether pacifists can rightly offer help during the emergencies of war time without forwarding the purposes of war, or whether they must be excluded from the organised effort of the community because this has become wholly militarised. In the bitter emergency of war time a great deal of confusion, suffering and hardship will occur beyond that with which the Government's pamphlet deals. Because of his very aims and spirit, the pacifist will at once be drawn in to relieve it. In lesser degree hardships of the same sort are occurring now. With more deliberate aim and co-operation there might already arise amongst pacifists a faculty and organisation for united and devoted service to the community which would fit them for the greater emergency. Whether the Government recognised it or not as alternative service, it might well yield valuable results. Some at any rate may wish to pursue this line; and there must be liberty of conscience for all and perfect charity on all sides.

Whatever service of an outward and organised sort it may be possible to render, clearly the pacifist's first duty is to work against the deadly effects of war on mind and spirit, to counter the spread of racial and ideological hatreds and of lying propaganda, and the destruction of morality and religion which are the inevitable accompaniments of war. With this in mind, it is all the more necessary to stress the importance of prayer, meditation and worship in the pacifist's preparation. Whatever the Government at home or other governments abroad may do under the fierce strain of war, Christians must struggle to achieve and maintain unity, to unite in fellowship, worship and prayer, and to witness together in common to the things of peace and to the Gospel of the Cross.

THE FRIENDLY BOOK

CAN PSYCHOLOGY HELP? Eleanor A. Montgomery, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. The "Needs of To-day" series. Rich & Cowan. 3s. 6d. net.

Dr. Eleanor Montgomery has written in non-technical language a readable and stimulating book. Psychology, she teaches, enables one to know oneself and this knowledge does not lead to a deterministic view of life, but to a belief in the large powers of man to readjust himself and achieve healthy living. Not only must the claims of each part of man's nature be mutually adjusted, but one must honestly face one's whole environment. Even the apparent cruelty of environment is God's kindness towards us to enable us to develop capabilities which otherwise would remain dormant. Healthy living means seeing life clearly and facing all the issues, and psychology helps toward this end.

Kagawa speaks of Love as the Law of Life, which he sees operating from the lowest forms of life upwards. Dr. Montgomery would add Faith as a Law equally operating through each stage in the evolution of living creatures, a confidence in Life itself and in its amazing possibilities. Such confidence involves belief in the possibility of co-operation with others. Dr. Montgomery contrasts "the Resistant Way" and "the Acquiescent Way." By the former she means a tendency to meet life as if it were an enemy to be resisted and to adopt a critical attitude towards people and circumstances. By the latter she means neither a facile optimism nor pious resignation, but an endeavour to take life as we find it and to believe that if we take up the right attitude we can extract good out of the most unpromising people or circumstances. W.S.

POWER—A NEW SOCIAL ANALYSIS. Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

No brief review could do justice to "Power"—its profound learning, acute criticism, and lucid writing put all under a great debt who would understand better this curious and terrible social order. Nevertheless, the reader is left wondering. Not only are certain fundamental questions raised and no answers provided, but the conclusion which the author calls "The Taming of Power" is stated in terms of desirability without any clue as to how this is to be done. Power must be tamed if civilisation is to survive, but how?

"Of the infinite desires of man, the chief," says the author, "are the desires for power and glory." These are not identical, but the same actions, in the main, are prompted by these desires, and the two, therefore, may be regarded as one. In this new social analysis the old "economic man" is displaced by the "power-loving man." Love of power is not the sole human motive, but it is the strongest. The author classifies the forms in which this love of power expresses itself in such a way as to suggest an ever-recurring cycle. Traditional power, represented chiefly by priests and kings, being broken down by revolutionary power, which depends upon a large group united by a new creed or programme. This revolutionary power is represented in history by movements such as Protestantism and Communism. Revolutionary power results usually in a period of chaos and the emergence of naked power. Naked power wins from its subjects only subjection through fear, not active co-operation. Periods of naked power are usually brief, ending either by sovereign conquest, or in the establishment of stable government which soon becomes traditional. So the cycle is complete. In the exercise of power excess is inevitable, and when there is added the technological development of the present day, which the author says, tends to generate a new mentality—a new and complete ruthlessness—it becomes more important than ever to find ways of taming power.

