LIVING IN THE LIGHT

SOME QUAKER PIONEERS OF THE 20th CENTURY

Volume II – In the Wider World

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY, *Editor*

FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE
and
QUAKER PUBLICATIONS
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Kennett Square, Pa. 19348

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Introduction to Volumes I and II

The Background for These Books

In the more than 300 years of its history, the Religious Society of Friends has helped to develop or has attracted an unusually large number of prominent people, many of them pioneers in one or more significant movements or causes.

Some readers may wish to speculate on why this is so. My surmise is that because Quakerism has stressed a highly personal approach to life and religion, it has helped to develop or has drawn to itself many individualists. However, Quakerism has also emphasized the caring community and has urged its members to translate into concrete action the commandment of Jesus to love your neighbors. Consequently, many of its members have worked zealously in a wide variety of movements to improve the condition of human beings. Furthermore, Quakerism has contended that creation continues and revelation persists, and it has encouraged its adherents to pursue truth rigorously. Hence many Friends have been creative in their pioneering efforts. In addition, Quakerism has released the talents of women more than most groups. Thus, there has been a high percentage of Quaker women as leaders in various causes, outside as well as inside the Religious Society of Friends.

Much has been written about the Quaker pioneers of the 17th century and some about the outstanding men and women of the 18th and 19th centuries. Not nearly enough, however, has been written yet about the Quaker pioneers of the 20th century. There are books and/or booklets about some of the well-known persons of that period, but many of the pioneers have been neglected. Hence the appearance of these two volumes on *Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century.* Volume I deals with several such individuals in the United States and Volume II with some in the wider world.

It has been my concern that essays should be published about these people before those of us who knew them pass from this earthly scene. For example, there are very few Friends alive who knew Emily Greene Balch, Frederick J. Libby, or Inazo Nitobe. Even Rufus M. Jones is only a name to most Friends today. Then there are several outstanding Friends from the recent past or today who are not known even in Quaker circles.

Some Criteria Used in Selecting the Persons for These Volumes

With so many outstanding Friends in various parts of the world in the 20th century, the task of selecting 40 persons for inclusion in these two volumes has been extremely difficult. Consequently,

many individuals who deserve a place in these books had to be omitted.

Because more than half of the present members of the Religious Society of Friends live in the United States, and because these books are being printed primarily for American readers, Volume I is devoted to 23 Americans, whereas Volume II contains the life stories of 17 Friends from other parts of Quakerdom.

Many readers will be interested in the criteria used in selecting these 40 individuals.

Obviously each person in these two volumes had to be a pioneer in at least one field; several were pioneers in more than one movement or concern. And the fields they represent are numerous. Some are traditional concerns of Quakers, such as peace, education, and race relations. Others are causes which Friends have not championed in the past but which are of increasing interest and importance today, such as human sexuality, relations with the people of other faiths, and the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Some of the individuals included in these two books were at the height of their effectiveness early in the 20th century, while others became prominent later in that period. Some are no longer living; others are still alive and active in promoting their concerns.

Most of the Quakers depicted in these two volumes have worked primarily within the Religious Society of Friends, but several of them have worked largely outside the Quaker circle, even though their efforts have been based on their beliefs as Friends.

Several of the chapters are on well-known Quakers, but a few are on Friends who are not yet well-known even to members of our Society. That is especially true of persons in the newer and smaller yearly meetings around the world.

Because of the prominence of Quaker women, there is a good balance between men and women in both volumes of *Living in the Light*.

In selecting persons for these books, I did not distinguish between "birthright" and "convinced" Friends. However, in Volume I there is a good balance between these two groups. In Volume II, a majority are "convinced Quakers."

Often one person serves as an example of a group of individuals. For instance, Jack Hoyland is the only British Friend included in Volume II who worked in India. But there are several others who devoted themselves with distinction to the people of that nation or sub-continent—such as Horace Alexander, Agatha Harrison, and Marjorie Sykes.

Furthermore, each of the persons selected for these two books had an interesting life and their stories are well worth telling.

Each devoted himself or herself creatively, effectively, and often passionately to people and to the creation of a more peaceful, just, and humane world. In different ways all of them lived, or are living, in the Light. And in different ways all of them have carried out, or are carrying out, the prayer "Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven."

If any reader has felt there was a Quaker "type," a reading of these books should disabuse him or her from that opinion. The people portrayed here represent a fascinating variety of individuals—differing in their backgrounds, their education, their careers, their concerns, their life styles, and their theological beliefs. Yet they are all Quaker pioneers.

Many readers will realize that the title for these two volumes is taken from George Fox's admonition to "walk in the Light."

Conspicuous and Inconspicuous Quakers

Reading about these outstanding men and women should make us aware that "there were giants in the earth in those days" and that there are giants on our globe today, too. And, as Joseph Fort Newton once said, "We stand on the shoulders of giants."

Commenting on greatness in his book on *Contemporary Immortals*, Archibald Henderson described such people in these words:

> The great man is one who lives for aims other than personal and local ones, who gives himself for posterity, who senses the future and strives for the race's betterment. The great man is one who procures for humanity a larger liberty, a freer release of vital energies, a wider horizon, a completer mastery of the forces of nature, and a deeper understanding of mankind.

For us such men and women can serve as role models—and how we need them. As Joshua Liebman commented in his volume on *Peace of Mind:*

> Man loses his sense of direction when the compass of his soul is not magnetized by some great human star within the orbit of his experience.

But they do not differ greatly from us, except in degree. As Archibald Henderson pointed out:

> The greatest men on earth are men who think as I do, but deeper; and see as I do, but clearer; who work to the goal that I do, but faster; and serve humanity as I do, but better.

Reading about these individuals should not discourage us; it should encourage us. The men and women portrayed here are among the Everests, Matterhorns, and Kilimanjaros of Quakerism. But the world is not composed solely of mountain peaks; it includes lesser mountains, hills, valleys, and plains. Humanity desperately needs common as well as uncommon individuals, ordi-

nary as well as extraordinary people, inconspicuous as well as conspicuous men and women. At the Friends World Conference in 1937 Fred Tritton, an English Quaker, spoke of that fact in this way:

> No one can deny the brightness of the planets and the stars of first magnitude, but the glory of the heavens is not in these alone, but also in the infinite number of tiny stars.

So let us use the examples of these lives to help us prick our consciences and prod us into greater and more effective endeavors in the few fields in which we concentrate our efforts to help build a better world.

Let us realize, too, that these individuals had their disappointments and their difficulties. They did not always overcome them, but they learned to live with them.

A Word About the Authors

As the editor of these two volumes, I should like to point out that the authors of these essays are also distinguished persons. Several of them might well have been included as subjects for these books rather than as authors.

I am deeply indebted to all the authors for the time, energy, thought, and love which they have poured into their accounts of these Quaker pioneers of the 20th century.

Many other people have also been helpful in producing these two volumes. For example, Australian, Canadian, Japanese, and South African Friends were consulted on the choice of individuals to be included and helped arrange for essays to be written on the people they selected. A small group of Swiss Friends was most helpful in reading and commenting on the chapter on Pierre Ceresole and several Quakers in Germany assisted in writing the chapter on Margarethe Lachmund. Special thanks go to Sally Wern Comport of Denver, Colorado, for the cover design for these two volumes. There are others, too numerous to mention, to whom I owe thanks.

Because of the death of two of our prospective authors and the incapacitation of others because of ill health, I have written more chapters than I had originally intended to do. I trust that does not detract too much from the value of these volumes.

Some Possible Uses of These Books

Many individuals will read these books and reflect on the lives of the prominent Quakers portrayed in them. In addition, I hope that many groups will consider all of these chapters, or even a few of them, for group reading and discussion.

Perhaps the following suggestions, phrased as questions, will

prove helpful to such groups:

1. Bonaro Overstreet once wrote that "Our physical ancestors we cannot choose, but our spiritual ancestors we can select." If you were to choose two or three individuals from these books as your "spiritual ancestors," which ones would you select? Why?
2. What books, pamphlets, or articles on these persons can you find, sharing some of the information about a person or persons with others in your group?
3. In comparing the early influences on these people, what did they have in common? What was unique?
4. What was special about the education of several of these prominent Quakers? In Volume I, what Quaker schools and colleges played a prominent part in their lives?
5. What did you learn from these essays about the relationships of husbands and wives?
6. What troubles and tragedies did several of these people encounter? What role did those experiences play in their lives?
7. What did you learn about the leisure time or recreation of several of these individuals?
8. How did the Religious Society of Friends help or hinder these men and women in their pioneering efforts?
9. In the case of "convinced Friends," what attracted them to Quakerism? At what point in their lives did they join the Religious Society of Friends?
10. What do you consider the weaknesses, shortcomings, or failures of these Quakers?
11. What individuals would you like to have seen included in these volumes who were omitted? Why would you have included them?

It is also my hope that these essays will merely lead readers into the vestibules of the lives of these remarkable people and that they will want to wander into other parts of their homes by reading other accounts, either by them or about them.

As the editor of these two volumes, I would welcome comments from persons or groups who have read these volumes, including corrections of historical facts and/or interpretations, and suggestions for changes in any future edition.

Special thanks go to the Bequests Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and to the Chase Fund for help on this book.

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

PIERRE CERESOLE

Pick and Shovel Peacemaker

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

One of the most dramatic actions John F. Kennedy took when he became President of the United States in 1961 was to establish the Peace Corps. That idea of working overseas in the so-called Third World countries appealed to the idealism and imagination of many individuals, especially young people. Consequently more than 15,000 of them served simultaneously in over 60 countries, assisting local communities in education, in health, and in other fields.

To most people that idea was unique and new, providing what William James had once written about as the need for "a moral equivalent to war." Actually the idea of an international peace army was not new; it had been "invented" by Pierre Ceresole and other members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation at a conference in The Netherlands after World War I, and it was an idea to which he devoted much of his life.

How this rare form of positive pacifism developed is the main theme of this chapter on the innovative and inspiring life of a Swiss pacifist and Quaker.

His Distinguished Family Background and His Early Years

Pierre Ceresole was born on August 17, 1879 in the suburbs of the beautiful city of Lausanne, Switzerland, built terrace-like on a hill overlooking Lake Geneva. His family background was multinational and many of its members were distinguished. His father's people were from Italy and his mother's people were from France. He had one grandmother of German extraction and several relatives who were English through marriage. There were lawyers, doctors, and ministers in the Ceresole family and Pierre's father was an official in the Swiss government, serving for a short time as President of the Swiss Confederation.

Life started out well for this lad. For the first few years his existence was similar to that of any middle-class or upper-middle-class Swiss boy—with school and games, hiking and boating, and church and family affairs with his six brothers and three sisters, his father and mother, and others.

But then came his first bitter experience—the death of his mother when he was only nine. Consequently his life was altered radically, even though an older sister did well in her role as a substitute mother, assisted by relatives and friends.

Pierre was bright and received excellent grades in school. But

he was not keen about his work; school seemed so far removed from everyday life. He did, however, enjoy his friendships with his classmates and soon became a leader. In one respect, however, he was different. As one chum from those years has said:

> He was more intense and active than the rest of us and his mind was always working and digging deeply into all kinds of problems.

At the age of 17 he had a tremendous experience. Here is how he recorded it later:

> In 1896, when walking through the city woods, I experienced something like a solemn consecration to Truth. The thought came to me of some kind of ministry where we would have to recognize first of all our own errors, our own shortcomings, in order to be able to be true. I was seized by the discovery that to do something constructive in the world one had to be infinitely more sincere, truer, more direct, more alive than the church people, for instance. I was moved to tears and jotted down some notes on a piece of paper.

What a life-shattering, life-expanding, life-deepening experience that was! It is little wonder that he said, "I always remembered that particular day in the woods as a highly important one in my life, as if I had met somebody." Years later he would look back upon it as a mystical, deeply-religious event.

The years sped along and he had soon completed his training in mathematics and philosophy at the famous Federal Polytechnic in Zurich, in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, completing his diploma with honors. From there he moved to Goettingen and Munich in Germany for post-graduate work. At that time Germany was the leading country in science and he was able to study with several famous teachers, including Wilhelm Roentgen, the discoverer of the Roentgen or X-ray.

In 1903 he completed his dissertation, which was highly praised by his professors and led to his appointment at the age of 24 as an assistant professor of physics at his alma mater in Zurich. His relatives and friends predicted a brilliant career for him, as a professorship was considered by many Swiss as the height of one's lifetime dreams.

He Extends His Horizons Through World Travel

Pierre taught for some time, but he was restless, and his family urged him to travel. So he set out on a four-week vacation in the United States in the summer of 1909. What was to have been a short holiday turned out to be a five-year trip around the world, terminated by the opening of World War I.

The visit to the United States was his first adventure in the

broadening of his horizons. He left New York City without money, determined to earn his way as he went. He was a college professor and had worked more with his head than with his hands; now he wanted to work more with his hands than with his head.

The jobs he found were extremely varied—on a poultry farm, counting eggs; in the wheat fields at harvest time; and at a California oil well, where he soon became a supervisor. Thus he came into contact with all kinds of people and his education in human relations was a comprehensive one.

Once he reached California, he began to think about crossing the Pacific. Travel was exciting, exhilarating, and educational. Why should he return to Switzerland?

So he headed for Japan, stopping for several months in Hawaii. There he tutored a member of the royal family in French literature and was given $15,000 for his teaching. Believing that others needed that money more than he did, he donated it to a local charity.

In Hawaii, Ceresole also came across the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, purely by chance. Browsing in the university library, he picked up a volume of his *Essays* and was captivated by them. What impressed him most about Emerson was his fresh approach to life. He was a rebel against the society of his day. He was interested in experience and in action, believing that the abolition of war was the next great test for human beings after the abolition of slavery. Emerson also believed in experimenting with new ways of leading "the good life."

Therefore Ceresole read and reread the thoughts of that great writer and philosopher, mulling over their meaning, feeling a strong kinship with that American writer. In fact, Pierre said later:

> To become acquainted with such a person is an extraordinary experience. He is a vital, living person. He was the first person I had ever met who gave me the impression that he really believed in God.

Pierre's discovery of Emerson had a profound and revolutionary effect upon him and upon his life in the years to come.

In Japan he worked for two years as an engineer in the office of the Swiss firm, Sulzer. Then word came of the outbreak of World War I and he made his way back to Switzerland via Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and the Suez Canal.

He Returns To Switzerland With Some Radical Ideas

When he returned home, his friends discovered that his outlook had changed noticeably. He had a new perspective on life. His philosophy was now global; he was in a sense a citizen of the world. Soon they would learn of other changes in his thinking and

be appalled by his nonconformity.

On his world tour he had obviously thought a great deal about wealth, coming to the conclusion that it was wrong to retain money which you have not earned. So, when he inherited his part of the family fortune upon the death of his father, he turned all of his 44 shares in the Nestlé Chocolate Company over to the Swiss government, saying:

> I believe that the teachings of Christ, as still taught with the official sanction of hundreds of churches, are superior to "Realpolitik" and good business sense, and in the long run, more practical, too. Please make use of the money in whatever way seems to you most in accordance with the spirit in which these lines are written; perhaps it would be best to wait a few years before making a decision in this respect.

The government officials were surprised and baffled by Ceresole's bequest and request. They even wondered if the young man was insane. So, just to be sure, they conducted a private investigation. When they discovered that he was perfectly sane and very sincere, they accepted his gift, although no one knows what they did with it.

Later he thought more about the principle of inherited wealth and became more certain that it was wrong. "To live on one's invested income is as debasing," he said, "as to own slaves. In fact, it is the same thing." At another time he declared, "The greatest luxury a Christian could afford would be to get rid of his money if that money were a barrier between himself and other men." Like Woolman, Tolstoy, Gandhi, and a few others, Ceresole believed that he could work better with all kinds of people if there were no barriers of wealth between him and them.

His ideas on war and on military training had also changed during those years abroad. Increasingly he had come to think of all wars as wrong and as contrary to the teachings of Jesus, in whose tenets he believed deeply.

Switzerland then, as now, prided itself on its neutrality as a nation, but also on its military preparedness. It kept a standing army, and every male citizen was required at regular intervals to take some military training. Even those who were exempt on physical grounds were required to pay a special tax. Many even considered military service as a school of citizenship in which the men from different parts of the country became acquainted with one another and in which people of all classes mixed freely. Consequently, conscription was not just tolerated; it was welcomed.

But a Swiss teacher named John Baudraz felt otherwise. He was a conscript, but one day in 1915 he sat on his knapsack and refused to budge because he had come to believe that war was un-

Christian and that he could no longer take part even in preparation for fighting.

Pierre Ceresole agreed with him and said so publicly. That was a great shock to his family and friends as his father had been an officer in the Swiss army and one of his brothers was a colonel at the time of Pierre's protest. In 1913 Pierre had even sent a small sum of money from Japan to be used for the aviation fund of Switzerland. Hence his support now of a man who refused to serve in the Swiss Army, disturbed Pierre's family and friends and they pled with him to retract his support of the "disloyal Swiss," as they called Baudraz.

But Pierre was clear about his convictions and could not be persuaded otherwise. Because of a slight physical disability, he was not required to undergo military training. But he did refuse to pay the compulsory military tax. The result was his imprisonment in 1916, the first of at least 15 such incarcerations during his lifetime—most of them for his refusal to pay that special tax.

An even more serious consequence of that decision was his probable sacrifice of further teaching appointments in many schools and institutions of higher learning which would be prejudiced against him. However, that did not deter Pierre Ceresole from doing what he thought was right.

As World War I continued, he became increasingly disturbed by the loss of life, property, and liberty in the countries involved. More than that, he became upset by the way in which Christians on both sides of that conflict sanctioned it and fought each other while they prayed to God for the success of their side.

Finally he could contain himself no longer. At the end of the regular church service in Zurich on November 18, 1917, he rose and protested that Christians supported such mass murder. In a firm voice and with utter sincerity he declared his refusal to support militarism anywhere, and he called upon the pastors of all the Christian churches to join him in his renunciation of war. The congregation was shocked and tried to stop him from speaking, but the pastor permitted him to complete his statement. Later in life, in a similar situation, he was not treated in such a tolerant manner.

The Development of the International Work Camp Movement

Up to that point in his life Pierre Ceresole had been primarily a protester; his approach had been largely negative. In 1919 he attended a conference in Bilthoven, in The Netherlands, of the newly formed International Fellowship of Reconciliation. There he met men and women from several Christian groups and from many countries who felt as he did, especially Quakers.

It was there that a German, Walter Koch, expressed his desire

to go to France to help rebuild with his own hands some of the devastation wrought by German soldiers, including his brother. At that conference Ceresole also met Hubert Parris, a Quaker, who told him what English Friends had been able to do in France during and after the war—"a service of love in wartime," as it has been called. But participation in their service work had been limited to Friends and friends of the Friends, and to the British and later the Americans.

From discussions and conversations at that conference emerged the idea of a similar but broader movement, attracting people of different faiths, different countries, different races, and different vocational and class backgrounds who would work together in peacetime to render assistance wherever there was a flood, an earthquake, or some other disaster. It would be a new kind of service, a constructive alternative to military duty, the moral equivalent of war, an international voluntary service for peace.

Ceresole felt that this was what he had been seeking—a positive approach to peace. It was an idea to which he could (and would) commit himself for the rest of his life.

He had been appointed as an assistant secretary of the I.F.O.R., but he asked to be released from that post so that he and Parris could go to France and find a village in which they could conduct the first international work camp of what came to be called in French the *Service Civil International.*

The village they decided upon was Esnes, near Verdun, France, and the people who assembled there were from Austria, Germany, Hungary, The Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States. They rose early and worked hard all day filling the holes made by mines and shells, repairing a road, clearing the foundations of the village hall, and building barns and houses. Pierre was in charge of the group. With him for part of the time was his brother, the colonel in the Swiss army. Most of the campers, however, were pacifists or conscientious objectors to war. The money for the project was largely furnished by a Dutch woman, with some help from the French government.

The project began on a cold November day in 1920 and lasted until spring. As he worked, Pierre kept a little black notebook in his pocket (the first of 120 which have been preserved from his many years in civilian service for peace). About that first work camp he wrote:

> We will wear ourselves out in the service of God. . . . Holy silence, joy, service, sacrifice. . . .

In the next few years there were many opportunities for similar service. One was in France, another in Liechtenstein, and several in Switzerland. Some of the work was the repairing of damage

done by avalanches; some of it repairs of destruction from floods.

In each locality the work was done on a voluntary basis, without remuneration except for the minimum requirements of simple but healthful food and the bare necessity of shelter. Often the local people helped with the work and/or provided shelter for the volunteers. In most of the camps there were women as well as men. In every camp there were volunteers from several nations. And in many of them there were discussions in the evening on national and world events, on pacifism and related topics, plus group singing. In each situation they were careful not to compete with local laborers.

Ceresole did not forget that it was still impossible for a man to substitute some kind of peace service for the military duty required in Switzerland. He believed that everyone should be willing to perform some kind of service for his country, but wanted recognition of the convictions of conscientious objectors. So he led a movement in 1921 to obtain signatures to a petition calling for the recognition of alternative service. Eventually 40,000 signatures were obtained, but for months the government ignored that nationwide petition. Finally, in 1924, the idea was rejected in Parliament. Since that time, repeated efforts to obtain recognition of various forms of alternative service have also failed.

In 1928 there was a devastating flood in Liechtenstein, a small nation between Austria and Switzerland. Workers were needed desperately so Ceresole sent out many telegrams to friends saying, "Come, even if it is impossible." Soon there were 710 volunteers from 22 countries and from 50 professions, trades, and occupations. For six months they worked to reclaim 100 acres of land and succeeded so well that the crop yield was trebled by their efforts.

Two years later more than 250 persons travelled from 16 nations to the village of Lagarde in France to repair the homes which had been damaged by the spring floods. When the work was completed, a small sum of money was left in the treasury of the work camp group. So they turned it over to the village of Lagarde. Years later some of it was sent to Wales for use in a work camp there among unemployed coal miners.

Then came the worldwide depression, and the idea of the work camp took told in England, with some modifications. In order to involve more persons and accomplish more work, many campers took some of their vacation time for voluntary service. Consequently there was more turnover in the personnel of the camps and some of them lasted only for a week or two. Or different groups of persons were in the same locality over a period of several weeks.

But the camps remained coeducational and voluntary, with emphasis on simple kinds of labor so that untrained persons could

take part. Most of the camps were composed of people of college age, but there were usually a few older people, too. Particular attention was given to work in the coal mining areas of Wales where the campers assisted in garden projects to increase the food supply for unemployed families. Other camps worked with refugees from Central Europe or assisted in the building and/or repair of youth hostels.

Soon the efforts of the Service Civil International were extended to India. In 1934 an earthquake of alarming proportions took place in Bihar in northern India and many villages were destroyed or badly damaged. In addition, there were terrific floods and many of the villages had to be removed to higher land, or dikes had to be constructed.

That work in India was another adventure in international friendship. As president of the Service Civil International, Ceresole made four trips to that country—in 1934, 1935, 1936, and 1937. On the first one he went alone to find out if the International Voluntary Service for Peace could work there and be accepted. Fortunately he discovered that it would be welcomed by both the Indian Congress Party and the British authorities. On the other trips he had companions from various nations.

Especially dear to his heart was the building of Shantipur—the Village of Peace. At that site homes were rebuilt and simple flood control measures inaugurated. In addition, progress was made in constructing a community which could serve as a model for the 700,000 villages in that sub-continent. A school was built, sanitation improved, the village council type of government from ancient times revived, and health measures instituted—especially improvements in the local water supply. Even more important, some progress was made in improving the lot of the "untouchables" in the village.

Many people in other parts of the world were interested in Shantipur and the other Indian villages where reconstruction was going on. Because he could not possibly write all his friends and supporters individually, Pierre started a series of letters which were duplicated in Switzerland and mailed to a wide constituency, reporting on the "pilot projects" in village improvement.

Eventually those letters were reprinted in three pamphlets. They reveal much about this prophet of peace for they tell about his reading, his companions on shipboard, his meetings with Gandhi and other Indian leaders, his interest in the flowers and animals of India, and his reactions to the missionaries and the British officials there.

Occasionally he and the other Westerners had to adjust to the extreme heat at midday in India and curtail some of the hard physical labor which was such an essential part of the movement.

But even though he was now in his mid-50s, he took part almost daily in the hard physical labor, dressed in overalls and with an old felt hat or a topee cocked on his head, covering his blond hair. Because of his height, he was a towering figure physically. But he was also a towering figure spiritually, and the work campers were devoted to him.

In the evenings he found different ways to relax. Sometimes there were discussions or talks. Often the work campers sang together. On other occasions they joined the local villagers in their festivals and dances. But sometimes Pierre would go off alone. In one letter he wrote about sitting in his little hut:

> . . . meditating like some hermit on mathematics or physics—a wonderful relaxation in any case. I had with me Eddington's second popular book and a recent volume of Reichenbach on the *Computation of Probabilities.*

To most of us that would not seem like relaxation, but to the former mathematics and physics teacher, that was fun.

Gandhi impressed him deeply, but Pierre did not always agree with that apostle of non-violence. In one letter Ceresole wrote:

> Without swallowing blindly all they say, one must listen and meditate attentively with a constant effort at objectivity, respect, and affection to persons like Mahatma Gandhi.

In another communication Ceresole said of Gandhi:

> I do not think it is particularly by mental brilliancy that Mahatma Gandhi shines. It is rather by an inward force—whatever name one may give to it—which would enable one to count on him in any serious matter calling for sacrifice—in fact, in the great and complex adventure of life. With Gandhi there is faith . . . a faith not found in the same degree in the mere politician.

His reaction to the missionaries was mixed. Of them he wrote, "These missionaries are the most exasperating people intellectually, but the most touching and effective in action." He felt that many of them did too much preaching about and not enough practicing of Christianity. On one occasion he wrote:

> Christianity should be concerned here not chiefly with its own "success" . . . but in serving, and with the life of those to whom it appeals. It should have an infinite care for what these people are or have already, and that spiritual modesty which makes one ready to discover even a superior truth, perhaps just where one had come prepared to teach.

Pierre was a great lover of nature and his letters often referred to the flowers and even the bees and bats; the scenery; and the peacocks, parrots, monkeys, and elephants he saw on his trips to India. In one letter he said that he went to sleep "lulled by the

night breeze rustling through the palm leaves and the rhythmic sighing of the waves breaking on the shore." He added that "To awake here at dawn is as wonderful as to fall asleep by starlight." He wrote, too, of seeing "parrots and monkeys gravely seated four or five together, grouped at equal distances, ambling away without haste as our carriage approached" and of "the peacock in its wild state, spreading its tail halfway across the road, walking with slow paces as if in a courtyard and holding high its head, crowned with aigrettes."

Just before he left India in 1937, he prepared a statement for the newspapers which summarized in its first paragraph his ideas on peace. It said in part:

> Peace is essentially not something negative, not simply the absence of war. Among other positive things peace requires that we should recognize good will wherever it is and not only in our own nation, race, class, party, or religion. The best way to have good will recognized is to get people of various nations, races, classes, religions, and parties to join in common work and service for an aim which every intelligent and sincere person agrees to be of supreme importance. Such is the work started now in different directions and by different groups for the help of the Indian villagers in their present distressed condition.

When he left India there were many tributes to him and his practical idealism. One writer referred to the Service Civil International as "an oasis in the arid desert of a warring world" and praised its members as persons "to whom humanity at large is but one family and to whom service to their fellow men is the keynote of their existence."

Of Ceresole, one paper reported:

> He is a living example of a yogi (saint) of modern times—not a politician, but something greater. Tall in stature, he is taller in ideas and ideals, and a fountain of inspiration for service and sacrifice.

He Becomes a Quaker

As readers of this chapter may have surmised, Pierre Ceresole was not happy with the Christian groups he knew. In fact, he was suspicious of them and of their frequent hypocritical attitudes. But while he was in India he felt the need to belong to a group—"an international family," as it were, and the only group whose members he respected was the Religious Society of Friends. Since that conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in The Netherlands in 1919, he had met and worked with many Friends and admired most of them. There had been a small Meeting in Geneva ever since 1920 and gradually other groups were formed in Switzer-

land. In 1934, however, membership in the Society of Friends for the Swiss was still held in London Yearly Meeting. So it was to that body that Pierre Ceresole applied.

His attraction to Quakerism was many-sided. He agreed with its emphasis on the oneness or wholeness of life, admired its emphasis upon quiet and simple living, concurred with the centrality of its belief in the Inner Voice of the Spirit—available to all and without intermediaries, thoroughly and passionately upheld its rejection of war and its positive efforts for peace, and had espoused for years its accent on service.

But in keeping with his stress on scientific objectivity and his lifelong search for truth and integrity, he spelled out on 11 small pages his doubts and misgivings about some aspects of contemporary Quakerism. He was especially concerned lest membership keep him from expressing his mind freely and openly on any issue dear to him.

Friends in London Yearly Meeting were glad to welcome him as a Quaker in name, acknowledging that he had long been one in spirit. From that time on, he was an active, concerned, and dedicated member of the Religious Society of Friends and a tower of strength to the Switzerland Yearly Meeting when it was formed in 1944. When he was at home, he attended the Meeting in Lausanne. He spoke seldom, but then with great power as he did not take speaking in Meeting lightly. In fact, one Swiss Friend, Madelaine Jéquier, recalls how Pierre often reminded Quakers of Jacob wrestling with the angel as he was obviously deciding whether or not to speak.

Returning from India in 1937, he attended the Friends World Conference held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges in the United States, where he chaired the sessions on The World-wide Service of Quakerism. Meanwhile the American Friends Service Committee had sponsored its first work camp in the U.S.A. in 1934 and that idea was taking hold rapidly. It was a joy to Pierre to visit some of those camps, to consult with their leaders and participants, and to work alongside the campers. An additional pleasure was the opportunity of talking with Albert Einstein in Princeton, New Jersey. How much they had in common—from their interest in physics to their abhorrence of war.

It was also in 1937 that the Service Civil International started its work in Spain during the Civil War there, helping particularly with the evacuation of children from Madrid.

The Rise of Naziism and His Protests Against It and War

Being a close observer of the political scene, he was deeply disturbed by the rise of Naziism in Germany and wondered what he could do. In 1918 he had crossed into Germany illegally to see for

himself what was transpiring there. Then, in the 1930s, he made a similar trip to Germany to ascertain whether the people there really wanted war or whether it was the Nazis who were moving them in that direction. That visit was possible only because he knew the terrain on the border between Switzerland and Germany so well and could cross without being stopped by the border patrols—and because he spoke German fluently. Once across the frontier he was able to talk with many common people and even to speak at a regional reunion of World War I soldiers who were having a party in the hotel where he was staying. But he was eventually arrested, imprisoned, and sent back to Switzerland.

He had hoped somehow to see Hitler and to talk with him about the dire consequences of some of his actions. He was unable to carry out that intention. But he was able to go to Italy and to talk with Mussolini. Such courage is almost unbelievable to many of us, but not to Pierre Ceresole. One time he wrote:

> One has to be peacefully, serenely ridiculous. It is better to seem a fool than to be a coward, and it is better to seem a fool risking one's life for peace than for war.

Upon two other occasions he made brief, illegal forays into Germany: in 1942 and in 1944. On that last occasion his courage almost failed him and he had to fight what he called a lack of resolve in his heart. His aim on that journey was to discuss the plight of Jews and to take with him books which were forbidden in that Nazi-dominated land. For a long time his family did not hear from him, but they learned later that he had been interned in Germany for three weeks. While there he used the opportunity to talk with the prison officials and prisoners in the same way that early Friends had used their imprisonment to preach their message. Returned to the Swiss authorities, he was imprisoned by them for having crossed the border illegally.

Back in his own country, he did everything possible to insure Swiss neutrality in World War II, to have Swiss officials mediate that global conflict, and to persuade munitions makers not to produce weapons and sell them abroad.

Despite the fact that Switzerland was not engaged in World War II, there were blackouts in that land and they were offensive to Pierre. To call attention to their folly and to speak out against the destructiveness of war, he went one evening to the largest church in the city of Neuchâtel. Standing on its steps, he lit a few Christmas candles and read to those who had assembled around him the Epistle of the Denmark Yearly Meeting which expressed strongly their dismay over the darkness in Europe and urged Friends and others to work without ceasing with the constructive powers of the Spirit. Danish Friends wrote also of their feeling of

weakness but of their confidence that those who sought to do God's will could count on His immeasurable strength.

His Marriage and Recognition of the Work Camp Movement

Throughout his life Pierre had been a bachelor. He had wanted to marry a distant cousin but she felt that she would be a hindrance rather than a help in his undaunted search for Truth and the application of what he discovered in day-to-day living. But she finally relented and he and Lise David were married in 1941. Even though she was younger, she brought him a great deal of peace and joy in the four years they were to have together.

They lived in a small cottage which she had built, overlooking Lake Geneva, near Lausanne. For a part of their time together, she continued to teach in a prestigious girls school nearby, riding her bicycle to and from her work.

Through all those last months of his life she cared for him lovingly. His friends also came often to their cottage and talked with Pierre and Lise, frequently sitting on the front porch, surrounded by the flowers he loved and overlooking the lake, which brought him much happiness.

From time to time various governments had cooperated with the Service Civil International. Particularly prominent in that regard was Switzerland, which sometimes loaned army tools, blankets, tents, and other supplies to that organization. Likewise the Swiss National Railroads occasionally provided reduced rates to participants in the camps.

During his lifetime, however, there was no international recognition of this unusual type of global voluntary service. Then, at the instigation of the writer of this chapter when he was a member of the Secretariat of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), a resolution was introduced at its first General Conference in Paris in 1946 in which the delegates endorsed the idea of international work camps as an instrument for promoting global understanding. Soon after that, the first intergovernmental meeting of organizations interested in work camps was held at Unesco House in Paris, with David Richie, a Philadelphia Quaker who had spent most of his life in that movement, as the chairman.

A few years later the United States formed its Peace Corps, an adaptation of the work camp idea, and within a few years the United Nations adopted a similar plan. What a pity that Pierre Ceresole could not have lived long enough to learn about the recognition of his lifetime labors.

His Death and Some Excerpts from His Writings

World War II ended with the surrender of the Japanese on

August 14, 1945 and the signing of the surrender on September 2, 1945.

Pierre Ceresole died in his sleep on October 23, 1945, after several months of illness. In the last four years of his life he had been in prison six times, spending his last Christmas in jail. He had been returned home in February of 1945 but his high blood pressure had been aggravated by his imprisonments. Fortunately he had spent his last afternoon on the porch of the cottage with Lise and a few of their close friends.

Pierre Ceresole stands out among his contemporaries as the giant Matterhorn of his native Switzerland rises above the other peaks of that amazingly beautiful land. He was a man with a particularly sensitive conscience which forced him to do things which others were not willing to do. He was a pioneer for peace and an outstanding Quaker. The prominent French writer, Romain Rolland, once said that Ceresole was "one of the great consciences of the Swiss; such consciences save humanity." Rolland might well have substituted the word "world" for "Swiss."

Hélène Monastier, long the clerk of Switzerland Yearly Meeting, once told this writer that if she had to select one word to encapsulate the life of her friend, Pierre, she would pick the word "integrity." Others might want to substitute or add other words—perhaps joy, truth, beauty, prayer.

Unfortunately Pierre wrote very little for publication. But he did keep those tiny notebooks in the back pocket of his overalls, jotting down in them words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and prayers from time to time as he worked. From them we are able to catch a glimpse of his fresh insights expressed often in refreshing language.

Throughout those notebooks there are many references to God truth, and integrity, such as these excerpts:

> O God, your name, your reality, is truth.
>
> God is truth first of all, even before love, because in the long run love based on a lie, though it be a pious one, has to be paid for dearly by breakdown and disaster. Truth first—bitter pill, hard to swallow at times, but the only universal and infallible remedy.
>
> This man will not lie—he is dangerous.
>
> God does not punish. He would never get to the end of it. He creates something new.
>
> God, the great mirror in which we must see ourselves quietly as we are, with all our ugliness, but also with all our potentialities.

On religion he had this to say:

> There is only one match for these enormous astronomical distances, these oceans of fire—the man who knows how to listen to the Eternal.

In all earnestness and humility—revise, revise everything, especially your religion. It is a matter of life or death.

Of Jesus he wrote:

Two thousand years ago there came a radiant light, full of peace and loving kindness—and immediately we crucified it.

Jesus Christ: what a radiant figure! I suggest you make short work of all the theologians without the least scruples—and of all the scholars. If he never existed, it makes absolutely no difference to us—since he exists now.

Courage, or the absence of fear, meant much to him as reflected in these statements:

There is no point in giving the slightest amount of time to any argument in favor of your truth as long as you have not courageously lived it. To act courageously—that is the only argument; otherwise it is too easy and it carries no weight. Christ hardly argued otherwise.

Fear, the principal enemy, especially fear of oneself; fear of being adequate, of repeating the same mistakes indefinitely. The greatest danger is compromise with the enemy within oneself:

Fear of letting go of one's money.
Fear of stepping out of one's environment.
Fear of changing jobs.
Fear of seeing things as they are.
Fear of names, systems, words.
Fear of death.

He wrestled often with the danger of hypocrisy and fanaticism as indicated in this brief prayer:

Deliver us from fanaticism, from the conviction that we alone have a message from thee. . . .

Three quotations on war portray some of his thinking on that high-priority problem:

We cannot see that you believe in God; the sword you wear blocks our view.

Mr. X observes that the Church has given its sanction to this war. You think that sanctions war? I feel it dishonors the Church.

We have a law against the slaughter of cattle according to Jewish custom; we might have one against the slaughter of men according to Christian custom.

Prayer meant much to Pierre Ceresole. Scattered throughout his notebooks were such petitions as these:

Eternal God, take my life in your hands and lead me through these blind alleys with a heart free from meanness. I will be satisfied to furnish just a little mud for the Great Construction.

> Eternal, grant me the possibility of revising, understanding, and weighing everything anew, truly and freely, without violence. Grant me not to be fossilized against your Spirit and your Call. . . .

Something of his love of beauty can be caught from these brief excerpts in his journals:

> Unbelievable beauty of God and of the morning! Snow in bloom on the mountains above and cherry trees in bloom down below.
>
> Joy . . . joy . . . the oh so joyful cry of the swallows tracing the great curves of their flight at top speed in front of the prison windows. . . . Do you know anything more admirable, more expressive of freedom, courage, enthusiasm, the intoxication of energy, of the progress which does not come of itself but by the effort of the breast flinging itself against the air, in full flight, and of the muscles, tied to a bone built according to the calculations of the Eternal himself?

Pierre Ceresole did not lead an easy life. His conscience and inner leadings did not permit him that luxury. But he led an adventurous existence, and toward the end of it he penned these words: "In spite of everything, the world is marvellous."

ARTHUR S. EDDINGTON

"Our Most Distinguished Astrophysicist"

S. JOCELYN BURNELL

Science knows no international boundaries and the scientific community is a world-wide body. When Eddington died an untimely death in 1944, scientists from all over the world paid tribute to this quiet Englishman, describing him as "our most distinguished astrophysicist."

Genesis

Arthur Stanley Eddington was born at the end of 1882 in Kendal, an old grey market town, set in the hill country of northwestern England. He was the second child and only son of Arthur Henry Eddington and Sarah Ann Shout. His mother was a direct descendant of the Camms and Audlands who had lived within ten miles of Kendal and were numbered among the first Quakers ("The Valiant Sixty").

His father, Arthur Henry Eddington, was also a Quaker and came from Somerset in southwestern England where his family had long been farmers. He was moved to Kendal only four years before Arthur Stanley's birth, to become headmaster of Stramongate School—started by Friends in 1689. John Dalton, the founder of atomic theory (and also a Quaker), had been headmaster of that school one hundred years before. Many years later, when Kendal awarded A. S. Eddington the Freedom of the Borough, he reminded people of this, saying:

> Kendal has an earlier association with science. . . . From John Dalton we had the atom. Now I have become an atom chaser myself. John Dalton must have left some germ behind him which lingered in the walls of Stramongate. I like to think of that continuity and am proud to have been able to follow in the path which has been opened by Kendal's greatest scientist.

Alas, there were more malignant germs lingering. An epidemic of typhoid swept Kendal in 1884, carrying off Stramongate School's young and much-esteemed headmaster. Sarah Ann Eddington was left with two young children—Winifred (aged 6) and Arthur Stanley (aged 2)—and without great financial resources.

They moved back to Somerset to live with grandmother Eddington, and there, in the town of Weston-super-Mare, A. S. Eddington received his schooling. His intellectual ability and his fascination with large numbers showed itself early. He knew the 24 times tables before he could read; he tried to count the number of letters

in the Bible, but got only as far as the end of the Book of Genesis. (This must have been one of the few times he was beaten by a problem, but it is not surprising since the Old Testament contains some two-and-a-half billion letters, and the New Testament a further three-quarters of a million. To reach the end of Genesis he must have counted to approximately fifteen-and-a-half thousand. Doubtless this taught him something about assessing the size of a project before starting.

At school he was bright, popular, and a competent sportsman. He did well in examinations and at the culmination of his school career won a scholarship to take him to college. There were problems about his admission to college, however, as he was still under the minimum acceptable age of 16.

Exodus

When the problems were resolved in the autumn of 1898, he entered Owens College, Manchester, where he studied for four years under eminent scientists. He lived in Dalton Hall (most appropriately), the principal of which was John Wilhelm Graham who had been one of the staff at Stramongate School, Kendal, during A. H. Eddington's headship there. (The family, with help no doubt from Quaker connections, often placed the young fatherless A. S. Eddington under the watchful eye of family Friends).

J. W. Graham reported each year to Eddington's mother on the boy's progress. At the close of the first year he wrote:

> You have got a boy mixed of most kindly elements. . . . His rapidly and clearly working mind has not in the least spoiled his character. . . . His youth has, of course, been just a little against his making friends, but has not been fatal to it. . . . He seems more contented alone than most boys are.

The young Eddington had appeared at Dalton Hall wearing a cap, which horrified the other residents as bowler hats were deemed the only appropriate headgear! One of them remembered:

> However, it was soon recognized that what was under the cap was at least as extraordinary as the cap itself, and the young man was showing his mathematical tutor better ways of solving problems than any the latter had learnt at college.

He won scholarships and exhibitions (which considerably helped the family finances) and Graham's reports show him often coming out at the top of his class, sometimes with full marks. Shortly before his 19th birthday he won a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the next six months he completed his studies at Manchester, gaining a First Class Honors degree in Physics.

Trinity

Trinity College is one of the larger Cambridge colleges, and an ancient endowment. Mellow medieval buildings form the Great Court; behind them the elegant Renaissance period buildings line further quadrangles. The whole is splendid, gracious, calm, and spacious. Calm it may appear, but sleepy it is not, for this is an intellectual hot-house, one of the most famous colleges in one of Britain's most prestigious universities.

Many eminent people have belonged to Trinity, amongst them Newton, Macaulay, Tennyson, and Alfred North Whitehead. But increasingly it has become known for its distinguished scientists. Among its physicists were Larmor, Maxwell, Rayleigh, Rutherford, and J. J. Thompson. Eddington was to become another scintillating member of that galaxy of stars, for it was in Cambridge and as a member of Trinity College that he was to spend almost all the rest of his life.