What is required is, according to Lord Russell, obvious. In the realm of government, a way of safeguarding minorities; in economics, public ownership and control of large-scale industry and finance; in politics, a democracy more thorough-going, more carefully safeguarded against official tyranny, and with more-deliberate provision for freedom of propaganda than any purely political democracy that has ever existed. But how can these conditions of taming power be met? If world-history provides only the spectacle of an ever-recurring cycle, what prospect of taming power! If democracy in this age has largely failed, and, if democrats have to adopt the methods of tyranny for self-preservation (as most people think they must) and by adopting them help to destroy the very thing they seek to preserve, what hope is there?

But does world-history exhibit only cycles of a power-loving process? Has nothing ever hap-

pened to break through the vicious circle, and can nothing happen to-day that will break through? Bertrand Russell allows that this power-loving process includes what we should call spiritual power, that is, power directed to ends other than those of self-glory, but he regards this as part and parcel of the same dominant desire for power on the part of the individual. There would seem to be a difference, then, in the exercise of power, and this difference is admitted by the author of the book; whereas, commonly, the exercise of power is to feed one's own dominant desire, occasionally it is to effect a quite other and disinterested purpose. But here arises a very important question: how, under the general theory, can this difference in the exercise of power be explained? It is not sufficient to say that a new idea or creed arose, nor is it sufficient to say that a person with a different spirit was born. How did the new ideas gain a self-less devotion if the dominant desire is love of power? How did the person whose spirit was different not succumb to the most powerful desire in his nature? Bertrand Russell provides no answer. Indeed, it seems to the writer, there is no answer, unless at some points in world history there have been persons whose spiritual natures have somehow been reinforced so that they have been able to subdue this "power-desire" in themselves, to disregard self in working for the common weal, and thus to break through the vicious circle.

A commonsense reading of history reveals many points at which that has happened. Apart from Jesus of Nazareth, such points are indicated by the names of St. Paul, St. Francis, John Wesley, Lord Shaftesbury, Garibaldi, and very many others. Nor is this disregarding of self confined to such leaders. The same difference of direction in the exercise of power is to be seen in their countless followers. The fact that Garibaldi could find thousands to follow him, though he could only offer as a reward suffering and sacrifice, and even death, needs a great deal more than a desire for power to explain it. Of course, other leaders have evoked great devotion for less noble ends, thereby feeding the desire for power on the part of their followers: Hannibal, Caesar, Charlemagne, Napoleon. But that fact throws a clearer light on the question. In certain cases the exercise of power is self-regarding—the desire for personal glory; but in other cases the exercise of power has been regardless of self. What explains the

difference unless there is in the universe a power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness? L.A.

STARTING AFRESH. Pat McCormick. Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d.

This book is wonderfully refreshing in its simplicity and challenging in its assertions of what is implied, for the Christian and for the world in "starting afresh."

It is the expression of no soothing-syrup, arm-chair philosophy, but of faith in a dynamic Power which, if we let it, is going to turn everything upside down and inside out for us and make our lives difficult and dangerous, but gloriously worth while; and the emphasis is on the joy and loveliness of the way rather than on its difficulties, for, if we are promised no primrose path, we are shown one of adventure and discovery, thronged with "Good Companions" and illumined by the realisation that "the essence of all things is the outflowing of the loveliness of God." K.A.

NEW VALOUR. Antoinette Devonshire. Peace Book Co. 2s. net.

At what age is it proper to introduce the subject of pacifism to children? If school history books were written from a thoroughly Christian standpoint, such a question would never arise. But, alas, they are not so written. Certain it is that most, if not all, of the literature on the subject of pacifism has the adult in mind. However natural this is, it leaves a very wide gap in the necessary literature on the subject. A serious and excellent attempt to bridge that gap has been made in the book under review.

It is suitable for day-school teaching, of course, but it is also most suitable for Sunday-school teaching, and can be highly recommended as an introduction to the whole subject of pacifism. L.A.

CORRESPONDENCE

A PACIFIST AIR WARDEN

THE article by the Rev. R. E. Thomas in your January issue is interesting as revealing an outlook on this subject unusual in pacifists. That the matter should be considered dispassionately is most desirable, and one must agree with the writer that many of the arguments advanced against participation

in A.R.P., if not fallacies, display a lack of clear thinking . . .