One wonders if Eddington was aware of his intellectual ability or if he found the aura of Trinity and Cambridge overawing. His contemporaries remembered him as quiet and reserved, working very hard at mathematics. The College soon recognized his bent and abilities, converting his minor scholarship in natural science to a major one in mathematics. A year after entering Cambridge, with a good Manchester degree behind him and the prospect of a good Cambridge one ahead of him, he chose to sit for the London University exams, gaining a first class in mathematics and a third in physics. Was it lack of confidence that drove him to this, or financial considerations (for with it he gained another scholarship)?

He was not a recluse, however. He kept company with a small group of Trinity students who were taking similar courses. He attended debates at the Union Society and played chess (holding office in the Chess Club). He belonged to some mathematical and physical societies and an informal literary club. His diffidence, however, made it difficult for people to know him intimately and it was only with a fellow Trinity student, C. J. A. Trimble, that he felt completely at ease, forming a lasting friendship.

In 1904, at the end of only his second year, he sat the Cambridge Mathematics "Tripos" and came out top, earning himself the title of Senior Wrangler. It was the first time that a second-year man had achieved this distinction. University regulations prevented him from receiving his degree until he had been in Cambridge three years, so the following year he did more mathematics and did very well again.

All his life Eddington was a keen cyclist and from 1898 until his death in 1944 he kept a record of his rides, the routes, and the mileages. (He rarely kept any other diary or record of his activ-

ities.) The routes were traced in black on a road map and by the end of his life he had covered most of England and made some forays into Scotland, Ireland, The Netherlands, and Belgium. The map, however, met with an accident at some stage—it was mutilated by Eddington's dog. So he carefully retraced all his journeys on a fresh map. He preferred to ride alone, enjoying the solitude and the beauty of the countryside. It became his custom to make solitary cycling tours each spring and fall (but during World War II had to give these up because it was impossible to find overnight accommodation). His longest ride in a day was done when in his mid-fifties—a distance of 122 miles—and even in his last year he was frequently doing over 50 miles a day. But it was in 1905, his final year as a Cambridge undergraduate, that he notched up his highest mileage—2669 miles in the year. That is perhaps some indication that the pressure on him had at last relaxed.

His mother and sister came to Cambridge to see him receive his degree. Then he spent the summer in Ireland and returned to Cambridge in the autumn. He now had three bachelor's degrees but no very clear plans for his future. He had rooms in College, was their applied mathematics tutor, and did some lecturing and research in both mathematics and physics. He toyed with the idea of becoming a college lecturer in engineering but finally decided to take no steps towards finding a position that year other than trying for a Fellowship.

On the Meridian

Meanwhile a position was taking steps towards him. In January, 1906, the Astronomer Royal offered him the post of Chief Assistant at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. Eddington visited Greenwich, discovered they wanted a physicist more than an experienced astronomer, and influenced partly by the enthusiasm and encouragement of the College Fellows and lecturers, accepted that post. A month later he started work there.

He had shown interest in astronomy as a child; at age ten he had been lent a small telescope and he wrote at least one article for the school magazine. But as a student his interests seemed wider; and one suspects that had the Astronomer Royal not intervened (also with encouragement from the Trinity dons?) Eddington might have made his mark in some other field.

The Royal Greenwich Observatory occupied pleasant buildings on the south side of the Thames estuary, within reach of London, but far enough away that the city's street lights and polluted air did not interfere with astronomical observations. (Alas, no longer true. Recently the Observatory has been forced to move farther from London.)

Through the Observatory passes the "Greenwich Meridian"

from which longitudes are measured, and Greenwich Mean Time (the time used by astronomers world-wide) is derived is also a responsibility of the Royal Observatory.

In addition to that longitude and time work, other astronomical measurements were carried out at the Observatory and Eddington threw himself into this new work, learning all he could about practical astronomy. A few months after he joined the Observatory, he became a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, and a year later he was a member of the inner circle—the RAS Club. (That group met for dinner after each meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society and overseas and other distinguished visitors were entertained there.) Eddington was a popular member of the Club whom colleagues jockeyed to sit next to. (That might have been because he was a teetotaler so that those sitting around him got extra wine with their dinner!)

From then on he was no longer in doubt about his chosen field. When, two or three years after he moved to Greenwich, his former professor at Manchester sounded him out about accepting a professorship of theoretical physics theory there, Eddington noted:

> After some consideration, I decided not to entertain the proposal as I was unwilling to give up astronomy.

Eddington is best remembered as a theoretician—one who interpreted the observational data acquired by others and building on it—who sought greater understanding of the universe. But at Greenwich he became a competent observational astronomer himself. There was a discrepancy between two determinations of the longitude of the island of Malta in the Mediterranean, so Eddington was asked to redetermine it by astronomical observations. He mounted an expedition to Malta where his careful work and attention to detail resulted in an accurate determination which decided the question.

Ask of the Stars in Motion

His experience in observational astronomy was also useful in assessing the value of data acquired by other astronomers. Putting that to use, he started his first major piece of theoretical research on the movement of the stars. In 1907 he submitted a thesis on that subject for the Trinity College Fellowship examination. There were a number of candidates for the examination but only two survived the first reading. The first candidate's thesis was voluminous, carefully researched, well-documented and annotated; the second was only five pages long, but suggested some potentially interesting lines of research. The author of the five-page thesis was awarded the Fellowship; he was Arthur Stanley Eddington.

The lines of research proved fruitful and Eddington pursued

them over the next few years, his work culminating in the publication in 1914 of his first book—*Stellar Movements and the Structure of the Universe.* A colleague, Chandrasekhar, has commented:

> By these investigations Eddington may be said to have founded the subject of stellar dynamics—a discipline which now stands on its own right.

Professor

In 1913 Eddington left Greenwich and returned to Cambridge, having been appointed Plumian Professor (at the age of 30!). The following year he was made Director of Cambridge University's Observatory and also received what is undoubtedly one of the highest accolades of British science—he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had arrived!

His sister and elderly mother moved to Cambridge and lived in the Director's house at the Observatory. He never married and his sister kept house for him there for the remaining 30 years of his life.

The year 1914 also saw the outbreak of World War I and the beginning of a difficult time for many Quaker men in the prime of life who felt called to be conscientious objectors to military service. It was a difficult time, too, for scientists accustomed to international discussion, as the war cut direct communication between Britain and Germany. Anti-German feeling was so strong that some suggested that British scientists should shun German scientists not only during the war but long after it. Such was the prevailing atmosphere when a German scientist named Albert Einstein produced his greatest work—the theory of relativity.

Einstein's Theory Explained

Eddington had been elected Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society several years previously. One of his major tasks was to receive and assess scientific papers sent to the Society for publication in its journal, *Monthly Notices.*

From neutral Netherlands Eddington received a copy of Einstein's latest publication, with some papers by a leading Dutch scientist, on the theory of relativity, to be published in *Monthly Notices.* As Eddington read those papers he appreciated how important that new work of Einstein's was. It was fortunate for the course of British science that the only copy of Einstein's work there available fell into the hands of one so capable of mastering the theory and explaining it clearly to others.

Eddington was one of the first people in the world to realize the importance of the theory of relativity (and also one of the few who could understand it!). His interest helped establish the subject, and he was its chief advocate in Britain, publicizing and

explaining its significance. The first detailed account of general relativity to appear in English was written by Eddington at the request of the Physical Society of London. It appeared only two years after he had received Einstein's paper and he must have worked very hard and very fast in that interval. It was written clearly and concisely and remains an excellent introduction to the subject. A reviewer described it as:

> . . . one of the masterpieces of contemporary scientific literature.

A prediction of general relativity is that a ray of light is bent as it passes close to a heavy object. In February, 1917, Eddington pointed out the importance of measuring this alleged deflection. Dyson, the Astronomer Royal, under whom Eddington had worked at Greenwich, noted that on May 29, 1919 there would be an eclipse of the sun when it was in a particularly good part of the sky for measuring that effect. Such an opportunity would not occur for hundreds of years; and although the war situation looked desperate in 1917 and the chance of sending an eclipse expedition abroad most unlikely, Dyson began preparations.

Conscientious Objector

Meanwhile the war was coming closer to Eddington. For the first few years of war Britain's soldiers and sailors were volunteers. But later, conscription into the armed forces was introduced.

Although Eddington was eligible for military service, the University successfully argued that he should be exempted on occupational grounds. He was known to his colleagues to be a conscientious objector and they were anxious that this should not become widely known as conscientious objectors at that time were social outcasts and it was a disgrace to be associated with them. Fearing that the University would be disgraced if Eddington, an eminent Cambridge don, were to declare himself a conscientious objector, and aware that it was not in the country's long-term interest to have one of its most distinguished scientists killed in action, senior members of the University had persuaded the authorities to grant this exemption.

However, after several years of fighting in which there was a heavy loss of life, many of those exemptions were reconsidered, and Eddington's was withdrawn. Once again he tried to gain exemption as a conscientious objector; this time it was the Astronomer Royal, Dyson, who appealed to the authorities and won him another exemption on occupational grounds. Eddington made a statement to the Tribunal that examined his case, saying:

> My objection to war is based on religious grounds. I cannot believe that God is calling me to go out to slaughter men, many of whom are animated by the same motives of patriotism and sup-

posed religious duty that have sent my countrymen into the field. To assert that it is our religious duty to cast off the moral progress of centuries and take part in the passions and barbarity of war is to contradict my whole conception of what the Christian religion means. Even if the abstention of conscientious objectors were to make the difference between victory and defeat, we cannot truly benefit the nation by wilful disobedience to the divine will.

Dyson wrote to the Tribunal, drawing their attention to

> . . . the great value of Professor Eddington's researches. . . . They maintain the high tradition of British science at a time when it is very desirable that it should be upheld, particularly in view of the widely spread but erroneous notion that the most important scientific researches are carried out in Germany.

He then mentioned the "exceptional importance" of the eclipse, asserting that:

> Under present conditions the eclipse will be observed by very few people. Professor Eddington is peculiarly qualified to make these observations and I hope the Tribunal will give him permission to undertake this task.

The Tribunal recognized Eddington's position as a conscientious objector, considered his astronomical work to be of great importance not only to Britain but to the world, and granted him 12 months exemption from military service, provided that he continue with the work he was doing, particularly that in connection with the eclipse.

Island of Principe

Hence plans for observing the eclipse went ahead. The sites and the scientists were selected, with two men from Greenwich going to Brazil while Eddington and a Cambridge colleague were to travel to the Island of Principe off the west coast of Africa. Both parties would have to sail in February, 1919 to be on station by May 29th. High precision equipment was necessary to measure the small deflections expected, but the instrument makers were unable to start work until the Armistice was signed in November, 1918. It was a great rush to get everything ready in time.

Both parties made it in time. Observations were taken in Brazil under excellent conditions, but in Principe they were troubled by clouds. Nonetheless a few days later Eddington managed to measure up one photographic plate and to determine that the deflection appeared as predicted. He was later to refer to that as the greatest moment in his life. Alfred North Whitehead said of this confirmation of Einstein's theory:

> A great adventure in thought had at length come safe to shore.

Its arrival was largely due to Eddington.

Astronomy has always had a large public following: that an astronomical prediction by a German scientist had been confirmed by British expeditions to Brazil and West Africa appealed particularly to the post-war public, and newspaper headlines announced the results.

Eddington was frequently called upon to lecture on relativity to a variety of audiences. Although he was a poor impromptu speaker, his prepared lectures (and books and broadcasts) were excellent. His selection of humorous and picturesque analogies to illustrate scientific points was always apt and entertaining.

Soon after his return from Principe he gave a lecture in the Great Hall of Trinity College. Hundreds were unable to get near the lecture room, but Cecilia Payne, a first-year science student had been offered a ticket. She described the occasion in this way:

> The Great Hall was crowded. The speaker was a slender, dark young man with a trick of looking away from his audience and a manner of complete detachment. He gave an outline of the Theory of Relativity in popular language, as none could do better than he. . . . He led up to the shift of stellar images near the sun as predicted by Einstein and described his part in the verification of the prediction.

She decided there and then to become an astronomer and she did, too! Cecilia Payne-Gaposchkin of Harvard was acclaimed in her life-time as the greatest woman astronomer of all time. Eddington had opened the doors of the heavens to her.

Lecturing on relativity to mixed audiences, Eddington realized the need for a book on the results and ideas used in relativity but written with a minimum of mathematics. *Space, Time and Gravitation,* his third volume, published in 1920, was to meet that need superbly. Many of today's astronomers became interested in the subject through reading one of Eddington's brilliant semi-popular books; as they advanced, they found his professional volumes readable and reliable guides to research.

Three years after *Space, Time and Gravitation* appeared, he published his *Mathematical Theory of Relativity.* In part an interpretation of work that had already been published and in part Eddington's own contribution to the field, it was well received. Among his contributions to relativity theory was some of the mathematics of what are now known as black holes. He also showed that the theory of relativity could explain the recently discovered recession of the nebulae (more usually referred to today as the expansion of the universe).

To Model the Heavens and Calculate the Stars

In 1916, soon after his return to Cambridge and about the same

time as he started work on relativity, Eddington began a series of investigations on the constitution of the stars. In ten years he was to lay the foundations of the theory of stellar structure, a work of great importance, making a contribution so significant that Struve and Zebergs described him in *Astronomy of the Twentieth Century* as:

> A. S. Eddington, the English theoretical astrophysicist who contributed more to theoretical advance in astrophysics than any other astronomer during the first half of the twentieth century.

Eddington had an excellent physical intuition and he guessed (correctly) the dominant forces and mechanisms in a star. Although the central force of energy in a star was not known in 1917, he found that he could nevertheless predict the brightness of a star, given its mass. When he presented those results at a meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society, they were challenged by another eminent astrophysicist, James Jeans. Eddington replied with spirit and Jeans responded similarly. The debate between the two continued at meeting after meeting. Many Fellows attended merely to watch the sparks fly as the two giants battled. Although Eddington is frequently described as quiet, reserved, diffident, perhaps shy, when steel was needed, steel he had.

Jeans was not the only scientist with whom he crossed swords in his lifetime. When, in 1922, as President of the Royal Astronomical Society, he presented Jeans with the Society's Gold Medal, Eddington said:

> The *Monthly Notice* records how we have hurled at each other mathematical formulae—the most undodgeable of missiles, and they are right—and the onlooker will perhaps conclude that *someone* was badly annihilated. But it is possible that Jeans and I have a difference of opinion as to precisely whose corpse lies stricken on the field.

As early as 1917 he was considering the source of energy in a star, suggesting that a sub-atomic process was responsible. Later he was to suggest that it was due to hydrogen being transmuted into other elements. He was correct in those conjectures, which is remarkable since atomic physics was then in its infancy and nuclear physics unborn. In his *New Pathways in Science* (published in 1935) he foresaw both nuclear weapons (which he warned against) and nuclear power stations (of which he approved).

Another area in which he made remarkable progress concerned the density of some unusual stars known as white dwarfs. The results were astounding, as Eddington explained:

> The message of the (white dwarf) when it was decoded ran: "I am composed of material 3000 times denser than anything you

have come across; a ton of my material would be a little nugget that you could put in a matchbox." What reply can one make to such a message? The reply which most of us made in 1914 was—"Shut up. Don't talk nonsense."

But he persisted in his study of these "absurd stars" and had the satisfaction of having his theory proved correct through observations made by a Mt. Wilson astronomer.

In a recent assessment of Eddington's work, Professor R. J. Tayler said:

> He started modern work on stellar structure. His views were sometimes wrong and because of his great authority this may have slowed down acceptance of other ideas, but he was more often correct and . . . he was not afraid to admit when he was in doubt.

Numbers

> I believe there are 15,747,724,136,275,002,577,605,653,961,181,555,468,044,717,914,527,116,709,366,231,425,076,185,631,031,296 protons in the universe, and the same number of electrons.

Eddington opened one of the chapters in his book, *The Philosophy of Physical Science,* published in 1939, with those words. Protons and electrons were believed at that time to be the subatomic building blocks with which everything in the universe was made. Hence that sentence showed his interest in both the cosmic and atomic worlds. (He claimed to have calculated that large number during a transatlantic steamer journey!)

Eddington realized that various combinations of the physical constants found in atomic physics and in cosmology frequently gave numbers close to 1, close to 137, close to 10^{40} (written longhand as a 1 followed by 40 zeroes) or close to 10^{80} (a 1 and 80 zeroes). He suspected that indicated an underlying unity of the microscopic and cosmic worlds and set about finding it. The elegant, aesthetic solutions to mathematical problems had always appealed to him and this had a similar fascination. He spent the last 15 or 20 years of his life working (alone) on this, his "Fundamental Theory."

To modern eyes this seems a little eccentric; it seemed so also at the time. Eddington's contemporaries were sceptical, but he was undaunted and continued confidently exploring this route which diverged from orthodox physics. Earlier in his life there had been hints of the unusual ideas which were to occupy his final years. In 1929 he wrote:

> In science we sometimes have convictions as to the right solu-

tion of a problem which we cherish but cannot justify; we are influenced by some innate sense of the fitness of things.

In science it is normally considered sound practice to take experimental or observational results as facts (assuming the experiment has been carried out carefully) and for theories to stand or fall according to whether they correctly predict those results or are contradicted by them. Eddington tended to put the boot on the other foot—indeed, Cecilia Payne-Gaposchkin was shocked to hear him assert that he would not believe an observation unless it was supported by a good theory.

Few scientists are equipped to evaluate his theory! It is an involved, unusual, and incomplete piece of work (he died before he could finish it) and it is difficult to follow his arguments. Sir Edmund Whittaker, who arranged for the posthumous publication of Eddington's *Fundamental Theory* has said:

> *Fundamental Theory* cannot be derived by logical deduction from existing physical theory; nor did Eddington ever claim that it could be. We must take it as he offered it, as a doctrine original in its deepest foundations, a new isomorphism between Thought and Nature.

Quiet Quaker

Eddington regularly attended the Friends Meeting for Worship in Jesus Lane, Cambridge, but always took an inconspicuous seat and only occasionally offered spoken ministry in the Meeting. He audited the Meeting's accounts for many years and perhaps had too many other responsibilities to be able to play a large part in Quaker affairs.

In 1929 he gave the London Yearly Meeting's Swarthmore Lecture on the subject of science and religion, entitled *Science and the Unseen World.* It was a timely topic and an excellent lecture. Over the previous few years physicists had been revising their understanding of nature; Eddington introduced some of those new ideas, explaining that much of the concreteness of physics had gone, that reality was no longer identified with the concrete. He could thus see close parallels between science and religion:

> You will understand the true spirit neither of science nor of religion unless seeking is placed in the forefront.

He discussed whether the scientific outlook was the only allowable one, or whether there were areas which science did not touch.

> If we claim that the experience which comes to us in our silent meetings is one of the precious elements that make up the fulness of life, I do not see how science can gainsay us.

Much of what he had to say on science and religion in that

splendid lecture over 50 years ago can profitably be repeated today.

Eminent Astronomer

Eddington's responsibilities grew throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but he was always willing to lecture to groups of Cambridge students and prepared those talks carefully. Astronomy students, too, remember him as patient, taking an interest in their work.

He was in great demand also as a lecturer to astronomical audiences, travelling far and wide. Between 1924 and 1934, for example, he lectured in California, Hamburg, Warsaw, South Africa, Berlin, Madrid, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Cornell, and Chicago. By the end of his life he had visited the U.S.A. several times, been to Australia and some parts of Southeast Asia, Africa, India, the U.S.S.R., and all over Europe. He enjoyed travel and wrote interesting and enthusiastic letters about the countries visited.

The time between ports of call was used for the preparation of his talks, and for sports on deck. Dyson wrote to his wife of one such voyage:

> The voyage so far has been quite delightful—a little roll but not too much. . . . Not yet hot, but very comfortable. . . . Played two games of skittles and two games at cricket. . . . Eddington distinguished himself by winning the (cricket) match for his side by hitting a six. The ball went two miles—at least I expect so—for the water is 2000 fathoms deep and it went over the side!

Eddington's sporting interests drew comment from a number of astronomers. Professor Shapley remembered:

> On one visit to Harvard he divided his interests between galaxies and the Red Sox.

At home, as a professor, he conscientiously attended University committee and board meetings. He had abundant common sense and was good at practical details so was a useful member of those bodies. He held office in many learned societies, being at various times President of the Royal Astronomical, the Physical Society and Mathematical Association, the International Physical Society, and the International Astronomical Union.

He received medals, prizes, and foreign associateships from many overseas academies and learned societies. (No less than five gold medals were bequeathed to the Borough of Kendal after his death.) He received honorary doctorates from 13 universities in four continents.

Civil honors came his way, too. In 1930 he was knighted, becoming Sir Arthur Eddington. (Einstein was a visitor at the Observatory when the announcement was made and noted Winifred

Eddington's pride and pleasure in this recognition of her brother Eddington's reaction is not reported, but he was an unassuming, unostentatious man who disliked the limelight, so his immediate feelings may have been tinged with anxiety.) In 1938 the King conferred an even greater honor on him—the Order of Merit. That order is awarded by the British Monarch for distinguished achievement in any calling; only 24 people at any one time may hold it. In a letter to a colleague, written the evening before the ceremony, he said:

> . . . tomorrow I have to get on a weird costume—knee breeches and silk hose!—and get my Order from the King.

Then, immediately after the ceremony, he was off to Sweden for a meeting of the International Astronomical Union.

"He is dead ere his prime and hath not left a peer."

In 1944 he became ill, and surgery was recommended that autumn. He entered the hospital early in November but the operation was not successful and he died in the hospital November 22, 1944, at the age of 61. None of his colleagues had guessed how ill he was and his death came as a shock. Professor Russell of Princeton wrote:

> A great master is gone, and a master in many fields, but most of all in astrophysics, . . . we have lost an inspiration in science and a guide in philosophy. What is more, we have lost a friend.

Alice Vibert Douglas, the author of an excellent biography of Eddington, had been one of his students. As President of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada, she paid tribute thus:

> His insight and powerful thinking have placed his work at the foundations and within the superstructures of many investigations still in progress. . . . The modern world owes much to the Society of Friends. . . . This debt is immeasurably increased when we remember that Sir Arthur Eddington was one of that company of devout seekers after truth.
>
> He took the universe from atoms to stellar galaxies and likewise the world unseen save by "the eye of the soul" as his happy hunting grounds, and therein—to borrow Blake's words—"Imagination and reason went forth in uncurbed glory."

EMILIA FOGELKLOU*

Swedish Mystic and Friend

HOWARD T. LUTZ

One day in the early 1890s, a teen-age girl was sitting attentively in her classroom in a school in southern Sweden. At the moment the class was studying church history, a part of the compulsory course in Christianity. Today religion is still a compulsory subject in Swedish schools, but it is no longer taught with the primary purpose of maintaining adherence to orthodox Lutheranism.

The lesson for the day dealt with the Quakers and other Protestant sects, which the textbook presented in an unsympathetic light. George Fox, the students were informed, suffered from the delusion that one could be led by the Inner Light. That idea brought an immediate response in the girl, although not the one the teacher had intended. "That's my delusion, too!" she exclaimed aloud. At once she became anxious as to how that unguarded expression of dissent would be received. But the teacher seemed not to have noticed it and was proceeding to the next point.

In her autobiography Emilia Fogelklou recalls that incident and commented that she may not have known much about the Quakers then; but she did mean seriously what she had said, for she was already convinced that "all the important things happened inside of you."

Emilia Fogelklou was born on July 20, 1878, and during the 94 years of her life she gained a distinguished reputation as a scholar, teacher, feminist, and worker for peace. She became one of Sweden's remarkable religious figures of the 20th century and was one of the first Swedish Quakers. Had she written her more than 30 books in English, she would be recognized as one of the most impressive Quaker thinkers and personalities of our time.

Early Years and the Great Breakthrough

Emilia's childhood was passed in idyllic circumstances near the small seacoast town of Simrishamn where her father, Johan Fredrik Fogelklou, was a local official. From their home on a little hill, one could look out over the neighboring farms, over the little town, and beyond it to the Baltic Sea. There was a large garden where the children played, or, at an older age, found places to perch and read in the big trees.

* Among Anglo-American Quakers she was known by her married name of Norlind, but in nearly all of her writings in Swedish and in European encyclopedias and literary histories, the name of Fogelklou is used.

She was a sensitive child whose immediate physical reactions to beauty, kindness, or the suffering of others caused her to be made fun of by her older brothers. The shock of being displaced by a younger sister had reverberations long into adult life. In moments of feeling rejected, she found a refuge with her aged grandmother, a deeply pious woman whose blindness made her more accessible to the little girl. When her grandmother died, Emilia thought that "it was never as easy to be sure about God anywhere else *indoors* as it had been with Grandma." But out-of-doors it was different. The little girl loved to climb up on the garden gate to gaze at the sea or the sunset and to lose herself "in endless beholding."

In school she did well, but, she tells us, she had "questioning eyes," ever inclined to seek clearer understanding of things the adults took for granted. When she reached the age of confirmation in the Lutheran state church, her passion for intellectual honesty made her seriously consider refusing to accept the rite. Eventually she resolved her misgivings, participated in the sacrament, and remembered it afterward with warmth and gratitude.

Her love of books and ideas, together with a painful awkwardness in practical matters, made it apparent that Emilia was destined for a career in schools and libraries. In the fall of 1896 she entered the Royal College for Women Teachers in Stockholm to take the three-year course that would qualify her to teach. There she encountered instructors of high quality who excited her interest in philosophy and other fields.

She went on to teach in a girls' school for two years. Then, in 1901, she was invited to join the staff of a progressive coeducational school that was just being started in Gothenburg. Led by a sensitive and dynamic *rektor* and with a faculty of very young men and women, that school was pioneering in its efforts to create a close-knit community of pupils, teachers, and parents.

Emilia threw herself whole-heartedly into the enterprise; but as the first year drew to a close, she became dispirited about her particular contribution. She had been hired to teach the classes in religion as well as to conduct the regular morning devotions. She sensed that her colleagues had little interest in what she taught and the *rektor* seemed to regard it as a necessary evil prescribed by law. Even worse, she herself was suffering doubts about the reality of the material she was teaching. Whereas the other teachers thought she was a bit "too Christian," she herself felt very uncertain about whether God even existed. And that question, she knew, "involved nothing less than the whole of life, its value, its nature, and its direction."

In a moment of deep despair, as she walked by herself one rainy evening along the river, she considered ending her life. At that point, however, she had a very strong sense of the presence of her

parents and a vivid awareness of what such action would mean for them. Sobbing and emotionally exhausted, she dutifully went back to her room.

It was at that desperate point that she experienced the central event of her life. On May 29, 1902—she would ever afterward have a clear memory of that date, time, and place—as she sat under the trees in the back yard, preparing for her next class, the miracle occurred. In the third person she described it in one of the most beautiful passages in all her writing:

> Without visions or the sound of speech or human mediation, in exceptionally wide-awake consciousness, she experienced the great releasing inner wonder. It was as if the empty shell burst. All the weight and agony, all the feeling of unreality, dropped away. She perceived living goodness, joy, light like a clear irradiating, uplifting, enfolding, unequivocal reality from deep inside. The first expression which came to her—although it took a long time to come—was: "This is the great Mercifulness. This is God. Nothing else is so real as this." The child who had cried out in anguish and been silenced had now come within the gates of Light. She had been delivered by a love that is greater than any human love. Struck dumb, amazed, she went quietly to her class, wondering that no one noticed that something had happened to her.

That mighty experience did not drive her out into the streets with some prophetic message for humankind. Rather, it gave impetus to a much more purposeful mental life. She read the mystics and conceived the idea of studying theology, not in order to enter a profession, but to increase her knowledge and understanding. Her conscience told her she must subject her "reality" to the acid test of philosophical and psychological study, especially of the sort that did not allow for any religious reality. She sought "not to acquire certainty, but to test certainty."

Theological Studies at Uppsala and Abroad

Ultimately that experience led her to leave the post in Gothenburg and to enroll in the theological school at Uppsala University. In 1909 she became the first Swedish woman to earn a theological degree, which, before the days of ordination for women, could not lead to professional employment. But she wanted from her studies something far more important to her than a job; she sought understanding of what religion really meant, and familiarity with other souls, especially the Old Testament prophets and the Christian saints whose spiritual experience seemed akin to her own.

The years at Uppsala (1906-1909) were very significant in the development of her scholarly qualities. She responded enthusias-

tically, though certainly not uncritically, to many of her teachers; and she also took a lively part in university activities, especially in the Student Christian Movement. There she made several life-long friendships, such as with Dagny Thorvall—a warm-hearted, outgoing young woman who, like Emilia, ultimately found her spiritual home in the Religious Society of Friends.

Emilia Fogelklou was one of the first in Sweden to discover Walt Whitman, translated many of his poems, and delivered lectures on him to various student societies. At a summer conference in 1908 she gave a series of lectures on Hebrew prophets whose words had acquired intense meaning for her after the great breakthrough in Gothenburg. The richness of her inner life in those years is reflected in a number of poems, short fables, and imaginative essays of hers that were published in 1911 in the book called *Medan gräset gror* (While the Grass Grows), a volume that became a favorite with many of her friends.

At Uppsala she studied with Nathan Söderblom, a leading historian of religion and later the archbishop of the Swedish church. With his help she obtained a generous fellowship that enabled her to travel to England, France, and Italy to observe contemporary religious and philosophical movements. Her horizons widened as she met Catholic mystics like Baron von Huegel and listened to the lectures of the French philosopher, Henri Bergson. In London she attended a Friends Meeting for the first time. In Italy she made pilgrimages to the homes of St. Catherine of Siena and St. Francis of Assisi, about whom she had published a popular biography.

Work in Schools and Movements

In 1911 Emilia Fogelklou resumed her teaching career at a private school near Stockholm. During those years she also produced numerous articles, as well as several books designed to aid other teachers in her field. Feminist issues began to concern her and she established a long-time relationship with the women's movement. When World War I broke out, she took up the cause of peace. Almost by chance, she was chosen to represent the Swedish Y.W.C.A. at the 1915 Women's Peace Conference in The Hague where she met several women of international stature.

The following year she left her school position to join the staff of a Stockholm settlement house, known as Nirkagården. That institution had been founded by Natanael Beskow, a much beloved independent religious leader who was one of the earliest members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Emilia taught classes for working people and found Birkagården a most congenial place to live and serve. Those were probably the happiest years of her teaching because she felt that she had finally found

a place where she was needed and to which she could devote all her energies. She managed, however, to save some time for her research and writing and was at work on one of her most significant books—the biography of the Swedish medieval saint, Birgitta.

Emilia was, therefore, keenly disappointed when obliged to leave that challenging but meagerly rewarded work in order to help support the family of her recently widowed sister. She obtained a well-paid lectureship at a teachers' college in Kalmar in southeastern Sweden. There she was in charge of all the work in religion classes as well as responsible for conducting devotions four days a week at seven in the morning. Though she worked very hard to make sure that there would be both "learning and life" in her lectures, it was difficult to keep the subject from becoming stereotyped and routine. Words "that had once throbbed within her with life and fire and reality" seemed often to turn to sand in her mouth. Nor was her approach to the subject welcomed by all the students. She sometimes had to teach classes in which some of them sat with their hands covering their eyes as they prayed that their faith would not be corrupted by this religion teacher.

When Emilia began teaching in the Labor School in her free time, she met responsive students from another segment of society. However, some of the good ladies of the town went to the *rektor* of the college to complain about the "leftist" activities of Miss Fogelklou. In distress she wrote to a friend, "I am too radical for pious people and too pious for the radicals. Where am I to turn?"

When she found it necessary to spend Sundays hiking in the open air on the nearby island of Öland, in order to preserve her balance and vitality, people complained that she was not setting a good example by attending church. Soon she began suffering also from a painful eye disorder. Consequently she took a year's leave.

But the year off provided little rest, for her mother was slowly dying of cancer and Emilia stayed with her at home. When Christmas of 1920 came, it brought word that Emilia's widowed sister also had terminal cancer and the mother directed Emilia to go to Malmö to be with the sister, even though that meant that the mother would not be likely to see Emilia again. For over a year Emilia lived in the company of the dying.

Arnold Norlind—Friendship and Marriage

It was at this low point in her life that Emilia Fogelklou came to know Arnold Norlind. She had been aware of him since Christmas of 1914 when he had quite unexpectedly sent her a handwritten copy of his translation into Swedish of the first canto of

Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Although he was a geographer by training and held a temporary professorship at Lund, he had undertaken his translation as a personal devotional exercise. Emilia met him briefly in 1915, and at irregular intervals she had received from him translations of the rest of the *Inferno* and the first part of the *Purgatorio*. They had also exchanged a few letters.

To Emilia that literary friendship seemed far removed from the difficulties she was undergoing, but she came to look forward with pleasure to receiving the cantos. As she wrote later, Arnold Norlind and she were "both pilgrims, each on his own path up the Mount of Purgatory. Every now and then they signalled each other from afar."

When her eyes had improved enough in the spring of 1921 to resume work, she made the short trip from her sister's home in Malmö to Lund to use the university library. She would need a faculty signature to borrow books and thought she might as well combine that errand with a short visit to the *docent* who had been sending her the Dante translations. The result was a very happy conversation about ideas and books. Emilia, who came directly from months of watching loved ones in the process of dying, was deeply affected by "the cool, serene, strongly radiant atmosphere around him, so strangely healing and refreshing."

They began meeting frequently in Lund, often at the library, and they took long walks together. As they talked about their earlier lives (he was 37 and she was 42), they discovered how much they had in common in their interest in learning, in mystical religion, and in service to humanity. As she wrote later:

> The same longing and intensity, combined with scholarly curiosity, similar experiences—and enough dissimilar ones, too—all these gave to their togetherness a dawn-like gladness that seemed to have swept away their sorrows.

In September her sister died and Emilia arranged to take her now-orphaned nephew to stay with relatives in England and to pursue her own research at the British Museum. On her last trip to Lund to return her books, she met Arnold Norlind quite by chance on the library steps. When she told him of her plans, he suggested another walk. As they parted at the railway station, he said, "I believe there is a Mightier One behind this."

During Emilia's months in England they wrote to each other. His teaching appointment would end in December and after that he would go to Italy to study old maps. They agreed to meet in Berlin. There they had two intensely happy days together, talking constantly as they walked the streets and sat in the cafes. By the time they departed, it was clear to them that they belonged together.

Five years younger than Emilia, Arnold Norlind was the son of a Lutheran pastor. One of three highly gifted brothers, he had become an accomplished scholar in the field of historical geography. But he was also a man of aesthetic and religious interests with a strong inclination toward mysticism.

Although earlier he had been engaged, he had not married.

Upon his return from Italy, Arnold was asked to come to Birkagården to take charge of a new program for students in the folk high school. There he hoped to find a socially significant context in which to exercise his broad intellectual and spiritual interests. He and Emilia purchased a modest cottage in the rural community of Jakobsberg, a dozen miles northwest of Stockholm. It was their plan that Arnold would commute by train to his teaching post at Birkagården while she would devote herself to writing in the peaceful country environment.

They spent a number of days moving into the cottage. Arnold transported books by the wheelbarrow-load along the woodland path from the station. Both of them had large libraries and though every corner of the house was filled with books, many had to be stored outside in a shed. With the help of friends, their home was ready by September 30, 1922, the day they were married in the local parish church.

Within a few weeks of their wedding, their hopes were dealt a heavy blow. A case of tuberculosis of the throat, which Arnold thought had been arrested, had been reactivated by the strain of moving and had already done irreparable damage. He was too ill to carry out his teaching duties and the doctor quietly informed Emilia that he would live only about a year and a half. Soon he lost the use of his vocal cords altogether. Emilia was able to earn some money by lecturing and Arnold managed to do some writing. But their circumstances were difficult. As things turned out, Arnold lived six and a half years, during which they learned to get along with very limited finances, to value communication through silence, and to live joyfully in the company of their "third companion," death. Later she wrote:

> All of everyday life was contained in a little nutshell of a boat which lay pulled up on shore, but which at any time might be pushed out from land onto the mysterious ocean whose surf pounded so near. . . . There was always that duality: the shore now, and soon the ocean.

By the middle of 1928 they believed he was so much improved that they decided to move from the cottage in Jakobsberg to an apartment in the city where Arnold could make use of the libraries. Emilia was then at work on a book about the 17th century Quaker, James Nayler. Having exhausted the material available to her in

Sweden, she made a brief trip to London in November to use the archives at Friends House. Something about the tone of Arnold's letters let her know that things were not really right. The librarians agreed to let her take some rare books with her, and she sailed for Sweden. On her return home, she found that Arnold's health had noticeably worsened. As winter wore on, he grew weaker. He was unable to leave his bed, and Emilia found a nurse to care for him. But she herself became ill under the strain. When on Sunday, the 17th of February, she realized that this time he was really going to slip off, she experienced a sudden renewal of her strength. Arnold died that afternoon.

For a long time he did not seem to her to have gone. "For months afterward," she "lived in a remarkable state of inward radiance." She has told how, when she first went out on the street, the thought came to her, "Now Arnold and I can always go on walking together."

Into the Religious Society of Friends

Emilia was 50 when Arnold died. Freed now of the practical anxieties that had been her burden while he lived, she was again confronted with the need to find work into which she could totally pour herself. For a year she taught again at Birkagården. Then, in 1930, the Swedish-American Foundation awarded her the generous Zorn fellowship to study sociology in New York, Chicago, and several other places. The poverty and unemployment associated with the Great Depression moved her deeply during her first visit to the United States. She continued her writing and lecturing, but the hoped-for task never seemed to come.

For some time Emilia Fogelklou had been moving toward the Religious Society of Friends. Even in the days when she was studying theology at Uppsala, she had felt ill at ease with the Swedish state church. She was close to Archbishop Söderblom and to a number of the other leaders who were bringing a new vitality into the church, emphasizing its cultural and social responsibilities. But it did not seem to fit her ideals and needs. She was very open to the Catholicism represented by Baron von Huegel and other Catholic Modernists, and she found much that appealed to her in medieval religious life. But she was too free a spirit to accept the authoritarianism that then characterized the Church of Rome. Her strong consciousness as a woman made her react negatively to all patriarchal forms of religion. Furthermore, her deep commitment to a spiritually based democratic ideal caused her to reject any ecclesiastical organization that had not freed itself of what she called "feudal" elements. She had had a number of contacts with the Society of Friends, especially since the end of World War I, and came more and more to feel identified with it.

When Emilia and Arnold moved into Stockholm in the fall of 1928, they joined the small group led by Dagny Thorvall that was then meeting for silent worship in the library of Birkagården, where most of them worked. In 1931 Mab Maynard, an English Friend whom Emilia had come to know when she was working at Friends House, visited Sweden and apparently talked with some of the group about joining Friends. A few months later both Dagny Thorvall and Emilia Fogelklou sent applications for membership to the Friends Service Council, which had the responsibility for the Register of Foreign Members of London Yearly Meeting. On November 5, 1931, their application came before an F.S.C. meeting and they were warmly accepted.

Within a few years the Swedish Quaker group decided to form an independent yearly meeting which held its first gathering in 1935. The Religious Society of Friends in Sweden remained small but it early attracted men, and particularly women who were leaders in Swedish education, in the peace and women's movements, and in general cultural life. Greta Stendahl, the first clerk, was the principal of a girls school. Per Sundberg, an educational reformer and humanitarian, hosted the yearly meetings and other Quakerly conferences at his school at Viggbyholm. Elsa Cedergren was known internationally for her leadership in the Y.W.C.A. and later served as a Quaker representative at the United Nations. Elin Wägner, a prominent journalist and novelist, was a prophetic feminist whose works have attracted much renewed interest in Scandinavia and she was the second woman to be voted into the Swedish Academy, following Selma Lagerlöf.

In the circle of Friends, Emilia Fogelklou became the central figure and most active Swedish interpreter of Quakerism. Moreover, her service was not limited to her homeland. At the International Friends Conference in Amsterdam in 1932 she delivered an address on "Luther and Fox" that was reprinted in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* in England. In 1933-1934 she was at Woodbrooke where she did the research that resulted in her book on William Penn. During the year in England, she formed close personal friendships with several Quaker women as well as with members of the Woodbrooke staff and student body. She travelled to various Meetings in Britain, to the Ireland Yearly Meeting, and to an International Quaker Conference in Geneva.

Upon her return to Sweden she committed herself to an ambitious schedule of lectures and study circles. But her health had suffered in the five years since Arnold's death and she contracted a severe case of pneumonia. A prolonged period of illness ensued and at one point she was not expected to recover. Later she wrote that she had been joyful at the thought of "getting out of school, away from problems and walls of separation" but "death, just then

so infinitely welcome, turned and went away." As she was convalescing, her friends gathered money which they donated to the University of Stockholm on the understanding that Emilia would be employed to give a series of lectures over the following three years.

In 1938 Emilia Fogelklou attended the Germany Yearly Meeting of Friends at Bad Pyrmont where she heard Thomas Kelly deliver his famous Richard Cary Lecture on "The Eternal Now and Social Concern." She also gained some direct insight into the nature of the Nazi regime.

When she returned to Sweden, she found waiting for her a letter from an academic friend who urged her to apply for a vacant professorship at Uppsala in the history and psychology of religion. In November she submitted her application with all the necessary documentation. It has been seriously alleged that there then occurred a number of maneuvers behind the scenes by which the scope of the professorship was redefined in such a way that Emilia Fogelklou would be eliminated from the competition. In 1940 the position was given to a young man of much more modest scholarly accomplishments, while she was publicly declared to be incompetent to hold such a professorship. The full story behind that unhappy affair is yet to be told. In any case, it created difficulties for Emilia as her income from lecturing fell off sharply for a time after she was declared incompetent. Within herself she suffered keenly over that rejection, although she struggled hard to overcome her feelings of bitterness about it.

In 1939 Emilia visited the United States a second time in order to teach at Pendle Hill, the Quaker study center outside Philadelphia, where Douglas Streere had invited her to join the staff of the summer school. She gave a series of lectures on "Individualism and Community Life in Quakerism," presenting a sociological approach to 17th century Friends. In the Philadelphia area she visited Quaker Meetings and schools and made some contact with the black community, which interested her very much. At the conclusion of the summer school she joined Howard and Anna Brinton, the directors of Pendle Hill, on an extended automobile trip to visit work camps in several states, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, to assist victims of the depression. That form of social service, motivated by practical idealism, made a lasting impression on her.

The World War II Years

World War II began just as Emilia returned to Sweden from her months in the United States. As a citizen of a neutral state, she was asked to serve for a time in the Quaker International Center in Berlin. Since the previous December, when Rufus Jones,

George Walton, and Robert Yarnall had gone to Germany on behalf of American Friends to intercede for German Jews, the Quaker office on Prinz Louis Ferdinand Strasse had had many opportunities to observe the hardships of the Jews, as well as other aspects of German life at that stage of the war. When the crisis involving Finland's relationship to the Soviet Union became acute, it was feared that Sweden might become a belligerent, too. Hence Emilia felt impelled to return home.