It has never been suggested that to aid the injured is in itself a violation of principle. On the contrary, it is work in which the pacifist could wholeheartedly engage. Those who experienced the last war know how the sight of suffering evokes a spirit of compassion and a sense of brotherhood which expresses itself in a desire to help.

A year ago the duties of the Warden's post were undefined and there was some excuse for thinking that it offered an opportunity of service which might be conscientiously undertaken without any violation of principle.

When I confess to having volunteered my services as Warden after deep consideration, perhaps your correspondent will absolve me from any imputation of bigotry if I express my present conviction that such work is inconsistent with pacifist beliefs.

When the Government handbooks were published, No. 8 (Duties of Air Raid Wardens) contained the following:—

"If bombs fall in the vicinity, the first duty of each Wardens' post is generally speaking to get reports through to headquarters. See Section 9. *This duty must come before any help to individuals.*" (The italics are those of the handbook.)

So much for the injured.

Section 9 deals with the information required in Wardens' reports, and emphasises the necessity for accurate particulars of material damage, priority being given to details of the number and type of fallen bombs, and the position and time of the occurrence. The last of the twelve items which such reports must contain, asks for the assistance required to deal with casualties.

The dual part which the Warden is intended to play in the Government's scheme of things thus becomes obvious, and to read the entire pamphlet is to be left in no doubt that the welfare of individuals is the least important concern. What the plans are designed to ensure is that the energies of every available individual (there are women Wardens) shall be directed to winning the war. Mr. Thomas's children and mine scarcely count in this Olympian view.

Having demolished the stock arguments against A.R.P., Mr. Thomas continues: "If they (the chief objections) can be removed, then not much more remains to be said, for it is plainly a duty to protect and save life if we can,

and especially to take such action to this end as is not designed to threaten the lives of others." But there's the rub. The dual nature of the duties makes the one activity impossible without the other.

It may be said that the pacifist Warden, when called upon to act as ground organisation to the Air Force, which is in effect what the duties entail, can refuse to comply and take the consequences. If ignorance of these facts could still be pleaded the witness might be worth while, although our difficulties are sufficiently great without increasing them unnecessarily. But—there is a further difficulty.

Sir John Anderson has stated that Wardens are to be "invited" to enter into a contract (no penalties, of course), and this, coupled with the fact that the organisation has been placed under the direct control of the police, who now make arrangements for the necessary training, should make it apparent to all that the voluntary part of good Samaritan is not at all what the Government has in mind.

What explanation can be given by the Christian pacifist of his willingness to enter into a contract, knowing the conditions, when he has made the mental reservation that in certain circumstances he intends to break his word? This, it seems to me, is the insuperable objection to the pacifist's participation in A.R.P., and was the final consideration compelling my own resignation.

To refuse to participate is not to oppose. Those who do so, or who speak scornfully of the efforts of non-pacifists to obtain for others such inefficient protection as the Government make available are, as Mr. Thomas contends, putting themselves and the pacifist cause in a false position. Divorced from realism also are those who maintain that, in the event of war, they would continue their work of propaganda. Even if imprisonment did not make such activities impossible, the naïveté of outlook which supposes that the homily would be received with attentive ears is difficult to appreciate.

G. W. REDDICK.

PACIFISTS AND WAR PREPARATIONS

To be "absolutely uncompromising" in our refusal to have anything to do with preparations for war is not possible in a country that is devoting its resources chiefly to this end. There is no "contracting out" entirely; drinking tea or going to the cinema contributes indirectly

through taxation; no one engaged in a business with large commitments can be certain that he is not indirectly concerned with war preparations.

Whilst the pacifist's main objective must always be constructive work for peace, some may perhaps feel that the way may lead us through the agony already being suffered in other lands, and that the words of St. Teresa apply: "Christ has no hands now on earth but yours; yours are the eyes through which is to look His compassion to the world; yours are the hands with which He is to bless us now."