Although she had been rejected for the professorship, the Uppsala faculty conferred on her an honorary degree in theology in 1941. But academic interests were being eclipsed as Emilia found herself drawn into groups of Swedish young people who were seeking ways of lightening the burdens of suffering brought on by the war. She was close to the students who founded the SISU, an organization that engaged university youth in work for refugees and in planning for post-war reconstruction. Emilia spoke at SISU conferences and helped publish their magazine. She became even more deeply involved in I.A.L. (International Labor Teams), made up of young people led by the gifted idealist, Wolfgang Sonntag. In their meetings Emilia shared her experiences of American work camps in 1939. Some of the I.A.L. members lived in camps where they could combine part-time work with training in languages and other skills they might need to work in war-devastated areas. Emilia was a tireless visitor to such projects, spending a week or more at a time with them, lecturing in the evenings on such topics as the Quaker experience with relief operations. One of the participants in such a camp has described her impressions of Emilia in this way:

> From the beginning she gave this youthful enterprise a supporting hand. The direction was Emilia's—toward a human environment without boundaries. . . . She gave us unstintingly of her time and energy. What a flood of psychological and sociological learning she shared with us! What buoyancy of body and mind, what irrepressible contagion—as when at 66 she got lost with us in the dark woods as we were returning from an evening session in the village, on biodynamics.

In addition to encouraging others, Emilia participated directly in post-war reconstruction planning and work. Even before the hostilities had ceased in Europe, she flew to England in December, 1944, to confer with Friends there on how the needs were to be met. The next year found her working with 300 Polish women who had been brought from concentration camps in Germany for physical and spiritual rehabilitation in a camp in Sweden. In 1947 she served in the barracks that the I.A.L. had set up in Hamburg to do something for the people of that devastated city.

"Retirement" and Writings

When Emilia reached the age of 68, she thought that the time had come for her to withdraw from the world into a quiet life in a little cottage several hours by train from Stockholm. But even there she was in demand. She was asked to give two days a week to psychological counselling in a nearby factory town. Various groups invited her to speak at meetings and conferences and new opportunities came to serve the Society of Friends. In 1947 she was elected president of the Friends Historical Society of London. In 1949 she represented Friends as an observer at a World Council of Churches meeting in Chichester, England. Furthermore, there were yearly meetings and other Quaker gatherings in Norway and Finland to attend, as well as ones in Sweden.

Since her student days, Emilia had hoped to visit the Mediterranean lands that had given birth to western culture. Now in her early 70s, like Saint Birgitta at a similar age, she made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. She spent several weeks in Israel observing the bustling energy of the new Jewish state in its early struggles. The tragic conflict with the Arabs troubled her deeply and she sought eagerly for signs of a spirit of reconciliation at work there. She paid visits to individual homes, schools, *kibbuzim*, and other institutions where she was received warmly. The youthful enthusiasm and practical devotion of the new colonists evoked her admiration. She had serious conversations with some of Israel's spiritual leaders, including philosopher Hugo Bergman and the Nobel prize-winning writer, S. J. Agnon.

From Israel she travelled to Greece, there to realize an old dream she had shared with Arnold—to visit sites associated with Greek antiquity. During the days she spent at Delphi she had a particularly happy sense of his presence with her as she climbed about the ruins of the ancient temple.

Even though Emilia Fogelklou was drawn into a wide variety of activities as a teacher, counsellor and lecturer, a very great part of her time and energy went into the writing of books and articles. Those form the most tangible and enduring part of her life's work. A complete listing of her titles would run to several hundred.

At the age of 25 a collection of the devotional talks she had given to the students at the school in Gothenburg was published, and others of her religious addresses and sermons appeared in print throughout her life. Her great concern for the teaching of religion classes is reflected in a number of pamphlets, articles, and textbooks as well as teachers' manuals that she produced between 1904 and the late 1920s. Related to those works are her writings in the field of psychology, particularly the psychology of religious experience and the devotional life. There she exhibits great breadth of sympathy and an ability to appreciate whatever she

believed came out of genuine personal experience. Some of her books dealt with the practical psychology of family life, work situations, and the handling of conflict.

Her most significant scholarly production was in the history of religion. There, too, she showed great interest in the psychological interpretation of individuals and movements. But her approach was also personal, for in most cases the people she wrote about were ones with whom she felt a deep inward kinship. That is evident in her essays on the Hebrew prophets in the volume called *Förkunnare* (Proclaimers) and in her life of Francis of Assisi, which has enjoyed enduring interest and was most recently republished in 1972.

In 1919, Emilia's study of the 14th-century Swedish seeress and monastic leader, Saint Birgitta, appeared. Without abandoning her critical approach or showing any attitude of condescending superiority, she succeeded in recreating something of the inner world of the medieval mind. Particular attention is given to Birgitta's feminine and maternal instincts, and the work has become a valued part of the feminist literature in Sweden. In a postscript to the pocket-sized paperback edition in 1973, the literary critic Sven Stolpe praised Emilia Fogelklou's work highly, saying:

> It is written by the only modern author in our literature who has herself experienced the highest and the most anguished conditions of the soul, who is herself a mystic. . . . This is why she became the first among us who could understand Birgitta.

A decade later she turned her attention to the Quakers of the 17th century. It was the psychological aspects of James Nayler's tragic history that first attracted her. Her book on him appeared in Swedish in 1929 and two years later there was an English translation. In it she devoted many pages to the relation of Nayler to George Fox. In the unhappy conflict that arose between them Emilia showed sympathy for Nayler and was critical of Fox's handling of him. At one point she went so far as to compare Fox to Cromwell in his transition "from a democratic to an imperialistic type." Those words, as well as a number of others, greatly distressed Neave Brayshaw, the English biographer of Fox, and he appealed to Rufus Jones to write an article correcting the false impression that her book created. The London *Friend* had already carried a favorable review by Gerald Hibberd, but two months later it published another, by Rufus Jones, in which he pointed out the injustices he felt Emilia had done to Fox.

Non-Quaker reviewers in Britain and Sweden, knowing less of Quaker history in the 1650s, were generally impressed with its skillful depiction of spiritual conditions. The editor of the *Journal* of the Friends Historical Society gave the book a brief notice, but

said of it:

> We venture to state that no Quaker biography of modern times has been presented to the British public in such literary form as this volume.

In Sweden, the book opened a chapter of religious history hitherto available only in a foreign tongue. Nor was it simply a translation of one of the many works that have been written in English. She wrote primarily for a Swedish reading public, although she also believed that she was doing an original piece of work that would be of interest beyond the boundaries of her own land. It remains today the most vivid account of the beginnings of Quakerism written in Swedish.

In 1935, a life of William Penn by Emilia Fogelklou was published. Although that book has not been translated into English, it did appear in Wolfgang Sonntag's German translation, published in Hamburg in 1948, and again, 15 years later, in an East German edition in Leipzig.

Three shorter studies are also available in English. They are the lecture on "Luther and Fox," given in Amsterdam in 1932; the Pendle Hill pamphlet on *The Atonement of George Fox*, based on her lectures there in 1939; and her presidential address to the Friends Historical Society, entitled "Quakerism and Democracy." In that talk, Emilia maintained that the emergence of a democratic structure in the Religious Society of Friends resulted from George Fox's relinquishment of all claim to exercise a "feudal" type of leadership over the Quaker movement and that this sacrifice on his part constituted an "atonement" for the harsh way in which he had treated Nayler and other early Friends.

Ever since her student days, Emilia Fogelklou had taken a keen interest in art and literature in which she could see the expression of religious insight or experience. She was not offended by the unconventional or the innovative, and well into her 80s she continued to read and appreciate contemporary Swedish poets, as well as some of those who wrote in German, French, or English.

One of her last books, *Form och stralning* (Form and Radiance) reflected that effort to recognize the vital dynamic stream of reality flowing through sensitive creative artists, bursting the old forms and bringing new ones into being. She thought she saw "a crisis of art" in the 20th century, impelling many artists to turn inward in meditative silent contemplation that was very close to the experience of prayer in the life of the religious person. In that book she also considered the widespread phenomenon of seeking, the search for goodness despite the horrible evils of World War II, the seeking among women who felt the need to understand more clearly their responsibility as women in the modern world, the

seeking for a religious faith, and the seeking within the ecumenical movement for that which could provide unity beyond the areas of inherited difference. As she stated in her Foreword:

> To Pascal's saying, "Thou shouldst not seek Me, if thou hadst not found Me," I would add, "Thou hast not found Me, if thou dost not again and again seek Me.

Finally, mention must be made of her autobiographical works. The first to appear was *Arnold,* which was both a biography of her husband and a magnificent account of their years together—a document that is both human and yet unique. When it was published in 1944, as the war in Europe was entering its final catastrophic stage, she no doubt wondered whether people would be interested in the story of two highly intellectual, quite other-worldly, middle-aged lovers whose marriage was never once free of the shadow of disease and death. However, it went through five editions by 1952 and has sold more copies than anything else she wrote.

In 1950 a second autobiographical work was published, called *Barhuvad* (Bareheaded), in which she depicted her own life from early chidhood up to about 1921 when she really came to know Arnold Norlind. In 1954 came the third volume—*Resfardig* (Ready to Go) in which she described the years after Arnold's death. Those books contain some material that is not likely to interest a reader unfamiliar with the cultural history of Sweden in the first half of the 20th century, but they all contain movingly beautiful passages describing experiences in both the inner and the outer world. Taken together, they present the self-portrait of a great woman who understood quite early that it was not easy to possess some spark of genius, who kept reminding herself that she was called to be "the very most ordinary sort of person" that seeks no special treatment for herself, and knows that God "has secret doors to every kind of soul."

While she was justly famous as a writer and scholar concerned with spiritual religion in its many forms, she was known among those who came in direct contact with her as a warm and loving friend. Many are the stories of her thoughtfulness, her generosity, and her ability to give encouragement to others at critical moments in their lives. That she had borne at least her share of sorrow and disappointment was clear, but no one who met her and was exposed to the radiance of her presence could doubt that she drew upon a deep-flowing stream of joy. Though old age brought severe deafness and other limitations, she could still rejoice in the tree that blossomed outside her window or the visit of a friend to whom she could give her full attention.

For years she had been inwardly "ready to travel," confident that beyond the frontier Arnold was waiting for her. On Septem-

ber 26, 1972, she died at Uppsala, just four days short of what would have been her 50th wedding anniversary. Her remains were buried alongside those of her husband in a lovely little country churchyard near Malmö. On Arnold's stone are inscribed three lines from Dante's *Paradiso;* on hers, three Swedish words: Ljus finns ändå—There is Light still."

SOK-HON HAM
"A Wandering Albatross"

YOON-GU LEE

In 1982, Sok-Hon Ham's essays were published in a book called *Albatross,* a volume so popular in Korea that four editions of it were printed in less than two months. In the Introduction to that book, Bob-Jeung, a Buddhist monk and one of the great admirers of Teacher Ham, had this to say: "Teacher, you who like the albatross, or rather, you who live the life of an albatross—these essays are your letters to the people who would like to follow the life path of the albatross."

In his own words, Teacher Ham says:

> I love the Bird of Foolishness (also called Albatross). This creature . . . though so strong and powerful in flight that it is referred to as the Emperor of the Pacific, cannot even catch its own fish; it lives as a scavenger off the occasional fish-food that the seagull leaves behind. Thus, the Japanese call this bird "aho-dori" or "Bird of Foolishness." The reason for my liking this creature is because of its very name.

In the Chinese language the three characters which comprise the word albatross are faith, heaven, and an elderly man—a God-fearing man or a heaven-believing creature.

Teacher Ham occasionally uses the first two characters—"faith in heaven" or "believer in God" as his pen name. I have often wondered about the bird and Teacher Ham and have grown to appreciate the meaning of the two characters even more—and throughout this essay I shall try to show why.

Born at the beginning of this century when Korea, the Hermit Kingdom, was mercilessly attacked by external powers (notably Japan), SH spent his childhood years yearning for the liberty of that Hermit Kingdom and the albatross within him. He was born with the spirit of gentleness and peace of the East, yet his life, ever since his young mind became aware of his surroundings under the occupation of Japan, then by the Soviet Union and the United States, and subsequently by the various governments of his own people, had only felt loneliness, agonizing pain, restlessness, and continuous wandering—not unlike the life of the wandering albatross.

It is not difficult today to meet a Korean who may not recall the name of the first King of the Lee Dynasty, but it is difficult to meet a Korean who does not know the name of Teacher Ham. A Korean youth may not understand who Quakers are, but he or she might

well be able to tell you that Teacher Ham is a Quaker. Not many Koreans talk about peace and reconciliation, but they would surely not forget that Teacher Ham is a pacifist.

One may well wonder what makes this man so remarkable, so popular, so outstanding. Byoung-Mu Ahn, a Korean theologian and leading human rights activist, made an interesting and fitting statement about Teacher Ham at a gathering of his friends on his 70th birthday in 1971. In his statement Professor Ahn reflected on the life of SH, speculating that "Teacher Ham may even be greater than Goethe." Ahn suggested that "Goethe was a politician, poet, philosopher, man of religion, and a scholar. While Teacher Ham never was an aristocrat and a high government official as was Goethe, he nevertheless also writes poems, talks about politics, speaks of history and religion." Perhaps Teacher Ham may be greater than Goethe because of this strikingly humble confession he has made about himself:

> . . . I tried to study to become a medical doctor and dropped out; meant to take art and stopped; wanted to take education professionally and never became an educator; was very much interested in farming but never became a farmer; meant to study history and yet threw the history books away; wanted to study the Bible and yet only held it in my hand; in the family (I) never fulfilled the role of father; in the nation—not a good national, not even a scholar, a technician, a philosopher. A fisherman who has never caught a fish would not be able to write a poem that can be called a poem. This is only a poem of a non-poet.

In the amazing life of this wandering albatross, one detects the influence of such great historical figures as Tolstoy, Carlyle, H. G. Wells, Gandhi, Lao-Tze, Uchimura, and scores of others. But the most obvious reason for Dr. Ahn to equate Teacher Ham with Goethe, I believe, is because of the eternally conflicting, irreconcilable dichotomies so manifest in the lives of both men—namely those of the creator and the created, of the spirit and the flesh, of liberty and oppression.

Like Hamlet, SH often concentrates profoundly upon a subject but is unable or unwilling to reach definite conclusions. Like Don Quixote, he can get himself excited as if he could overcome the world single-handedly. When he is in meditation, he is like a Buddhist monk sitting permanently in prayer. Yet, he can urge a friend driving a car speeding at 120 km (75 miles) an hour to go even faster, revealing his inner drive to explore and experience the universe as a perpetually roaming gypsy.

A Korean who reads a Korean newspaper in Europe one day while having a meal and who suddenly cannot finish eating because of the gravity of the political situation in his fatherland

and who simply decides to start packing his belongings to return to Seoul, can only be called a real patriot. Such is the description of Teacher Ham by a close friend.

Many would like to call him the Gandhi of Korea, although Teacher Ham does not feel at all comfortable with the accolade. Douglas Steere regards him as "an independent prophet."

This wandering albatross came to the world as a Korean teacher, but to some of us he has come not only for his own people and his own time but also for people everywhere and for the many future generations of mankind.

The story of this man is not an easy one to convey in words. An albatross has many colors: a yellow head and neck, black wings and tail, bluish-gray legs, and the rest white. Such colorfulness may also portray the many gifts of Teacher Ham. He is, to many Koreans, an inspiring teacher—and yet he himself does not think so. He is certainly an outstanding philosopher by any standard—but to himself he is not. He is an historian who has moved the spirit of millions (including the writer of this story)—though he says that he is not an historian. Calling himself a non-poet, he is certainly a true poet.

The following pages can at best be a poor, imperfect, and piecemeal introduction for the readers to the magnificent and inspiring way of life revealed by Teacher Ham, this perpetual and never-conforming seeker after truth, love, and life.

His Family and Childhood

The place of birth for SH, born on March 13, 1901, was a small fishing and farming village in Yong-Chun County (River of Dragons) of North Pyoung-An Province (Peace and Comfort). At that time the Pyoung-An provinces were considered poor and inhabited by common people. Yong-Chun County itself was a relatively rich, agricultural region, but the villages of Sa-ja-seum (Isles of Lions) located at the lowest stretches of the Yalu River flowing into the Yellow Sea were considered the domicile of the lower and poorer classes.

It was in one of those isolated and impoverished villages that SH was born into the family of an herbal doctor. Considering the overall poverty-stricken life of those days, SH's family was fortunate in enjoying relatively comfortable living. His grandparents, though with no formal education, were hard-working and secured the basic necessities of life for the family. His parents were conscientious and well-respected among friends.

With the exception of the occasional ancestral worship ceremonies SH observed and the comments he heard about the importance of selecting good ancestral burial sites for the prosperity of the descendants, he began his childhood days in a family which

was not particularly religious. Although he remembers watching shaman rituals once or twice, his grandmother and mother did not impose upon the young child any traditional religious dogma.

Regarding SH's grandfather, an episode that was recounted to him by an uncle is interesting and informative. When a band of Japanese soldiers, stationed in that locality as a part of the attempt to conquer Korea, ransacked the entire village in search of women and girls, the villagers, including the husbands and fathers of those being chased, were frightened and did not know what to do. A girl screamed and then a man's angry and admonishing voice was heard. The villagers saw a man beating a soldier. The soldiers then fled and the courageous man, who could well have been shot, was SH's grandfather. Perhaps indignation and the courage to express it, two of SH's strongest qualities, could have been inherited from that farmer.

SH's father trained himself in Chinese medicine and was also a man with artistic talent. He had no formal training in art but he could draw impressive pictures and construct pieces of household furniture. Hyoung-Taek Ham was not a particularly religious person but SH believes he had the courage to reject conventional and traditional beliefs, especially superstitious ones.

Among the stories that SH heard from his father is a remarkable one. To the small coastal village came a vendor of "yot" (candy made of rice or corn). Since some of the older boys of the village had no coins, they grabbed the candies and ran away. Then they gave their loot to the smaller boys, including SH's father. He could not refuse the candy for fear of being beaten by the older lads. But once he had it in his hands, he could not eat it. Because he was afraid of his father's certain admonition about taking candy that was not paid for, he hid himself in the corn fields, with the melting candy in his hand. After sunset, he heard his parents calling, "Hyoung-Taek! Hyoung-Taek! Where are you?" But it was not until several hours later that he came out of hiding. Surely a father who could tell that kind of story with honesty and without shame, deserved a son of SH's greatness.

Until she was about 50, SH's mother was illiterate, as many millions of Korean women were at that time. Then she began going to the village church (Presbyterian), learned to read, and enjoyed reading the Bible in the latter part of her life. Raising silkworms and weaving silk cloth for more than 30 years to provide the clothing needs of the whole family was her lifetime's work. When SH was in prison, his mother often could not sleep so she spent many nights using her handloom to make threads out of cotton. She also spent many bitterly cold nights outside her house trying to share the suffering of her son in his cold prison cell.

Her compassion showed itself in other ways, too. One autumn

day, SH's younger sister ate a melon taken from the family garden. He felt that as the son in the family, the melon should have been his rather than his sister's. However, when he complained to his mother about the incident, she asked him, "My son, isn't she also a human being? Doesn't she have the same mouth as yours?" Those words helped to open his mind and his heart to the equal rights of others, particularly those of the weak and unfortunate.

SH remembers his childhood days and makes a particular reference to the images he saw at the age of four or five while trying to fall asleep in his grandmother's arms. On the dark ceiling above he could see many images one after another—flowers, then fire, then waves, some animals, and many eyes. Of that experience he has commented:

> Occasionally I woke up with irritating feelings. With some anger, a little sadness, and some anxiety. I wanted to pinch myself. . . . I do not know where it all came from even now, but in a vague sense I felt that something was greatly wrong somewhere, somehow. . . . I do not know if it was an attempt to wrestle with evil forces.

It is possible that that young child began his long life of struggle at that early age.

Perhaps those disturbing images seen by the young SH represented the two wars between which SH was born. The Sino-Japanese War took place only a few years before he came into the world; undoubtedly the tragic story of that war was talked about enough to leave a strong impression on him as an infant. Then, just before giving birth to SH, his newly-wedded young parents had to flee temporarily from their village. Subsequently the period of unrest and sleepless nights of the infant coincided with the Japanese-Russian War. In fact Yong-Am-Po Port (near SH's village) had a large concentration of Russians who came to build military facilities. Japan could not idly watch that act of Russian expansionism and Yong-Am-Po became the excuse for the initiation of the Japanese-Russian conflict. SH was only four years old at the time, yet he remembers vividly the Japanese soldiers occupying a part of his own home.

Thus SH was destined to begin the life of the albatross—yearning for the freedom of the sky and the heavens, yet imprisoned by the earthly conflicts of men and nations.

His Early Education

Like other children of the middle-class families of those days in Korea, SH began his education at home by reading and memorizing "cheun-ja" (one thousand Chinese characters). And he began reading Chinese books on Confucian philosophy.

The significant turning point in his early education was when the village reading room was turned into a small Christian elementary school, following the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in his village, when he was six years old. There mathematics (until then never heard of), geography, and history were taught with a scientific approach. Through morning prayers and hymn-singing, belief in God was inculcated.

Then, at the age of nine, SH dared to cut his hair. That was considered a grave sin because of the belief that no tiny part of one's body, inherited from one's ancestors, should be removed. He remembers that incident as his first act of disobedience. Most of the parents of the children who cut their hair at the same time were very angry and threatened to kill their children. However, SH felt unusually calm and found his family less angry than the others.

Perhaps SH was one of the very few young Koreans then to receive a modern, Christian education. In that training God and nation were the two major ingredients. Korea, the Hermit Kingdom, was in desperate need of being freed from the stagnating vestiges of feudalism. Believing that neither Buddhism nor Confucianism provided sufficient spiritual and moral force to accomplish this, the people and the early converts viewed Christianity as the salvation for their suffering nation. The wind of the new enlightenment was clearly evident in the hitherto quiet and underdeveloped villages of the provinces.

Upon the completion of his elementary education, at the age of 16, SH left his home for Pyongyang to enter a prestigious public high school established by the government officials of the Japanese occupation. The first and possibly one of the most important milestones in SH's education and life came in 1919 when he was in his third year of high school, which was attended by many Japanese. At that time the March First Movement, a nation-wide, nonviolent resistance against annexation by Japan, made SH drop the idea of returning to that Japanese public school. If he had returned, he would probably have pursued his higher education in medicine. Today it is difficult for anyone to imagine Teacher Ham as a rich doctor with a high secular reputation!

For SH the March First Movement of 1919 against the Japanese occupation reunited him with his own village people after years of Japanese indoctrination. As a sensitive young adult, SH refused to return to the Japanese school; he was developing a strong feeling of resistance against anything authoritarian, formal, and official.

Influenced by an older cousin, Sok-Un, SH took copies of the famous Declaration of Independence the night before March 1 and threw the papers in front of the Pyongyang police station.

When kicked and trampled on by Japanese soldiers, SH suddenly realized that up until then he was void of the virtues of courage and indignation. In fact, until then he had been so timid and shy that he could not lift his eyes to speak to others. Despite the fact that SH was born in a coastal village, he had never learned to swim and his most feared class in school had been physical education.

To the young mind of SH the Christian religion came with a mission of bringing freedom to suffering people. The fact that the Christians took an active, leading role in the Independence Movement of 1919, and thereafter, made him more interested in Christianity. Consequently the Nationalist Movement led him to O-san High School, an independent Christian private school located in a small and inconspicuous village. That was after two years of meditative life in the village in 1921.

His Further Education

The O-san High School was founded for poor people with a fervent spirit of nationalism, truth, and Christian love. It was at that remarkable institution that young SH encountered great national leaders like Seung-Hun Lee, the founder of O-san; Chang-Ho Ahn, the leader of the Korean people's government-in-exile; and Man-Shik Cho, a spiritual leader of Korea under Japanese occupation.

The unique characteristic of O-san was that while it was unmistakably a Christian school, all three leaders mentioned above had no direct relationship with any foreign missionaries. Had O-san been financed and managed by missionaries, it is entirely possible that SH would have received a rigid and formal sectarian education and would probably have been sent to the U.S.A. for theological training with the expectation that he would eventually be ordained as a minister or as a professor in one of the seminaries in Korea.

It was not in the prestigious and elite school at Pyongyang that SH felt at home; it was in this village with only a few hundred people and in the mud-built and thatch-roofed classrooms that he felt his soul nurtured and his knowledge enriched. Moreover, it was there that SH met a man whose influence upon him was so great that SH would refer to Young-Mo Yu as "the teacher," meaning his most important instructor.

In 1923, upon completion of his work at O-san, SH left the peninsula and crossed the Korea Strait to pursue his education in Japan. After a year of preparation, he was accepted at the Tokyo High-Normal School (College of Education). Majoring in history, ethics, and education, his young and inquisitive mind was broadened and deepened. Much of that stimulation came through his

reading of the works of Tagore and Gandhi, Carlyle and Ruskin, Tolstoy and Schweitzer.

Furthermore, in his religious search his free spirit was enriched by the Bible study meetings led by Kanzo Uchimura, the founder of the Japanese non-church Christian movement. One of the six Korean students who attended those meetings happened to be Kyo-Shin Kim, whose life story is another moving and remarkable episode in modern Korean history. SH's awareness grew more by listening to Uchimura on Sundays than by all the other activities at the college during the week combined. Following the habit of Uchimura, the six young Koreans met regularly for intensive Bible study in Greek and Latin as well as in Korean and Japanese. It was at that time that the idea of "Bible Korea" (a Korea based on the teachings of the Bible) was conceived.

It was during his years in Tokyo (1923-1928) that questions about the historical Jesus, eternal life, the heavenly kingdom, and other important ideas became acute in SH's mind and were eventually resolved. The concept of Christianity as the only religion began to erode and his belief in the unity of religions and the fundamental truth in all faiths began to surface. To him the established and creedal religions gradually became less meaningful and the search for a more vital and real faith began to take root deep in his soul. The unseen hand of God must have led SH to be touched by the shining spiritual light of Uchimura and by the hundreds of books SH read while preparing himself to be a teacher.

A True History Teacher

O-san can be cited as the first and only nesting-ground for SH, the albatross. Completing his work at the College of Education in Tokyo, he returned to Korea and to O-san, remaining there for ten years as a history teacher. As far as I know, that was the longest continuous stretch of employment with remuneration that the Wandering Albatross subjected himself to. So filled was he with knowledge, wisdom, and inspiration (qualities which can be attributed only to a ghost) that he became known as "the teacher-ghost."

Among the many interesting episodes during his time there is an incident which might serve as a reflection of his wonderful personality. One day a group of anti-Japanese students attacked the office of the teachers, beating up all of them on the assumption that the entire staff was collaborating with the Japanese occupation government. Teacher Ham happened to be in the room at that time and received some blows from his students. In order not to know who had inflicted the injuries, he covered his eyes with his hands and accepted the punishment. Otherwise he feared that he

would hate the young attackers if he knew their identity.

SH also tried very hard to teach by being an honest student of life. To him religion, nation, and education were inextricably related facets of life. And for him the salvation of Korea lay in the enlightenment of the people in the rural villages through an education founded on faith and on truth. For that purpose SH considered O-san the place to which he could devote his entire life.

A Korean History Viewed from a Biblical Standpoint is one of the monumental books that SH wrote; perhaps it is the most important of all his writings. That book was a collection of articles that he had contributed to the non-church magazine called *Bible Korea*, based on lectures he had given to a gathering of that movement. That volume, first published in the early 1930s, must have been read by millions in the last half-century, providing an in-depth account of the story of a suffering people. After approximately 50 years and more than a dozen editions, it became the first book in a 20-volume collection published in 1983. Within ten months his history or philosophy had to be reprinted because of the popular demand for it, especially by young Koreans.

As if God feared that SH might grow too complacent at O-san, making him unworthy of the name albatross, God played his hand and the colonial government of Japan introduced increasingly oppressive policies during the latter half of the 1930s, with the clear intention of eradicating all traces of Korean identity.

Consequently the school at O-san fell victim and compromises were made to abide by the policies of the Japanese. Therefore SH felt he must resign in protest. So, with tears of sadness but no regrets, he left the school in the spring of 1938. He did, however, remain in the town of O-san, farming a little and leading Bible-study meetings on Sundays. Thus two more years of wandering elapsed.

In Prison Cells—The "University of Life"

In 1940 SH was asked to take over a small teaching institution in Songsan Ri (just outside the city of Pyongyang), modelled on the Danish folk high school.

On his arrival there, he was informed of a police investigation of him for alleged participation in the Independence Movement organized by Du-Hyouk Kim, the founder of the school. Referring to that situation, SH commented, "My only crime was that of being a Korean."

When the summons from the police came, SH's father was gravely ill from stomach cancer and was slowly nearing death. SH spent an evening with his sick father, feeling that that evening could well be his last with him. Unable to tell his father that he had been summoned by the police and had to leave the following

morning, SH just could not pull himself away, wishing so very much to be at his father's bedside at the time of his death.

But alas, it was during his year-long imprisonment that SH was informed that his father had passed away. At the final moment of his life, when asked if he had any last words, SH's father had expressed his concern for his son behind bars.

That was the third time that SH had entered prison—the "University of Life" as he has referred to it because of the lessons in humility and self-understanding revealed to him within the confines of the prison walls.

His first experience in prison had taken place in September, 1923, immediately after the tragic earthquake disaster in the Tokyo area when Koreans were accused of rioting, looting, and poisoning the Japanese people by dropping lethal drugs into wells. At that time the police sent all the Koreans they found on the streets, to jail for their own protection from the wrath of retaliation by the Japanese. In a tiny, crowded prison cell, SH found himself unable to sit or stand. Although merely an overnight stay behind bars, it was long enough for him to understand the meaning of freedom, the sadness of stateless people, and the cruelty of politics—lessons that no university could ever teach.

His second imprisonment had occurred while he was teaching at O-san. Two young men who were staying at SH's house happened to be in a secret group with some Communist workers. SH was under suspicion for being the leader of that band and was labelled as a Marxist-Leninist party member. It was there for the first time, during that week-long imprisonment, that SH really tasted the life of the "university." He said later that that episode was of great help in preparing him for subsequent imprisonments.

The third imprisonment has already been described. Then, after a year as a farmer and breadwinner, a fourth incarceration took place. That time it was the Seoul police who arrested him and took him to one of the prisons in the capital city of Korea. By that time he was familiar with the process of interrogation. The alleged crime then was his participation in the non-church magazine *Bible Korea* through which he was accused of having campaigned for national independence.

Imprisoned for almost a year, SH learned how to spend hours, days, weeks, in meditation. He believed that in educational institutions, while absorbing knowledge, one often imprisons his or her own soul. On the other hand, in the "university of life," even though physically restrained and suffering malnourishment, a thinking person can lift, deepen, and broaden his or her own self-awareness.

SH considers the learning environment of the prison cell unique because there are no teachers but the self. He thinks that this is

the "university," which, although enrolling murderers and rapists, has graduated men like William Penn and Mahatma Gandhi. Curiously, SH found a unique sense of security within the four walls of his cell. Even though incarcerated, he felt free and protected from the wilderness of the world outside. The inmates were all treated alike and there was a peculiar comfort in the greater equality and friendship among prisoners than among people in the outside world.

There SH could concentrate on his study of Buddhism, Lao-Tze, and Chuang-Tsu. His conviction that all religions are essentially one became clearer with the mystical experiences and learning he had during those periods in prison.

Police stations and prison cells became very much a part of SH's life and, in a sense, the entire nation and the whole world became an extended prison cell for him.

A Short-Lived Period of Public Service

When World War II ended and the Korean liberation came, SH was working on a farm in his village. The condition of its suffering people and of the nation, emancipated but without a government, drove him to bear the cross of a self-governing committee of Yong-Am-Po only days after the surrender of Japan.

Once he had accepted that seemingly harmless and clearly temporary responsibility, he was quickly appointed chairman of the county self-governing body. In that capacity he was sent to the capital of the province and became the provincial Minister of Education.

Although SH never imagined being sent back to prison once Korea had been liberated from Japan, the forces of the Russian occupation sent him to prison twice in less than two years as responsible for student uprisings. During that period his thoughts were written in the form of poems and they are contained in Volume Six of his collection of writings, and entitled *Beyond the Horizon.*

Many seemed to recognize that SH was fated to spend much of his life in prison cells. His response was: "It was because of one thing I could not do. That one 'talent' missing in me is to live like the Japanese under Japanese rule and like a Russian under Communist rule."

A Refugee in His Own Country

Urged by his close friends, the Wandering Albatross left his family, his friends, and his home and native province on February 26, 1947. On that bitterly cold and dark night, he crossed the 38th parallel into what is now South Korea, not realizing that he and millions of others would never be allowed to cross back again.

On that wintry night his life as a refugee in his own country commenced and continued for almost 40 years. Not even a letter could be exchanged with his own family in North Korea. And there is little consolation in the fact that he is only one of some ten million persons separated from their immediate families.

Arriving in Seoul, he organized a Sunday Religious Meeting. Giving up the conventional non-church movement meetings which concentrated on Bible studies, Teacher Ham discussed the teachings of Lao-Tze and Chung-Tzu, translated and interpreted English poetry, and read some of his own poems. The gatherings attracted hundreds of listeners some of whom were not Christians. His magazine, *Malssum,* tended not to focus on Biblical studies but to concentrate on the search by all religions for the God of all mankind.

The Korean conflict from 1950 to 1953 saw this North Korean refugee moving again to Taegu in the southeastern provinces to share the agonizing human suffering of the nation inflicted by yet another war.

Teacher Ham—A Prophetic Voice

In the ordinary sense of the word, one would not call SH a journalist. Yet, time and again, since the years of the Korean War, he has courageously brought his conscientious and critical views to the corrupted and controlled world of the Korean press. As a free spirit, with no property and no institutional obligations, he has become a unique and gifted journalist. There is no denying that Teacher Ham is a Christian, yet from his writings one cannot detect western influences. His appearance, his distinguished white Korean costume and his silvery beard, make him unmistakably a symbol of the Korean people or "Baek-i-minjok" (people of the white clothes).

The starting point of Teacher Ham's journalistic contribution should probably be dated as 1956. The Cold War was escalating and the corruption and oppression caused by the Liberal Party in Korea under the leadership of President Syngman Rhee was intolerable. It was then that Teacher Ham's timely and powerful article "Only Thinking People Can Live" appeared in *Sasang-gye* (Thinking World). In that long and meaningful essay he wrote:

> . . . It can be said that we are liberated from Japan, but there is no liberation in any true sense. Rather, the worse tragedy today is that we have two masters to serve rather than one. Under Japanese slavery at least families could stay together and people could come and go freely. Now parents and children are separated in the divided North and South. Where is the freedom? Where is the liberation? South Korea calls the North Russia and China's puppet and to North Korea the South is America's pup-

pet. To third parties and uninterested observers, there are only puppets and no state. We are a stateless people. The June 25th War (Korean) was a play of puppets. . . .

He further averred that:

> After the war, both sides claimed victory. In the war against one's own brothers, the mutual claim of victory in actual terms, is defeat. It is not enough to weep in sadness, and yet officers and soldiers walk around proudly wearing their war decorations. I have never seen a soldier throwing away medals, saying, "How can there be a medal for killing my own brothers?"

Such comments were so damaging to the Rhee government that its officials decided to arrest SH. So, at the age of 58, he found himself again behind bars. Only this time he had not been put there by the Japanese or the Russians, but by his fellow countrymen. His "crime" was simply his frank statements about the post-war disorder and corruption and the growing hostilities between North and South Korea.

The Voice of the People Vs. Authoritarian Government

When General Chung-Hee Park took over the government of Korea by a military coup in 1961, there was practically no popular, vocal criticism against the military rule. Teacher Ham was disturbed by that situation. Comparing the current coup with the previous student revolution which had toppled the Rhee government about a year earlier, he declared:

> People rose then with empty hands. But this time soldiers rose with swords in their hands. The demonstration then was in the daytime, openly. But this revolution came by night and in secret. . . . Revolution must belong to the people. Only the people can bring about a revolution; soldiers cannot. . . . A revolution organized without listening to the people's view cannot be a true revolution no matter how sincere the intention may be.

Despite the reign of terror instigated by the military government, it was only Teacher Ham who possessed sufficient spiritual force to object strenuously to the coup.

Only three years previously SH had suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Rhee government. Anticipating the harsh reactions of the current military officers to his daring article entitled "How Should the May 16th Revolution Be Viewed?", Teacher Ham asked, "What reward this time am I to receive?" The "reward," of course, was yet another arrest, interrogation, and imprisonment.

Shortly thereafter, SH's "voice from the wilderness" addressed a long letter to the 30,000,000 South Koreans. In a section directed specifically to the Chairman of the Supreme National Reconstruc-

tion Council, SH wrote in part:

> Park Chung-Hee-nim! ("nim" is an honorific term Teacher Ham uses for everyone, including God and the least honorable). Forgive me for not calling you the Chairman of the Supreme National Reconstruction Council or the General of the Army. I would rather address you as Park Chung-Hee-nim, a man with conscience and reasoning. . . . You and your military colleagues have committed many mistakes. First of all, the military coup was wrong. Your intention and goal to correct the national destiny may be right but the means were wrong. When the means are wrong, goals lose their meaning. . . . You have no revolutionary theories. You rose with faith only in swords. You cannot gain the confidence of people by military power alone. . . . And you did not gain the trust of the people. . . . The greatest mistake of all is that you have not kept your declared promises of the revolution.
>
> People were astonished when they heard that the military would govern for two years . . . But now that the two years are coming to an end, instead of stepping down, you are thinking of a new political party and you . . . are running for the President's office, thus utterly disappointing the people.

General Park and his fellow military officers apparently did not take Teacher Ham's advice very seriously. But no man, no matter how corrupt and blinded, as General Park may have been, would be able to read Teacher Ham's letter without being somewhat affected.

In the period just ahead, it became necessary for Teacher Ham to speak out more regularly—reacting, responding, and resisting the authoritarian policies of the government. One vehicle which he used for expressing his views was a publication which he started which was called *Voice of Ssi-Al* (the seed or people). Its initial issue in April, 1970 contained several important messages and there was a great demand for it. The government, however, did everything it could to dissuade bookstores from selling copies of it. Barely had the second issue appeared when the government ordered it discontinued and permission to publish further issues was revoked. However, the case was brought to the court and it ruled that the government had no right to ban the magazine.

On the Two Koreas

In 1971 the representatives of the Red Cross societies of North and South Korea shook hands with friendly smiles after a break in contact that had lasted 30 years. Then, in 1972, the famous joint communique by the opposing governments in Seoul and Pyongyang was made public on July Fourth.

Teacher Ham responded to those new developments in an essay

he wrote for the *Voice of Ssi-Ai* on "The Path to Reunification." While expressing his pleasure in observing the breakthrough, he warned that reunification of the country and people could only be accomplished by the authority of the people. The division, he said, had been brought about by outside powers and only the inner power of the Korean people could overcome the wrong. Emphasizing the importance of reconciliation rather than confrontation, he declared:

> I submit that the North and South question cannot be solved by either one conquering the other. It is unreasonable to think that one side could conquer the other. We must elevate ourselves to a position from which we can view the fighting that took place as ridiculous and stupid actions. I therefore objected to the use of terms like "Northern puppets" or "Southern puppets." . . . We had no good reasons to fight. The only cause of the tragic war was that we were treated like the garbage can of civilization that could be divided into two parts. Had we known it, we would have embraced one another and surely not fought one another.

In his letter to the North Korean people, which could be published only in South Korea, SH made this moving statement:

> We must become one because we are one (people). We can live only by becoming one. We cannot live in this divided situation, and even though we are alive, we are not living. The South must trust the North and the North must trust the South. And on this faith let us stand up together. The earlier we stand up, the better. . . . Reunification is a revolution. It is a new revolution, not just a people's revolution nor just a social one—it is a larger and deeper and newer revolution.

Although the term "revolution" is used, Teacher Ham has explained that this new type of revolution must not use violence as in the French and Russian upheavals. Instead, this new revolution must begin and end in the everyday lives and attitudes of the people.

Actually Teacher Ham holds his own people more responsible than the superpowers for the division of the land and people of Korea. Believing that the recognition of such self-blame is an essential component of reunification, he has made this observation:

> Reunification of the people is not simply a physical force. It is rather a spiritual movement, a movement of life itself. It is not only the external and physical forces that divided our people. The external forces could come in because the internal division had already taken place, and the vital living forces inside had already been weakened. Therefore the divided people cannot be united

by the material forces alone. It takes the whole people to be moved by a common and strong inspiration.

Teacher Ham was 72 years old when he made that statement. However, the "God-fearing old man" (the albatross) simply could not allow himself to grow old—old enough to ignore the danger facing his own people. With the declaration of a national emergency in the fall of 1973 and the introduction of the Yu-shin Constitution, Teacher Ham's involvement in political affairs became understandably more conspicuous and direct.

The enactment of the most authoritarian constitution in modern Korean history, making General Park president for life, set off a chain reaction of incidents like the kidnapping of the opposition leader Dae-Jung Kim, while he was in Japan.

Teacher Ham found no alternative except to confront the government directly for its actions. The sad and appalling episodes invoking house arrests, summonses for interrogation, detentions, and police surveillance became more usual than unusual for SH. Article after article by him was heavily censored and/or not allowed to be printed.

Meanwhile a declaration demanding the return to a democratic form of government was drafted and signed by many national leaders, including Rev. Ik-Hwan Moon*, Dae-Jung Kim, and Teacher Ham.

Then, in August 1976, SH was sentenced to eight years imprisonment—the harshest sentence ever as punishment for his "crimes" of belief and his search for the truth. Fortunately, however, he was over the age for the government to imprison him legally. So he continued his mission of speaking truth relentlessly to the authorities.

Sok-Hon As a Quaker

I have often wondered how this Wandering Albatross, a perpetual non-conformist with no faith in human institutions, decided to become a Quaker. In fact, I did not believe he would ever call himself a Quaker.

Many Friends, and friends, have indeed asked him whether or not he is a Quaker—and why he ever became one. His answer is: "I smile warmly without answering because my heart is free. What does it matter whether or not I have become a Quaker?"

For those who persist in asking, Teacher Ham's reply is: "Yes, and No." Quizzically, he says it is true that he became a member of an institution—the Religious Society of Friends—and yet he has not become a Quaker. Conversely he could say that he has become a Quaker and in a sense not a member of a formal society. In

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* Not the Sun-Myoung Moon of the Unification Church.

either case his meaning is clear: membership in any formal institution or movement means little; it is the spirit that motivates one's actions that really counts. He is actually a member of this remarkable movement but there are other things that matter more.

Historically he could not remain comfortable in the 1960s in the Presbyterian Church or even in the non-church movement in Korea. His first actual contact with Quakers came through Arthur Mitchell, an American Quaker who attended SH's Sunday gatherings. Mitchell has made the apt comment of Teacher Ham, "He was already a Quaker before he actually became one."

Even after a year at Pendle Hill, the Quaker Study Center in the U.S.A., and a term at Woodbrooke, a similar institution in England, Teacher Ham had no special desire to join the Society of Friends. It was only after attending the Friends World Conference at Guilford College in North Carolina in 1967, that he decided to identify himself as a Quaker.

Considering the fact that Friends historically have regarded themselves as an independent and non-conformist group of Seekers, it is no wonder that Teacher Ham found the Society of Friends the right group with which to associate. Likewise the idea of "The Light Within," inherent in every human being, is certainly the type of spiritual concept Teacher Ham has espoused throughout his life of wandering.

The search for and the belief in himself and others has been the source of much suffering for SH. The life of this patriot and prophet, his struggle against oppression, dictatorship and social evils is a moving story of a Seeker and Quaker by any standard. Furthermore, I believe that his profound philosophical observations, growing out of his reading of Korean and world history, would have made George Fox, William Penn, John Woolman, and Rufus Jones happy and proud.

Both Rufus Jones and Gilbert Bowles, well-known Quakers, were in Korea on trips abroad in the 1919-1920 period and Teacher Ham was a student at the O-san high school about the time Gilbert Bowles visited that region, hearing of the pain and suffering inflicted upon the Korean people. However, it was not until after the Korean War, in 1953, that members of the Friends Service Unit (a relief team composed of Quakers from Europe and the U.S.A.) worked in that land and unbeknown to them prepared the nesting ground for the Wandering Albatross. Who would dare say that all these acts of God were not orchestrated to bring this Wandering Albatross to rest his wings and nest among Friends, singing his songs of a New Jerusalem, of a New Earth, and of one people under one God?

Of such a dream and the relationship of Quakers to it, Sok-Hon Ham has said:

Quakerism is not the new religion to which I aspire, but I embrace the hope that out of this form, sprouting from this seed, will come forth the religion that will bring newness to mankind. So I fix my eyes unchangingly beyond the horizon, the horizon toward which I longingly gazed as I built castles in the sand and then destroyed them, by the shores of the Yellow Sea. . . . the horizon beyond which I longed to see as I wept on the banks of the Nak-dong River with the other refugees from the War, as I began to raise a pair of minnows and then watched them die. . . . Even now I set my face beyond the horizon, the horizon of eternity.

FRED HASLAM

"Mr. Canadian Friend"

DOROTHY MUMA

Over more than a century of Quaker existence in Canada, many outstanding Friends have emerged to take an active part. It would be impossible in a short essay to summarize the impact of those Friends on Canadian Quakerism. But through an account of one of the most prominent—Fred Haslam—some of the history of Canadian Quakers may be discerned.

Fred Haslam devoted his entire adult life to Quakerism, becoming so central a part of it in Canada that—half in jest, half in earnest—U. S. Friends referred to him as "Mr. Canadian Friend" and non-Friends in Canada dubbed him "Mr. Quaker." While accepting those titles with a smile, he nevertheless shrugged them off because of his deep concern and characteristic modesty.

One of the most memorable events of his life occurred on his first night in prison as a conscientious objector in World War I. The event was the singing outside by Friends and other peace advocates who came to the prison each week. Referring to that incident, Fred used to say, "After the singing ceased, I went to sleep feeling clean, relatively comfortable, and with the knowledge of support from the outside." That experience was the beginning of Fred Haslam's association with Quakers.

His Early Years in England

Fred Haslam was born on May 26, 1897, in Middleton, Lancashire, England, and he spent his early years in that area. He was the second child of Samuel and Emily Haslam, having one brother and two sisters. Samuel Haslam was a carpenter and cabinetmaker, while Emily managed a bakery in one part of their home.

His early school years were spent at Providence School, run by the Providence Congregational Chapel, which the family attended. The headmaster was a strict disciplinarian who enforced his wishes with a cane, applied as he saw fit. Rivalry developed between sets of boys, and on one occasion Fred was set upon by the boy known as "the cock of the school." Fred defended himself successfully and in turn became "the cock of the school." Soon after that incident, Providence School was condemned by the municipal authorities and the students were transferred to more modern schools nearby.

Because of the family's economic problems, Fred left school immediately following his 13th birthday, taking a job as a clerk in a cotton mill. However, he continued his education in night school

classes for several years. Believing that continuing education was a necessity, he read extensively on many subjects throughout his life. For a period of two years he worked for the railway, but later returned to the cotton mill office.

Fred's family was active in the Providence Congregational Chapel, attending two services and two Sunday School classes each Sunday. The hymns sung at that time remained Fred's favorites throughout his life. Among them were Whittier's "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind"; and "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go."

When World War I broke out, Fred was 17 and had not yet become a pacifist. At first he saw Germany as an enemy country and resented its reported atrocities. However, his older brother, Bill, had a Sunday School teacher who felt that young men should hear both sides of the argument about war. Consequently that teacher presented the non-war position to his class whenever the minister preached a pro-war sermon. Discussing his teachings with Bill, Fred had his first exposure to peace ideas. Conversations with Bill about German casualties led Fred to consider the Germans as men rather than an enemy entity. A reassessment of his attitudes followed, leading to the conclusion that he could not accept a combatant role.

When Fred was conscripted in 1916, he appealed for exemption from military service on the grounds of conscientious objection. His refusal was not a negative one; it was his affirmation of a way of life. Consequently he took a first aid course with the intention of serving in the Medical Corps. But when he learned that members of that Corps carried arms, he turned away from it. He had heard of the Friends Ambulance Unit, but upon application discovered that no further appointments were being made at that time.

Fred's refusal to have any part in the combat caused his incarceration in Wormwood Scrubs prison in March, 1917. After a period of restricted confinement, he was given jobs as a cleaner and in the mailbag department. In June, 1917, his application for alternate civilian service was finally approved and he was transferred to the Work Center at Wakefield. The atmosphere there was quite different from the prisons; there were no locks on the doors, and freedom of movement was possible within the local area. After a short period making mailbags, he was given work in the office. In later years, he wrote of the degree of intelligence of the inmates, some of them being university professors who taught others in their free time.

At the Work Center there were many Quakers, and Fred became acquainted with them. Subsequently he began to join in activities at the Meeting House as a regular participant in the Adult School and as an attender at the Meetings for Worship.

Some of the literature he acquired at that time remained his favorites for life.

When Fred had been at Wakefield about a year, bad feeling developed locally against the conscientious objectors. When that bitterness resulted in riots, the Center was closed and Fred was sent to the Work Center at Dartmoor where he continued his contact with local Friends. Late in 1918 he was sent to a very difficult job in South Wales constructing a reservoir under harsh winter conditions.

It was not until April, 1919—five months after the war had ended—that conscientious objectors were released. Some of the friendships formed during those painful times were continued for many years.

Soon after his return home, Fred's family emigrated to Canada. But he remained in England, taking an office position in London with the Friends Emergency War Victims Relief Committee, which was then concerned with the repatriation of alien internees. There Fred taught himself to type, adding that to his other office skills.

After his work there had run its course, he applied for overseas work with Friends and was accepted for the Relief Mission in Vienna, Austria, as secretary to the Head of the Mission.

Later he was in charge of the 21 food depots, eventually serving as cashier. During those 18 months he gained much experience in dealing with foreign currencies and coping with the frustrations of always having too few resources to meet the many desperate needs. He also gained an interest in statistics from writing reports, using that newly acquired knowledge later in communications for Canadian Friends.

His frustration was evident in his letters home. For example, he wrote:

> It is very hard to live amongst it all and see the suffering, which is absolutely unparalleled in England, and to know that one cannot help them because there are not enough supplies. It is a hard fact that adults are depriving themselves of things for children, and in spite of all *their* efforts, and all *our* efforts, the children are dying in increasing numbers.

He was also concerned about the prisoners in Vienna, many of whom had been incarcerated for stealing because they and their families were starving. Members of the Mission staff spent Christmas Day distributing food to prisoners. A report, written by Fred and printed in one of the Vienna newspapers, was instrumental in persuading the government to improve prison conditions. He also helped to start a movement which would aid prisoners upon their release, helping them to re-enter normal life more effectively.

During that period in Austria, Fred determined to learn the German language and eventually he was able to read, speak, and conduct the business of the Mission in the local language. Furthermore he maintained his interest in the German language for the rest of his life, welcoming every opportunity to practice it in conversations.

Fred's experiences during World War I and in Vienna had a powerful impact on his later years as they laid the groundwork for his concern for caring for the unfortunate people of the world. Thus his later work in the relief efforts of the Canadian Friends Service Committee and of the Canadian Save the Children Fund, plus his prison visitation in Canada, were direct outgrowths of that earlier period.

His Emigration to Canada and His Work There

In 1921, at the age of 24, he responded to an urgent call from his family to emigrate to Canada. An accident had impaired his father's ability to work and Fred was needed desperately.

Friends in England gave Fred letters of introduction to Phebe Wright and Albert S. Rogers, prominent Friends in Toronto. Rogers was descended from the family which had started the Toronto Meeting and Phebe Wright was editor of *The Canadian Friend.* At that time Albert Rogers was chairman of the Service Committee of Canada Yearly Meeting and of the Finance Committee of the Toronto Monthly Meeting. At the time Fred Haslam met him he had retired from active employment with Imperial Oil, but was still a director of that company, with an office in their headquarters building.

When Fred met Albert Rogers, an instant liking sprang up between the two men. Eventually Fred worked for Albert Rogers as his personal secretary. In that capacity one of Fred's duties was to collect funds for the relief of the victims of the war and of famine in Europe and in Japan. Fred's close association with Albert Rogers lasted until Roger's death in 1932.

When the Rogers Radio Tube company was established in 1924, to develop alternate tubes for batteryless radios, Fred became its Secretary-Treasurer. In 1939 that company was sold and when the new company took orders for war materials, Fred could not conscientiously continue to work for them. Hence he resigned in 1941. He had already been giving much of his time to the work of Friends and he then devoted even more of it to those activities.

In 1940 Fred Haslam married Maud Watts, who had been his secretary at the Radio Tube company. At first they lived in suburban Toronto. Then, after his retirement from the Canadian Friends Service Committee in 1956, they moved to the country. He had always dreamed of starting a rural Meeting and study

center peripheral to Toronto, and so Meetings for Worship were held in their home. Although Maud did not join Friends, her support helped Fred to maintain his activities with and for Quakers at a high level. In 1958 she died of cancer and that terrible blow put an end to his dream of a Meeting at that location. He discovered that he could not maintain alone the home they had built, so he moved to an apartment in Toronto.

He continued, however, to look to the future, as he always had, believing that "The future, while it is influenced by what has gone before, is flexible and can be molded, within limits, for good or ill."

In January, 1960, he took up new positions as Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Yearly Meeting and as Visitation Secretary of its Home Mission and Advancement Committee. As he phrased it, he was not "retired"; he was merely "retreaded." The visitation work always involved a continuing struggle with the vast area of Canada but he continued that service even after his retirement in 1972 as the Yearly Meeting Secretary-Treasurer.

His Many Activities with Canadian Friends

Even though he had no children, Fred had a special love and concern for them and was popular with them. Perhaps some of that feeling grew out of his experiences in Vienna in the child-feeding program. He would often tease children, saying that his name was not "Fred Haslam" but "Malsahderf," spelling his name backwards to amuse them. The Young Friends of the Toronto Meeting felt very close to him and at one time hung his portrait in their gathering spot, which they called "The Fox Penn."

In 1924 Fred began to work with Albert Rogers for the Boys Club which was sponsored by the Toronto Friends Meeting. That was a club established for the boys attending the Sunday School and for boys from the local inner-city neighborhood. Activities of many kinds were carried on, including a bowling alley in the basement. And at one time a *Newsletter* was published. Fred directed the Boys Club for several years until it was disbanded in the early part of World War II when the basement was turned over to the Save the Children Fund as a place to bale clothing.

In 1930 Albert Rogers asked Fred to find a property north of Toronto which could be used as a summer camp for the boys. He found such a suitable place about 90 miles north of Toronto on a beautiful ten acres of woodland and it was obtained for use initially by the Boys Club. Later it was also used by the Girls Club and by various Quaker groups. The camp was called NeeKauNis, the Indian name for "friends" and is now owned by the Canadian Yearly Meeting.

As a result of his vision of Camp NeeKauNis as a place for a variety of educational and recreational programs, it played a major part in bringing all Canadian Friends together in one yearly meeting. At that time there were three yearly meetings: Canada Yearly Meeting, affiliated with the Five Years Meeting (now the Friends United Meeting); Genesee Yearly Meeting, affiliated with the Friends General Conference; and Canada Yearly Meeting, Conservative. The young people in those three groups met occasionally at the camp. They saw no reason for the separation and pressed for amalgamation, which finally took place in 1955.

In 1940 Fred purchased a small piece of property adjacent to the camp and bequeathed it to the Yearly Meeting.

In 1922 Fred was appointed interim treasurer of the Toronto Monthly Meeting when the treasurer was absent for an extended period. On her return, she did not wish to resume her duties, so Fred was chosen in her place, holding that position until 1942. He had become a member of the Toronto Meeting in 1931.

He was also a trustee of the Meeting until his death in 1979 and served as one of its representatives on numerous yearly meeting committees. When the Meeting made its decision to move from a large church downtown to a house near the University, Fred took care of all the arrangements. The business of that transfer was very complex but he was the ideal person for that task. Because of his business experience he was able to tie all the loose ends together admirably.

Fred was constantly concerned with the conduct of meetings, both the Meeting for Worship and the Meeting for Business. He was long a member of the Committee on Ministry and Counsel, seeking to be of assistance wherever he could be helpful. His sense of responsibility to the Meeting was very strong, as witnessed by his statement that:

> The Meeting will only be as strong and as effective as the sense of responsibility of its members permits. There is, therefore, an obligation which commences with the individual Friend, which has its relation to the local Meeting and through successive stages, to the broadest human relationships.

He always maintained that any extension of the Toronto Meeting should be into the peripheral areas, and he was instrumental in having a fund established with that in mind. However, the Meeting decided to solve its overcrowding problems by building a new, large meeting room as an extension of the Meetinghouse. Although he was not in total unity with that decision, he nevertheless abided by the decision of the Meeting and later agreed it had been a good thing.

The Canadian Friends Service Committee and His Role in It

In 1931 the Canadian Friends Service Committee was established as an amalgamation of the service, peace, social concerns, and temperance testimony of the three Quaker yearly meetings in Canada. On it were members of all three groups. Its terms of reference were "To unify, coordinate, and expand the work of peace, social concerns, and temperance for Canadian Friends."

As he had been involved in the Service Committee of one of the Canadian yearly meetings, he became active in the new C.F.S.C. as a volunteer, while working with the Radio Tube Company. In 1941, however, the Secretary's position in the C.F.S.C. was made a full-time, salaried position and Fred was selected for that post. He carried on that responsibility until 1956.

Originally the work of the committee was the feeding of needy people in other parts of the world. But with the outbreak of World War II, Friends in Canada were faced with the problems of helping their young people who were taking the pacifist position. Hence Fred spent most of his time counselling and assisting Canadian conscientious objectors. From his own experiences in World War I he knew the difficulties c.o.'s faced and was most sympathetic.

In the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940 in Canada, only two groups were recognized as having the right to exemption from military service. They were the Mennonites and the Doukhobors. Friends were deeply conscious that there were many sincere conscientious objectors who had no religious affiliation or who were members of churches which did not have a specific peace testimony. Fred brought that situation to the attention of the government and when the regulations were published in 1941, all conscientious objectors were included. The government allowed alternative civilian service but required that a high percentage of the income gained from such work be given to the Canadian Red Cross.

In 1940 the Conference of Historic Peace Churches was formed by the Mennonites, the Brethren, and Friends, and Fred Haslam served as its Executive and on its Military Problems Committee.

In a letter to the Prime Minister of Canada in 1940, Fred suggested various kinds of alternative service which Friends would be willing to undertake. Among them were:

Reforestation or other conservation work.

Maintenance of roads which might otherwise be neglected because of the national emergency.

Social service work in distressed areas.

Non-competitive agricultural work, the produce from which might be devoted to designated social welfare organizations.

Participation in post-war rehabilitation plans.

Any combination of the above.

Those suggestions were accepted and some Friends participated in such service in Canada.

Meanwhile Friends in the United States persuaded their government to recognize the British Friends Ambulance Unit as a form of alternative service.* They invited Canadian Friends to explore with their government the possibility of its acceptance in Canada. So, in 1943, Fred Haslam began those difficult negotiations. After protracted discussions, recognition was finally granted. Then Fred had to deal with the deluge of applications from Friends and others who wanted to join that ambulance unit. Despite the difficulties, the first group of 20 Canadians was accepted by the Unit and then by the government in 1944.

While those young people were serving in China and elsewhere, Fred kept in close touch with their families and friends by distributing a *Newsletter* on their activities. After their return to Canada, assistance to them continued because no educational or retraining program had been made for conscientious objectors similar to what had been made for the returning soldiers. A report of the Chinese War Relief Fund, which supported the Unit in China, said:

> The debt which the Chinese owe to this group will never be really estimated. We who have been their intimate associates know that millions unknown to themselves, were aided, if not saved, by their prompt and efficient delivery of relief supplies over a period of years.

Arthur Dorland, the Canadian Quaker historian, wrote about this project that "Without the experience and personal dedication of Fred Haslam this project would never have got off the ground." Many of the young people in the Unit who were not Friends at that time, joined the Religious Society of Friends later and have remained active, concerned members.

In addition, Fred helped to encourage the sale of special Dominion of Canada non-interest-bearing bonds for relief purposes and about $1,000,000 of those bonds were eventually sold.

In 1950 the Sons of Freedom branch of the Doukhobors in western Canada were making violent protests against government actions, particularly about the compulsory school attendance for their children. In protest they were burning homes, bombing electric installations and bridges, and staging nude parades in the Kootenay area of British Columbia. At the turn of this century

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* This recognition was later withdrawn, and Civilian Public Service assignees were brought home before reaching China.

American Friends had helped the Doukhobors emigrate to Canada from Russia, where they had not been allowed religious freedom. So the Canadian government asked Canadian Friends to assist them in solving this difficult and delicate problem. The authorities felt that Quakers were uniquely fitted for the task because of the high esteem in which they were held by all factions of the Doukhobors and because of their long experience in bringing about reconciliation in areas of tension in many countries.

That request for assistance came to Fred Haslam in the office of the Canadian Friends Service Committee. The Committee accepted the challenge and appointed a Minorities Committee to work on it. Fred was sure that Friends could bring a fresh outlook to the problem but he was not certain that they could come up with a solution. Although he deplored the violent means of protest, he believed strongly in the right of the Doukhobors to religious freedom. Emmett Gulley, an American Friend with experience in conflict situations in the Near East, was appointed by Canadian and American Friends to represent Quakers on the scene, and so he moved to British Columbia to take up his work. That involved long hours of consultation between Emmett Gulley and the two Service Committees, sometimes in Toronto and sometimes in Philadelphia. In all of those conferences, Fred Haslam was closely involved. He carried the burden of the heavy correspondence and reported to all the Friends groups involved, as well as arranging government contracts in Ottawa and Toronto.

When Friends found themselves in the position of not having enough money to continue paying Emmett Gulley's salary, he was paid by the British Columbia government. Consequently, in the eyes of the Sons of Freedom, he was no longer an unbiased individual. Friends regretted the necessity of that change and that action caused some controversy about the continued support of Emmett Gulley. That led to protests by the Sons of Freedom against him; eventually he had to give up that work.

It was extremely difficult for Fred and other Friends to admit failure in that difficult and perplexing situation. Since that time, the Sons of Freedom have repeated their protests over the years and Quakers in British Columbia have maintained contact with them as the way has opened.

After World War II, the Canadian Friends Service Committee sent food, blankets, and medicines to India, Japan, Austria, and Germany. As that work was a cooperative project between the Service Committees of the United States and of Canada, Fred had to make many trips to Philadelphia for consultations. All this necessitated a mass of correspondence, too, which he carried out.

Funds gathered by the Ontario Committee for Relief in Japan were channelled through the Canadian Friends Service Commit-

tee and administered by it. Later, many kinds of medical supplies were shipped to Korea. And still later they were shipped to Vietnam. During the war in Vietnam, Canadian Friends assisted draft resisters coming from the United States to Canada. Although Fred was not directly involved in that work, he strongly encouraged those efforts and assisted wherever he could.

Earlier, during World War II, the Canadian government decided to follow the lead of the American government and to move all persons of Japanese ancestry from the west coast. Some of those evacuees went to Toronto. Meanwhile, Friends in British Columbia were active in assistance to the Japanese-Canadians, helping them in their makeshift camps and schools. In Toronto a Japanese-Canadian Association was formed and Fred was on its executive committee. In that period the Japanese-Canadians were invited to hold their gatherings in the Toronto Friends Meetinghouse. Fred worked long and arduously to help such people, many of whom had few assets. After the war he cooperated with an ad hoc interchurch committee in an endeavor to obtain compensation for those displaced Japanese-Canadians and eventually a million dollars was distributed to them. To show their appreciation of his efforts, the Japanese-Canadians made Fred Haslam an honorary Japanese-Canadian.

During World War II large numbers of aliens were interned in Canada in camps at various places. Fred negotiated with the government and finally obtained permission for Friends to visit such camps, even though they were located in isolated spots. Fred facilitated visitation by Quakers even though some stringent limitations were placed on conversations with the internees. Many of the friendships made through such efforts lasted long after the war.

Some of His Other Interests

During and after World War II Fred actively opposed cadet training in the schools, urging the substitution of other more constructive activities. Throughout his life he helped to draft many statements on peace, addressed to the Canadian government and other groups around the world.

Constantly he maintained that wars could be prevented if all the needy people of the world were cared for properly. He believed deeply that much of the discontent of the world arose from the lack of proper food and clothing. That feeling led him to support relief work and to take an active part in many such projects in different parts of the world. He vigorously promoted such programs as the Right Sharing of World Resources, the Canadian Save the Children Fund, UNESCO, and the projects of the Friends Service Council (of British Friends) in India and parts

of Africa. However, he insisted on the primacy of the spiritual basis of the Friends peace testimony rather than on the political or expediency basis of peace.

For many years, up until his death in fact, he was a member of the Corporation of Pickering College in Newmarket, Ontario. That institution had begun in 1841 as a coeducational secondary school. In 1916 it had been used for disabled soldiers, especially those affected mentally by their war experiences. The school was reopened in 1927 as a private boys school and was no longer responsible to the Canadian Yearly Meeting, although a majority of the Corporation members were still Quakers. Until 1969 it was the only location for yearly meeting sessions; thereafter yearly meetings were held there every two years.

In 1960 when Friends decided to establish a small school under the care of the Argenta Meeting in British Columbia, Fred encouraged their efforts.

His opposition to capital punishment was strong and he exerted strenuous efforts to effect its abolition, including service in several organizations concerned with that issue. With other Friends he helped to produce for the C.F.S.C. a leaflet on capital punishment, and he urged the member churches of the Canadian Council of Churches to examine this issue. When capital punishment was finally abolished in 1967, Fred felt that he must maintain constant vigilance lest it be reinstated.

Throughout his life he also devoted a great deal of effort to the temperance movement. He was a total abstainer and encouraged others to do the same. He would not even take shelter from the rain in the doorway of an establishment which served alcoholic beverages; and when organizations served liquor, he always registered his objections. Sometimes those protests were effective in having such service withdrawn.

Because he had been in prison, he was well aware of the problems faced by prisoners and their families. Consequently he was concerned about prison reform. But he worked slowly on such changes as he wanted such reforms to be well founded. Often his careful pace led activists to be impatient with his outlook; they felt that his approach was ineffectual. Nevertheless he continued his careful way. Frequently he was asked by authorities to visit in the Toronto jail. On such visits he was repeatedly distressed by the living conditions, which he protested against. He supported the John Howard and Elizabeth Fry Societies in their work with prisoners and ex-prisoners and cooperated with the Criminology Committee of the Christian Social Council of Canada when it made a survey of the penal institutions in Ontario and Quebec.

Growing out of his experiences in Vienna, Fred developed a strong concern for the needy children of the world. He was initi-

ated into the work of the Canadian Save the Children Fund by Albert Rogers. Eventually he joined the Executive Committee of that organization and supported its many projects, becoming in time one of its Honorary Presidents. In 1977 he was awarded the Canada Medal on the 25th anniversary of the Queen's accession, in recognition of his many years of devoted service to the Fund.

His Role in the World Family of Friends

For a long time Fred Haslam was the only Canadian member of the boards and commissions of the Five Years Meeting of Friends (now the Friends United Meeting). At those gatherings he was often affectionately called "Mr. Canadian Friend." Although he could support many of their concerns he had to remind them frequently that it was sometimes difficult for Canadian Friends to become deeply involved in some issues as they needed to use their limited time and energy on such matters as the work of the Canadian Council of Churches and representations to the Canadian government.

His association with the Friends General Conference was largely indirect.

But he was active on the executive committee of the Friends World Committee for Consultation (American Section) and often represented Canadian Friends at the triennial sessions of that group. His earliest contact of that nature had been back in 1920 when he attended the Young Friends Gathering at Jordans, England, held at the same time as the first World Conference of Friends, in London.

For many years Fred was often the only Canadian Quaker available to represent Friends on the boards and commissions of the Canadian Council of Churches. That earned him the nickname "Mr. Quaker." The ecumenical association of Canadian Friends and the part taken in that association by Fred Haslam is detailed in his book *1921-1967*. Believing as he did that worldwide ecumenical action was important, his representation of Friends on the Canadian Council of Churches and its predecessor, the Christian Social Council of Canada, was one of his most valuable contributions to the life of the Canadian Yearly Meeting. Especially in relation to relief work, his question often was, "Why try to do the job with a teaspoon when by cooperation you can use a bulldozer?"

He encouraged all efforts to bring the three yearly meetings of Friends in Canada together. The recovery from the separations of the 19th century were slow, however. In 1928 Friends of the Canada Yearly Meeting (affiliated with the Five Years Meeting) and Genesee Yearly Meeting (affiliated with the Friends General Conference) began meeting in concurrent and joint sessions. In

1944 they were joined by members of the Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative). In 1931 all three had taken part in the formation of the Canadian Friends Service Committee and all three had taken part in programs at Camp NeeKauNis. Continuously he had pointed out the waste involved in three separate organizations, the insufficiency of communication, and the lack of a central point which could collect and supply information concerning Canadian Quakers.

The final union of these three groups took place in 1955 with the formation of the Canadian Yearly Meeting. By extensive visitation across the 4000 miles of Canada, Fred encouraged new Meetings. Heartened by those contacts, Friends in Alberta and British Columbia became active in the new, united yearly meeting. For many years those western Meetings had held dual membership in the Pacific Yearly Meeting and in one in Canada. At that juncture, however, they opted for membership only in the Canadian Yearly Meeting, although maintaining friendly ties with the Pacific Friends.

After the three yearly meetings joined, much work remained to form a cohesive group. Prior to that time all the work of the yearly meetings had been done by volunteers. In 1960 a permanent office for the Canadian Yearly Meeting was established in the Toronto Meetinghouse, with Fred Haslam as its full-time Secretary-Treasurer. Using his talents as an administrator, he organized the information files, set up a regular accounting system, and applied to the government for recognition as a "Charitable Organization."

In addition, he greatly increased contact with the Meetings across the vast expanse of Canada and set up a fund for members to attend committee meetings. Without that fund it would have been impossible for many persons to attend because of the distances involved and the consequent expense. Such increased contacts have meant a more vigorous and active group—a truly "Canadian" Yearly Meeting.

While Fred did not approve totally of moving the site of the annual sessions away from Ontario, because of the high cost of travel that would mean, he did agree that the yearly meeting should be a nationwide group and he worked energetically to make such a move a success. Until 1970 the yearly sessions had been held in Ontario; in 1970 they were held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Since that time the sessions have been alternated between eastern and western locations and Ontario.

Fred was concerned over the imbalance between the outward expressions of life as a yearly meeting and the inward spiritual nurture needed to maintain those expressions. As he said, "It is necessary that there be a spiritual identity which is recognizable by members of the Society as being the foundation on which the

outward efforts rest."

In 1967 Fred was accepted as a Fellow at Woodbrooke, the Quaker Study Center in Birmingham, England and he spent the academic year of 1967-1968 there. During that time he wrote his book *1921-1967* which has become a definitive work on Canadian Quakerism. He returned there for a term in 1972, after his retirement, as a special gift from Canadian Friends to thank him for his untiring devotion as their Secretary-Treasurer. During that second period at Woodbrooke he wrote *Some Reflections on Life,* a manuscript which has not yet been published. It is a commentary on his outlook on philosophy, Quakerism, peace and social concerns, and astronomy. For him that account was not a completed work but merely an attempt to outline some important personal, national, and global perspectives on life.

Back in Toronto, he served for a time as Quaker-in-Residence at Friends House. Although he did not live in the House, he was available for consultations with inquirers and others several days each week. He also continued as Visitation Secretary for the Home Mission and Advancement Committee, visiting many Meetings across Canada and representing Friends on affiliated bodies.

Fred's outstanding sense of responsibility and loyalty toward the Religious Society of Friends, based on his deep religious convictions, resulted in truly sacramental service. His example led others to expect the same level of honesty and service from themselves.

He was concerned to see Christian values put into practice in the contemporary world. His ministry in Meetings for Worship was always moving and continued as an expression of his Christian faith up until the time of his final hospitalization in 1979. He often quoted from John Greenleaf Whittier, his favorite poet: "I only know I cannot drift beyond His love and care."

His total dedication to the work of the Religious Society of Friends was such that at times it appeared he felt that he was the only person who could do things. That caused some Friends to feel uneasy because too much power rested in one individual. Likewise, he was so careful about all money matters that he often took a parsimonious approach to such matters as salary scales.

After his retirement as the yearly meeting's Secretary-Treasurer he felt he still had a task among Canadian Friends and hoped to travel, giving spiritual leadership. However, his conservative outlook did not enable him to feel reconciled to the newer ideas surfacing in Canadian Quakerism. Often he was resistent to new ways of accomplishing things and was inclined to avoid giving full access to yearly meeting information, especially about finances. The modern lifestyles of some Friends often perplexed him and he was reluctant to accept such new conditions. Nevertheless, he

remained highly respected and welcomed in travelling among Friends.

Although most of his time was spent on work for Friends, he did make opportunities for his other interests, such as his love of classical and church music, his interest in nature, and his hobby of astronomy—begun back in his days in Vienna where he had spent much time with a noted astronomer.

When he died on October 16, 1979, messages of appreciation for his life and work came from Friends across Canada, from the United States, and from other parts of the world. One summarized these thoughts: "The honest, unassuming, and spiritual presence which he was, would lead us to say, 'Not to him but to God be the praise and thanks for his life'."

HENRY T. HODGKIN

Statesman of the World Church

JOHN ORMEROD GREENHOOD

Darlington, in the northeast corner of England, is not an ancient city like York, which goes back to the Romans, or like Durham, which in the Dark Ages, after Rome, kept learning and faith burning in the pagan world. Darlington is an industrial town, the product of the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century. They call it "the Philadelphia of the North" because it was largely created and governed by a group of Quaker families active in steel, chemicals, banking, and above all, railroads—the first of which, built by George Stephenson between Stockton and Darlington, was backed by Edward Pease and known as "the Quaker's line" because of the Richardsons, Backhouses, and other Quaker families involved.

Henry Theodore Hodgkin was born there on April 21, 1877, to Jonathan Backhouse Hodgkin and Mary Anna Pease, his wife, whose names show the nature of the new baby's background. On the one hand, energy and material success, confidence and prosperity. On the other, the close atmosphere of traditional Quakerism—formal, simple, and severe, but active in good causes and strongly influenced by the Evangelical Movement.

The Darlington Quakers had been prominent in the anti-slavery campaigns, in famine relief in India, in peace efforts in Russia, and more recently in the new Friends Foreign Mission Association of which Jonathan Backhouse Hodgkin became chairman and to which Darlington Friends contributed more money than London or any other English city.

The Hodgkin side of the family was, and continues to be, outstandingly intellectual. Henry Hodgkin's great-uncle was the famous Doctor Thomas Hodgkin who gave his name to "Hodgkin's disease"; his uncle was the other Thomas Hodgkin, the banker-historian who wrote eight classic volumes on *Italy and Her Invaders.*

Student Years

At first, Henry Theodore showed little trace of this intellectual inheritance; he was inattentive and restless at school—a traditional "bad lad," and hopeless at languages.

An apparently casual encounter altered all that. When he was 11, a young Canadian Friend, John T. Dorland, came to his home. John Dorland, who died young when Henry was only 19, was one of those charismatic people who specially charmed the young. He

preached from an unusual text—Judges 5:25—"Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord, for they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Young Henry decided on the spot that he would *never* be counted with the wretched people of Meroz who failed to come to the help of the Lord. In his teens he became serious and pious and, following the family tradition, went to study medicine at King's College, Cambridge, and at St. Thomas's Hospital in London. At that time there were two active interests in his life: sports and student politics.

So far there is nothing exceptional in his story; it is an exemplary beginning for a successful career in the late 19th century pattern of the English upper middle class. That pattern could so easily have set into a regular permanent life style. But what made Henry T. Hodgkin exceptional was his ability to change with the times and to become open to many fresh influences. He went on changing all his life; and six months before he died, had this to say in an article in *The Friend* for November 18, 1932:

> Cherishing Quakerism, which in itself has so much that we should hold and hand on, may become a form of self-protection against awkward truths. Thinking that we are true to the past, we may be merely hiding ourselves from the dislocation of life that would come with downright honesty; and so we may deny the very essence of what our spiritual forefathers (who were often very uncouth) saw and fought for, while we preserve the shell. . . . Are we in danger of missing the big things in the seclusion of our beautiful walled-in garden?

It would be a mistake to think that in his student days, or later, Henry was a morose or miserable character bowed under the woes of this world. On the contrary "Tommy" Hodgkin (as his fellow students called him, picking up a family nickname whose origin in childhood seems to have been lost) was the life and soul of any party. You could hardly miss him: six feet five and with a voice and a laugh to size—rumbustious, opinionated, positive, inventive; famous for his ghost stories and parlor games set in imaginary places with mythical characters; an initiator of fun on many long ocean voyages before the days of air travel. "It is good," said a sergeant-major later on in Hong Kong, "to get the gospel from a chap who stands over six feet in his socks."

Henry was also an outstanding sportsman. But now we begin to note the deviations from the norm. Instead of football in any of its English forms, he played the newly introduced Canadian (originally Sioux) game of lacrosse, becoming captain of the Cambridge University team. And in the summer, not cricket, but the newly developed game of lawn tennis, first named in 1874.

three years before he was born.

Youth Movements in the Church

Student politics at the turn of the century were in a state of flux in the religious field, and it was his absorbed participation that launched Tommy Hodgkin into the ocean of international turmoil and began his career as a statesman of the World Church. The Student Christian Movement, or SCM, in which he became a major figure, was new and at that time in the active, creative phase which made it during the early 20th century a force much wider than the colleges or universities in which it began. Young Dr. Hodgkin sat on its central committee in Great Britain, helped frame its policy, represented it at the Conference of the World Student Christian Federation at Versailles in 1900, and became treasurer of the International Federation.

The Student Christian Movement which was to nurture the new Ecumenism which led to the World Council of Churches, had roots going back to the beginning of the foreign mission campaigns about 1800. In 1806 students at Williams College in the U.S.A. formed a "Brethren Club" whose aim was "to effect in the person of its members a mission or missions to the heathen." Its enthusiasm was fuelled by the "Mission situation" of America itself in the great westward trek which constantly created fresh towns and new states and led to the series of "Revival" movements. The Brethren Club at Williams College seems to have been the first of a number of linked societies in American colleges. In the 1840s one of its members was a man called Wilder, whose son Robert P. Wilder went as a missionary to India. On his retirement in 1885 to Princeton, New Jersey, Robert P. Wilder had the idea of renewing the original inspiration of the Brethren Club and of seeking missionary recruits among college students. The idea spread through America and to Europe, and in 1895 Henry T. Hodgkin joined the branch at Cambridge, England, of what came to be known as the Student Volunteer Missionary Union.

While the SVMU was an American organization brought to England, England was exporting a youth movement of its own to America. That was the Young Men's Christian Association, begun on June 6, 1844 by George Williams in his bedroom in St. Paul's Churchyard in London. Its original 12 members were already interdenominational—three Anglicans, three Methodists, three Baptists, and three Congregationalists. By 1852 there were YMCAs in France, the Netherlands, India, and Australia, and on the American continent in Boston and Montreal. In 1855 at a conference in Paris the YMCA adopted as its "Basis of Faith" to unite those young men who "regarding the Lord Jesus as their God and Savior according to the Scripture, desire to be his disciples in this doc-

trine and in their life."

By 1878 its World Alliance had set up its headquarters in Geneva. In 19th century style, a women's movement parallel to the men's was started—the YWCA. It can be seen that the YMCA "Basis" is close in spirit to that of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, and Robert P. Wilder teamed up with the YMCA-YWCA leaders of his time—John R. Mott and Nettie Dunn—inviting students to take a personal pledge: "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary."

John R. Mott became perhaps the most important missionary statesman of the age, and here again the links are transatlantic. He was converted at a meeting at Cornell University at which J. E. K. Studd (later Sir Kynaston Studd, Lord Mayor of London) described "The Cambridge Seven," who offered to go to China as a result of the preaching of Dwight L. Moody.

The links with sport were impressive: The "Cambridge Seven" were headed by Studd's brother—C. T. Studd, the captain of cricket—and by Stanley P. Smith, the stroke of the University boat.

In 1888 the student missionaries held their first conference in a series called "Quadrennials," and in 1892 at Edinburgh adopted Mott's slogan, "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Their manifesto, the "Memorial," was issued to the churches, and in 1897 was presented to London Yearly Meeting by J. H. Oldham (not a Friend) who was later one of the architects of the World Council of Churches.

Henry T. Hodgkin was a wholehearted recruit and the time was not far distant when he would apply to go to China for the Friends Foreign Mission Association. At that time he said:

> All my life, as far as I can clearly remember, I have more or less definitely looked to this life-work. In preparing for it, I have found the blessing of God, and I look forward to it with great happiness as to the highest work possible for a man to do on earth, and I shall count it the greatest privilege to be engaged in it.

In 1896 the Student Volunteers had 1,300 pledges in Great Britain and 300 missionaries in the field. But there were eight years to go before Henry Hodgkin joined them.

It will be seen from this brief summary that Henry Hodgkin was a whole-hearted "Bible Christian" in the fashion of his day. But his family background, his Quaker faith, and his scientific training brought many difficulties of which he was already aware and which were to lead him deeper in his search for truth. He discussed the relationship of science and faith in correspondence with Maxwell Lefroy, future Professor of Entomology at Imperial College, London. An excerpt from a letter written in 1900, when

he was 23, said:

> When you say that the scientific method is to believe nothing without evidence, I emphatically agree that this should be carried out into all one's life. Faith is hard to define exactly—it is certainly not believing without evidence. I should call it the active belief in a thing in which you *have* evidence. . . . Faith is not contrary to reason, but an act of reason. *We use it constantly in science, and without it we should never advance.* (Italics added)

His difficulties were soon pinpointed by the Bible Study book on *The Epistle to the Hebrews* which he prepared for the SCM study groups in 1902. London Yearly Meeting had already accepted—certainly from the time of the Manchester Conference in 1895—the methods of what was then called "Higher Criticism": the analysis of the Scriptures, using the tools of paleography, anthropology, and archaeology to correct texts, assess dates, and explain background history and concepts. Henry Hodgkin's wholehearted adoption of those methods brought him into conflict with the Fundamentalists who would not accept either scientific criticism of the *Bible* or Darwinian theories of evolution. Hodgkin would renew the arguments later in China, with increasing impatience.

Home Mission Work, His Marriage, and the "Call" to China

For the moment, however, it was home rather than foreign missions which was his sphere. When he had taken his MB at St. Thomas's, he went as House Surgeon to a mission hospital in London's East End—the Mildmay (it still exists and has recently celebrated its centennial).

Working under him was a staff nurse named Elizabeth Joy Montgomery from Northern Ireland, herself a product of the mission movement. Her father, the Rev. Henry Montgomery, was a Presbyterian minister who had left his fashionable church to minister in the Shankhill Road—a name only too familiar in the recent troubles—at a mission hall called the Albert Hall, in honor of the Prince Consort. On April 26, 1903 Nurse Montgomery received a call to the surgeon's office; she put on a clean apron and knocked at the door. There she received, not a reprimand, but an offer of marriage which she had already decided to accept. On December 9, 1903 they were married at her father's Albert Hall. The following May they offered to go to China where there was already a little mission in the Western province of Szechwan.

Henry Hodgkin had kept the habit in his college vacations of going home to Darlington. Now he took his bride there for farewell meetings. He was not a great platform speaker but the meetings were times of great emotion. In one address he decried "a

self-centered religion that is seeking its own good—an aim almost worse than worldly aims," but "applauded the strength and dignity that come from having a purpose."

In the Quaker way he did not prepare written talks; I have before me as I write a small scrap of paper, 8 by 2½ inches, which contains all his notes for one of those addresses. The person who preserved it has endorsed it: "Henry Hodgkin's notes for address in D'ton Mtg. Ho.-Crowded."

It was certainly a crucial time for the little Quaker mission in China's most westerly province; no one who reads the bland Annual Reports would imagine the turmoil behind the scenes—and it was of long standing. As early as 1897 the Committee of Missionaries which was supposed to control local affairs had been suspended because of personal difficulties which were "most discreditable." In 1902 the China Committee in London had again to report to the Board that "there is serious friction between our missionaries," adding shortly afterwards that "there is no hope of better feeling without the withdrawal of some," forcing the Board to send a special deputation to the field to investigate.

The Hodgkins seemed a heaven-sent answer to prayer. Their commanding personalities, intense conviction, intellectual equipment, youth and zeal and visionary ambition, with the bonus of Joy's Ulster background in a mission founded and manned largely from the North of Ireland, shamed the combatants for the time into silence. The Quaker band were drawn together and integrated into the wider missionary community in schemes that concerned them all. The Hodgkins had, in fact, two sponsors: the Friends Foreign Mission Association and the YMCA—a situation which was later to cause problems.

Education Replaces Medicine as His Primary Concern

In one of those turnabouts which would henceforth mark his career, Henry Hodgkin decided that education, rather than medicine, was his priority. He had to work at all levels at once—infrastructure and superstructure. The old classical Chinese examination system which had provided civil servants since time immemorial, was falling to pieces through political changes and the effect of western ideas.

The Christian churches were planning to set up universities in various parts of China, but there could be no higher education without primary education. In 1906 Hodgkin was the leading spirit in setting up an Educational Union for West China, with a full-time secretary and a common curriculum, grading, and system of examinations.

In that task as in other matters he struggled against denominational rivalries and suspicions, in the spirit of the student volun-

teers who refused to discuss doctrine and asked of their members only a simple pledge of loyalty to Jesus Christ. Hodgkin's impatience with the narrowness of the sects would increase, but at the same time his loyalty to the Quaker faith deepened. In an article in *The Friend* in 1921 he wrote from the heart of China:

> Time was when one heard, not infrequently, the remark: "I am a Christian first and a Quaker afterwards" or some similar expression. While understanding the meaning of those who used the phrase, it always seemed to me a particularly unfortunate one because it threw into opposition two things that were fundamentally one. To the early Friends Quakerism was simply Primitive Christianity Revived, and the more I see the state of the world, the more certain do I become that what we need is a revival of the primitive faith and courage that turned the world upside down. I am a Quaker because I am a Christian, and it is the devotion I feel toward Christ my lord that makes me a keen Quaker, neither more nor less. That does not imply any doubt that many a man is a Christian who is not a Quaker (and may be a much better one than I) for God fulfils himself in many ways. But it prevents me from entering sympathetically into the attitude of mind that makes an antithesis where there is, to my mind, none. . . .