I submit that to protect the lives of our own children by purely passive defence does *not* mean killing others. If the Government could only obtain volunteers for this purpose it could wage no war. Nor do I see any dishonesty in saying to the Government: "Your policy is leading towards war, not peace. I am prepared to relieve suffering but not to inflict it," though I do not suggest that it is expedient for the Christian pacifist to join organisations under Government control. It is true that the Christian has never sought protection against risk, but he has always been willing to relieve suffering endured by others, and it seems to me that the Christian pacifist can train for this work without violation of his principles, provided that he is willing to use his knowledge on behalf of any sufferer, whether compatriot, ally or enemy. If training in first-aid enables the pacifist "to help if war breaks out and makes him more useful in peace," it must be faced that for those with little spare time this training is a long process and must be done now.

These questions are very difficult and the issue is seldom quite clear-cut. We shall not attain complete unanimity, but I should like to plead for greater tolerance amongst us towards those, both in the movement and outside it, who differ from us . . .

If some of us feel impelled to offer opposition to certain ideas and tendencies let us do so with courtesy, remembering that many outside the pacifist movement are as sincere as we are in their Christianity and love of peace, and that none of us can do more than follow the dictates of his own conscience.

MURIEL PHILLIPS.

42, Gordon Road, Wanstead, E.11.

In his article on A.R.P. in your January issue, R. E. Thomas omits one very important aspect. Surely we are all agreed that anything

calculated to breed hate or distrust in our neighbours overseas is absolutely unacceptable to us? We cannot expect friendly discussion where gas-masks and rearmament lurk in the background. The post-Munich acceleration of rearmament has had its inevitable repercussions in those nations with whom we desire to improve our relations. What, then, of A.R.P.?

RONALD W. BARNES.

17, Hill View Gardens, N. Harrow.

BANKING AND BOMBS

Hitler's speech, in which he stresses Germany's need of imports, indicates even more plainly than before the great opportunity that exists for a friendly and helpful gesture taking the form of doing everything in our power to supply that need.

There is much talk about the removal of trade barriers, but few practical suggestions as to how this can be done. Actually, the establishment of trade with Germany—and other countries—on a new and sane basis would involve, among other things, the reform of our monetary system, making it possible for us to buy *all* that we wanted of what we could import; the recognition of the fact that the purpose of commerce and industry is the provision of wealth rather than work; the admission that the only satisfaction a creditor country can justly ask of a debtor country is a claim on the latter's goods or services; the fixing, by mutual agreement, regardless of gold, of the relative values of the currencies of different countries; and the prohibition of the buying, selling, or owning of foreign currencies by private individuals or organisations. All foreign currency acquired by a nation as a result of trade should be held for the nation as a whole by its Central Bank, trading merchants being paid in the money of their own country according to the rate of exchange fixed, as already indicated, by mutual agreement between trading countries, either permanently or for long periods.

Even if we did not require German imports to the full value of our exports, it would pay us a hundred times over to create new money to employ our people to make for export "gifts," not of bombs, but of goods that our neighbours require and cannot produce or import in sufficient quantities.

TAVISTOCK.

Barrington House,
Haywards Heath, Sussex.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

YOUTH CONFERENCE AT CANTERBURY.

On another page will be found the full details of the Easter Youth Conference, together with the booking slip.

We have been very fortunate this year in fixing with speakers who can deal competently and interestingly with that particular subject.

Ben Greene, J.P., is a late Parliamentary candidate for South-West Hull; he was in Russia during the period of the Revolution and since has been sent to Germany on many occasions by the Friends. So great does he feel the need to be for an adequate dissemination of facts among pacifists that he has recently set up an Information Bureau to be at the disposal of the whole Pacifist Movement.

Two other speakers will be well known to many readers; the Rev. Leslie Artingstall most certainly, and also the Rev. Glynn Lloyd Phelps, who is pushing ahead vigorously with the work in the Northern Counties. Many of us made friends with him at the summer conference last year and will look forward to renewing that friendship.

E. Sewell Harris, M.A., B.Sc., J.P., is an F.o.R. member of 19 years' standing, and the secretary of Watling Community Centre, where activities are many and varied: Sports, Library, Education, Tenants' Welfare, are only some of the sections at the Centre. Mr. Harris's degree in economics qualifies him to deal in expert fashion with the study book for the conference.