Plans went ahead for a West China Union University and in the same year as the Educational Union was begun, a site was purchased outside the walls of Chengtu, the capital of the province, though the first tiny classes did not begin until 1910. It drew in not only American and Canadian Mission Boards but even the hesitant Anglican "Church Missionary Society." Without question Hodgkin's personality and standing in the student movement and the academic world inspired confidence.

In 1908 he became secretary of the "West China Conference" of the Anglo-Saxon missions bodies; by 1913 he had drafted a tentative "Constitution" for a "United Protestant Church for West China." In planning the University, Hodgkin successfully pleaded that, though it was in origin a foreign body, it should have a Chinese name and a plan for eventual devolution to Chinese control, and that it should be based on a federal organization of colleges or halls (like the medieval universities) rather than central control.

It seemed that the Hodgkins had made an auspicious start in China. But complications set in. The first of them should have been anticipated; Henry Hodgkin could not learn Chinese. At school he had been bottom at languages—and Chinese is more difficult than French or Latin. He also had a personal handicap—he was tone deaf. Though he continued to struggle, he was in

effect limited to work with an interpreter or with those who could understand English. He could not preach or lecture with any facility in Chinese and he was debarred from easy day-to-day contacts and from the profound knowledge of a people which grows from understanding their language. In China, that was particularly important because of the Chinese suspicion of foreigners and their sense of superiority. With his tall physique and English ways, Hodgkin could never melt into the landscape.

He was the victim of his gifts as well as of his disabilities, as any gifted person is subject to pressures. He had been sent to China under the joint auspices of the Quakers and the YMCA; and John R. Mott, who was now a prominent leader in the latter movement, argued that the YMCA rather than a denominational mission was Hodgkin's field. Mott felt that so strongly that he went to London twice to plead with the FFMA Board, arguing that the Chinese students were the future leaders of their country and that they could be won to Christianity. Mott maintained that by temperament, background, and experience Hodgkin was the perfect person to run the Chinese branch of the YMCA.

Henry Hodgkin was ready to be persuaded, but the Board was not. Headed by their chairman (Henry's father) and their secretary, Dr. William Wilson, they took the view that Henry should first acquire experience in a local situation before he tried to cope with a national one. Although in form the decision was left to him, Henry acquiesced in the view of the Board and of his family.

But the situation soon changed.

The Hodgkins Return to England and His Work There

In 1910 Dr. Wilson died suddenly on returning from a visit to India. Consequently Henry Hodgkin was called home from China to take Wilson's place. At that point Henry had just passed his 33rd birthday.

He arrived home in time to take part in the final arrangements for the great World Missionary Conference of 1910 in Edinburgh, of which his friend John R. Mott was the chairman and J. H. Oldham the secretary. In his history of Christian Missions, Bishop Neill says that that conference:

> . . . surpassed all others in the meticulous care with which it had been prepared; in its character as an assembly for careful and scientific thought and not merely for the edification of the faithful and the expression of Christian enthusiasm; and in the steps which it took to secure the permanence of Christian cooperation."

From the inspiration of the conference Hodgkin turned to the everyday work of organization in the London office of the Friends Foreign Mission Association, which was still (as its name implies)

not an official part of London Yearly Meeting, but an association of Friends concerned for foreign missions. They had begun in 1866, sponsoring one missionary to India—Rachel Metcalfe. They now had more than a hundred workers in five fields and their story was recorded by Henry T. Hodgkin in his history, *Friends Beyond the Seas,* published in 1916.

During his tenure of office, Hodgkin persuaded London and Dublin Yearly Meetings to accept joint responsibility for the mission work. Yet, though he was well able to do office administration, it was not really the best use of his restless personality and wide-ranging talents. Then, with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the regular activity of the Association was interrupted.

In the spring of that year, when war was for most people still undreamed of, plans were made for a new conference of British Quakers "to focus the thought of the Society"—a successor to the Manchester Conference of 1895 which had been the great sounding-board for new ideas and fresh vision 20 years earlier. The rediscovery of Early Friends, the historical works of William Charles Braithwaite and Rufus M. Jones, the Summer School Movement, the widening of biblical scholarship and what was then called "The Social Gospel" all owed part of their impetus to the Manchester Conference. Now it was planned to hold another such conference in September, 1914, at Llandudno in Wales, under the auspices of the Home and Foreign Mission bodies, the Woodbrooke Extension Committee, and the Young Friends Movement.

Henry Hodgkin presided at all the main sessions and was the mouthpiece of the Conference Committee. Ecumenical as ever, he invited speakers from outside the Society to lead the sessions, or rather "to attend . . . and give whatever messages may be entrusted to them." Those invited included John R. Mott (who did not come in the end); Richard Roberts, a Presbyterian pastor; Dr. James Hope Moulton, Professor of New Testament Greek at Manchester University; Harold Anson, an Anglican rector; and Mrs. Mary Higgs, who worked among tramps and dossers. They were not Quakers, although Mary Higgs later became one.

Until that time, Henry T. Hodgkin had shown little interest in peace debates or in the newly fashionable "Social Gospel." He sympathized with the Women's Suffrage Movement and the Labor Movement, but he refused to be doctrinaire or to criticize the government of the day. In correspondence with Principal Cairns he denied that he was against the use of all force: "I am not myself sure as to the principle of the sanctity of life, as it is held by man."

However, just before Llandudno and only five days before the war was declared, the Hodgkins had gone to Switzerland to the inaugural meeting of a new body—The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. At Con-

stance they made friends with the Kaiser's chaplain, Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze, and his wife, and when the meeting broke up on the declaration of war, they were shepherded on their way with a personal safe-conduct from the German Emperor. They parted with a vow that nothing would break their friendship: "Remember no matter what happens, it will always be the same between us," Henry told Siegmund-Schultze. Henry got to Llandudno with the sound of the sobbing women still in his ears. The debate there, both for and against participation in the war, was at a high level and many who heard him remembered for the rest of their lives the penetrating eloquence of Richard Roberts, the Presbyterian minister from Crouch End, who, like Hodgkin, had not started out as a pacifist but now in a prophetic mood denounced the war.

After the conference, some who had participated continued to meet in London at Roberts' house, hoping to hold together pacifists and non-pacifists in Christian brotherhood. They drew in leading Anglicans like William Temple, the future Archbishop of Canterbury; George Bell, future Dean of Canterbury and later Bishop of Chichester; and Percy Dearmer; and prominent Free Churchmen like W. E. Orchard, Maude Royden (woman minister of the Guildhouse, Eccleston Square), W. Fearon Halliday, and Lilian Stevenson. They appealed to the then Archbishop of Canterbury to convene a Lambeth conference of the whole church on Christian duty, but in vain. They published (with William Temple as the editor) a series of *48 Papers in Wartime.*

The Fellowship of Reconciliation

The breaking point came when the editorial committee rejected a paper written by Hodgkin. The pacifists then withdrew to form their own interchurch organization. They met in the last days of 1914 at Trinity Hall in Cambridge, where George Bell was then chaplain, and decided to call the new body "The Fellowship of Reconciliation." Such a body by its nature had to be international and in the spring of 1915, while the United States was still neutral in the war, Hodgkin helped promote an American F.o.R. although he said, "It is not for me, an Englishman, to start such a movement in America."

Later in the war, Henry Hodgkin took part in the efforts of the Scandinavian bishops, headed by Archbishop Soderblom of Uppsala, to call an International Christian Conference to intercede in the war. For the F.o.R. he wrote two of his best books: *A Lay Religion* and *The Christian Revolution.* A quotation from the former will show that in spite of his ecumenical spirit, Hodgkin was capable of hard-hitting and had travelled far from his original evangelical faith. He claimed that:

> It is a matter of common knowledge that the ordinary presentation of religion is not real. It is surrounded with subterfuge and sham; it is associated with medieval ceremonies; it is couched in language that is out-of-date and meaningless to any who have not been brought up to drink in it; it is careful to run away from things that really matter. The "religious" man lives in a world of his own making, and it seems to the common man an unreal world—a world of sham.

What men need, he said, is a religion of reality and adventure, of freedom and fellowship, of purpose and harmony. The "religious specialists" have to live a life of hypocritical pretense, disguising their own "sins of pride and temper, jealousy, and self-seeking . . . by the compulsion to set forth only the highest ideals" and this is at its worst in the "unspeakable and bitter bondage of preaching . . . from which it seems impossible to escape." Further, he declared:

> The truth is uttered glibly and without any clear conception of what it would imply if it were really put into action. Or it is withheld in whole or in part lest it should offend the wealthy and influential members of the congregation. Or it is fenced round with all the arguments of expediency so that it may hurt no man's feelings.

His view of Christian unity was far from the doctrinal debates that went on and still do:

> Jesus Christ called his followers into a piece of work so utterly beyond their powers, so much too big for isolated efforts, so hazardous and so glorious, that they were welded in the white heat of a great endeavor into a deep unity. When this happens again, there will be little, if any, need to have ecclesiastics and theologians devoting their best efforts to problems of church unity. It will have come not by tinkering compromises, by formulae that hide differences or by mechanical repetition of creeds and observances of rites, but by the sheer necessity of the case. Those who are truly possessed by the spirit of Jesus must find themselves bound into one body, whatever their name or sign as they really face these problems.

Return to China

The end of the war of 1914-1918 found the Hodgkins restless again. He gave up his work in the Foreign Mission Association which had now become an official part of the machinery of London and Dublin Yearly Meetings and in 1926 fused with work in Europe to form the new Friends Service Council.

After a tour of Scandinavia, the Hodgkins returned to China—but only briefly to the Quaker mission in Szechwan. Carrying a

special edition of his book *The Christian Revolution,* adapted with local Chinese illustrations, Henry engaged in a series of lecture tours to persuade Chinese students and others that they needed a revolution, but a non-violent and loving one. By January, 1922 he had delivered, mainly in English, 420 lectures and addresses throughout China, including most of the main cities.

At the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, a few leaders of the Younger Churches had made a deep impression. One of the most notable was Dr. C. Y. Cheng (Cheng Ching-yi) and on his return to his home, he became secretary of the "China Continuation Committee" to carry forward the work begun at Edinburgh. In Shanghai, in 1922, after four years of preparation, a conference was convened with representatives of 130 Protestant denominations working in 18 provinces. At that time the National Christian Council of China was founded. Cheng presided over the conference and then invited Henry T. Hodgkin to become joint secretary with him of the new body. Henry accepted and worked in China until the last phase of his life, describing his new task as:

> . . . of surprising magnitude and splendor . . . the working out of the implications of Christ's way . . . under the inspiration of the new churches of the Orient, using the stores of their ancient philosophies and ethics.

That declaration seems emphatic enough. Yet, when he went home on leave in 1924 at the end of his first term, he received from the Fellowship of Reconciliation an urgent appeal to become its British secretary. A letter to his father shows him hesitating and divided: "I do not now feel able to reach a decision. . . ." He had a young family and was conscious that they suffered neglect from their parents' way of life, the immense distances, and periods of separation. He thought of his "insufficient Chinese" and of the discouragements he suffered in China. But, in the end, he went back.

China was now the China of the War Lords, between the disintegration of the old Empire and the coming of the People's Republic. The Protestant Missions, tiny in size against China's vast millions, were often persecuted, subject to physical attack. The missionaries were devoted and brave but many of them found their strength in a deep but narrow faith which upheld them through civil turmoil, public indifference, suspicion, and physical danger.

However, their narrow outlook was Hodgkin's bane; he felt in them "a failure to appreciate the deep significance of the times in which we are living." Heresy hunts were common and he complained of "something very like an inquisition into the faith of individual missionaries. I was quite unprepared for anything as

bad as I feel this to be." He had no patience with endless debates over "verbal inspiration" and the date of the "Second Coming." He reported trouble from the over-insistence of the ultra-evangelicals on the inerrant Word of God in all its 64 books.

The missions became restive at attempts to change them and their attitudes to Chinese cults. At a 1923 convention in Kuling they censured their secretary by halving the number of lectures he was set down to give. Henry deplored the controversy as "simply devilish" and in a severe mood declared that if all the missions were withdrawn from China and all funds stopped, the Chinese church would be united in a generation. In 1926, soon after his return to China, there was fission, and one-third of the Council seceded, taking Dr. Cheng with them. They included the Fundamentalist sects and the revered China Inland Mission, which had been the godparent of the Quaker mission at the outset. At the same time the High Church Episcopalians also withdrew—and the Roman and Orthodox churches had never been involved.

So the National Christian Council was left ineffective. They even failed to bring pressure on the reactionary Shanghai Municipal Council, on which no Chinese sat, to abolish or effectively control the sweatshops in the city, where little girls worked all night. The National Christian Council, of course, had its headquarters in that city, which was the focal point of western capitalist aggression, so that it also became the birthplace of the Chinese Communist Party. Henry and Joy lived in a fine apartment in the European section of the city but in a style that more and more tried their consciences.

Building a Broader Religious Base

During the last period of service in China, Henry Hodgkin abandoned hope for the Protestant churches as he knew them in China, and began to build an alternative vision of the interpenetration of faiths and cultures, fed by the sympathy he felt for Chinese Buddhism. The infant church of Christ in the first centuries, he held, had been created from the fusion of its Jewish inheritance with the philosophy of Greece and the organization of Rome. Now the cultures of India, China, and Japan must be fused with the Western inheritance in like manner. Henry began the practice of holding "Christian retreats" in Buddhist monasteries, with deep satisfaction, recording the fact that:

> A great task of rethinking our central ideas opens up before us, and as the Greek and Roman fathers performed the task in the first three or four centuries of our era, the Chinese and Indian fathers must perform it today.

He dreamed that:

> Chinese Christianity might interpret Christianity in a far more thoroughgoing way than anything that is current in the West. It might startle our staid Christianity into a new certainty, a deeper faith, a stronger love, and in a tide of common light and life, who knows how many abuses might be swept away?

But he had lost hope in immediate mass action; he thought the next move must be through:

> . . . such intimate relations with the few as well enable them to catch all that is best in our spirits and to take up the burdens we may have to lay down.

He spoke prophetically, for in Mao's China the work of the missions would indeed be laid down and the seed fall to the ground and die, but the memory of intimate relations would remain.

Helping to Lay the Foundations for Pendle Hill in the U.S.A.

By their lack of fluent Chinese and by their life style, the Hodgkins were debarred from sharing with the Chinese friends in the way they would have wished. So, at the end of his second period of service, Henry was ready to accept the overtures already being made to him by a group of American Quakers to join in a venture on an intimate scale, contrasted totally with the vast landscapes of China.

That venture was to bear the name of George Fox's mount of vision—Pendle Hill. It would be a cell, beginning at the starting-point of true religion for which he had asked in *Lay Religion:*

> Men are fundamentally religious. The essential religious demand is for reality. When unreality invades religion, the very foundations of the life of man are being sapped, or (to change the simile) the wells from which we draw the water of life are poisoned. This is what has happened in our own day. The great need of our time is to shatter the unreality and bring men back to the truth. The way to find truth is for each of us to examine his own actions and from them deduce what his actual religion is. From that starting-point and from that alone, can we begin to find our way to that religion by which we ought to live.

Early in 1929 Henry and Joy Hodgkin left China and returned to England via Siberia. But not for long. By March Henry was on his way to the United States, the first of three trips by sea that year, for the planning of Pendle Hill. In 1930 he became its first director, but that appointment proved to be the last brief episode of a relatively short life.

He had said: "I do not know how many years I may be at this post, and I want each one to count to the maximum." In two short

years he set a personal stamp on the community which still endures, on the basis of work, worship, recreation and social action, as "a haven of rest, a school for the prophets, a laboratory of ideas, a fellowship of cooperation."

On March 26, 1933 Henry T. Hodgkin died in a Dublin nursing home. His wife Joy, seriously ill in the same house, was carried to his room to be with him.

This short account only palely reflects his many-sided personality and wide-reaching career. Nothing has been said of his work at the end of the Great War as chairman of the Jerusalem and Palestine Relief Fund; or of his personal courage during that war; or of his part in British Quaker politics; and too little of his wife's powerful personality.

In his last article, written for the American pacifist journal *The World Tomorrow,* and reproduced in the London *Friend* five days after his death, Henry Hodgkin spoke of three peope he had met and admired and claimed:

> There is a great deal of evidence to show that man's personality opens out towards a world of energy and wisdom on which he but rarely draws. . . . It is one cultivated by few and one needs a degree of concentration, self-discipline, and humility not less than that of the scientist who makes fresh drafts upon natural resources.

His own life is surely part of that evidence.

JOHN SOMERVELL HOYLAND

Joyful Giant

L. HUGH DONCASTER

"Grand!"

It is a word which was constantly on Jack Hoyland's lips, often as a greeting, with hand outstretched, ready to give a grip which would be remembered a week later. He liked big words: glorious, great, grand, immense, rapturous, splendid, sumptuous, tempestuous, tremendous, triumphant. . . . They flowed from him, the natural fruit of his bigness.

"Jack Hoyland was a big man in every way," wrote Reginald Reynolds to start his biography, *John S. Hoyland.*

Jack's daughter, Rachel, also used that as the opening sentence of the book *Silent Dawn: An Anthology of Prayers* by John S. Hoyland.

There was nothing small, let alone petty, in him. He was big in build (6 feet 2 inches) and big-hearted, with a deep, resonant voice and infectious laughter.

His Quaker Antecedents

Jack came from several long lines of Quaker ancestry: Wilsons, Somervells, Dymonds, Hoylands. He was well aware of this heritage, though he never harped on it. He grew up surrounded by Quaker relatives. His mother was "a cheerful invalid," who died when Jack was five. His father, John William Hoyland, was the dominant influence in his life—a man for whom Jack had deep affection and reverence. John William Hoyland was himself a powerful influence in the Religious Society of Friends, particularly as Principal of Kingsmead in Selly Oak, where Friends were trained for overseas service.

As a Youth

Jack went to a preparatory school for three years where he was very unhappy because of bullying. The bravery of a boy who once rescued him from a group of bullies seemed to him Christlike and was a powerful influence in the development of Jack's character.

Thence he had a scholarship to King Edward's School in Birmingham. There he became captain of the school, won a major classical scholarship to Christ's College, Cambridge, and was awarded the Dale Memorial Medal as "the boy who had shown the most outstanding gifts of character and leadership." But King Edward's had a cadet corps which Jack refused to join. Consequently he faced harsh criticism from the boys and the staff, particularly when Lord Roberts ("at that time almost the incarnation

of British militarism") came to Birmingham to receive the Freedom of the City and to review the cadets.

At Cambridge Jack read the classics, rowed, and played rugger for Christ's College, became an active member of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, and developed into a natural leader among young Friends. That was the time when young Quakers were commiting themselves to liberal and progressive theological thought and urgently relating that to social, political, and international affairs. It was also the period of the birth of the Young Friends movement, and Jack was a powerful influence in its founding. In that context he helped the growth of a strong Christian conviction which nevertheless shed the old "evangelical" shell and found more "liberal" thought forms. He was particularly outstanding at the Young Friends' Conference at Swanwick in 1911.

That was followed by a year in the United States at the School of Missions at Hartford Theological Seminary in Connecticut, and considerable activity among young Friends. In the U.S.A. the nineteenth century had brought about differences in theology and organizational divisions and Jack set out to bring together streams which had been separate too long. He travelled widely and spoke persuasively, and he became greatly appreciated by younger and older Friends in all branches of American Quakerism. Largely through his influence, a weighty group of British young Friends visited among American Friends in 1912, trying to nourish the tender plant of unity.

Elizabeth Fox Howard, on the return journey, wrote to Violet Hodgkin:

> I am glad to say that Jack has really been "slacking" on board. He needed it badly. He is just lovely—*never* bossing or putting himself forward and yet we all feel he is the leader; his spirit gets more and more beautiful, and one is almost frightened sometimes. And yet he is such a boy still. I don't think he is a bit spoiled with being made so much of in America. He has made a great place for himself there and has done an extraordinary work among the young Friends—and the older people, too.

His First Marriage

During 1910 Jack came to know Helen Doncaster, another actively committed young Friend from Sheffield, who had been at The Mount School in York, St. Hilda's College in Oxford, and was teaching at the Clifton Girls High School. Just before leaving the United States in 1912, Jack wrote her, proposing marriage—characteristically listing the many and weighty reasons why she should refuse. His whole life was dedicated to the service of God and he was inviting her to "a partnership of sacrifice." It would be a partnership in which they would often be kept apart by the

rigorous demands of discipleship. Helen, with her eyes wide open, accepted.

His Years in India

With his home in Kingsmead, his membership in the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, his service among young Friends, and his year at the Hartford School of Missions, Jack's preparation for missionary work was completed. So, in 1912 he set forth for India, where Helen joined him in 1913. They were married on October 20th at Hoshangabad.

Their primary responsibility was to reopen and run the Friends High School at Hoshangabad, of which Jack was the principal and Helen one of the teachers. This they did early in 1914, with Mildred and Geoffrey Maw as their close and congenial colleagues and companions. The outbreak of World War I meant a long period of service without home leave. But all four dug themselves into the local situation and became involved in multitudinous ways.

Three boys were born to Jack and Helen during that period: John, Denys, and Peter. When the fearful influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 hit India, Helen was heavily committed as a mother. Jack and Geoffrey went out with teams of boys and a bullock cart, taking medicines, and giving care and cheering those in utter despair. The casualty rate in those primitive villages was ghastly, with mortality up to half the previous population. Resistance to taking medicine was considerable and needed to be overcome by persuasion. At home, two teachers and some boys died. But Jack and his helpers persisted in "just going round and cheering people up." There was much discomfort from intense heat and bitter cold and from the danger of infection, but this field work in the villages persisted until the epidemic waned. Later, Jack was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal for public service in India.

But, in January of 1919, Helen died from typhoid, and two months later baby Peter died from the same disease. Jack was bereft, left with two small boys, aged four and two. That shattering blow meant his return to England to settle them with Helen's sisters. When that was arranged, he characteristically spent the rest of his compassionate leave in Vienna, working with the Friends War Victims Relief Committee on behalf of children starving because of the Allied blockade of central Europe.

After a few months, he was back in India, this time as lecturer in English and history at Hislop College—Nagpur—a mission college of the United Free Church of Scotland. His own educational background made this English-speaking college a more natural setting for his gifts than the work at Hoshangabad, where English was not the medium of teaching.

His Second Marriage

One of his colleagues in Nagpur was Jessie Marais, who arrived by the same train as Jack, although they did not know it at the time. Jessie was born in Johannesburg, South Africa. Her doctor father was of Huguenot descent; her mother was Scottish. When she was eleven, plague hit her family and within ten days all except Jessie had died: father, mother, two sisters and a brother. When she offered herself as a missionary teacher in India, she knew well what epidemic disease could do.

She and Jack were married in 1921. They knew the demands and sacrifices required of them and almost at once they faced unexpected tests. Shortly before their wedding Jack heard that the famine in the Mandla district was severe and he warned Jessie that he felt he must offer his help. One week after they were married, he left home to throw himself once more into ameliorating human suffering in poverty-stricken villages. Later, Jessie was allowed to join him and they worked together, travelling on foot along jungle paths haunted by man-eating tigers who made kills close to the villages even in the daylight. But worse, they not only had to administer famine relief, they faced an outbreak of cholera. For three months they were totally involved in arduous and dangerous relief work.

The early years of their marriage, 1921-1928, were packed full, or, more accurately, overfull. Jack was teaching full-time at the college. He was also responsible for planning, building, and running the Friends hostel at Nagpur. In 1928 he was administering a high school for 330 boys; running two hostels, organizing all-college, school and hostel athletics; and acting as mission treasurer. In addition, he wrote or translated a wide range of books. By the time he was 37, he had published 20 books and ten more were in the hands of publishers.

That pressure, along with attacks of fever, made inroads on his health. He had had typhoid in 1919 and nearly died from it. Now bouts of pain and serious insomnia undermined his health. Eventually he had to admit defeat by ill health. In 1928 the Hoylands went back to England, knowing that he would not return to India as he was declared unfit for work in a tropical climate.

Meanwhile his second family grew. Michael, Rachel, and Francis were born in 1925, 1926, and 1930, and were a source of immense delight.

Although he came home because of a breakdown in his health, he managed to write and give the Swarthmore Lecture in 1928—a lecture given each year at the time of London Yearly Meeting. That lecture was published as a book with the title *The Light of Christ.*

He was still unwell, with insomnia and bouts of pain as lifelong companions, when he was appointed to the staff of Woodbrooke, the Quaker Center and Retreat in Birmingham. As a young man leaving Cambridge, he had been offered such a position. Now, at 40, the opportunity came again, with a wealth of testing and enriching experiences behind him. Earlier he had been urged to apply for the headship of an English school, but he had declined with the comment, "I abominate having to run a hard-and-fast system and to be a martinet and all that." The freedom of Woodbrooke was a tailor-made setting for Jack's seeing of visions and dreaming of dreams, and for embodying them in action.

Woodbrooke is a Quaker-run "college" where Quaker, biblical, social, and international studies are pursued. There are normally about 60 students, ranging in age from 18 to 80, coming from about 20 different nations. They are men and women with a wide range of religious convictions, Christian and other. Students come for longer or shorter periods, and a motley crowd flows through it. Each member of the staff is a "tutor" to eight or ten students and each student has a close link with his or her tutor. Woodbrooke itself is set in the cluster of Selly Oak Colleges, of which Kingsmead is another, so Jack was coming home. He had to come to terms with his health problem, but he knew he was not turning his back on his lifelong concerns but beginning a renewed commitment to them in a new setting.

How can one possibly capture the wonderful role he played in Woodbrooke? One of his colleagues, Margaret Worsdell, said that he earned the whole of his salary on the first afternoon of a new term by the warmth of his welcome to new and old students. The dining room was never quiet, but with Jack in it, there were great gusts of laughter, indicating clearly at which table he was sitting. In the Quiet Room he never sat in the front row "because Jessie says my feet stick out so far." His vocal ministry, studded with anecdotes and illustrations, short and vivid, enriched the worship. His lectures ranged widely over many themes; probably the most memorable were those on the Fourth Gospel and the Light of Christ, suffused as they were by his own regular devotional reading. The Fourth Gospel he well nigh knew by heart.

At the end of dinner he would often boom the message, "Two p.m.—Gardening." He would lead a team to dig, in consultation with (and sometimes to the consternation of) the gardener. Great gusts of laughter would indicate where the team was working.

The most unique of his contributions to the Woodbrooke timetable was The Silent Fellowship. Jack and Jessie were wardens of

what was then the men's hostel; and after supper, on Fridays, there was an open invitation to everyone to come to Jack's study—a pleasant room lined from floor to ceiling with books, and warmed by central heating and an open fire. There people would crowd in, most of them sitting on the floor because there was room only that way.

Soon the lights were turned out and for half an hour the group entered into deep, corporate, silent prayer for individuals and causes, often but not always indicated by Jack. Those in need of healing and comfort were helped; those who had doubts about the reality and effectiveness of prayer were strengthened; those whose conviction was flickering were infected by his own strong faith.

Of course there were many who did not find The Silent Fellowship to their liking; they came only once. But there were many who found it enriching; they came repeatedly. There was a not inconsiderable number who left Woodbrooke saying that the most memorable of its many facets was The Silent Fellowship in which prayer became more real than they had ever dreamed possible.

Jack's Friendship with Gandhi

Jack had been inspired by Gandhi for some years, with increasing confidence in his methods and the spirit in which he worked. When Gandhi accepted an invitation to Woodbrooke for the weekend of October 17-19, 1931, they met each other for the first time. There was a strong affinity between the two men. They had already known each other through their writings, and Jack's years in India (and especially in her villages) gave him deep insight into the passionate concern of Gandhi for the downtrodden.

Jack, and Jack alone, accompanied Gandhi on his pre-dawn devotional walk. This was a peak experience in Jack's life. Gandhi had spoken of "his own resolve never to call anything his own, and of his experience in consequence of 'life, power, freedom, and joy'." Jack commented:

> The dawn was just coming up before us as the Mahatma said these memorable words, presenting so stark a challenge to our comfortable everyday values. It was perhaps the most tremendous moment in a lifetime. I knew something of what the young man felt when he was told, "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and come, take up thy cross, and follow me."

Jack reacted by wanting to join the Bruderhof, giving up all his worldly goods. Only after inner torment did he acquiesce in Jessie's firm refusal. But Gandhi's words deeply underscored values learned from Jesus and St. Francis, and saved him from the subtle strangling of Mammon.

Mutual respect grew into friendship, fostered and maintained

over the years by correspondence. And in those years Gandhi—sometimes in prison, sometimes fasting—was often the focus of prayer in The Silent Fellowship.

Until he was 65, Jack was one of the Woodbrooke staff, and it provided a base from which he sallied forth proclaiming and "doing" Truth. Theoretically he was a part-time member of the staff, the other part being an Extension Lecturer. That involved a great deal of travel, innumerable public meetings, and addresses to a wide variety of audiences on a wide variety of subjects. He was a very popular visitor to Friends' schools, where his vivid use of language and his boisterous humor were most acceptable.

His Part in the Work Camp Movement

Jack spent his life putting quarts into pint pots and being nearly immersed in the consequent spill. The great economic depression, which began in 1929, was growing deeper and deeper in the early 1930s. His passion for social justice and for doing something practical and not just moaning about "the unemployed," led him to appreciate the possibilities for action through "work camps." Pierre Ceresole, an outstanding Swiss Friend, was experimenting with a civilian alternative to military service, doing manual work to succor those in need. Jack himself, with a handful of Woodbrooke students, joined the first work camp organized by Pierre at Bryn Mawr in 1931. A new torch was lit. Till the recession was over, Jack was indefatigable in arranging and sharing in such work camps, primarily in the coal fields of Britain.

Work camps as developed by Jack were a little different from those of the Service Civil International or the International Voluntary Service for Peace. Pierre, in the context of an alternative to military service, stressed discipline more than Jack did. I.V.S.P. volunteers usually slept and ate as a group. Punctuality and efficiency were important. Jack was more concerned to promote personal relationships, and wherever possible volunteers lived in the homes of their unemployed hosts. The work was done with unemployed men whose stamina after years on the dole was not up to over-rigorous activity.

Jack visited scores of schools and universities to recruit volunteers to spend a week or more of their vacation time in, for example, digging the allotments of pensioners or of the disabled. He visited scores of sites to discover suitable projects and local leadership. His faith in the value of manual service, given freely to those in need, was nourished by Gandhi's example and the fruitfulness of his own experience.

World War II and Its Aftermath

The second World War brought new needs. When London was

to be bombed, Jack went to survey arrangements for the dispossessed and to fill in gaps if they were discovered. He quickly became part of a reception committee for elderly and infirm people, and he helped to establish over 20 such centers in safer areas. At home, he organized a small unit to help a local hospital for cripples. When some bombed-out families were given shelter at Woodbrooke, Jack was, of course, active in promoting their well-being.

After the war, he threw himself into the special needs of the hungry in Europe and in the Third World, and was constantly travelling to meetings to promote peace, disarmament, and world government. He was also the chairman of the National Council of the Crusade for World Government.

Before World War II the work camps were largely Jack's creation and they were probably numbered in the hundreds, with participants probably in the thousands. After the war, the work camp pattern was adopted "officially" by the Friends Service Council and the Friends Peace Committee, and they thus became an integral part of Quaker organization. He had pioneered and successfully launched a most valuable project; and as long as his health allowed, he visited and supported such camps.

As Field Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee

When he was 65, he retired from the Woodbrooke staff. Characteristically he applied for and was appointed as Field Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee. No retirement for him! He travelled as continuously as before and most people did not notice that he had retired. Jessie and he had moved from Holland House at Woodbrooke in 1940 and after that their home was on the Lickey Hills outside Birmingham. From there he operated as before.

He was in constant demand as a speaker, and not by any means to Quaker groups only. In order to keep fresh, he had in his wallet a little sheaf of pieces of paper about two by three inches, each with a different heading. As he listened to a talk, or even in conversation, if a thought or something amusing caught his attention, out would come the little sheaf. He would thumb through it to find the appropriate heading. Then in tiny writing he would add a summary of what was to be captured, maybe transformed, and finally liberated in a new context.

"Teddy Bears"

Throughout his life Jack had made rigorous and vigorous use of his body. Early on, this was in gymnastics and games, and in digging (his spadefuls often needed re-digging!). When Woodbrooke depended on coal as fuel, it used to be tipped and left obstructing the roadway. Consequently it had to be shifted by

hand—and up to ten tons would be used in a cold week. Jack would get down to this, and through his example, bring other volunteers. Not infrequently he would shift the whole load to save this devolving on the aging caretaker.

In 1954 he had a heart attack and no more such activity was possible. As occupational therapy in the hospital, Jack learned to make teddy bears which were much appreciated by his grandchildren. He and Jessie took some to the children at the Birmingham Royal Institution for the Blind. Again a huge success. Then his fertile mind saw the possibility of using time on gentle manual work for good causes. If he was forbidden to dig, he could sew. Wherever he went, he took his little dispatch case with all the necessary ingredients. When attending a meeting or a committee, he would open it on his knees and the process would begin. And eager purchasers would rally round afterwards.

The ears were sewed on at jaunty angles. The faces were friendly and the bears cuddly. The stitches were firm and large, as had been the spadefuls. Jessie, who was a gifted artist in many fields, helped him to acquire real skill in "bearing bears" as he described the process of creation.

Hence time was redeemed—and wells were dug in India and children helped through UNICEF: 4,204 teddy bears eventually raised 2000 English pounds for good causes.

Teddy bears were to Jack what spinning had been to Gandhi.

His Death

By 1956 he had to give up his work, after three years, for the Peace Committee, because of his heart. Then, in August, 1957, he had a stroke from which he made a good recovery. On October 28th, he again addressed a public meeting. The following day he made an entry in the bear account book of the ones sold the previous evening.

During the following night he had another stroke and died on October 30th, when he was nearly 70.

His Family

Recalling Jack Hoyland's life, it is natural to think of what he did. But it is what he was that is most significant. And that was deeply rooted in his family.

He had a profound respect and love for his father. His mother died when Jack and his brother Geoffrey were little children; and his father, aided by his sisters, Barbara and Adelaide, provided a secure home background. Later, when John William Hoyland married Josephine Taylor, a robust bond of affection grew between them and his step-mother, although to begin with Jack found his father's remarriage a stumbling block. He was steadily

upheld by all of the previous generation, sustained but totally free.

In his own family, history repeated itself. Helen and Peter died, leaving two small boys to be cared for by aunts. His work in India kept him from them in infancy. That was all the more heart-rending because Jack adored all children and the years of separation from John and Denys (1919-1928) were difficult. His return to Birmingham in 1928 meant a reunion of his family. But, alas, John and Denys were killed in young manhood; John climbing Mont Blanc in 1934 and Denys killed in action in Italy in 1944. So, again, two small boys were left with one parent only.

His entire first family had died. But Jack's inexhaustible store of tenderness and affection flooded the lives of his second family, even though his overfull life took him away frequently. Sometimes his reading and lecture preparation were done in a melée of small children and the pet corgies (small Welsh dogs) whose presence delighted him. Any understanding of Jack must include this intimate and precious strand.

Both of his marriages were blessed, but the partnerships had to be created and sustained by hard work on both sides, as Jack's drive to active service sometimes conflicted with his wife's need for him as husband and father. She and he would not always see priorities in the same way. So there were times when two strong personalities had to wrestle to achieve harmony.

Jack's vision always stretched beyond the immediate to wider horizons. When struggling to curb the ravages of influenza and cholera, when making teddy bears to raise funds for UNICEF, Jack was aware not of children in the mass, but as individuals, each as a person in his or her own right. His tenderness knew no bounds.

His Personality

Jack was a man of contrasts. These were complementary rather than contradictory and their togetherness made him whole. He was deeply serious but never solemn. He was constantly doing practical things but he was equally concerned with scholarship—reading voraciously and writing constantly. He was outwardly achieving visible goals but inwardly he was nourished morning and evening by devotional discipline.

Then, living in Rednal and working in Woodbrooke, he would travel the four miles early enough to be in Woodbrooke an hour before breakfast for his devotional reading and quiet time. Every evening he would read Homer and the New Testament in Greek, and he carried a Greek New Testament in his pocket. Prayer was the air he breathed.

His largeness of physical frame; his rich, resonant voice; his intellectual stature and his exuberance—all made him dominant in

a group. But he was never domineering and was deeply humble. He accepted rebuke and the rejection of his ideas with no trace of resentment, however disappointed he might be.

Jack was inspired and inspiring. He shared his vision and enthusiasm. He communicated brilliantly. There was the danger of being swept along by the current he generated. It was necessary to distance oneself from him, to let one's critical faculties have time to weigh what he had given in order to discover whether his path of discipleship was really ours.

Several of his colleagues have noted that Jack never said an unkind word about anyone. But he could cause exasperation by a certain unreliability. If a cause seemed to him to demand an immediate response, a lesser cause might be left untended for others to succor, without warning.

For Jack, life tended to be black or white, without shades of gray. He grasped at facts and propositions and oversimplified to the point of distortion. He exaggerated shamelessly without batting an eyelid, but not without a twinkling of the eye. He dramatized, and so made memorable. He could share a prophetic vision or infuriate and scandalize those whose concern for truth was offended by his cavalier treatment of her.

His irrepressible sense of humor suffused the whole of his life. A visiting speaker in the 1940s, when clothes were rationed, had intended to say, "We are living in a period of long drawn out wars." Jack, and only Jack, came from the room chortling with delight, insisting that the speaker had begun to say, "We are living in a period of long worn out drawers." (And out came the little sheaf of papers.)

At a crowded session of London Yearly Meeting in Friends House, a weighty subject was under discussion. Jack rose to his feet, and all eyes turned towards him. His great voice boomed out dramatically, "I see writing on the wall behind the clerk's table," and every head turned that way. Even the clerks could scarcely refrain from peering over their shoulders.

His Scholarship

His concerns were too many and too wide for him to be thought of as an academic "scholar." He never specialized. But his intellectual gifts were outstanding, and running parallel with his 101 activities, he wrote books and kept up his languages. At Hartford he had studied Urdu, Hindi, and Arabic, as well as Greek and Hebrew.

He translated two books from Latin into English, both of them being early accounts of India. With the help of an Indian colleague he also translated several books from English into Hindi. They included a life of Abraham Lincoln. His catholicity was

remarkable, indicated slightly by the following titles taken at random from his published volumes:

A Book of Prayers (written for use in an Indian college)
A Brief History of Civilization
Digging with the Unemployed
Federate or Perish
Gandhi: The Practical Peace Builder
Modern European History 1494-1914
Simon the Zealot
The Way of St. Francis and Today
A Book of Ballads (written for Hugh Doncaster's children)
George Fox's Teaching of the Indwelling Presence of Christ
John Lilburne: Soldier and Democrat
Friday: An Easter Play
Prayer and the Social Revolution

All together he published 80 books and innumerable articles. And there is a shelf-full of his unpublished manuscripts in the Woodbrooke library.

His Faith

Prayer was basic in Jack's life. If he had one foot firmly in this life (ideally on a spade!), the other was undoubtedly set in the eternal world. He faced bereavement repeatedly, sustained by an assurance that this world is a foretaste of life to come. As he wrote:

Another day has dawned, wherein God bids us live eternal life,
Shake loose the bonds of time and death,
Step clear together from the iron chains of fate
Into His own dominion, His own perfect home
Of freedom, light, and joy.

Another day has dawned, wherein our home on earth
Shall be the foretaste of God's heaven.

He poured out his soul in longing that he might help to let the Divine Spirit seep into the cracks of our international, social, and personal affairs. "This is the only thing in the universe that matters, that the Spirit should shine," he once wrote.

Along with his concern to help the Spirit shine in human affairs was his discernment of the Spirit in nature and his delight in natural beauty; God was ever-present in both—the background and foreground of his life. A glimpse into his faith in this regard can be caught from these lines from his book, *Silent Dawn:*

You deny the existence of God?
Look forth on those forest-clothed hills,
Hark to the song of the birds,
Gaze up at the stars in the night,
Hear the call of the children at play.

Why, the world is resplendent with God:
His glory cannot be veiled:
Through the garment of matter it shines,
As the sun through a curtain of cloud.

Man needs but the listening ear,
But the eye that is willing to see:
With these he shall know and be glad
In the living assurance of God.

MARGARETHE LACHMUND

Radiant Friend and Reconciler

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

Have any of the sessions of your yearly meeting ever been held clandestinely, lest the secret police learn of its activities? Has your yearly meeting ever made plans for "going underground" because of the persecution of its members and/or the outlawing of your group by the government?

Such a scenario may seem unbelievable to you. But it has happened once in the more than 300 years of Quaker history. The time was 1940 and the place, Nazi Germany.

In October of that year the regular sessions of the Germany Yearly Meeting were held in the Meeting House in Bad Pyrmont, a small town in West Germany. Nearly 100 Friends and friends of the Friends were there despite the fact that the membership of the entire yearly meeting was around 250. Many of the members were isolated and found that week together a much-needed time for spiritual renewal as they faced difficult decisions as Quakers living in Nazi Germany.

Only two Friends from abroad were present that year—Douglas Steere, who was on a special mission for the American Friends Service Committee, and Leonard Kenworthy, who was the Director of the Quaker International Center in Berlin where persons considered Jewish by the Nazis were being aided to leave Germany.

Each morning there was a Meeting for Worship and a period of Bible study, led by an eminent German theologian and Quaker—Emil Fuchs. Then Friends gathered for lunch in the basement of the Meeting House.

In the evening there were lectures by various German Quakers.

Normally there would have been business meetings in the afternoon. Ever since the Nazis had come to power in 1933, such sessions had been held, sometimes with a member of the secret police present. But in 1940 it was felt that that was too risky, as there was important business to transact which dealt with the persecution of German Quakers. So no business meetings were officially scheduled.

Most Friends gathered in the afternoon in small groups in nearby houses and discussed the work they were doing in sending packages to Jews in Poland and to a camp at Gurs in France, with considerable risk to the senders. Or they took walks together when they could renew friendships and share with each other the problems they faced in living Christian lives in the midst of prejudice,

hatred, and war.

Meanwhile the small Executive Committee met in the basement of the Meeting House and carried on the business of the group.

At one of those sessions an elaborate plan was presented and discussed as to how the Germany Yearly Meeting might "go underground" if necessary, and a long list of Friends was drawn up for each post in that group if one after another was imprisoned. That plan was drafted most reluctantly as German Friends had tried very hard to be open in their dealings with the Nazis.

No one mentioned who had drafted that plan. But all of us who were there were aware that it had been drawn up by a remarkable Friend named Margarethe Lachmund.

That is just one dramatic example of the long and incredible life of a wise, warm, and wonderful woman who certainly ranks alongside Margaret Fell (Fox), Elizabeth Fry, and Lucretia Mott as one of the great women Friends of all time.

Her Early Years and Her Marriage

Margarethe Grobbecker was born on September 13, 1896 in northern Germany, the daughter of Mathilde and Adolph Grobbecker, a Lutheran minister. As a child, Margarethe attended the local village school and took French lessons in the nearby manor house.

Looking back on her childhood, Margarethe recalls that even then she knew people of widely different backgrounds. As her mother used to say, laughingly, "Grete knows whatever goes on everywhere in the village—what people cook, when they slaughter —whatever is happening in the houses and cottages." Margarethe has said of that period in her life:

> Having grown up in that way, in the midst of a village, made it easy for me, later on, to feel at ease in different circles and to establish relationships with people.

Eventually she completed her professional education and became a governess in the castle in Mecklenburg in East Germany. There she lived through World War I and the difficult period of the revolution in Germany in 1918. Already her lifetime work as a negotiator or reconciler had begun. She has said that she was the one who was called upon to bridge the chasm between the open-minded but conservative Count and the Social Democratic workers on the estate. For example, she mediated the strike of the workers at the height of the harvest time.

In elementary school she had known Hans Lachmund. He was the brother of her classmate and chum, Eva; and their father was her teacher. Hans and Margarethe were married on August 28, 1921—the birthday of the great German poet, Goethe.

At first, their different political affiliations caused some difficulties, especially to their friends. He was a democrat and a passionate believer in the republican form of government. She belonged to the Christian Social wing of the German National Party.

But she was not in agreement with all the tenets of that group. In fact she had been responsible for a telegram from the village women protesting the anti-Semitic utterances of a repesentative of that party in the Bundestag. Then, when Wolfgang Kapp led an armed revolt for the monarchists, seizing the Berlin government, she had protested. Soon she resigned, citing as her reason the fact that she had joined the party in 1919 because they had repudiated the Revolution as an act of violence, but they had not renounced the violence of Wolfgang Kapp.

The murder of Walter Rathenau, the foreign minister of Germany, in 1923, by nationalist and anti-Semitic fanatics, also disturbed Margarethe greatly. She pled with the local parish pastor to urge the General Church Council to ask every minister in Germany to preach the following Sunday on the text, "Thou shalt not kill." But he refused to do so.

Such situations meant that Margarethe soon joined the Peace Society and in 1924 she and Hans were invited to an international Peace Congress in London. There they met their first Quakers and were tremendously impressed with them and their beliefs. As a result of that contact, Margarethe became one of the 50 founding members of the Germany Yearly Meeting in 1925 and an active and devoted leader in it.

Living as a Quaker in Nazi Germany

Then came the depression and inflation period in Germany in the 1920s when people spent their wages as soon as they were received, realizing that in a few hours they would bring much less goods than when they were received. Perhaps you have seen German stamps from those days which bore the original figure of 5 or 10 reichsmarks and were surcharged one million or more.

That disastrous period was but one of the factors which brought discredit in the eyes of many to the newly-formed democratic government and hastened the rise of Hitlerism. Many Germans also resented the "war-guilt clause" of the Versailles Treaty ending World War I, which cited Germany as the sole cause of that conflagration. Then there was the fear that unless Hitler and his cohorts took control, the Communists would come to power—a fear which drove many business and church leaders, as well as others, into the Nazi Party. Coupled with those causes was the adroit use by Hitler and other Nazis of all the mass media to persuade people to join them, the subversion of the remarkable youth movement, and the lack of enough democratic traditions to offset

the appeal of Hitler and his forces.

Faced with the victory of the Nazis, Hans and Margarethe Lachmund, along with many of their compatriots, had some frightening decisions to make. There were several alternatives for those who opposed the diabolical ends and means of the National Socialists. They could emigrate to another country. They could "emigrate" to another part of Germany where they were not known. They could retreat from political life and accept, reluctantly and regretfully, the new regime, hoping it would soon be toppled from power. They could oppose it in open ways and invite almost certain persecution and imprisonment—or death. Or they could make some minor compromises and oppose it in quiet ways.

At first the Lachmunds felt that they must emigrate. They even decided at one point to leave for France and began to make plans for that radical change in their lives. But two considerations kept them from going through with those plans. One was the fact that several leading citizens in Greifswald, where they lived, urged them to stay, telling them how much people like them were needed. The other was their realization of how much Germany had been harmed over a period of many decades by the emigration of democratically-minded people, especially after the Revolution of 1848 when so many people left Germany for the United States when that revolution failed.

So they stayed, and for years they agonized over how Christians and Quakers and democratically-minded people could or should live under such a government.

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, Hans was removed as a judge because he would not join the party. But he was soon reinstated by a Nazi who admired his abilities. So Hans remained in that important post until his arrest by the Russians in 1945.

Meanwhile there were many incidents in which the Lachmunds were challenged by the Nazis. Over and over they met those attacks with frankness, openness, and astuteness. They were extremely wise people and it was difficult for the Nazis to cope with them.

One of the first incidents occurred when Margarethe bought a socialist paper from a newsboy on a prominent corner of their town, in order to support his courage, even though that newspaper had not yet been banned. The police came to their apartment and questioned her, especially about her connections with a group known as the Socialist Friends of Children. In that situation the polite and friendly treatment of the officer by the Lachmunds disarmed him and won respect for the Lachmund family. So the policeman departed without bringing charges against Margarethe.

On another occasion she was attacked because she had invited several young people who belonged to the Social Democratic

youth group to come to her home and read some of the classics together. Later she learned that their house had been surrounded all evening and that the young people had been dragged away by the police when they left, although they were soon released.

Mulling over that situation during the Ascension Day holiday, she decided to face it frankly and openly, a decision which she avers was "significant for my whole life from then on."

Consequently she phoned the office of the Gauleiter or party leader of that district and requested an appointment. That turned out to be what she has said was "a searching discussion." He had not heard of the surveillance and said they could continue to meet as long as politics weren't involved. But she said she did not plan to do so if the young people were endangered in any way.

Then she inquired about the control of her mail. To which the Gauleiter replied that she received a good many letters from France and from pacifists. Her defense was that they were friends and that the letters did not deal with political issues.

Furthermore, she challenged him on his continuing references to her as a Marxist, saying:

> I do see Marx differently than you do: I regard him as a significant social politician, as a great personality, but his views are not a dogma for me. My socialism has its roots in religion.

He said that he had once belonged to the anti-capitalist wing of his party but that World War I had taught him much and that the beliefs he now held were unshakeable. Agreeing with him, up to a point, she declared that she, too, had examined her beliefs rigorously:

> And I have had the deepest fellowship with people beyond all national boundaries. These are my experiences and no one can rob me of them.

Later, when the Lachmunds were considering emigration to France, she called the same official to inform him openly of their intentions. By that time he had become the mayor of Luebeck, then an independent Hansa city. He seemed to appreciate her openness and said he did not like to think that only those who feared would remain in Germany. He added that too many people had told him things which were not true, whereas she had been completely honest about her beliefs and intentions.

Thinking back on that and other experiences, Margarethe once wrote:

> It became clear to me that one can only take part in such conversations if one is well briefed and can also meet attacks and accusations with answers based on clear facts. . . . It really seemed to me at that time that I should have choked if I had never been able to speak out.

Then there was the difficult decision the Lachmunds had to make about the daughter of an acquaintance whom they had promised to take into their home. That girl's father had also lost his job and the children were being parcelled out to various homes. In addition, she was preparing for her examinations for entrance to the university and needed to be able to continue those preparations.

Friends of the Lachmunds said that they were foolish to take her in just as Hans had been reinstated as a judge. But Margarethe lay sleepless all night and was unable to forget the story of The Good Samaritan.

So she called the school adviser of the girl and told her about her dilemma. That counsellor was known as an ardent Nazi and Margarethe asked her if she would wish for the girl to become embittered because they did not permit her to live with the Lachmunds.

Margarethe says that their exchange was not a friendly one. But the girl did stay with them until they moved to another locality. Then she was placed in a boarding school so she could continue her preparation for the university exams.

Neighbors often tried to trap the Lachmunds. For example, when Hitler was speaking, one of them knocked on the door of the Lachmund's apartment and complained that Margarethe's use of her vacuum cleaner was interrupting the reception of his speech. Margarethe invited the neighbor in to see that she had no vacuum cleaner and not even a radio, lest they be accused of listening to foreign broadcasts, which was stringently forbidden.

There were scores of such incidents over the years. Often Margarethe met the questions of her interrogators by questions of her own. One such instance which Margarethe has related occurred when Nazi officials were questioning her about her political and pacifist views and those of her husband. She has written:

> My first question was: Let us consider the political situation today between Germany and Russia; hate on one side; hate on the other; threats of force on both sides. To what must this logically lead? Their surprising answer was: to mutual destruction. I could add then that this was just why the pacifists tried to find other ways, and that for this reason I must hail the recently concluded treaty between Poland and Germany for the protection of their several minorities as a beginning toward a new way for nations to live together, providing that it was actually carried out.

Summarizing her general attitude, she said:

> It had unconsciously become a certainty for me that I could keep my inner sense of assurance and freedom, facing these National Socialists into whose power I was delivered, only if I

met them on a different plane from that on which they lived. That is to say I must not lie.

Actually she was doing more than that: she was appealing to the best in them—"answering that of God in everyone," as George Fox had admonished Friends to do 300 years before that time.

The Inspiration of Contacts with the World Family of Friends

In 1937, the second Friends World Conference was held at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges near Philadelphia. For some unexplained reason the Hitler regime permitted a small delegation from Germany to attend that global get-together of Quakers, and Margarethe was one of the delegates.

For her that was a heart-warming and life-lifting experience. Gathered there were hundreds of Friends from many parts of the world, listening to inspirational addresses; wrestling with world-wide problems and the Quaker approach to them; and eating and talking in intimate groups under the trees on those campuses, in the classrooms, or in the corridors. To her the contacts with three men were especially inspiring. One was Rufus M. Jones, the Haverford professor, prolific writer, challenging speaker, and the best-known and best-loved Quaker of the 20th century. The second was Henry J. Cadbury, the Philadelphia Friend who had become one of the world's most knowledgeable biblical scholars and a professor at the Harvard Divinity School. The third was Frederick J. Libby, a Congregational minister-turned-Quaker, who headed the National Council for the Prevention of War.

Margarethe listened avidly to what those and other Friends had to say, occasionally spoke in the small worship-study group of which she was a member, and was enriched by the friendship of many who could know only intellectually what she and other German Friends were going through as they considered what it meant to be Christians and Quakers in a Nazi-dominated nation.

Many times Margarethe Lachmund has referred to how much that conference meant to her and how it gave her renewed courage to face the life she was leading in Germany. New water poured into her spiritual reservoir and she would draw freely on it in the months and years ahead.

Her Life in Germany During World War II

In 1939, World War II began with the invasion of Poland by Germany and the declaration of war on Germany by England and France. For the next six years the Lachmunds endured the restrictions imposed by the German government because of that conflict. Food and clothing were rationed and travel drastically reduced. And the government stepped up its propaganda over the radio, in the newspapers and magazines, and in public demonstrations cal-

culated to whip the populace into a frenzy of support for their war efforts.

It was horrendous for Hans and Margarethe to see Germany embroiled in war, with so little they could do to offset that heart-rending situation. But Margarethe made frequent trips to Berlin where she served on the Steering Committee of the Quaker International Center. Until the summer of 1941 it was still aiding people to leave Germany (with the knowledge of the Hitler regime). Those people were men and women, and some children, who had been designated by the Nazis as Jews, even though they had no affiliation with that faith religiously or culturally. In many instances such persons had not known that they had some grandparent who had been Jewish.

Margarethe not only worked with the steering committee; she did considerable counselling of those who came to the Center because her friendliness, sympathetic interest, and ability to meet difficult situations adroitly had made her a compassionate and wise confidante.

Usually she planned her visits so that she would be at the Center on Thursday afternoons when the Berlin Friends met to sort the books, musical instruments and other materials which were later distributed in the prisoner-of-war camps of the English, French, and Belgians. That work was carried on through the good offices of the International Red Cross, growing out of the Geneva Convention for the treatment of prisoners.

That work required strenuous efforts on their part but it was of help to the prisoners-of-war and was carried on with great devotion and considerable risk by the local Quaker group. Occasionally a letter or a postcard of thanks was received from the prisoners, and Friends were overjoyed by such communications which were almost miraculously transmitted.

Then there was her concern for the persecuted Jews and those designated as Jews by the Nazis. Gradually they were rounded up in the small towns and countryside and taken to ghettos in the larger cities. Then many of them were shipped to Poland and eventually to their death in the torture chambers there. Others were sent to Gurs in France, with less drastic action taken against them.

True to her beliefs, Margarethe set to work organizing shipments of small packages to Jewish people wherever they had gone. She became the leader of such work in North Germany and assisted Friends and others in various parts of Germany who were willing to undergo the risks involved in such aid.

Occasionally she was also able to defend some Jew whom she and Hans knew. She has related how one day the man who had been assigned to watch the Lachmunds confronted her with the

fact that he knew that a Jewish family had turned to her for help and that she had given it. In her words, this is what occurred:

> I merely asked him what he found to wonder at. What were these poor people to do to find help somewhere? I knew a way, I said, to insure that no more Jewish people could come to me: "Make your laws humane and not a single Jew will know my name anymore."

In 1938 she sought an interview with the Governor of the district of Mecklenburg. But he was away for weeks and she was referred to his deputy, the Gauleiter. He was said to be unavailable. When she said that she had come on behalf of a Jewish acquaintance, she was told that their office no longer handled questions concerning Jews. But the official with whom she was talking suddenly became interested and asked for the name of the man to whom she referred. She gave it to him and identified him as a doctor in a small town in that region. And to her affirmative response to his question as to whether he was a good physician, he offered the comment that the Gauleiter "had better take time to speak with you."

Immediately Margarethe Lachmund was taken to his office and she explained how her friend had not emigrated because he and other Jews who had been disabled during World War I had been promised that they could continue their professional work. However, pressure from the townspeople where he lived had made it impossible for him to continue his work. Emigration was therefore the only avenue open to him. Consequently he asked Margarethe Lachmund to help him find someone abroad who would sponsor his departure from Germany. She told the Gauleiter that she would be glad to do this "but would feel ashamed for Germany if I have to write my friends that he was now being forced to emigrate by the nonobservance of legal assurances previously given him." She had memorized a long list of battles in which he had fought and recited them to the Nazi official to prove the man's patriotism.

He finally said that he could not help, but advised her to submit the case to the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin—but not to say that he had suggested this approach. She was unsuccessful there but at the time of The Night of the Broken Glass in November, 1938, her friend was saved from arrest by a special edict of the Gauleiter with whom she had talked. Later he was given permission to take his family to Hamburg to live.

Her Work in the Post-War Period

When World War II ended in 1945 the Lachmunds were in the zone occupied by the Russians. By a curious twist of fate, Hans

was arrested as a former Nazi official, despite his record of anti-Nazism. He was incarcerated for eight long years. Margarethe did not know where he was, so she set out on a trek to find him, trudging from one prison to another until she finally learned where he was. She was able to see him—but for only 15 minutes and with the prison bars between them. A few years later she told this writer that it would have been easier not to have seen him than to have done so for such a short time and under such circumstances.

When Hans was imprisoned, Margarethe moved to Berlin where she could help in the Quaker International Center, be with Friends in that city, and help with the work of the Germany Yearly Meeting.

In 1948 she was appointed the executive clerk of the yearly meeting, a post in which she served until 1954. In that period she did a great deal of travelling to meet with the small Quaker groups in various parts of the country and with isolated individuals and families.

Scores of persons knew her or about her and she was sometimes swamped with requests for assistance. Because she had an identity card and could move freely between East and West Berlin, she served as a courier or messenger for many families which were separated, or in aiding people in trouble.

Alice Shaffer, an American who had been the Director of the Quaker International Center in 1939 and 1940 and who had returned immediately after the end of World War II to find German Friends and help them, was now back in Berlin, organizing and directing a neighborhood community center known as Nachbarschaftsheim, in a suburb of Berlin, where many people could put their lives together again. Margarethe was a member of the advisory committee for that center and usually came to it on Saturday afternoons after her other work for the week was completed. Alice remembers how she would arrive, exhausted, but happy to have been of service throughout the week. Alice would bring her a cup of tea and let her rest for a short time before Margarethe plunged into the various activities of the Center. Her strength was enormous but not inexhaustible.

A few times she was arrested and detained, although never imprisoned. One such time was back in 1945 when she and a young student were arrested by the Russian secret police and incarcerated in the cellar of a farmhouse. It was cold and the window was broken. So they stuffed it with rags. That kept out the cold but it was still pitch dark. So Margarethe knocked on the trapdoor and asked the soldier if they did not have some work the two women could do.

He promised to inquire and in ten minutes was back. The two

women were taken to the kitchen and given some soup and a piece of meat and bread. Then, when the soldier saw how hungry they were, he warmed up the porridge left from breakfast and served it to them. That entire afternoon Margarethe and her young companion peeled potatoes for the Russian soldiers.

In a camp two days later they learned from another woman how she had spent 24 hours in that same cellar, probably because she had not asked if she could help. Commenting on that experience (and others), Margarethe once wrote:

> I was to experience many times what a weapon there is in a quiet, non-aggressive persistence, even if not only personal but official negotiations are at stake.

Such persistence, patience, astuteness, and courage also characterized the work she did immediately after the cessation of hostilities in World War II. The mayor had made her a special commissioner in Mecklenburg. That city was the first major town west of the Oder river and for weeks after the ceasefire, streams of refugees passed through it in both directions. She was asked to protect the National Socialist Welfare warehouses from looting. Then she was prevailed upon to reconstruct the welfare services. Kindergartens needed to be started, homes for disabled veterans established, soup kitchens begun, sewing rooms set up, and clothing and fuel assembled and distributed. Often she had to contact the Russian officials and insist upon being given supplies which they were hoarding. In such situations her organizational ability and her tact and persistence paid huge dividends.

Some Aspects of Her Religious Beliefs and Philosophy of Life

To many people Margarethe Lachmund seemed fearless. But she, too, had her low moments. Writing about that aspect of her life, she has said:

> It would be misleading not to say how often I have been seized by a profound fear upon such occasions. Many a time, because I was not sure of myself, not sure that I would not run away from fear, I have knocked quickly on the door of an office so that I would have to go in. It was always the greatest of help in such moments if some word came into my consciousness—something I had read in the Bible, or, for example, that saying of William Penn's, written in prison, "We can fall no deeper than God's arm reach, however deep we may fall."
>
> Then I found inward peace and detachment so that I was able to see in the powerful man simply another human being who, like myself, only in a different position, was trying as best he could to carry out his duty. Then of itself the strength was there to meet the other person naturally and openly.

In 1952 the third World Conference of Friends was held at Oxford University in Oxford, England. Margarethe Lachmund was one of the delegates from the Germany Yearly Meeting. The committee in charge of that conference planned one open session when Friends and non-Friends who were not delegates could share in a special afternoon meeting with the 900 delegates. Three outstanding persons from three countries on three continents were chosen to address that session. One was Henry Cadbury, to whom reference has already been made. The second was Ranjit Chetsingh, a distinguished Friend from India and an active member of the Friends World Committee for Consultation. Margarethe Lachmund was the third.

As she rose to speak in the spacious Sheldonian Theater, over 1600 people saw a tall, handsome woman with broad shoulders and a regal bearing with a little wisp of hair which kept falling over her beautiful face and forehead. Quietly and with great conviction she spoke on the subject nearest to her heart, taking as her text the phrase from I John 4:18: "Perfect love casteth out fear."

For those who did not know Margarethe or about her, that was not an unusual theme for a Quaker. But for those who knew her or about her, that was a particularly appropriate quotation, as her life in recent years had been based upon that verse. Now, after years of testing, she could affirm that perfect love does cast out fear. As early Friends had said, she knew this "experimentally," or in modern terms, "experientially."

Early in her address she told how much the words of Rufus Jones at the Friends World Conference in 1937 had helped German Friends in their years of tribulations to see clearly that "he who is doing evil—who is doing evil to us—still remains the child of God." They had realized, she asserted, that:

> Our love must also find a way to him who would be reckoned as an enemy by the world at large, or by himself, and in the same measure in which we felt ourselves woven into the world, we also felt that we shared in the guilt because our love was not strong enough to speak to those in power who were doing evil.

Speaking of her experience of passing daily between East and West Berlin, she said that "one's eyes are opened and one can see far more deeply those terrible things than those who are living only on one side."

Referring to the life of Jesus in the midst of the political and religious tensions of His times, she asked her hearers to imagine how He might rephrase the story of The Good Samaritan today, stating that:

> In the West He would speak of the merciful Russian and the merciful Communist, and in the East of the merciful American and the merciful Capitalist.

Then she asked whether "we have all examined ourselves to see how our personal lives are rooted in the economic tensions that are increasing world tensions?"

She ended with the assertion that "the true power of love cannot be kindled in us by our will alone—it must flow from a deeper source." And she prayed that "all those present might find His love a living power in our lives."

It was a very personal and a very powerful message and many were moved by it.

For many years after the close of World War II, Margarethe's chief interest was in relieving the tensions between East and West or between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. To that concern she brought several especially relevant experiences. Her husband had been imprisoned for eight long years by the Russians and at the close of World War II she had worked under the Russians in restoring the welfare services in a part of East Germany. Daily she had moved back and forth between the divided sectors of Berlin, living in the West and working in the Quaker Center in the East. Also, she had large numbers of friends in the occupied American zone and in the occupied Russian zone.

But it was primarily her Christian and Quaker beliefs which prompted her interest in the easing of tensions between the two great world powers.

Some insight can be gained into her point of view when one reads a paper she gave in Vienna in 1957 under Quaker auspices and later that year to the American Friends Service Committee workers from various parts of Europe. That paper was also reproduced for the meeting of the Friends World Committee for Consultation in Birmingham, England, and eventually printed as a pamphlet on *The Attitude of Christians in the Tensions Between East and West.*

In that talk she compared the reactions of the Chinese to the coming of communism in that country and those of Europeans in the East-West struggle. She spoke of four groups: (1) the small number of Christians who welcomed warmly the social reforms of communism, (2) those who saw in recent developments the end of the world, (3) those who were shocked but who withdrew entirely from the world into an individual inward piety, and (4) those Christians for whom faith cannot be separated from life and who therefore must live their Christian convictions *in* the world and not outside it.

She continued by reiterating her belief that people could find relevant answers by investigating how Christ himself met the enormous tensions of His time—such as the conflict between the Jews and the Samaritans.

She maintained that for Jesus the word "enemy" did not exist,

citing Matthew 5:44—"Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you," or verse 47—"And if you salute your brethren only, what do you more than others?"

To her such an approach did not mean that opposing views were to be abolished, for that would be untruthful. Instead she stated that "The courage for clarity and the strength to stand up for truth are repeatedly demanded of us." To her "the secret lies in the way in which truth is spoken—not with contempt or bitterness, but in love." She cited, then, the fact that Jesus met Judas when he came to take Him prisoner, with the words "my friend."

Developing that thought further, she stated that:

> Ultimately this attitude originates from the belief that light is stronger than darkness, that good is stronger than evil, and that the spirit will finally triumph over power.

To her the intellectual and spiritual struggle with the issues of communism could also help people to reach greater clarity about themselves and their way of life.

Two quotations from her summary of that talk should be cited. One was as follows:

> We can help to ease the tensions and live within them in the right way if we fulfill simultaneously Christ's two commandments—the commandment to love and the commandment to speak truth. A synthesis of these two must be found. Out of fear we may betray love.

And the other statement:

> For Christians something much greater is at stake; through their lives they must become a challenge to Communists and raise in them the question: What kind of people are these Christians and what kind of strength do they have which enables them to live among us fearlessly, truthfully, full of love and kindness, and a readiness to serve. Only if Christianity gives Christians this strength, can it conquer Communism.

In another statement, written as a part of the study manual for the fourth World Conference of Friends at Guilford College in North Carolina in 1957, entitled *Seek, Find, Share,* she raised the question, "Did Jesus Summon All Men to a New Social Order?" She replied:

> Today, in a time when all underprivileged people, individuals and groups, strive for freedom and self-responsibility and demand independence in political, economic, and social life, this individual way of early Friends (living in simplicity) is no longer sufficient to solve the social question. The time has come that Friends must also endeavor to transform the economic structure.

. . . On the whole, I think that our insight into the dilemma of the present world situation makes it clear that it is not sufficient to limit our peace testimony to the question of war alone, but that we, thinking of the causes of war, should put a social witness beside the peace testimony.

Then, in another declaration of her faith, she stated that:

A long life in the midst of conflicts and tensions has confirmed to me in living experience the inevitability of that which Jesus lived out for His disciples in relation to His people's enemies—the Samaritans; that which the New Testament sets forth in so many passages as the kernel of life and of the teaching of Jesus. The conflicts are not resolved. On the contrary, they continue to exist clearly and must not be masked—that would be irrational. But with our weak powers we can help relieve the tensions evoked by conflict and can deal with them in the right way if we seek to fulfill at the same time both of Jesus' commandments: the commandment of love and the commandment of truth.

Her Later Years

In 1972 Hans died, and that long, loving chapter in her life was closed. So she was persuaded by their son, Peter, to move in 1974 to a cooperative apartment house in Cologne, where he had been an orchestra conductor and was the headmaster of the Cologne Music School. Hence she could be near him and his wife and their son Michael, a young man who was following in his grandmother's footsteps as a conscientious objector.

With great reluctance and considerable persuasion on the part of several people, she agreed to fly to Haverford College in 1973 to be awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In the citation for that award, written by Stephen Cary—an old friend and at that time the Vice President of Haverford College—she was described in these moving words:

Margarethe Lachmund is among the rare company of Quaker saints who have borne witness to the power of God in the lives of men. . . . During the long, long years when the hand of oppression was heavy in her land, she shunned the silence of the fearful and dared to speak truth to power. She refused to compromise with evil and endured the suffering that followed. But, beyond suffering, God gave her also the strength to love, and her love tempered the sting of truth and she was spared. Margarethe's steadfast example makes clear that men and women can live triumphantly and lovingly when all around them are engulfed in violence and hatred. May God grant us the grace to know His presence each day as she has known it, for in this lies also *our* hope.

Then the award was made to her as:

> . . . an heroic seeker after Truth and reconciliation, a powerful witness to the triumph of good in the midst of evil.

In 1976 German Friends paid tribute to her on her 80th birthday by issuing a booklet called *Margarethe Lachmund: Zum 80 Geburtstag,* edited by Heinrich Carstens. Quite fittingly they decided that nothing would be more appropriate than to bring together several of the talks she had given and the articles she had written, plus a few of her letters, thus preserving for future generations some of the authentic reactions and reflections of this outstanding woman.

When Mike Yarrow wrote his book on *Quaker Experiences in International Conciliation,* in 1978, he dedicated it appropriately to Margarethe Lachmund—"Embodiment of Quaker Conciliation."

As this book goes to press, she is still alive, living in Cologne. She is in her 89th year and very thin and frail. But she is still alert and interested in the world and the people she sees and from whom she hears.

What a life she has led. And what a series of tragedies she has witnessed and lived through. Yet she has triumphed over those tragedies and many now rise to call her blessed. As Alice Shaffer once wrote Clarence Pickett, then the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee:

> Margarethe Lachmund stands at the head of my list as the finest example anywhere of a Christian, of a Quaker, of a German, and of a human being.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE

Eminent Scientist and Concerned Quaker

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

In the more than 300 years of the Religious Society of Friends there has been an unusually large number of Quaker scientists. Barred by their beliefs from participation in the army and navy and from the clergy, early Friends often turned to the study of nature and to other scientific pursuits. In their varied areas of scientific investigation the non-authoritarian nature of Quakerism fostered rather than hampered their relentless search for truth.

In more recent times Friends have often been pioneers in a wide range of scientific endeavors. In fact they have been so prominent that A. Ruth Fry reported in her book on *Quaker Ways* that Friends had 20 to 30 times the chance of being elected to the Royal Society (the highest honor bestowed on British scientists) as their fellow countrymen. And in his Ward Lecture at Guilford College in the U.S.A. in 1962 on *Quaker Scientists*, Richard Sutton noted the names of over 300 such distinguished Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Often those individuals have combined creativity in their chosen fields with a variety of Quaker concerns for the betterment of the world.

In times past the famous Quaker scientists have been almost exclusively men. But increasingly women have been honored for their outstanding work.

High on the list of eminent Quaker scientists is Kathleen Lonsdale, a British physicist specializing in the field of x-ray crystallography, the study of the arrangement of the chemical atoms in crystals which has contributed vastly to the modern technology of transistors and micro chips. So outstanding was her work that she and her contemporary, Marjory Stephenson, were the first women ever elected Fellows of the Royal Society. Subsequently Kathleen Lonsdale became the first woman president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Then, in 1956, she was made a Dame of the Order of the British Empire (D.B.E.)—for women, the equivalent of Knighthood.

Despite the demands upon her energy and time, however, she was active in a wide range of Quaker concerns—especially for peace, penal reform, and improved relations between East and

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* In this essay the author has drawn heavily on an extensive memorandum prepared by James Hough and on his booklet *The Christian Life—Lived Experimentally: An Anthology of the Writings of Kathleen Lonsdale*, and on Dorothy Hodgkin's *Kathleen Lonsdale: A Biographical Memoir*, as well as on other sources.

West. In the wider world she was concerned with the social responsibilities of scientists, the advancement of science in the economically developing world, and in counteracting the "brain drain" from those nations.

Her Family Background and Early Experiences

Kathleen Yardley was born on January 28, 1903 in Newbridge in Southern Ireland. Her father was Harry Frederick Yardley, an Englishman, and her mother, Jessie Cameron Yardley, a Scot.

The Yardley family was wretchedly poor and consisted of 10 children—four girls and six boys (of whom four died in infancy).

Her father's influence was both negative and positive. He smoked and drank too much, which had the effect of turning her into a non-smoker and a teetotaller. Later in life she wrote ruefully about him:

> I think he was fond of us and did not know how to show it. I wish I could have been fonder of him.

Eventually he became estranged from the family and no longer lived with them.

But he also influenced Kathleen positively. He was an avid reader, even scavenging for books in the local junk piles. And he was adept as a mathematician. Of him Kathleen could write:

> I believe I owe my passion for facts and my scientific frame of mind to him.

It was Kathleen's mother who somehow held the family together. She was hard-working and devoted to her children, and Kathleen respected and loved her. Her mother was also passionate in her religious beliefs as a Baptist. Because there was no local congregation of that denomination in their locality, Kathleen attended the service of the Church of England in the morning and the Methodist Sunday School in the afternoon. Thus she had what was called "an ecumenical upbringing."

But at an early age Kathleen began to question her mother's beliefs. About those doubts she wrote:

> What was impressed upon me well before I was ten years old was that unless I accepted statements of religious doctrine as literal fact, then I was not a Christian, and that unless I was "saved," I was damned. The pressure was too much for a sensitive child. Before I went to secondary school, I made "a confession of faith," and I was subsequently baptized into membership in the Baptist Church. . . . But all the time, at the back of my mind and to my great distress, a small voice was saying, "It's not true, you know. A really loving Heavenly Father would not condemn hundreds of thousands of people who simply can't believe in something that just isn't so."

Continuing her description, she said:

> Throughout adolescence I continued to question and to doubt and yet to feel unhappy because to doubt implied disloyalty to my mother, of whom I was so fond. The doubts went deeper, too. I had jibbed first at having to believe anything, at being obliged to accept the truth of any statement upon authority only. Perhaps my scepticism was precocious; it was certainly involuntary. I would have preferred to be credulous; it would have been far less strain.

Thus the seeds of her religious discontent were planted; later in life she would reap a harvest from those early plantings.

Kathleen's mother was worried about the political situation in Ireland and in 1908 moved her family to London. There one of the traumatic experiences of Kathleen's life occurred when she was 13. World War I was then raging and one day Kathleen and her mother watched a Zeppelin shot down. Despite the fact that it was an "enemy" aircraft, Kathleen's mother wept because she had heard that some of the crew members were only 16 years old. Perhaps that event helped to propel Kathleen later into her pacifist position.

Meanwhile she attended a local elementary school and then the County High School for Girls. Kathleen enjoyed school, made many friends, and took part in the usual games of girls at that time. She had an excellent memory and excelled in mathematics and the sciences, taking some courses in higher math, chemistry, and physics in the nearby County High School for Boys.

On to College and Developments in the Field of Physics

After the war she entered Bedford College of the University of London. At that time Bedford was one of the two London University colleges offering higher education for women. At first she specialized in mathematics, but then she shifted to physics—a field in which Bedford College had had a long and distinguished history. In 1922 her name led the list in honors in that field.

Graduating from the University of London, she joined the research school of William Bragg at the Royal Institution to work then and for the rest of her life in the exciting and expanding field of crystallography.

At that juncture the Braggs were pioneering in that comparatively new field. As a young man, William Bragg had gone to Australia and he was not heard from for years. Then he published the results of his far-seeing research in radioactivity and was called to the post of professor of physics at Leeds in England.

Meanwhile his son, Lawrence, was studying at Cambridge University. He was fascinated by the accounts of the unusual diffrac-

tion patterns produced when x-rays struck crystals. Intrigued by those patterns, he found an explanation for that phenomenon. Then he persuaded his father to conduct further experiments to test the validity of his findings.

The father's experiments confirmed the conclusions of the son's early work and a new chapter in science was begun through their work in x-ray crystallography, on which both the Braggs specialized for the rest of their lives. So important was their work that they were awarded jointly a Nobel Prize and both of them received knighthoods for the originality of their research.

Heretofore scientists had hypothesized about the structure of such items as salt, sugar, coal and ice which come in crystalline form. But the scientific gadgetry had not yet been developed to ascertain without a doubt how such crystals were structured. Now those instruments were available and a whole new world was opened to scientists, combining mathematics, chemistry, and physics.

Commenting upon this enlargement of human knowledge, James Hough, a fellow Quaker physicist wrote recently:

> Basically x-ray crystallography permitted us to discover the arrangement of the chemical atoms in crystals. It has led to an understanding of the solid state which has contributed greatly to the modern technology of transistors and micro chips. As the subject progressed, mysteries of the more complex organic materials were revealed, including proteins and other chemicals vital to life.

Kathleen Lonsdale worked with Sir William Bragg in Leeds and then she rejoined him at the Royal Institution in London, working in the same room that Michael Faraday had used. Eventually she became professor of chemistry at University College, the University of London.

For the originality of her work, especially in the explanation of the diffraction phenomena in terms of thermal diffuse scattering, she was elected to the Royal Society and then made a Dame of the Order of the British Empire, as already indicated.

Important as her career was as a crystallographer, the other aspects of her life are much more important to Friends and so the remainder of this essay will concentrate on them.

Her Marriage and Family Life

In 1927 Kathleen Yardley married a fellow physicist, Thomas Lonsdale. Consequently she felt that she should give up her professional career and become a full-time home-maker and mother. But her husband thought otherwise. He encouraged her to continue her career and for a time she held a Fellowship at Leeds.

Then the Lonsdales had three children. But even that did not

mean that she had to forego her fascinating and original research. She has told how even in the nursing home for the birth of their children, she worked on the calculation of tables for crystallographic analysis.

Meanwhile Thomas Lonsdale worked as a physicist in a government laboratory and shared in the house work, becoming especially adept in baking bread.

One of the delightful pictures friends recall from the early years of their marriage were their motorbike rides, with Thomas driving and Kathleen riding pillion.

After the birth of their children, the Lonsdales moved to the Uxbridge area of London where they stayed until their retirement many years later to Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.

In London, Kathleen worked at the Royal Institution and then became professor of chemistry at the University College.

Religious Seekers and Quakers

In times of change and turmoil many people reexamine their philosophy of life, including their attitudes towards religion and religious organizations. Such was the case with the Lonsdales as their children arrived and the results of World War I became apparent and disillusioning. It had been proclaimed as a war to end war but it had not served that purpose. Instead had come widespread suffering, a worldwide depression and unemployment, the rise of fascism and the possibility of another disastrous global conflagration.

So they reexamined their philosophies of life individually, as husband and wife, and as parents. They had both been seekers in science; now they became even more active seekers than before in the spiritual realm. Out of that continuing search came their decision to join the Religious Society of Friends, which they did in 1935 at the Uxbridge Meeting.

After that momentous decision, Kathleen Lonsdale spoke and wrote widely on her faith. Space permits only a few of the powerful and provocative statements she made; readers may be enticed by them into reading more of what she had to say on many aspects of religion.

Doubt did not bother her. Of it she once said:

> Now I want to say right away that I consider this attitude of honest doubt, provided that it is not a way of escape from present action, as being healthier than unthinking acceptance of authority. Honest doubts can be resolved by honest thinking or by revelation.

Then she expanded on the doubts and temptations Jesus underwent in the wilderness. To her that period in his life meant that:

. . . he was then ready and strong (enough) to begin the ministry of teaching and healing that led him to the Cross and to his triumph over death. . . .

On religion, she summarized her thinking in these words:

> Stripped to the limit, what all religions have in common is a sense of need, an uneasiness, a sense that there is something wrong about us, and a sense that our need may be met, that we can be saved from wrongness by a proper connection with the power beyond ourselves, a "higher" power or powers. We recognize goodness (even when we cannot define it and do not all agree about its manifestations) as something desirable, and we apply to any religion the pragmatic test: does it produce good men and women.

More specifically, she said on Christianity:

> To me being a Christian is a particular way of life, not the unquestioning acceptance of a particular system or theology—not belief in the literal truth of the Virgin birth, or the Resurrection and Ascension, but being the kind of person that Jesus wanted his followers to be and doing the things he told them to do.
>
> Does that mean then that only deeds matter and not what you accept as being true? Of course not. That would be like saying that it doesn't matter whether you believe in physics or not, so long as you know how to manufacture atomic power. The point is that you may know some physics, but not be able or willing to apply it for useful purposes, but you can't make power from nuclear fuel unless you have both a special kind of knowledge and are willing to behave as if it were true. You must believe in it—trust it.
>
> Nor, it seems to me, can you live a Christian life unless, like Jesus, you believe in the power of goodness, of justice, of mercy, and of love; unless you believe in these so strongly that you are prepared to put them to the acid test of experiment; unless these constitute the real meaning of life for you, more important than life itself, as they were for Jesus.

Obviously from the passages already cited, she was no humanist; she was Christian to the core. Here is a simple but striking passage of hers about Jesus:

> It must have been obvious in all that I have said so far that the character of Jesus Christ, the tone of his voice over the centuries, so to speak, has made a tremendous appeal to me. I think it very likely that a great deal of legend has gathered round the story of his life, and yet many of his sayings ring so true today that they—to use an old-fashioned Quaker phrase—"speak to my condition." I rejected a good deal of my religious upbringing during the

process of thinking for myself in my teens and later; I found it impossible to accept as true much that I had been told I must believe about Jesus. But thinking for myself brought me closer to him for he had the simplicity of approach I wanted. He didn't just talk *about* God; he talked *with* God: and he taught his friends to do the same.

Kathleen Lonsdale realized the importance of the prayer—"Thy kingdom come—beginning with me." Here is what she had to say on that:

> We have to begin at the center, to control ourselves and our tempers, to live peaceably with our immediate companions. . . . We must control our tongues and our pens. Violence in words can cause more unhappiness than a blow. To wound a man's spirit is worse than to wound his body, and may, indeed, cause a physical reaction. Caustic words can generate widening circles of bad temper and cause suffering where none was intended. We ourselves must forgive to "seventy times seven."

World War II and Her Imprisonment

Often in the years before World War II she had spoken and written about the necessity of testing one's faith by action, of "experimenting" with the life of commitment, and of her belief that faith could remove mountains.

Early in the war she counselled with young men who were debating whether they could conscientiously serve in the armed forces or must conscientiously abstain. With them she was careful not to impose her own beliefs but to try to get them to make the crucial decisions. Some were willing to do alternative service, working in hospitals or on the land. Others felt that such service was a compromise with the military, so they opted for imprisonment for conscience sake.

Then came the air raids over London and other localities and the government decided it was necessary to compel citizens to serve as wardens to detect fires and fight them. It was imperative that all who were called respond favorably; there was no provision for conscientious objectors.

Kathleen Lonsdale would probably have been exempt from duty as a fire warden because she was the mother of three children. But she felt it was wrong for her to sit quietly by and let others go to prison for their protest against war as a way of settling disputes. So she decided not to register and to inform the authorities of her reasons for that action.

She was haled before the magistrate of Uxbridge and eventually served a month's sentence in Holloway Prison for her action. About that decision she said:

> . . . my reason told me that I was a fool—that I was risking my job and my career, that an isolated example could do no good. . . . But reason was fighting a losing battle. I had wrestled in prayer and I knew beyond all doubt that I *must* refuse to register, that those who believed that war was the wrong way to fight evil must stand out against it, however much they stood alone, and that I and mine must take the consequences.

So she went to prison. At first she was refused permission to take with her Clarke's *Applied X-Rays* and Peake's *Commentary on the Bible,* but eventually she was allowed to have those and a few other books.

As neighbors she had a little Irish thief and a prostitute and from them and other inmates she learned a lot about life. As she described her experience:

> When I came out, I knew a great deal more than when I went in. . . . It made me more human, more interested in other people.

But that seems like an understatement. Using her skills as a scientist, she observed closely what occurred there and she wrote a memorandum for an anthology on *Women in Prison* in which she described the superficiality of the medical examinations and the lack of realistic attempts to reeducate the inmates.

Even more, that experience left her with a deep and life-long concern for prisoners and prison officials and in 1949 she became a member of the Board of Visitors at Aylesbury Prison and Borstal. Her wrestling with the decision about going to prison and her reflections during her time there heightened her interest in and desire to work for a wide range of social, economic, and political concerns.

Her Work for Peace and Improved East-West Relations

The dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki came as a shock to many scientists, as well as to others. It seemed at first to promise the release of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. But it also revealed the horrendous possibilities of the use of such energy to destroy the human race, giving some scientists troubled consciences about the uses to which their technological knowledge had been put.

Fortunately, that situation gave Kathleen a rare opportunity for contributing to the world-wide peace movement in which she and Thomas had been active for several years.

One of the most dramatic gestures in that regard was the trip which a delegation of seven British Quakers made to the U.S.S.R. in 1951. Disturbed by the growing deterioration of relations between the East and the West, they hoped by their visit:

> . . . firstly to take a message of goodwill to the Soviet people from the Society of Friends; secondly, to find out something of the position of religion in the U.S.S.R.; and thirdly, to discuss with influential people of all kinds the methods that must be used to achieve peace and understanding.

In the process they also expected to learn something about general conditions in the Soviet Union and report to a broad public on what they discovered.

The delegation was an extraordinarily able and representative group of men and women, all of them knowledgeable and concerned Friends. Its chairman was B. Leslie Metcalf, the chairman of the East-West Relations Committee and of the Industrial and Social Order Council of the Society of Friends and the chief engineer of the National Coal Board. Others were Gerald Bailey, for 19 years the director of the National Peace Council and an expert on international relations; Margaret Backhouse of Westhill College; Paul S. Cadbury, the managing director of Cadbury Brothers-Limited and chairman of the Friends Service Council; Mildred Creak, a doctor; Frank Edmead, a member of the staff of the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper; and Kathleen Lonsdale, a scientist.