The subjects deal with vital issues in these days, and, as can be seen from the time which has been given to the discussion on National Service, is right up to date.

However, possibly the most important part of the conference never lies in its meetings, but in the fellowship which is developed, and past Youth Conferences have been such a success in the happiness of the time spent together that there is no doubt that this year will be worthy of its predecessors.

Already large numbers of bookings have been made, and in fairness to those who are making arrangements we would ask that you would send in your slip at the earliest possible moment.

SOUTH WALES GROUPS FORMED.

Newport Peace Fellowship. Secretary: Mrs. J. R. Miller, 243 Christchurch Road, Newport. Combining P.P.U., F.o.R. and Co-operative Guild.

Monmouth F.o.R. Group. Formed February 3rd through visit of John Mellor. Secretary: Miss G. Marion Bishop, Monmouth School for Girls, Monmouth.

Memorial College, Brecon. Peace Group decides to become an F.o.R. Group—promising several new members. An excellent performance of a peace play "Jonathan's Day" was given in Brecon on January 31st by this group, and a talk to the audience by the Regional Secretary.

Cardiff. The usual service of House Groups for study and discussion, and devotional meetings addressed and led by different Ministers of the district, is continuing.

The Friends' Refugee Committee was set up on February 8th. Six refugees are to be cared for, finding a home at the Misses Scotts', Elroy Kennel, Llanishen House, Llanishen. The joint contributors of the Society of Friends, the P.P.U. and the F.o.R. are to be collected regularly for their upkeep. Any contributions to an emergency fund of this Committee would be gratefully accepted by the Treasurer, Mr. Dan Thomas, St. Martin's Bank, Cardiff.

The local Society for the welfare of Coloured People is extending its activities in the spheres of education (many coloured people need definite instruction in reading and writing) and in employment. In this connection, on March 25th next, there will meet a local committee to investigate the means of promoting the Welfare of Coloured Children (a branch of the Central Committee called by Dr. Harold Moody). Mr. S. George Young, of Heol Wen, Rhriobina, Cardiff, would be very glad to receive any information or help in the South Wales region towards this work.

MEETINGS.

Successful meetings have been reported from:

Bridgend: St. David's Church; addressed by Mr. W. D. Bland and Mr. Glyn Howe. January 12th and 19th.

Aberystwith: The Theological College, February 3rd; addressed by Rev. Dan Evans, of Siloh, Aberystwith.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

Monmouth: 8.30 p.m., February 22nd, at Ivy Lodge. Regional Secretary.

Carmarthen: 3 p.m., March 7th, at Presbyterian College. Regional Secretary.

Newport: March 15th, afternoon, Ministers' Conference; and evening, Public Meeting. Rev. Leslie Artingstall.

Bridgend: March 16th. F.o.R. Meeting. Rev. L. Artingstall.

F.o.R. members are seeking to form groups in the following towns, and would be glad to hear from any people who would like to help them:—

Brynmawr: Rev. Harold Morgan, 291 King Street, Brynmawr.

Abergavenny: Miss E. Bowen Dart, The School House, Penpergwm, Abergavenny.

POOLE BRANCH OF THE F.o.R.

The membership of the branch has increased from 24 to 68, including eight local clergy and ministers. In addition, there are 12 members of various denominational pacifist fellowships attached to the branch. A pacifist fellowship has existed in Poole for some years, first as a branch of the M.P.F. and later as the Poole and District Christian Pacifist Fellowship, but it was not until the visit of the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, last May, that we were constituted a branch of the F.o.R.

Eleven meetings, a successful garden social and conference at St. Paul's Vicarage, a united Armistice Service at the High Street Methodist Church, a peace poster parade in collaboration with the P.P.U., and the production of three short plays by Laurence Housman and H. F. Rubinstein at the Centenary Hall by the St. Francis Players, comprised the chief activities of the branch in 1938.

The principal speakers have been the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon at the inaugural meeting in May, the Rev. Leslie Artingstall, B.A., at the garden party in September, and Mrs. W. C. Roberts, wife of the Rural Dean of Bloomsbury, at the United P.P.U. and F.o.R. Meeting in October. The Armistice Service was conducted by the Rev. L. L. Price, B.D., and the Rev. S. B. Wingfield Digby, M.A., and the Rev. J. O. Clutterbuck spoke on "War and the Christian."