In the Soviet Union they were met with a warm welcome by Russian officials and were able to talk frankly with several of them. They met with members of the broad-based Soviet Peace Council, attended Baptist and Russian Orthodox church services, and conferred with a wide range of other groups. Individuals visited a coal mine, a chocolate factory, a clinic, a hospital, and other institutions.

Before they separated for a weekend, with some going to Kiev and others to Leningrad, they addressed a letter to Mr. Gromyko in the Foreign Office, including seven points on which they thought action could be taken to foster better East-West relations. Upon their return to Moscow they met with Jacob Malik, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, who replied at length to their memorandum.

Back home they were deluged with requests for talks, interviews, and articles on their visit, and their trip was widely reported by the mass media. In addition they wrote a small book entitled *Quakers Visit Russia,* which was distributed widely. Kathleen Lonsdale was the editor of that volume.

For her, that trip involved some professional risk as it might have made it difficult for her to work with the members of some scientific societies in the United States in the coming months. But her overriding concern for improved East-West relations prompted her to take such risks.

Then, in 1955, a delegation of British Friends made a similar

trip to China, and Kathleen Lonsdale was a member of that group, too. Although utterly opposed to the communist government there, she was convinced that the current government had at least given many Chinese their self-respect, making them feel that they mattered.

However, she decried the fact that the Chinese had now renounced their previous loathing of the fighting profession and were beginning to ape the West in establishing a strong military establishment.

She also lamented the fact that China was a political outcast in the world family of nations, asserting that:

> We are losing our opportunity in China. This enormous country, with its enormous population, cannot for long be held as an outlaw without permanent damage to the spiritual harmony of our family of nations. We cannot influence people whom we affect to despise, or rather we can only influence them towards resentful enmity. . . .

Some of Her Other Concerns

Although peace and its ramifications probably held top priority in her list of concerns, there were others to which she devoted much thought, time and energy.

One of them was the question of immigration which she characterized as "one of the greatest problems of the coming century." Some of those immigrants to the United Kingdom and to other wealthy, democratic nations of the Western World were exiles from their homelands. Others were self-imposed emigrants. Nearly all of them were seeking greater freedom, broader economic opportunities, and more education—if not for themselves, then for their children and/or grandchildren.

Kathleen's concern for them was far more than legal justice and economic opportunities; it was for a sense of individual worth, of self-respect. Speaking at a meeting called by the Friends World Committee at Wilmington College in Ohio in the U.S.A. in 1957, she spoke with great feeling about the injunction of Jesus to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to take in strangers, suggesting that that might well include a rigorous look at the immigration policies of various nations. Going far beyond that problem, she asserted that:

> The important thing, of course, is that in obeying these commands at the political level, we should never become impersonal and think of men and women merely as cases or as specimens of human material. We must plan for large numbers of people but we must never lose sight of them as individuals or cause them to lose their own self-respect. If in fact their life from birth has been

so degraded that they *have* no self-respect, then *we* must help to build it up. And we must show them God in our own lives, so that even without words—which may not be understood—they may see that which is lovely and loving in us, and learn communion and worship through us.

But she warned those present and those who would read her message not to be deluded into thinking that an era of abundance was just over the mountain in some kind of Promised Land of tomorrow. She linked her concern about immigrants with the poverty of the world's people and the misuse of our global resources—two other concerns of hers, saying:

> We in the West are using up the world's material resources at a fantastic rate. We have used in the past few years as much oil as in all previous generations put together. We still have much left, but it is not inexhaustible and it took many, many centuries to form. We are using up our metals, our forests and squandering our fresh water. . . . Some of the things that we waste every day are irreplaceable. We have caused and are causing erosion in many parts of the world, and although the trend has been halted in part and even reversed in part, it is always far easier to waste than to restore or replace.

On this concern for the wise use of the world's resources as on some of her other concerns, she was listened to more carefully by many people because she was known as a scientist and not considered a starry-eyed idealist. Thus her influence was greatly enhanced.

Closely linked with the foregoing concerns was her keen interest in young people and her desire to help them find a rewarding religious faith and a faith in the future. She urged her listeners and her readers to sit down and talk with children and young people with a listening ear, to show them that older people have a deep and transforming faith based on experience, and to discuss questions with them that are "important enough to be constantly thought about."

On that theme she wrote for the Fellowship of Reconciliation in a pamphlet entitled *Effective Christianity:*

> What concerns me most of all is that this is what we are teaching our young people. Do we really mean that they shall pay only lip service to belief in a loving God, in a suffering and redeeming Savior, in a Spirit that knows no evil and seeks not its own? Some young people do understand the meaning of real service, but all our young men in nearly all nations are being taught preparation for war as a part of their continued education. We ought to be teaching them that wars are obsolete, a horrible relic of the pre-atomic age. . . . I think the fact that we teach our young people

to subdue their finer instincts is the greatest possible indictment in our Christianity. I believe that our Christianity is ineffective because we are training our young people in methods that perpetuate aggression in themselves, arouse suspicion in others, and put them in such a state of moral confusion that they have no chance of knowing right from wrong.

Nevertheless, she was not pessimistic about the future even though she was aware of the many pitfalls in the path that lay ahead. In a talk to representatives to the Friends World Conference in 1952, she spoke about the future in this way:

> Our children will inherit from us a world very different from the world we would like to have left them. We would like to leave them a safe world, a peaceful world, a comfortable world. It is more like a smoldering volcano. Yet it is still a world of great opportunities for adventure. It is still God's world. It is still a world in which they may hear the voice of Jesus saying, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

Writing in her book on *Is Peace Possible?*, published in 1957, she spoke primarily to adults about the future, maintaining that:

> I think that there are problems ahead of us so great that drastic changes in our ways of thinking and acting are absolutely necessary to deal with them. There are two ways in which such changes might come. One is the way of the compulsion of experience, the whip and spur of historical inevitability, the coercion of facts. That is the hard and bitter way. The other is the way of foresight, of preparation, of imagination. It is also the way of moral compulsion. It may be no less hard, but it is not bitter.

Although she was primarily concerned with national and international affairs, she was not unmindful of conditions which needed to be improved closer to home. One of her last contributions to *The Friend* was an account of "a caring community service" organized in the seaside town where she and her husband lived and which gave neighborly help to lonely and elderly people.

Her Broad Travels

A quick glance at her travels in various parts of the world indicates how valued she was as a scientist and as a worker for peace. Most of the journeys listed below were basically for research and lectures on science. But she often combined them with her other concerns. Here is a representative list of such travels:

1943 Ireland

1946 France

1947 The U.S.A. (including six months at the National Institutes of Health), and Canada

1948 Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland

1950 Spain

1951 Sweden and the Quaker visit to the U.S.S.R.

1954 Australia and New Zealand

1955 China

1961 Egypt

1962 South Africa and other parts of that continent

1965 Mexico and Germany

1966 The U.S.S.R.

Her Speaking

As indicated throughout this brief essay, Kathleen Lonsdale was sought after as a speaker on science, peace, Christianity, Quakerism, and other topics. She was not flamboyant, oratorical, or passionate in her approach. In fact the initial impact was that of a woman of medium height and a bit stocky, with steel-rimmed glasses, and a large head of hair who would probably present a solid discourse with clarity and authority but without passion.

One informant, however, spoke to this writer about the amazing hold she had on her audiences, exuding an atmosphere of radiance and deep concern, of intensity, and of vision.

Another spoke of her as giving the impression of a profoundly sensitive person with warmth and humanity but with the impartiality of a scientist. To him, she was also balanced in her presentations—not overlooking shortcomings but not overplaying them.

And as one can tell from the passages cited in this brief account, she had always thought through her subject carefully and presented her conclusions with certainty and conviction.

Many persons who heard her must have thought that she spoke easily in public. But that was not so. In the Fifth Agnes E. Slack Saunders Lecture on *Responsibility* in 1964, she commented on the fact that although she had been speaking publicly for about 40 years, she still took many hours to prepare a talk, sometimes working two or three hours before breakfast for several days or even weeks on what she was going to say. And she told her listeners that she was "still dripping with sweat and feeling like a wrung-out dish-cloth, when I have finished making one." She related that part of her life to encourage others who might otherwise think that such public appearances came easily to her—and to encourage them to take on responsibilities, assuming that such responsibilities are "never easy."

Her Writings

In her specialty of crystallography she wrote voluminously—articles, research papers, talks, and books. There are scores of her publications for those interested in her scientific writings.

In addition, she wrote widely for Quakers, pacifists, and for the general public. Among the better known of these are the following:

1951. *Quakers Visit Russia.* Editor

1953. *Removing the Causes of War.* The annual Swarthmore Lecture

1954. *Security and Responsibility.* For the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Alex Wood Memorial Lecture.

1957. *Is Peace Possible?* A Penguin Special

1957. *The Spiritual Sickness of the World Today.* For the Friends World Committee for Consultation

1962. *A Scientist Tries to Answer Some of Her Own Questions About Religion.* For the British Broadcasting Company.

1964. *I Believe.* The Arthur S. Eddington Annual Lecture.

1970. *Quakers Talk to Sixth Formers.* A talk on the B.B.C.

Her power as a writer probably lay—and still lies—in her ability to marshal the facts on the stupidity of war as a means of attempting to settle disputes, in her obvious commitment to the teachings of Jesus as relevant in today's world, in her humility in putting forth "solutions" to current problems, in her call to individuals to tackle some of the ongoing problems of the world, and in the simplicity and forthrightness of her writing. Some readers will marvel at the richness of her own reading as revealed in the many authors, past and present, whom she often quoted.

Perhaps the two most influential statements she made were in the Swarthmore Lecture in 1953 and in her popular Penguin special in 1957.

One powerful passage may indicate the tone of much of the Swarthmore Lecture. Early in that talk she commented in this fashion on war and on attempts of the Christian Church to justify it, saying:

> War, stripped of all its justifications, is usually in fact a counsel of despair. Men do not really believe that war can promote justice. They know that in wartime ideals will go by the board, that freedom must be surrendered, and that democracy languishes. They fear that a future world war may mean the end of this civilization and the inauguration of a new Dark Age. And yet the alternatives seem even more shameful and unbearable. From this dilemma the Christian Church has offered no escape except that of personal salvation, with the result that in many parts of the

world Christianity is not merely rejected but despised, and that not because the Church is following its Master, but because it has failed to do so. It may indeed be a sign of spiritual well-being among young people that a Church which supports war because it believes that Christianity is impracticable in a non-Christian world is one which fails to command their loyalty. For this was not the teaching nor the example of Christ himself.

In other parts of that Lecture she was more positive—urging her hearers (and readers) to seek out the good in others and in other systems of government and economy, to practice passive resistance, to work on projects (including very small ones) for helping to relieve suffering and to build a more just and peaceful world order, pointing out that "The task of creating a peaceful world is one in which there is a place for everyone." One astute listener commented that her Lecture might well have been called "What Can *I* Do to Remove the Causes of War?"

In the popular Penguin paperback *Is Peace Possible?*, she came closer to suggesting specific measures to create the kind of world she wanted to help build. With a scientist's marshalling of facts, she came to grips with the question of population control worldwide, with the need for strengthening the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, for learning to co-exist despite differences in governmental and economic systems, for increased efforts to bring about disarmament, and other practical measures. In that document she also pointed to many of the changes brought about in the world because of the efforts at first of far-seeing individuals and groups, urging readers to increase their efforts to make peace possible.

Some Sources of Her Strength

Despite what may appear to be evidence in this essay to the contrary, Kathleen Lonsdale was not an especially robust individual. Among her difficulties, she had had a hysterectomy when comparatively young and a bout with pneumonia before penicillin was produced.

Nevertheless she was able to carry on a prodigious amount of work in several fields, in addition to being a wife and a mother.

How then, can one explain the wide range and number of her activities, all done with consummate skill? There seem to this writer to be at least four explanations.

One was the fact that her goals were almost always clear; and she apparently marshalled her strength in a most disciplined manner, linking that with the hard work already referred to.

Second was the quiet, supportive role Thomas Lonsdale played in her efforts. Theirs was a happy and successful marriage and much of her energy was released by that fact and by his assistance

in ever so many ways.

A third was the support of Friends, for in the fellowship of her Preparative Meeting (of which she was clerk for several years, an Elder, and also an active First-day School teacher), she found encouragement and sustenance. The same was true, also, of Friends in a wider circle, such as the East-West Committee on which she was active so long. Of course there were frustrations and disappointments. But she knew that Friends would support her, especially in emergencies, and from that fact she found power.

Linked closely with that was her deep and abiding faith in a Power or Powers that her science background could never explain completely but which her faith did support powerfully and gloriously. No one who has read the passages cited in this essay should have any doubt of that fact. And it was in the Meetings for Worship on the basis of expectant silence where she conversed with the Divine, that her doubts were often removed, her goals clarified, her next steps selected, and a power beyond her own physical strength released.

Her Retirement

Kathleen Lonsdale lived only three years after she retired. But they were full years, devoted largely to writing scientific books and papers.

At one point a postal strike held up the proofs on one book, so she started another, wondering whether she would cite the postal union in the Preface to that volume for making that new book possible.

Fortunately she suffered only four months from her bone-marrow cancer. Since it could be controlled, she was able to work until a few days before her death on April 1, 1971 at the age of 68.

Conclusion. As recently as 1984 Alex Bryan wrote a short account of her life in *The Friend,* intended primarily for boys and girls as an introduction to the life of this remarkable woman.

Perhaps his final paragraph is a fitting conclusion to this account of Kathleen Lonsdale. Here is what he said:

> As a scientist, a writer, a lecturer, an active worker for peace and much besides, she led a full life in the service of the community. Notably, she believed that God would reveal what was his will for her, and she remained ready at all times to be used by him. To the end, because of what God meant to her, she believed that goodness would prevail. In spite of the fact that as a scientist, she was a realist and fully aware of the potential dangers to civilization. Like David she was wont to declare, "Yea, tho I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me."

SIGRID LUND

Only recently has the general public had the opportunity to hear about the life of a remarkable Norwegian Friend, Sigrid H. Lund. It is right that her incredible story be heard and seen by thousands of people outside the circle of Sigrid's many friends and Friends.

In 1978 the Yorkshire Television in England devoted a series of programs to five outstanding women in the resistance movement against the Nazis in Germany in the 1940s. Sigrid Lund was one of those women. That series aroused so much interest that a book, based on it, was published in 1983, written by Kevin Sim and entitled *Five Women of Courage.*

Then, in 1980, the Norwegian Broadcasting Company produced a film which showed the many interests and outstanding contributions of that unique individual.

In 1982 friends of Sigrid Lund decided that the most appropriate way to honor her on her 90th birthday was to issue a book, dedicated to her. So, in an astonishing feat of publishing, they contacted Quaker friends of hers in different parts of the world and in 90 days issued a volume entitled *Quakerism: A Way of Life.* One writer, Edwin Bronner, the Curator of the Quaker Collection at Haverford College in the United States, probably expressed the reaction of most of the contributors to that book when he wrote:

> I am willing to respond to your unreasonable request because of my love for Sigrid and my admiration for my unrealistic friends on the committee.

Meanwhile, in 1982, the Quaker Home Service of London Yearly Meeting and the European and Near East Section of the Friends World Committee for Consultation printed a pamphlet on Sigrid Lund in which her friend, Margaret S. Gibbins, wrote admiringly and admirably about her. The text of that tribute follows:

SIGRID LUND

Portrait of a Norwegian Friend

MARGARET S. GIBBINS

When I was 16 years old, in 1908, I made up my mind that I was not going to be confirmed in the Norwegian State Church. I could not accept the dogmas which I had learned in school. I had, like others, been baptized as a baby, but I knew that I could not confirm that baptism by accepting the Church's teaching on salvation through baptism. The whole concept of some people being saved and others being condemned was completely against my belief in a God of love. Neither could I accept that it was right for any person to take over the guilt of another.

Sigrid Lund told me about that watershed in her life when we were in her sitting-room in Oslo. I asked her whether this was not an unprecedented stand to take at that time when all young people, her brothers and sisters included, became full members by confirmation. "And," I continued, "what was your mother's reaction to such a decision?" She replied:

> Yes, it was unheard of. But my mother understood and sympathised. She had never tried to influence me but we had often discussed it together. When I announced my decision, she told me emphatically that I was most certainly to attend the preparatory classes so that I could hear the recognised teachings of the Church and know clearly what I was about to reject. The course lasted from Easter to Summer, after which I asked to speak with the pastor. He and I had a long discussion, at the end of which he agreed that it would not be right for me to be confirmed. "But," he added, "have you ever heard of the Quakers?" "Yes," I replied, "but only in history books—a peculiar kind of people." "Well," he answered, "I am sure you will hear more about them in the future."

Early Life

Sigrid Helliesen, born in 1892, and now a Friend of long standing, was the youngest of four children. Her Swedish mother was deeply religious but liberal in her thinking; she was warm-hearted, artistic, taking a keen interest in her children's activities.

Sigrid's Norwegian father, a very busy barrister, became secretary of the building committee for the National Theatre in Oslo, and later its business manager. Thus the children of this secure home enjoyed many opportunities of meeting people from near and far—musicians, actors, writers, politicians. They developed a love of the arts, became politically aware, and more important—learned to appreciate the worth of each individual and the richness of the infinite variety within the human race. The family also read and discussed together, Sigrid being particularly interested in popular philosophy and the works of Tolstoy.

At the age of 17, Sigrid knew that she wanted to be a concert singer, but a sudden illness, a shadow on one of her lungs, prevented her from pursuing her ambition at that time. Instead, she was sent into the country to live for at least a year with a clergyman's family. She and the pastor travelled many miles together, visiting his parishioners—in summer by horse and trap, and in winter by sledge. Those two had long discussions on all manner of subjects, often about their religious search—his certainties; her doubts and questionings. At the end of the year her body was healed and she had learned much of his strong faith in the God of the Old Testament and of his acceptance of Jesus Christ. That

period was a wonderful experience for her, in spite of her illness.

She returned to Oslo to recommence her studies, but early in 1911 she was operated on for appendicitis and became seriously ill with an embolism. Nevertheless, in the autumn of that same year she took her final school examinations.

Sigrid had never given up her desire to be a concert singer, so in the spring of 1912 she began studying with a Norwegian. In the summer of 1913 she and her teacher travelled to Bayreuth, in Germany, where they were invited each Sunday to the home of Kosima Wagner, the widow of Richard. There Sigrid met Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Richard Wagner's daughter, Eva. Houston Chamberlain was a philosopher, British by birth, who had become a naturalized German and was married to Eva.

Chamberlain was strongly pro-aryan and anti-semitic. His work undoubtedly had a great influence later on the Nazi movement. In her encounters with him, Sigrid quickly came to realise the dangers inherent in his philosophy. Thus he contributed unwittingly to the development of her mind.

In the autumn of 1913, Sigrid went to Copenhagen, Denmark, to continue her studies there. She also studied in Oslo for the next six years. In 1920, she spent a year in Paris, and more concerts followed.

In 1923 she married Diderich Lund, a civil engineer whom she had known from childhood. To them a son, named Bernt, was born in 1924.

At that time Sigrid suffered another embolism and it became abundantly clear that her longing and ability to pursue her career as a singer was not to be fulfilled. Her initial disappointment was great, but, instead of bemoaning the fact, she turned to the future as a wife and mother, with expectation and hope.

The Lunds Move to Hardanger

In 1927 the family moved to Hardanger on the west coast of Norway where Diderich worked for three years. On one occasion during their time there, Sigrid had a visit from the conductor of the workers' choir. He had heard that she was a singer and said they needed an alto for the solos in a cantata they were rehearsing. He asked for her help and she agreed, attending the practices. But, after a few meetings, she realised that on each occasion, she was left sitting completely alone by all the workers—her first experience of the stark division between employer and employee. She rebelled, refusing to participate unless she became an ordinary member of the choir, singing the solos from that position. That was one of her first successful efforts to bridge the gap between people from different backgrounds, living out her total acceptance of the equality of all individuals.

It was during her stay in Hardanger, also, that Sigrid first became engaged in peace work. Her pacifism, which was no new development, was then rooted not in religion but in her respect for life and human worth. Her husband shared her pacifist views and they have both maintained their interest in, and active support of, the peace movement in Norway.

Erik Lund

In 1930 the family moved back to Oslo. Bernt was a bright, winsome, understanding boy who gave much joy to his parents. Erik was born in 1931 and was a beautiful child. But, after some months, his father and mother began to wonder if something was wrong with him.

After diagnosis, they were told he was mongoloid. The emotional shock to his parents was overwhelming and at first Sigrid was stunned. What had gone wrong? Diderich had his work which helped ease the situation for him. But Sigrid was continually aware of the demands that caring for such a child would make on her and of the impossibility for him to lead a normal life in the face of the manifold difficulties he would face. How was she to cope?

Erik himself showed her the way. When Sigrid realised how completely dependent he was on her, how full of trust, how extraordinarily loving and expectant, her initial despair turned to overwhelming love and patience—and that in a person who was not normally patient.

But the birth of Erik did more. As time passed, Sigrid became determined to see created during her lifetime a permanent home for some of those handicapped members of society where they could be nurtured, cared for, and given an opportunity to develop their potential. She worked toward that goal for many years, but it was not until 1959 that Lindgrov, a special home for handicapped adults, became a reality.

Her Work with the W.I. L. P.F. and with Nansenhjelp

When Erik was five years old, he began to attend kindergarten. Diderich was busy with his work and Bernt was at school. In addition, there was adequate help in the home.

Hence, Sigrid found herself with time to give to other concerns. She joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a pacifist organisation. Around 1935 various Norwegian groups were assisting refugees arriving from Germany. One such organization was Nansenhjelp, headed by Odd Nansen, the son of the famous explorer and peace advocate, Fridtjof Nansen. It was formed in 1937 and Sigrid was invited to join and given the task of caring for refugee children.

World War II began in September, 1939, and in October of that year she and friends of hers were asked to go to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to fetch a group of Jewish children whose parents had affidavits to go to the United States but who wanted their children to be in safe custody until such travel was possible.

The journey to Prague was simple but the return trip through Germany, with 40 Jewish children, was extremely difficult and heart-rending. People sometimes forget that children remain children, no matter of what race, creed, or colour. Such had been the hatred stirred up that individuals acted toward the children in ways of which many must have been ashamed later. Nevertheless the group continued to Sweden and on to Oslo, where the children were welcomed into families in various parts of Norway.

In November, 1939, the winter war between Russia and Finland broke out and Nansenhjelp realised that there was a need for a small hospital to care for Finnish people who had had to evacuate their homes in the south-east part of that country. Sigrid was asked to lead the team to establish such a hospital. She discussed the invitation with Diderich and Bernt, who agreed that she should accept the assignment.

The men's clubhouse at Isalmi was allocated as the hospital and a team of 12 nurses, two doctors, and Sigrid had a full house immediately, mostly old people and children. But an early air-raid on Isalmi made it imperative that they move at once to a village school nearby. During the night the temperature fell below 40° Centigrade, the buses had no windows, and the patients had to be thrust into sleeping bags. One small child disappeared but was later found in a discarded sleeping bag! An old woman lay alone, shivering, so Sigrid, realising that two generate more warmth than one, crawled in beside her. When daylight came, Sigrid realised that she was sleeping beside someone who was dead. During that time truckloads of Russian prisoners passed through the village. The volunteers asked for permission from the Finnish guards to speak to the prisoners. This was granted and although little could be said, tobacco and scarves were offered and gratefully received. The armistice was signed on March 13, 1940, and the team returned to Norway.

Sigrid Lund at Age 50

In 1940, when Sigrid was nearly 50 years old, I asked her to try, as far as she could recollect, to summarise her philosophy of life at that time. Here is what she said:

> My attitude to religion had for many years been that of an agnostic. I was not convinced of God's existence and could not accept the dogmas of the Church or of any Church. In spite of not being a Christian in the conventional sense of that word, I

felt that the Christian message of love fitted with my own moral principles which were based on respect for the worth of the individual and a keen sense of social justice.

During the war years, when I gradually got to know more about the Quakers and their philosophy of life, my agnosticism gave way to the conviction that there is a divine force at work, a power that leads each of us through life. As I learned more of other religions, I found echoes in them of much that I felt to be true. But the idea of a personal God was then, and still is, alien to me.

Since I have always rejected the concept of original sin and had always affirmed the worth and dignity of each individual, whatever their intellectual capacity and from whatever background they came, I could, with my belief in a divine force, immediately accept the Quaker doctrine of "that of God in every man," when I met Quakerism.

Of course it has been impossible for me to live up these ideals but they have given life meaning for me.

The moral implications of such a view of life were clear. She must continue to work for peace. She must stand up for the oppressed and the underprivileged. She must be willing to help people in need. Her pacifism had been strengthened through her experiences in Finland, and with the growing awareness of the many social injustices in the world, she became more and more of a socialist.

World War II and the Nazi Occupation

No Norwegian had dreamt that the Germans would ever invade their country. But the Nazi occupation of Norway took place on April 9, 1940.

No one seemed to know what to do. Sigrid's first reaction was to burn all the papers connected with Nansenhjelp to make sure that no names and addresses would be available. Soon a thick layer of soot lay over the whole garden of their home.

Two cities in the west of Norway were destroyed by the Germans. Sigrid was asked by Nansenhjelp to lead a small group to Kristiansund and Molde, taking lorry loads of essential replacements. The necessary permits to ensure safe passage were granted by the Germans in Oslo. But on the way there, the party was halted by German officers who demanded to speak with the leader. A woman? Impossible! The group with their lorries were ordered to turn back. But the officers had not reckoned with the firm but quiet determination of Sigrid who persuaded them, or more likely demanded, that she and her team, with their lorries, be allowed to continue. And they did.

On September 25, 1940, the German political leader forbade all

existing political parties, only allowing the Nazi Party to exist. A new Nazi government was set up, with Quisling (a Norwegian) appointed in 1942 as head of the new State Council.

Following the establishment of the Nazi regime, the underground movement in Norway became organised. Sigrid became involved in numerous activities in it.

That autumn Myrtle Wright (now Radley), a British Friend who had been in Norway when the Germans arrived there, and had been unable to return to Britain, moved into the Lund home. Her entry there was to have far-reaching effects on Sigrid's life. A deep and lasting friendship grew between them and Myrtle soon became a treasured member of the family. She shared the work in and around the house, cared for Erik who came to love her dearly, and worked closely with Sigrid in the resistance movement.

Those years in Norway were a time of tension and conflict, and of challenges and risks that had to be taken. But they were also years of helpfulness and sacrifice and a strong feeling of "togetherness" among all who took part in the struggle against oppression.

The resistance work was varied. One important aspect of it was to help organise and coordinate that struggle against nazification and oppression. Another part was to provide sundry forms of help for the persecuted and their families, including the hiding of people and assisting them to escape to Sweden.

It also included the distribution of news, which was essential as the regular press was severely censored. Together with some of his friends, Bernt listened avidly to the BBC news, although all radios were forbidden. Then the group produced a news sheet, distributing it during the night. That continued for some time but eventually they were caught and imprisoned. At the time of his arrest Bernt was nearly 18. Later he was transferred to the concentration camp, Sachsenhausen, in Germany. Naturally the uncertainty about his fate was a source of great anxiety during the long years of his imprisonment.

The Nazi persecution hit all sorts of people, not least the Jews. Of course there were Norwegian Jews, as well as Jewish refugees from other parts of Europe. The rabbi was arrested in 1942. The resistance movement worked ceaselessly to save as many of these people as possible. They were hidden in all kinds of homes and in all kinds of places. The method of communication within the underground movement was simple and clear. Each person had contacts with two people—one who delivered messages in code and the other who received them when transmitted.

The system worked excellently. At times warnings came that Jewish men were to be taken (referring to them as large parcels to be sent). At other times it was Jewish women and children

(small parcels). Each time the essential thing was to warn as many as possible during the night and find the necessary hiding places for them.

On one memorable occasion Sigrid, having been informed that children were to be next, visited a children's home during the night and with a woman doctor succeeded in moving all the sleeping children, hidden under covers, to a temporary place of safety from where they later reached Sweden. The children brought from Czechoslovakia by Nansenhjelp were difficult to contact as they were scattered through Norway. But all but three were eventually saved.

Then it was Sigrid's turn to become a refugee. She received a warning that too much interest was being shown in her movements and she was advised to flee. Diderich had already left for Sweden. Bernt was in prison. Erik was safe in South Norway, living with Petra, Tore, and Nils Gloppekjaer on a farm where the Lunds had often spent holidays.

The final moment arrived when a party of 40 Norwegians and Myrtle Wright set out on their perilous journey, hidden under tarpaulins in their lorry. Later in the night they walked through the woods, guided by a Norwegian pilot. The date was February 10, 1944. As they left Norway for Sweden they sang together "Ja, vi elsker dette landet" (Yes, we love this land).

Years later when she was asked whether one should always tell the truth, no matter what the circumstances or consequences, Sigrid announced in no uncertain terms that there were occasions when lying was not only permissible, but right. She cited the time when she had been closely questioned by the Nazi police as to the whereabouts of Diderich, who had left home only that morning. She willingly lied, disclaiming any knowledge of where he was or what he was doing. Again, when asked by the Gestapo about Jews who were being hidden, she always pleaded ignorance, lying when necessary. At such moments she did not need to consider her reply, knowing within herself that love took precedence over truth in certain circumstances.

Her Life in Sweden

In Sweden she met for the first time a group of Quakers and that was for her an unforgettable experience. Many of them became her close friends.

Diderich had arrived in Sweden before her and was already caught up in work for the Norwegian government. Later he was called to Britain by the Norwegian Government in Exile.

Sometime later Myrtle Wright, too, was able to return home.

To begin with, Sigrid, with two other Norwegians, opened a small centre for refugees who needed to talk over their problems

in a relaxed atmosphere. Later, as the war was drawing to a close, Folke Bernadotte, then vice-chairman of the Red Cross, began negotiations with Himmler, the Gestapo chief, about the transfer of Norwegian and Danish prisoners in German concentration camps, to Sweden. At that time Sigrid was asked to be one of a team of Norwegians trained to help returning prisoners, most of whom had suffered severely both physically and psychologically. In April, 1945, the group was sent to Helsingborg in South Sweden where the Norwegian government had rented a building so that preparations could be made for the returning men and women.

One day Sigrid's own son, Bernt, stood before her. The joy of both was indescribable!

The End of World War II

The war ended in May, 1945, and shortly afterwards all Norwegians were able to return home. Everyone in Norway celebrated.

But there were jobs to be done. One of the first for many was the repair of their homes after the destruction and looting. Other jobs were also pressing. Diderich was appointed as director of the reconstruction work in Finmark in the north of Norway, which had been almost completely destroyed. A small Norwegian committee composed of representatives of peace organisations, with Sigrid as chairperson, organised voluntary relief work in those devastated areas. Young people from the Scandinavian countries, from the British Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service, and from the American Friends Service Committee shared in that work. Together those young people rebuilt houses and schools which were later handed back to the indigenous people.

Sigrid Becomes a Quaker

It was Myrtle Wright who led Sigrid to Quakerism. Through their conversations and discussions, through literature on Quakerism, and through the small worshipping group that met regularly from 1942 on, Sigrid was drawn ever closer to the Religious Society of Friends. That group, consisting largely of people who had been sometime at Woodbrooke (the Quaker study centre in England), drew its inspiration from Myrtle's spiritual insight and dynamic personality.

In 1946 Myrtle returned to Norway and lived with the Lund family for nearly four years. She continued to nurse the small but growing meeting for worship. From time to time Friends from other parts of Norway, or visiting Friends from other countries, notably Britain and Sweden, gave talks or public lectures on Quaker topics. By the time Myrtle left Norway in 1950, several members of that worship group had joined Friends, the first being Sigrid, in 1947. In 1952 the Oslo group of Friends became the Oslo

Monthly Meeting, in which Sigrid was to play a prominent part.

What was it that attracted Sigrid Lund to Quakerism? Here is what she has said about that:

> I found there not a system of doctrines and rites that must be subscribed to, but a seeking attitude, a seeking to understand more fully the working of the divine force and to find one's right place and role in human relationships. In the preface to her book on *Form and Radiation,* Emilia Fogelklou Norlind quotes Pascal as saying, "You would not be seeking me if you had not found me," and goes on to say, "I would like to add, you would not have found me if you don't continue to seek me."
>
> But above all, the Quaker emphasis on Jesus' message of love and caring as something that must apply in all situations, held great appeal for me. To me life is a unity in which no place or time is more sacred than any other. The whole of life is sacred in that it should all be governed by the law of love.
>
> Another aspect of Quakerism that attracted me from the start was its breadth of vision, and its tolerance toward people of other beliefs, recognising that inspiration may be drawn also from non-Christian sources. It tolerates within its membership great diversities in theological matters, something which to me enriches it.
>
> Let me also add that I have always felt at home in the Quaker meeting for worship. I think I can sum up my attitude to religion by quoting the Quaker (I don't know his name) who said, "Religion is not a creed but a way of life."

While on the subject of Quaker diversities, I asked Sigrid what particular features her own brand of Quakerism had. Here is her answer:

> Well, I have already mentioned my concept of God. I experience God not as a personal being, but as a personal force in human life. My view of Jesus also differs from that of many Quakers. Jesus is to me a human being, not the son of God, sent by Him to save mankind. If Jesus had not been fully human, but a kind of semi-god, I doubt whether his life and teaching would have meant so much to me. At least he would not have been the example he is of human life at its best.
>
> And I think it is important to distinguish between Jesus and Christ. Jesus is the name of the historical person known to us through the gospels; Christ is the eternal divine force that Jesus showed forth in his life and that continues to reveal itself in human beings.

Her Work in Berlin and New York City

In the early post-war years Sigrid was free to devote much of her time to Quaker work. Bernt was studying political science in

Sweden. Erik lived happily on the farm. Diderich was engaged in reconstruction work in Finmark.

In the autumn of 1951, Sigrid offered and was accepted by the Friends Service Council of London Yearly Meeting for reconciliation work in Berlin, meeting there with many Germans, some of them Quakers. It must have been extremely difficult for her to work there so soon after her wartime experiences. Even to hear German spoken was bound to revive bitter wartime memories. But as she accepted "that of God in every man," she also accepted and grasped the challenge.

In 1952 and again in 1959 she was invited to join the Quaker team working at the United Nations in New York City—work made possible through the Friends World Committee for Consultation as a recognised non-governmental organisation. Sigrid's political acumen, her strong pacifist stand, her concern for human rights, and the manifold experiences of a full life, all made her an ideal choice for her work there.

Her Work in India

In 1953 Diderich was asked by the Norwegian government to administer a fisheries project in Travancore in South India, helping the local people to build better boats and to use more efficient equipment and techniques.

Sigrid joined him for a year in 1954. She visited the Quaker Centre in Delhi as well as Savagram and Gandhigram. Then the Norwegian doctor in Travancore (now Kerela) asked her to take over the work of treating people for scabies. She was welcome in the homes of the villagers and made friends wherever she went.

Her Work at Lindgrov

During all the intervening years Sigrid had steadfastly sought ways to realise her concern for the establishment of a home for the mentally handicapped.

Meanwhile the Gloppekjaer family in South Norway had accepted Erik as one of their own, and Petra Gloppekjaer, a teacher in the local school had, with endless patience, taught Erik to read and to write. She, too, longed to see some secure future for Erik and others like him, in a home where their individual capacities could be developed and where they would be completely accepted. She and Sigrid discussed at length how that dream could be brought to fruition.

The solution came from Petra, who had inherited her grandfather's farm, and generously offered the house and land as a gift for this purpose. So, with renewed vigour and enthusiasm, they began the next enormous task. Discussions took place with the authorities, work camps were organised, money was raised, and

alterations undertaken. Then, thanks to the wonderful gift by Petra Gloppekjaer, to the loving support of Friends in Oslo, and to the willing financial help and involvement of all Norwegian Friends, and above all to the persistent efforts of Sigrid and Petra, Lindgrov opened its doors to six young adults in 1959.

Lindgrov stands in a beautiful situation at the edge of a fjord and today provides a home for about 30 people, all of whom have jobs they can manage—weaving, basket-making, helping in the house and garden, learning to read, to write, and to swim. At first some of the local residents objected strongly to having mongoloid and other handicapped people near them. But that attitude has been changed by the newcomers themselves. Their happy, outgoing friendliness and trust, their unquestioning assumption that they will be accepted, has won the hearts of their neighbours. Now local clubs and individuals enjoy talking with them, teaching them to swim, and inviting them to parties and excursions. The people in the area also have come to realise that each person has a particular contribution to make in any community.

Her Quaker Journeys

In 1956 Sigrid attended the annual meeting of the European Section of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, held in The Netherlands, and it was there that I first met her. On that occasion she was invited to become the chairperson of the Section, and for the next eight years she served in that capacity. While she was chairperson, the Section's work grew and responsibility increased, thanks in large part to her strong belief in the work and purposes of the F.W.C.C.

During those years she and I travelled widely among European and Near East Friends and participated in the World Conference in 1967 at Guilford College, North Carolina, in the U.S.A.

It was Sigrid who, in 1961, at the triennial meeting of the F.W.C.C., opposed strongly the acceptance of the invitation from Guilford College to hold the next World Conference there unless the college became racially integrated. The decision was postponed until the next triennial meeting in 1964 and by that time Guilford College had opened its doors to American Negroes. Hence the renewed invitation was warmly accepted.

On one occasion, while visiting among Friends in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), a public meeting was held at which she and I spoke. We ended with a short period of worship and during that time of quiet, an elderly man rose to his feet. He said he could not understand how a woman from Norway could come to them and talk about friendship and understanding. His countrymen had occupied Norway without cause, had inflicted suffering and destruction, and had sent men and women to con-

centration camps. Yet here she talked of friendship. But, he added, could she do one thing more. Would she lead the gathering in the Lord's Prayer, in Norwegian, while others would join in German, asking for forgiveness. I can still see her, unable for a moment to speak, thinking surely of her family's experiences, yet nodding her head affirmatively. Then she rose and in her strong, clear voice began the "Fader Vaar." Everyone prayed aloud, with the words "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them who trespass against us" holding real significance for all. As the prayer ended, there was a deep realisation of God's Presence.

During her chairing of the Section, she participated in the formation of the European Section Service Committee, a concern near to her heart for many years. Others shared that concern, but through the longing of a young Norwegian, Egil Hovdenak, to work with and for the people of Kabylia in Algeria, and through the support of Norwegian Friends and the Section members, that concern became a reality.

The first project of the newly formed European Section Service Committee began in 1963. Sigrid believed that this was an important way for the small continental yearly meetings to be involved in work alongside others less fortunate and that the small groups themselves would be strengthened through their common task. For seven years the Kvekerhjelp—the Norwegian Quaker Aid Committee—with Sigrid as its chairperson, acted as the Home Administration Committee for that project.

In 1964 Sigrid stepped down as chairperson but she remained on the executive committee for some time as the head of the Quaker Service Committee. And she has retained her interest in and concern for the work of the F.W.C.C., the Section, and the Section Service Committee.

International Quaker gatherings, large or small, have always held a particular attraction for Sigrid, and on setting out for such an event she has been known to say, "I'm just like a circus horse before it enters the ring. When it smells the sawdust, it starts whinnying with joy and expectation."

Her Philosophy Today

When she was 88, I asked Sigrid whether she had changed her philosophy of life or her religious beliefs in the last few years. She replied:

> I feel that my philosophy, my beliefs, have remained fundamentally the same. I am still an out-and-out pacifist but can perhaps now, because of personal experiences, better understand people who hold a different view—those who feel that there is not enough time to wait for pacifism to produce results when changes are needed quickly. However, I believe that violence creates vio-

lence, which in its turn is used to produce radical change, which often does not last. I strongly support social change but accept that this takes time. There is need to believe in, and work continuously towards, an assured peace, which will become more assured as people recognize and accept the worth, dignity, and human rights of all peoples.

Conclusion

Her close family now consists of Diderich, aged 95, her sons Erik and Bernt. Bernt's wife Ebba, Helene and two grandchildren —Diderik and Tanja. Diderik's wife is also very much one of the family.

There are many qualities in this family which make each member special. Two of those qualities are the lack of bitterness no matter what happens to them and their natural acceptance of every person as someone of worth.

Sigrid feels very closely tied to both of her sons who have meant so much to her, each in his own way. Erik because of his need for love and understanding and Bernt because of the continuing loving support he has always given her.

Now, do not imagine that Sigrid is perfect. Far from it. And she would be the first to admit her weaknesses and failings. Her enthusiasm for life occasionally causes her to paint an exaggerated picture of a particular situation, and she is not always as patient with people as she is with Erik. Because she has a strong personality, she is sometimes prone to a forthrightness of speech that can appear blunt and dominant. Yet, deep down, she is always loving, tender, full of fun and always courageous in time of necessity. She has worked persistently for concerns dear to her heart, even in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, thanks to her drive and perseverance, sustained by her faith in the cause, she has usually won through. She has always listened, usually with patience, supported with understanding, been non-judgmental, and yet produced, for consideration, helpful advice. She still has all those qualities.

Those of us who share the joy of knowing her, love her. She is to each of us, no matter of what age, in the true sense of the words, a friend and a Friend.

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Others have added their appreciation of Sigrid Lund to that of Margaret Gibbins. In the Introduction to her pamphlet on Sigrid Lund, George Gorman wrote:

> Sigrid Lund is one of those rare people who can rightly be said to have charisma. There is a translucent quality of life in her that

> is rich and deep. This could set her apart for she is unique, but her loving, sympathetic and affectionate philosophy, her infectious joy and sense of fun, bring her close to people.

He then pointed out that she was fundamentally "a reticent and private person not given to speaking readily of her achievements and her philosophy of life."

Writing in the book dedicated to Sigrid Lund, Adam Curle, the organiser of the first peace and conflict research department in an English university (Bradford), said of Sigrid Lund:

> I would like you to know that you have served as a model for me, and to many others, in the work I have tried to do for peace. And it is a great comfort and encouragement to know that someone as wise and experienced as yourself supports my concerns with her interest. I use the words *comfort* and *encouragement* because the first has implications of strength and the second means to give courage. We are in great need of both to continue working with faith and hope in this blood-drenched world; and whenever the burden seems too heavy, we are supported by the example and prayers of those who have lived triumphantly through periods of trouble and conflict.

One of the participants in the TV program depicting the life of Sigrid Lund asked one of the men from the Norwegian Broadcasting Company how he explained her amazing achievements. His reply was, "She loves people" and, he added, "She is a gadfly."

THOMAS G. LUNG'AHO

East African Quaker Educator and Administrator

HAROLD V. SMUCK

The story of Thomas Ganira Lung'aho and that of Friends in East Africa for the thirty-nine years of their organized existence are intertwined like the vines in the rain forests of western Kenya. For that long period Tom has been at the center of the story of Quakers in East Africa—the largest group of Friends in the world. Even the clouds of turmoil and division, and the charges of failed performance that have gathered around him in recent years should not obscure his major role in the development of Quakerism in East Africa.