Book Now for the EASTER YOUTH CONFERENCE

AT
Kent College, Canterbury
(Chairman: Dick Wood)



The study book for the conference will be, Leslie Artingstall's "Towards a Christian Economic," a copy of which will be sent to each member on receipt of booking fee. Other subjects will include, "The Witness of the Cross," Nationalism, Fascism and voluntary national service.

The extraordinarily modest fee of 30/- will pay conference expenses only if 100 people attend. Send your booking slip to F.o.R., 17 Red Lion Sq., W.C.1, now, since this year it may be necessary to raise the fee for those who apply late.

BOOKING SLIP

EASTER YOUTH CONFERENCE, 6th to 11th April, 1939

I desire to be present at the Conference, and enclose a booking fee of 2/6 in return for study book.

I intend to pay the balance of the fee £1 7 6

I am unable to afford the full fee but can contribute towards my expenses £ : :

I am prepared to contribute towards the expenses of others £ : :

I desire do not desire vegetarian food.

Name

Address

N.B. Please strike out inapplicable words.

PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE, Friends' House, London, N.W.1. Secretary: Karlin Capper-Johnson.

As a result of a minute sent forward from the Friends' Peace Committee, the Meeting for Sufferings (Executive Committee of the Society of Friends) on February 3rd issued a statement on the Society's attitude to the Government's Appeal for National Service. The statement in full will be found in this issue.

The Peace Committee is now thinking out plans to implement the desire to do "service for the community that makes for reconciliation between man and man, class and class, nation and nation."

The committee has issued a memorandum on *The Colonial Question*, putting forward practical and constructive proposals as an attempt to show how the present controversy may be turned to the benefit of all. Copies of this document (2.11.39) may be obtained from the Peace Committee offices. A Statement has also been made on "The Development of International Organisation."

Plans are now going forward for the holding of a *Summer Institute* which will enable a few keen workers to undertake concentrated study on peace issues. Arrangements are also under way for the holding of two *Peace Camps*; this will be the fifth successive year that a camp has been held in some country district where peace meetings are a novelty!

New publications include a free leaflet entitled "*Friends' Peace Testimony, 1938*," giving excerpts from the minutes of the Special London Yearly Meeting (November, 1938); and an unusually fine illustrated poster (2d.) by a Dutch artist bearing the words: "*MOTHERS! Have you given life to your son that he may kill the sons of other mothers?*" We are also now able to supply the cartoon "Peace is not sitting down," etc., as an attractive postcard (dark brown printing on buff card, 1s. 6d. per 100).

The following new books have been added to the library (open to the public):—*The Refugee Problem*, by Sir John Hope Simpson; *The True India*, by C. F. Andrews; *We Will Not Cease*, the autobiography of a Conscientious Objector, by Archibald Baxter; and *Economic Problems of the Next War*, by Paul Einzig.

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST CRUSADE (Congregational). Secretary: Rev. Leslie Artington, B.A.

At a recent meeting of the Crusade Committee, various questions of importance were discussed, including the programme for the May meetings, and details of these will be given in the April number.

The matter of the growth of the Crusade membership and Groups was also discussed. The membership is interchangeable with the F.o.R., and a good deal of the work that is being done is, therefore, indistinguishable from work in the F.o.R. Branches. This was felt to be natural and proper, but at the same time it was thought that quite a number of Churches—and especially the bigger ones—would like to have a special Group of their own. Any of our members who feel that this would be a move in the right direction are asked to communicate with the Secretary and he will be very glad to arrange a meeting.

METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

The Annual Re-Dedication Service. This event will take place at Hinde Street Methodist Church (off Manchester Square, behind Selfridge's) on Saturday, March 25. A business meeting will be held at 3.30 p.m. for Group Secretaries and representatives. Tea Conference at 5.0 p.m.: Rev. Henry Carter will preside. The speaker will be Dr. Donald O. Soper. Subject: "Could Pacifism Take Over?" Re-dedication Service at 6.30 p.m., with an address by Rev. Leslie Keeble. New members are invited to join in this Service and sign the Covenant. In view of the great issues of these months and our need of fellowship and counsel, it is hoped all members will try to be present.

Declaration on the Renunciation of War. An effort is being made by the C.P.G. Council to secure 5,000 signatures of clergy and ministers to a declaration on this subject. We urge all our ministerial members to sign promptly on receiving the request, and to attempt to secure signatures from other Methodist ministers who might be willing to sign it. The whole of the Methodist ministry is being circularised.

Recent Enrolments. It was reported at the recent Executive Meeting that 16 new lay members have joined. There are also 20 new ministerial members—Revs. R. W. Evans and P. K. Parsons, of Didsbury, and 18 students of Victoria College, Manchester.

North Harrow Group. This Group is prepared to perform "The Trial of Philippe Vernier" (lasting one hour) for edification or propaganda for any Group or Church within reasonable distance. Write to Mr. Gerald Cooper, 69 Church Drive, North Harrow, Middlesex.

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Secretary: The Rev. C. Lloyd Phelps, B.D.

The Milton Hall, 244, Deansgate, Manchester, 3.

It is hoped that the delay in sending out the membership lists caused no inconvenience. The present secretary has been in Hull and the Isle of Man and many other places since these notes were last written, and his wanderings made proof-corrections difficult. However, every member should now have his list, financial statement and letter. If any members would like extra copies, the Secretary will be glad to supply them.

We are glad to report the formation of two more groups. A fine, vigorous one has formed at Luton, a fruit of our Chairman's war-time ministry there. A still more remarkable one from Briton Ferry, where the minister and every one of his thirteen deacons are convinced Christian Pacifists, and the whole Church has a history that is one of the stirring chapters of pacifist history in Wales.

Our membership has now reached four figures, and our groups number twenty, in addition to the London Union and Scottish and Welsh branches. We want a live pacifist cell in every Baptist Church, so there is still much to be done. There are nearly three hundred ministers and theological students in our ranks. We hope that every one of them, in the next few years, will gather a group of like-minded people round him.

The Secretary will be glad to hear from anyone in the North of England who can find use for him to address meetings. G. LLOYD PHELPS.

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FREDSHJEM Holiday Language Centre on the frontier between Denmark and Germany. Pacifist family are willing to receive paying guests. Glorious scenery, bathing and rowing, and opportunity for studying German, French, Italian, Danish and Swedish. Lodging and board and language tuition, 6½ Danish Kroner per day. For further details write to W.R.I., 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, or direct to Dr. Arnold Kalisch, Fredshjem, Roenshoved pr. Rinkebae, Denmark.

WENSLEY HALL, NEAR MATLOCK. A.A. Appointed. Small sunny Guest House. Good walking or motoring centre. Excursions arranged when desired. Suitable for Conferences. Telephone, Darley Dale 116. Eric and Muriel Bowser.

GERMAN LESSONS or exchange conversation by Viennese pacifist, living in S.W.12 (Balham).—Box C.46.

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

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ONE of the most delightful centres for restful holidays is FAIRFIELD, situated on a sunny hillside in its own grounds of 8 acres, at Dawlish. Winter terms now in operation with special discounts (up to 20 per cent.) for long period visits. Illustrated brochure free from:—DOUGLAS BISHOP, Fairfield Guest House, Dawlish. Tel. 151. (Mention "The Christian Pacifist.")

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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 March 20th, when the leader will be the Rev. Alan Balding, M.A.

RECENT F.o.R. PUBLICATIONS

The Rev. **LEYTON RICHARD'S** 36 page pamphlet: "The Christian Foundations of Peace." Price 3d. each, single copies 4d. post paid.

The Rev. **LESLIE ARTINGSTALL'S** 142 page book: "Towards a Christian Economic" Price 2s. 6d. or 2s. 10d. post paid.

Leaflets for Free Distribution:

"The Sermon on the Mount." 1s. per 100
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CHRISTIAN PACIFIST PARTY

OPEN MEETING

Subject:

"Pacifists and the Political Outlook"

FRIENDS' HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1

Wednesday, March 15th

At 8 p.m.

Speakers:

Rev. H. INGLI JAMES, B.A., B.D.
Mr. W. L. WILLIAMS

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

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

To the Editor,
THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST
17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1

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