In 1946 he was chosen as one of the clerks of East Africa Yearly Meeting when it was first established, and he continued in leadership positions until he became its second executive secretary, following the distinguished Benjamin Ngaira. In 1962 he moved to the assistant secretaryship of the Friends Africa Mission as it prepared to dissolve in favor of the yearly meeting. Then he became and still remains the secretary of the reconstituted East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends.

His career has also embraced service to Friends and others internationally as well as in Kenya. Since the independence of that nation in 1964, he has rendered distinguished service to Kenya, and in education, long before that time.

Few people have had to stretch themselves as Tom Lung'aho has had to do. Born into a society that had not seen a wheel until about a century ago, he has owned and operated a car much of his adult life. Born of unlettered parents, living in traditional thatched huts, he has grown accustomed to being in high-rise apartments in Nairobi, London, and New York, and to serving as a consultant in the Kenya government offices and those of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Graduated from the prestigious Alliance High School when it was the only post-primary school in Kenya, he has been involved with the hundreds of small primary schools administered by Quakers and he has been an effective counsellor to the Kenyan government in education.

The story of this outstanding East African Quaker begins with the marriage of his parents—the first Christian marriage among Friends in Kenya. Into their home Tom was born on June 24, 1919, the sixth of the nine children of Daudi and Maria Lung'aho. Tom's father had joined the first Quaker missionaries soon after their arrival in Kaimosi in Kenya's Western Province, not far from Lake Victoria, in 1902. Daudi was a trusted and faithful employee,

learning tasks ranging from assisting the doctor, to cooking western food, to doing carpentry. He was also independent enough to leave the mission when an unreasonable demand was made on him. Yet he remained a faithful Christian and stalwart defender of other believers to the end of his eighty-five years.

Tom's mother Maria had run away to the mission to avoid being married to an old man. After marrying Daudi, she brought her three sisters into the protection of their home. She bore nine children "who were brought up in a Christian way, given education, and taught clean habits and good behavior." Thus reads the testimony of her son Thomas. As a friend since boyhood says, he was "most loved" in the family. Growing up in an atmosphere of love, diligence, and self-reliance, one of his early memories is of getting his first western clothing, a shirt and a pair of trousers. His mother bought them with her earnings from selling vegetables and milk to the missionaries.

Tom attended Sunday School as a young boy in Kaimosi, the Friends Mission headquarters. There he "learned singing." Many years later he strongly supported an attractively printed major revision of the *Friends Hymnal* in the local Luhya language.

When he was seven, he went to stay with a married sister some fifteen miles away, at Vihiga, another early Quaker mission center. He did not go to school until his sister and her teacher husband went to Nairobi in 1928 to study. There in the capital city, while his brother-in-law advanced his career at the famous Jeanes School (supported by the Jeanes Fund from the famous Philadelphia Quaker family), Thomas entered the world of education, a realm in which he himself later rendered distinguished service. He continued his education when the family returned to Vihiga after two years.

At fourteen, having attained the required schooling, he entered the Normal Training School at Kaimosi—a very young age at that time. It was there that he became an avid and competent footballer (soccer player). Somewhat short of stature and slightly though solidly built, he might have been an unimpressive athlete except for his obvious skill. Jonathan Barasa, a lifelong friend, first met Tom on the football field. As Jonathan recalls, "As a back, I played rough against Tom, a forward. But he always scored. If I played clean, things went better." Later, as a young teacher in Kakamega, Tom continued to play soccer on the district team and to train others in the sport. Barasa describes his friend as patient and popular.

In examinations, Thomas qualified at the conclusion of Normal School for entry into the prestigious Alliance High School, virtually the only avenue for educational advancement in Kenya. In 1937 he entered Alliance for four years of study. In addition to his

classes, which included more teacher education, he became a dormitory prefect, the school captain, and assistant scoutmaster. After graduation he became a teacher, covering a wide range of subjects, including English and music.

After a year of teaching, Thomas married Leah Kayere Akelo on December 23, 1942, in the Kaimosi Meetinghouse. The daughter of Daniel and Abigail Akelo, she had been reared at Kegoye, a Quaker village in South Maragoli.

As an Educator

Tom's whole career has been in education and in the church. Until entering Alliance High School almost all of his education had been in Quaker schools. Much of his adult life has been invested in Quaker education at all levels. Since Kenya's education is largely a partnership between church and state—with the church predominant earlier and the state predominant more recently—it was easy to combine service to Friends and service to school in one career.

Graduating from Alliance at the age of 22 and having completed 14 years of formal education, Thomas was assigned to the government-sponsored school at Kakamega. At that time a modest administrative and trading center, Kakamega has become the rapidly developing administrative headquarters of the Western Province, which includes well over a million residents.

After three years, he was assigned to Musingu, a few miles from Kakamega and about fifteen from his home at Bumbo near the Kaimosi Mission. There he helped develop a junior secondary school. A half-dozen years later, in 1951, he was transferred to Lirhanda, one of the oldest Quaker centers in the country. There he served as headmaster of the intermediate school.

With a bursary from the British Council, he made an extensive visit to schools in England in 1956. Upon his return, having also been to the U.S.A. to visit Friends of the Five Years Meeting, (now the Friends United Meeting), he was again assigned to Musingu as headmaster of the intermediate school.

Two years later his teaching career ended, but his commitment to education continued from a different base. In 1958 Thomas became General Secretary of East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends. He succeeded the late Benjamin Ngaira, the first Kenyan to occupy that administrative position. Since its formation in 1946, the Yearly Meeting had been served by an American missionary.

Thomas, however, had begun even earlier to extend his public service beyond the classroom. Several years before 1958, when Jeremiah Segero was a rising community leader in the Lirhanda area, he had appointed the teacher Thomas Lung'aho as "location secretary," finding him to be efficient in "filing and all work."

For many years he has served as the district chairman of the Christian Churches Education Association, a vehicle for ecumenical cooperation and a vital link with the national government, which finances and supervises education. He was instrumental at one time in having East Africa Yearly Meeting's education committee move, with its equipment, to Kakamega, a move which strengthened the churches' cooperation at the district level.

Under Thomas' guidance, says Richard Ondeng, the Kakamega District has become the most effective in the country. No other church, Ondeng emphasizes, did what E.A.Y.M. did under Thomas' leadership.

In the early years of his nation's independence (achieved in 1963) Thomas served on the commission which travelled extensively throughout the country to survey the educational system and make recommendations to the Ministry of Education. Over a period of many years he has chaired the boards of governors of several secondary schools.

One of Kenyan Quakers' grandest visions of education was first shared abroad in 1960—the dream of an institution of higher education. Thomas was a major figure in bringing that dream to reality. As yearly meeting secretary he worked with two American educators who were sent to Kenya in 1967 in a belated response to the call for help. Landrum Bolling, president of Earlham College, and Milo Ross, president of George Fox College, studied the skills needed by the new nation, its educational policy, and the concerns of Kenyan Quakers in this field. After the team's proposals were approved in Kenya and in North America, Tom continued to be deeply involved in developments. For most of the 1970's he was chairman of the provisional board of governors of Friends College, as the new institution came to be called.

Tom designates his service to Quaker education as one of the most rewarding aspects of his life.

As a Quaker

Education and the church have been virtually inseparable in the life of the Kenyan nation throughout this century. Thomas' career illustrates the intertwining of concern for the mind and for the spirit.

Most schools were founded by missions and churches. The colonial government wisely invested in church school systems to encourage their expansion and upgrading as a practical and far less expensive alternative to developing a parallel system. While the educational enterprise has evolved in recent years toward a truly national public school system, the Kenya government has provided for the moral and sometimes financial undergirding which the originating church community had given.

In earlier years the church—certainly so in the case of Friends—produced leaders who were teachers and at the same time churchmen and women. This was most assuredly the case when Thomas Lung'aho was starting his career in the early 1940s. His old mentor, retired senior chief Jeremiah Segero, says of Tom's earliest years of teaching in his district, "He was a good influence in church development, helping people to become Christians." Although all of his formal training is in education, Tom "preaches well" and "knows the Bible," a lifelong colleague says. The same Quaker emphasizes how "he stayed and served Friends" while many drifted away from the church which had nurtured their faith and provided their education. Often that education was even crowned by study abroad.

In 1946 Tom was teaching at Musingu. The vigorous Friends community there hired a truck (a common means of group transportation) to travel to Lugulu, about 40 miles to the north. The occasion was the annual gathering of Friends which became in that year the East Africa Yearly Meeting.

About 12,000 gathered on the spacious, shaded meetinghouse grounds just across a busy, dusty road from the row of little shops known collectively as the Lugulu Market. Two American Quakers —Levinus Painter and Errol Elliott—were there for that special occasion.

Having been trained in the many monthly meetings organized over the years, Friends took part easily in the business procedures. Among other items, they formed a nominating committee to propose clerks for the new entity. Among the names presented was that of the promising young teacher, Thomas Lung'aho. He was one of the five chosen to serve along with the presiding clerk, Joeli Litu. Tom was later to serve as assistant presiding clerk under the late Benjamin Ngaira, and soon as treasurer. In its first five years he had thus served the yearly meeting in three progressively more important capacities.

At that time it was said that Friends in East Africa numbered 10,000. They have grown since then to a reported 35,000. Firm statistics, however, are non-existent; and a recent estimate has been made of 75,000 Friends in East Africa. Furthermore, Dr. David Barrett of the University of Nairobi has said that in recent years the "Quaker community" (composed of members, attenders, associates, and children), is 150,000 or more.

There are over 600 village meetings. They usually meet in a thatched building or in a borrowed classroom. Occasionally a few of them gather together under a tree. At such meetings early on Sunday mornings the worshippers sing vigorously and melodiously and are led in prayer, usually by the elders, who also give the messages. A few Meetings have full-time pastors.

Later on Sunday mornings, anywhere from two to a dozen village meetings which make up a monthly meeting, come together. That usually happens weekly, with one meeting each month being a session for worship and business, another the women's monthly meeting, still another the youth monthly meeting, etc.

On such occasions the women wear bright colored dresses and head kerchiefs while the men are clad more somberly—mostly in western trousers, jackets, white shirts, and ties.

Within a decade of its founding, Tom was chosen to represent the East Africa Yearly Meeting at the 1955 sessions of the Five Years Meeting of Friends, held in Richmond, Indiana. Again he was following in the footsteps of Benjamin Ngaira who had attended in 1950, the first Kenyan to do so. Combining his interests in church and school, Tom returned by way of England where he visited educational institutions on a scholarship from the British Council. Altogether that journey lasted nine months.

Upon returning to Kenya, he was assigned to the Musingu Intermediate School, his last classroom assignment.

In 1958 he was appointed administrative secretary of the East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends, then just a dozen years old. Again he stepped into a vacancy created by Benjamin Ngaira, who had moved from yearly meeting administration to the district office of the Christian Churches' Education Association.

The yearly meeting office was then maintained at Lirhanda, one of the early Quaker centers and only a short distance from his home at Madioli. Seven years earlier he and Leah had established their home on a few verdant acres of what had once been a part of the vast Kakamega tropical rain forest. There they developed what many consider a model small farm, with fruit trees for food, bees for sugar, chickens, a few cows, and crops—such as corn, bananas, pineapples, and yams.

However, the yearly meeting office did not remain long at Lirhanda. The mission secretary, Fred Reeve, was one who preferred anticipating events to following them. He was already planning for an "independent" (not mission controlled) yearly meeting and the demise of the mission as an administrative agency. So he brought Tom into the modest yearly meeting office building at Kaimosi, a structure of three small rooms of local red brick, with a corrugated iron roof. His purpose was "to get the mission and the church together." It was a long commute for Tom, over ten rugged and often muddy miles from Madioli. For three years that taxing trip was one of the prices paid for the yearly meeting's advance to full "independence."

It was not until the Reeves left Kenya permanently in 1963 that Tom, Leah, and their nine children moved to Kaimosi. There they

replaced the Reeves as residents of the old, two-story mission house diagonally across the road from the yearly meeting office.

In 1962, Tom was asked to change jobs again. He then became associate secretary of the Friends Africa Mission, with Fred Reeve serving as its secretary. He was still working in the same office building with the same colleague, but the change was both substantial and symbolic. For several years there had been councils which brought the missionaries and the Kenya church leaders together, but no Kenyan had held any staff or officer role yet in the mission.

Independence for Kenya was rapidly approaching, but Reeve was eager to keep Friends on an even faster track. When the writer of this chapter arrived in Kenya with my family in August of 1962, I thought I was being sent to reorganize the Friends Bible Institute (the only Quaker "F.B.I." in the world) which educated pastors and other meeting leaders, most of whom would serve with little or no pay. But, before the end of the year, Tom and I had been appointed co-secretaries of the Friends Africa Mission, to succeed Fred Reeve upon his departure. This was clearly a transition arrangement and one that worked amazingly well.

In the transition years, Tom worked not only with Fred Reeve but also with Kenneth Goom of Great Britain, the administrator of the network of almost 400 Quaker elementary schools, and with American missionary Howard Yow in church affairs. Finally he worked with me, attributing the ease of our relationship at least in part to my previous experiences with Friends in Jamaica and in Jordan.

Of course Tom knew the yearly meeting thoroughly. He also brought natural administrative skills to the job. Now he had to learn the functioning of the mission, a foreign structure which had nurtured the yearly meeting to the point of being absorbed by it. The mission then was operating a teacher education college, four secondary schools, a hospital, a health center, a rural service program, a Bible Institute, and more. All these were headed by missionaries or other foreigners. Tom's administrative skills and his good judgment made him a valuable and respected colleague. Most people found it easy to accept him as a superior when the transition to independence was complete.

He and I worked harmoniously as I laid down responsibilities and he picked them up. When the mission was formally dissolved in September of 1963, Tom became one of the two yearly meeting executives. He handled "institutions and projects," with me as his assistant, while his Kenya colleague, Jotham Standa, handled "church affairs" or "spiritual life" as it was later labelled.

Soon the heady days of a new freedom for both the nation and the church were over. There had been hard work before; now it

was even more difficult after the energizing euphoria of fresh freedom had faded. Tom found the difficulties real, but he saw them as challenges and took them in stride. He wisely recognized that any problems he and his associates had with the missionaries were matched by the problems the missionaries had with the nationals. He found some subordinates put off decisions and actions while awaiting a new supervisor. Some missionaries and other overseas persons in authority found it hard to "give up." "Some expatriates" he reflects, "listened too much to people in the U.S.A." But he took all this in stride. The really difficult times came a dozen years later.

Not all the travel in those days was done by missionaries coming and going. Anyway, their numbers soon began to dwindle. Tom himself has made eight trips to the U.S.A., normally including England and at times a continental country on his itinerary. He attended board meetings of the Friends United Meeting, worked on the development of the Friends College in Kenya, and attended meetings of the Friends World Committee for Consultation. A colleague says, "He had a chance to learn Friends' ways and to bring back new ideas."

With Reeve's foresight and with Tom as a cooperative colleague, Friends were better prepared than most mission groups for the coming of freedom to the nation and to the church. As he says, "Freedom did not surprise us."

Many younger Friends in Kenya had been sent abroad to study in American and British institutions. In that respect American Quaker colleges were particularly responsive. That Quaker effort paralleled the massive government program of sending hundreds of young people on charter flights for study abroad in preparation for the tough challenges of national independence. In Kenya, in contrast to the U.S.A., church and government often cooperated in a blended effort. The churches did and still do work closely with the government, nevertheless demonstrating on other occasions that they could be independent and critical when necessary.

Tom was fully at home in the church and in politics. At one time he even contemplated "standing" for the Kenya parliament. Instead, he decided to remain an administrator for Friends, demonstrating a commitment and a loyalty not often matched in that period.

It was in this early, hectic time of newborn independence that he accepted appointment as vice-chairman of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, a post he occupied for 12 years.

That first decade of Kenya's independence, of East Africa Yearly Meeting's independence, and of Tom's service as executive secretary of the restructured yearly meeting was an exciting one. Many of what he sees as highlights of his career were packed into

those ten years.

The number of monthly and quarterly meetings grew impressively—in part from growth in numbers but even more because of subdividing those units to reflect both local pride and greater maturity. For example, the number of monthly meetings grew from 80 to over 130.

In a major effort to decentralize a large and increasingly unwieldy yearly meeting, nine regions were established in 1974. Responsibilities had to be defined, officers chosen and briefed, and offices established and staffed. Those offices ranged from a borrowed room to new cement block structures. Staff members were usually part-time and were paid little, if anything. Nevertheless the undertaking was ambitious, placing heavy demands on Tom and his two associates in the yearly meeting office.

A youth program, headed at first by overseas workers, became fully Africanized in that decade and continued to arrange regional and yearly meeting conferences, along with other activities.

Education also expanded rapidly. Not being able to keep up with the demand, the Ministry of Education allowed communities to set up "harambee" (self-help) high schools. There was a partly successful effort to maintain minimum standards. The Western Province, with its heavy concentration of Quakers, experienced more intense public pressure for more schools than most parts of Kenya. Schools sprouted like mushrooms. In some cases the school was a mud-walled classroom with 30 or 40 first-year students and a half-prepared, ill-paid teacher, supported by high but not always collectible tuition fees. Others were solid enterprises with capable Kenyan teachers and often American or European volunteers, with gradually expanding classroom buildings, and with dormitories and staff houses. Of course some with apparently inauspicious beginnings developed into solid enterprises.

About a hundred high schools were founded under Quaker auspices in that decade, approximately 1964–1974. At one stage, Earlham College sent George Sawyer to help with the administration of the schools. Later, a British Friend with Kenyan educational experience was sent to give a few years of critically important help. But the burden of administrative oversight and counsel to local leaders often fell on Thomas Lung'aho. His skill, experience, and concern were invaluable, but his already considerable duties severely limited what he could do.

Bracketing this busy decade are two highlights in Tom's service to Friends. He is proud to have been involved in the two triennial sessions of the Friends World Committee held in Kenya, both at Kaimosi, in 1961 and in 1982.

Those two dates are symbolic. In 1961 Tom was an emerging Quaker leader, having recently become the executive of the larg-

est yearly meeting in the world. In 1982 he could reflect sadly on years of East African Quaker trauma leading to the disintegration of the yearly meeting and to the diminution of his own stature in the world family of Friends. Controversy and criticism swirled about him. He tasted the bittersweet mixture of proud achievements remembered and of rejection patiently endured.

The majority of Friends in "the north" (Bukusu) formally separated from East Africa Yearly Meeting in 1973, establishing the Elgon Religious Society of Friends. That formal act confirmed the discontent which had been serious for a decade and which had roots going back perhaps half a century. Thus Kenyan Friends began to experience the kind of divisions which had torn the fabric of North American Quakerism in the 19th century, including occasional acts of violence.

In his central leadership role, Tom had lived closely with the discontent and had sought ways of assuaging it. In place of the anger and rigidity manifested by many on both sides, he was willing to talk, to explore, and to seek solutions. Nevertheless he was seen by many as "part of the problem." Aware of differing dialects and tribal pride, others put no blame on the yearly meeting secretary. Nevertheless he was inevitably at the heart of the controversy and was unable to deal with it successfully. The subdividing of the yearly meeting into nine regions—a step for which Tom claims credit and in which he takes pride—was meant to defuse the unrest by providing more local autonomy. However, the solution was probably too little and surely too late.

In that decade of unrest Tom experienced both support and condemnation from honorable and honest Friends, their opposing views probably rooted in moral judgments as well as ethnic and political differences.

That decade of trauma was physically and emotionally wearing, too. Most people in such a situation, says one who knows him well, would not have lasted two or three years.

But the Elgon separation was not the only one to afflict East African Friends. A second separation occurred, just as other ones had taken place in the U.S.A. That left most southern Friends (by far the majority of Kenya Quakers) in a new entity, the East Africa Yearly Meeting (South).

An early and tragic event in that development is the one Tom labels as the greatest disappointment in his life. Without the support or approval of responsible southern Friends leaders, an astute but conniving member got himself recognized as the chief executive officer of the yearly meeting. The result was that in January, 1980, the Kenya police, carrying out a court order, evicted Tom from his office at the yearly meeting headquarters. Legal remedy eventually restored him to office. Then, under court supervision,

the yearly meeting chose new officers in strict compliance with their constitution. They invited Tom to remain in office. However, their statement that he could resign or retire later, demonstrated that he was now a controversial figure.

That three months' period in limbo, between eviction and restoration, was a tragic time. Tom comments on it: "I learned patience and how much other churches loved the East Africa Yearly Meeting." Even Catholics and Muslims reported that they were praying for that group. Such an outpouring of care and prayer, not simply for the executive secretary but for the yearly meeting, was one sign of the high regard in which Friends were held in that country. Their failure in preserving unity was a blow to all the Christians of Kenya.

Some attribute that failure to tribal rivalries and to the jealousies of the newly educated elite who sometimes incited their own clans in the pursuit of leadership and power. One ecumenical leader deplores the way internal differences were exacerbated by bringing outsiders, both Kenyan and foreign, into the disputes. Often those disagreements turned into a power struggle which was more political than religious.

Church divisions are always complex, often more social than theological, and undeniably tragic. Thomas Lung'aho will inevitably be seen as a central figure in the fragmentation of East African Quakerdom and as one who bears some of the responsibility for it. For a long time he will be the subject of debate on politics and power as well as on spiritual leadership and moral rectitude. Yet none of this can obscure the valued leadership he has given in almost four decades of service to the church and nation.

Nor is he without hope of a brighter future and a happier place in the history of Friends in East Africa. Under the direction of President Moi of Kenya, the rival groups of Friends have been strongly nudged toward reconciliation, with an umbrella structure that will allow them to cooperate in common tasks.

In February, 1984, an interim central council was established and has met several times in the succeeding months. Concurrently the Friends United Meeting decided to recognize all three yearly meetings as members, a decision that was both ratified and celebrated at the triennial sessions of the FUM in Orange, California on July 14, 1984. Thomas was in attendance and had an opportunity to speak for East Africa Yearly Meeting, the "parent," in welcoming the Elgon Religious Society of Friends and the East Africa Yearly Meeting (South).

Prior to July, Thomas had been made chairman of the constitutional drafting committee of the interim council. His service will be critical in the light of his skills and his long experience with

Friends in his country. He was, as a young man, appointed as one of the clerks when the yearly meeting was established in 1946. "I'm the only one left," he says, "and I would like to play a statesman's role." Few will doubt his ability to do so.

As a Civic and Ecumenical Leader

As a young teacher, Tom began serving his community. Eventually he was serving his nation. When the venerable Jeremiah Segero was a chief, he found the young teacher becoming a leader in school and community life, contributing conspicuously to "a Christian way of doing things." Segero knew, he insists, that some day "Thomas would be the secretary of the East Africa Yearly Meeting."

From 1948 until 1955 Tom was secretary of the Isukha Location Council, and for five years its representative to the District Council. During that same period he was a member of the District Education Board. In 1962 he began a seven year stint as a Kenya government representative on the Public Commission of the East African Common Services Organization, later known as the East African Community. That agency operated the railroads, harbors, and postal and weather services for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. He also gave ten years to the board of the Central Bank of Kenya. Soon after independence, the Ominde Commission was appointed by the president to survey education in that new nation. As chairman of its panel on technical education, Tom travelled extensively throughout Kenya.

Therefore it is not surprising that he has been publicly honored for service to Kenya during the first generation of its independence.

In 1962 Tom became chairman of the National Christian Council of Kenya, moving up from the post of vice chairman when John Gatu, a Presbyterian, left for a period in the U.S.A. Tom then served a full three-year term, his four years spanning Kenya's move from colony to independent nation and the council's move from missionary domination to Kenyan leadership.

The Council needed a person of Tom's caliber, says its general secretary, John Kamau, to deal with bishops and assorted clerical heavyweights. He adds that Tom brought creative leadership to the Council in a crucial period.

In that work Tom introduced the practice of reaching decisions by consensus, an idea derived from Quaker methods. In a diverse group where vanity was at times the chief issue and where factions did battle under the guise of theological banners, he managed to conduct "very peaceful meetings" most of the time.

Another venture in ecumenical service took Tom beyond the boundaries of Kenya. In 1962 he led an ecumenical commission to Nigeria, sent by the Medical Commission of the World Council of

Churches, to study the church hospitals there.

As "A Patient Person"

Those words—or their equivalent—come frequently from those who seek to describe Thomas Lung'aho. Ecumenical leaders who have witnessed the Quaker turmoil in Kenya in recent years observe that "through it all, he never showed any bitterness." For them he is the symbol of Friends, whom they have always seen as examples, as leaders in national development, and as a stable and stabilizing influence.

Even as a young man Tom impressed one as "a man who knew what he was doing. He was free." He is described as one who "was quick to make a point" but "didn't speak until he had one." He spoke when appropriate and was then "forthright"—no mean blessing in civic and ecumenical councils as well as in Quaker gatherings. Another put it, "He never itches to talk but waits until he has something to say." A Friend who has known and worked with him all his life calls him an effective speaker, always calm, brief, clear, instructive. He is "popular with people of understanding."

This clarity of understanding and expression is complemented by his stability and strength. In educational staffing meetings he had a reputation for standing solidly by decisions once made. "I respect him," says one, for "standing the way he stood" while "others were going to pieces, not living up to what they should."

Recognizing the widespread criticisms of recent years, one friend is willing to call any shortcomings "human." Many see them as real and serious. If there have been administrative failures it must be recognized that Tom has often in the past 20 years been asked to carry more responsibilities than any one person should be asked to bear. If there have been moral shortcomings, they must be judged by God who alone knows all.

An old chief under whom Tom worked in his earlier years in several capacities emphasizes that Tom exemplified for him the "Christian virtue" of not getting upset or annoyed despite criticisms, pressure or adversity. Consonant with a common African respect for dreams, the chief relates how he once dreamed that Thomas Lung'aho had died and he was asked to give a testimonial. What came to him was cast in six simple words, "Thomas Lung'aho is a patient man."

Tom now commutes to work from his shamba—his small farm—a mile or so from Shinyalu Market. A large, low, red-brick bungalow faces an ample shaded lawn. Behind are neat plots of bananas, maize (corn), vegetables and pineapples. Several cattle are confined in paddocks, kept by a modern "zero grazing" method which supports more animals on less land in a densely populated area just miles north of the equator. The peace and prosperity there,

created in large part by his wife Leah, mother of ten, are a setting fit for a hard-pressed but patient man.

* Since the writing of this chapter, Thomas Lung'aho retired as of December, 1984.

INAZO NITOBE

A Bridge Across the Pacific

TADASHI YUASA

A brilliant young man was asked by Professor Toyama of Tokyo University at the interview for him as a prospective graduate student, why he wanted to specialize in English when he had majored in college in agricultural administration. The young Nitobe replied, "If God permits, I want to become a bridge across the Pacific."

The professor was surprised to hear that, but asked what Nitobe meant by "a bridge across the Pacific." Confidently he answered:

> I believe that Japan has her unique characteristics to convey to the West, just as the West has much to give to Japan. Without enough communication between the civilizations of the East and the West, we cannot expect the flower of world culture to come to full bloom. So I would like to be the kind of bridge which will help to introduce the essence of Japanese culture to the West and the best of the culture of the West to Japan.

Perhaps that crisp statement summarizes well the life of Inazo Nitobe. During his full life he contributed much to his native land of Japan. But he contributed much beyond its borders, too.

In Japan much of his work revolved around teaching. He was "a born teacher" and instructed at his alma mater—the Sapporo Agricultural College. Furthermore, he established a night school for the poor of Sapporo. He also served as President of the First National College and as a professor at the Imperial Universities of Kyoto and Tokyo. In addition, he helped to establish the Tokyo Women's Christian College, Tsuda Christian College, and the Keisen Junior College in Tokyo. Over a period of many years he could be counted on to support unstintingly the Tokyo Friends Girls School. Thus he became a distinguished authority on education and a pioneer in the education of women in Japan at a time when such support was sorely needed.

Outside Japan he accomplished much, also. In Taiwan he served as an agricultural administrator at the State Sugar Refining Company and was deeply concerned about the improvement of the living standards there. For many years he worked diligently to improve the international relationships among Asian countries, especially China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. Undoubtedly the height of his international influence came between 1919 and 1926 when he served as Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, under Sir Eric Drummond, the

Secretary-General. In addition to his administrative duties, Nitobe was called upon frequently by Sir Eric to represent the League as a speaker. In that role Nitobe was extremely able, presenting the claims of the League with coherence, clarity, and conviction. Those who heard him were impressed with his sincerity and integrity—and with his sense of humor.

His Family Background and Early Years

Inazo Nitobe was born in 1862 in Morioka in the Tohoku District in the northern part of the Japanese main island. He was the third son and the youngest child in his family. Unfortunately, his two older sisters died when they were very young and his two elder brothers died early in their lives, too.

Although most of the samurai class were poor, his family belonged to the well-to-do class or knightly order. However, that class was abolished as a part of the Meiji Restoration which took place in Japan during Nitobe's youth.

As a lad he was capable and often stubborn. Much of his lifelong interest in the world came about as a result of his introduction to the mysteries of the English language by the family doctor. It has been said that "the curiosity aroused within him spurred him on in his lessons and a burning desire caught hold of him to see Tokyo when visitors at his house told his mother that great things were going on there and that great men from all parts of Japan were gathered together."

So he pestered his mother, insisting that only by going to Tokyo would he become a great man. Fortunately his grandfather recognized the lad's abilities, asserting that "he has some traits which under the right direction may make him a man of national distinction, but which, if misguided, will make him a scoundrel of the worst order." Therefore, at the age of 10, he was sent with his eldest brother and a strong young servant to Tokyo.

Arriving there, he was adopted by his uncle, who expected much of his "new son." Repeatedly he would say to him, "Get on with your studies or you will not be a great man." Nitobe wrote later about that time in his life, saying, "How I yearned for tenderness and how often I shed tears on my pillow."

His Education and Spiritual Development

In that period of Japanese history the moral and spiritual development of children was ignored. Both the old Chinese precepts and Buddhism were discarded as impractical, unscientific, and superstitious. The new Meiji government supported Shintoism because it stressed allegiance to the Emperor instead of the Tokugawa Shogun, now deposed. That left little or no moral or spiritual guidance for seeking souls.

Nitobe's family were sincere and hard-working people. But they were not religious. His grandfather was a materialist. His father was a sceptic. His mother can probably be described best as an ancestor-worshipper.

Fortunately Nitobe happened to know a Shinto priest who invited him to the preaching in his shrine. Henceforth that place became for Nitobe a spiritual oasis in the moral desert of that period. Of that experience he once said:

> I was particularly edified by the doctrine that each man was a light unto himself, and sufficient, too; further, that if he lived up to his light, he could do anything—whatever others might say of him. The teaching was reassuring. In a measure I got rid of my extreme sensitiveness to the opinion of others.

That teaching comforted him and helped him to persevere despite unjust accusations against him by his uncle's second wife and cruel treatment at the hands of his older brother.

Then he came under the influence of a splendid teacher at the preparatory school of the National College—an American named Scott. Nitobe pointed out that Mr. Scott did not always do sums correctly or fully grasp algebraic formulae. But he was not embarrassed when his mistakes were pointed out and he did not pretend to have a great store of knowledge.

However, he had something infinitely greater—wisdom, and enthusiasm for the beauties of English literature. Consequently Nitobe and his friends caught from their teacher a glimpse of the excellence of Shakespeare, the wisdom of Bacon, the dignity of Milton, and the geniality of Goldsmith.

In 1876 the governor of Hokkaido started an agricultural college in Sapporo which was the first government institution of that kind. To head it, Dr. Clark, the President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, was brought to Japan. Nitobe was interested in reclamation work as his grandfather and father had played important roles in such endeavors in their home town. So he applied and was admitted to that college in the second year of its formation. Dr. Clark remained only nine months, but he founded the institution on strict Christian principles and encouraged the students to live in that spirit.

Under pressure from the older students, Nitobe and his friends signed "A Covenant of Believers in Jesus" which would be considered today highly fundamentalist in nature. Even though they were forced to sign it, the new spiritual freedom it released had a healthy influence on those young men. Soon Nitobe and six of his classmates were baptized by a Methodist missionary—M. C. Harris.

In his teens, Nitobe was generally regarded as an alert and

cheerful person and he was nicknamed "Active" by his classmates. But then he became more sceptical and meditative. Hence his friends called him "The Monk."

Furthermore, he was subjected to a shattering experience. In his third year at the agricultural college, he decided he must go home and see his mother, whom he had not seen in 10 years. But when he arrived, he learned that she had died three days before his return. Because his father had died when he was four and his grandfather when he was 10, he had held his mother in high regard despite the fact that he had been prevented from seeing her. Years later he wrote about her in these words:

> Her spirit is as real to me as if she were in the flesh. Have I joy, I rejoice in the belief that she is partaking of it. Have I sorrow, its bitterness is soothed by the assurance of her tender sympathy. How often in moments of temptation her face has flashed before me and saved me. How many times when courage failed, her form has roused my spirit to work and action.

In many ways her spirit dominated his work for the education of women and his deep interest in children.

The Influence of Thomas Carlyle

In the midst of his scepticism Nitobe came across Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus.* That is a book which is little known today but it had a profound effect on that Japanese reader, aiding him to overcome his spiritual crisis.

Inazo Nitobe identified closely with Thomas Carlyle. Nitobe sensed that the Carlyle family was closely bound together and that that author had great love for his mother. He was also struck by the fact that in Carlyle's translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister,* he had learned that Goethe offered proof that one could reject outworn dogmas without sinking into materialism.

Nitobe might not agree with Carlyle's definition of history or his estimate of heroes, but he learned four major lessons from that writer: (1) the importance of sincerity—of being true to oneself, (2) the urgency of being brave and yet tender, (3) the interrelationship of the ideal and the real, and (4) the realization that what matters most in life is not conduct but character.

On one important aspect of their philosophies, however, they disagreed. Whereas Carlyle was a pessimist, a prophet denouncing a backsliding world, and a man who viewed the future with gloom, Nitobe recognized the interrelationship between sorrow and cheerfulness. He once wrote:

> A real man of action is full of cheer. He can afford no time for gloomy forebodings and dismal fears. Sorrow, deprived of its pangs and stings, is an uplifting agency in the hand of Provi-

dence. Hence religion founded upon the worship of sorrow works wonders not explained by philosophy. Thus does a trustful soul keep up its cheer—joyous and rejoicing, pleased and pleasing. The uses we make of sorrow are the measure of spiritual growth.

His Future Education in the U.S.A. and His Becoming a Quaker

Nitobe was admitted to the Tokyo University and he was disappointed in the academic level of that institution. Consequently he remained only a year.

In September, 1884 Nitobe (Ota was his adopted name) left by boat for the United States. There he enrolled in Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania. But, after a month, he transferred to The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, which had been founded in 1876 and had been interested since its beginning in Oriental Studies. There he took courses in economics, agricultural administration, history, international law, and English literature.

Imagine his joy to discover that his former student at the Sapporo Agricultural College, Shosuke Sato, was already studying at Johns Hopkins, remaining there until he obtained his doctoral degree. Nitobe was proud of him a few years later when Sato became President of "their" college, renamed the University of Hokkaido.

One day in 1885 Nitobe saw some women in simple dresses coming out of an unpretentious building. Inquiring about them, he was told that they were Quakers. To satisfy his curiosity, he attended the Friends Meeting and was impressed with its lack of pomp and ceremony. He continued going there and in a few months became a member. That was the beginning of his life-long devotion to the Religious Society of Friends. Often he recalled the remarkable statement of Thomas Carlyle about George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. Of him Carlyle wrote:

> Perhaps the most remarkable incident in modern history . . . is not the Diet of Worms, still less the battle of Austerlitz, Waterloo, Peterloo, or any other battle, but an incident passed over carelessly by most historians and treated with some ridicule by others—namely George Fox's making to himself a suit of leather.

During his time in Baltimore, a group of women Friends in Philadelphia, moved by the evangelistic fervor of that period, were planning to send some Quaker missionaries to Japan. So they invited two young Japanese men to their planning sessions. One was Kanzo Uchimura, Ota's classmate at the Sapporo Agricultural College, who later became famous as the founder of the Non-Church Christian Movement in Japan. The other was Inazo Nitobe. Neither went back to Japan as missionaries, but both

became outstanding Christian leaders of their nation.

It was also during their years at Johns Hopkins that Nitobe caught a vision of education in the future in Japan. In a letter to a fellow-countryman who was studying botany at Harvard, he said that he hoped to help start a school for adults, a preparatory school for young people who could not attend the regular secondary schools, a night school for the boys of poor families, and possibly a girls' department—attached to the boys' division.

He also declared that after his spiritual struggle, he was now ready to devote himself untiringly to the furtherance of Christianity in Japan.

His Studies in Germany and His Marriage

Owing to the kindness of his former student who had become President of the Sapporo Agricultural College, Nitobe was able to obtain a government scholarship to study in Germany and to become an assistant professor at his alma mater.

Before leaving for Germany, he was asked to give a talk in Philadelphia. After that lecture he met a young lady named Mary Elkinton, a member of a prominent Quaker family. He answered her questions carefully and candidly and they talked as if they had been friends for a long time, not realizing where their friendship would eventually lead.

After a year of study at the Bonn University in agricultural administration and agricultural economics, he transferred to the Berlin University. He found the academic standards in Berlin high but the relationships between the faculty and students almost non-existent. So he transferred to the University of Halle from which he eventually received his doctoral degree. His dissertation, in German, was on Japanese Real Estate: Distribution and Agricultural Yield, and the sub-title was An Historical and Statistical Study of Japanese Landownership.

Soon after he moved to Halle, he heard from his family about the death of his oldest brother. Hence he would now be called Nitobe—because he was the only surviving son.

Meanwhile he and Mary had continued corresponding and their friendship had matured. So they decided to be married. But alas, strong opposition to their marriage came from his foster father and from both of Mary's parents. Nevertheless the overseers of the Meetings to which Mary and Nitobe belonged, approved their marriage and they were united on January 1, 1891 in a Meeting for Worship in Philadelphia. Joseph Elkinton, a brother of Mary's, attended, but neither of her parents came. However, they later approved of the marriage.

Gurney Binford, an American Quaker who served 43 years as a missionary in Japan, and a close friend of the Nitobes, once

described their home in these words:

> The Nitobe home was really a wonderful combination. It had conveniences, an ample reception room, quiet corners for personal interviews, and all the attractiveness of Japanese architecture and home-like beauty.

Of Mary Nitobe, he wrote:

> Mary Nitobe was never able to completely adapt herself to Japanese life; she leaned upon Dr. Nitobe, and his sympathy and support never failed her. He, in turn, depended on her for encouragement and support. He confided to her his interests and concerns and Mary gave of herself to her husband's needs. Their home life had beauty, tenderness, calm, and dignity. Many visitors came away realizing that they had been uplifted by the atmosphere of that home.

His Work as a Professor and His Community Activities

In 1891 he was back in Sapporo, this time as a professor. With him was his American wife, Mary Nitobe. At the college he taught courses in agricultural administration, the science of colonial policies, the theory of agriculture, English literature, and German —all in professional courses; he also taught English and ethics in the liberal arts program. Strenuous as his work was, he also served as librarian, head of the faculty, and the warden of the dormitory.

With the help of Dr. Shosuke Sato, he carried out the introduction of the semester system for the junior and senior students, who selected one of six elective courses and did research or advanced studies under one professor.

In addition to all this work, he found time and energy to translate his idealism and love of people into special endeavors in the community. That included a Bible class on Sundays, open to anyone, and lectures in their home on the Bible.

Another community contribution was his appointment as the first principal of a private school, Hokumei, in Sapporo. Every day he spent some time there, even teaching English and ethics to the senior students.

In January, 1892, their first son was born, named Thomas. But he lived only a week. As Nitobe said in his book *Shuyo (Discipline)*, it took a long time for the wounds of that event to heal. Not blessed with other children, they later adopted his niece, Kotoko.

There are many reminders of his deep love for children. One is contained in this passage from his essay on Children, where he wrote:

> Transparent their eyes—who can resist their appeal? Celestial their dialect—who does not feel the charm of its eloquence?

> Heaven sanctioning their right—who can resist their unuttered claim? Lords of the earth, future inheritors of its treasures and duties, who denies them the right to creep or toddle wherever they like? . . . I see in every child that prattles or toddles, an image of the Heavenly pattern; a newly created form, full of celestial beauty; a messenger from above with ever fresh instructions for me. Yes, all this is true, else why should we be moved to tears by the little one's voice or touched to the core by its radiant looks?

Another example of his love of children was the formation of a night school for boys and girls which was started in 1894. It was made possible by a gift of $2000 from Mary's parents and it represented the inheritance of an orphan girl they had adopted and who had recently died. That night school was the first of its kind in Japan and one of Nitobe's pioneering projects.

That school was located in a slum area of Sapporo and in it many of the college students taught practical subjects. There was no tuition and in addition to the instruction, there was medical assistance carried on by trained nurses.

In that school more than 600 student teachers caught some of Dr. Nitobe's spirit and approximately 1000 graduates have paid tribute to his help. That and the other two schools he founded in Sapporo are still influencing the Japanese educational system.

Some of His Publications and a Period in the U.S.A.

During the seven years they lived in Sapporo (1891-1898), he published his first Japanese book. It was called *The Life of William Penn* and was a labor of love, intended to introduce the Japanese to that unusual Quaker statesman. As an integral part of the story of his life, it contained references to his many writings, such as *No Cross, No Crown; Some Fruits of Solitude; The Great Case for Liberty of Conscience;* and other works. Nitobe admired him greatly for his breadth of interests and depth of character, seeing him as one of the formative influences in the growth of democracy in the United States.

Although written in a style which is now a bit archaic, it still speaks with pertinence to its Japanese readers.

At the end of July, 1898, the Nitobes left for the United States. There they lived for approximately two years in the southern part of California, hoping that the warm climate would assist in his recuperation from a nervous infirmity.

While there he used much of his leisure time to write his first book in English, entitled *Bushido: The Soul of Japan.* That is his most famous work but it is also one which can be misrepresented and misunderstood.

Two factors largely explain why he wrote that volume. One was

the question that the distinguished Belgian jurist, Professor M. de Laveleye, had posed back in 1888 as to the ways in which moral and religious education were carried on in Japanese schools. Reflecting on that, Nitobe had said:

> The question stunned me at the time. I could give no ready answer, for the moral precepts I learned in my childhood days were not given in schools, and not until I began to analyze the different elements that formed my notions of right and wrong, did I find that it was Bushido that breathed them into my nostrils.

Then there had also been the persistent questioning of his wife on this topic, evoking further thought on his part.

Although the samurai no longer existed in Japan, Dr. Nitobe felt that some of the qualities their code had fostered, remained in his country as a lingering fragrance from the past. Among such qualities were politeness, bravery, endurance, loyalty, and patriotism. Literally translated, Bushido means The Retainer's Code of Honor or The Warrior's Way. As he said in that volume:

> Bushido, then, is the code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code; at best it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant. More frequently it is a code unuttered and unwritten, possessing all the more powerful sanction of veritable deed, and of a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart.

Bushido had developed over the centuries from many sources: Buddhism, Shintoism, and the teachings of Confucius, Mencius, and other Chinese philosophers.

Buddhism furnished a sense of calm trust in fate, quiet submission to the inevitable—that stoic composure in the face of danger or calamity, and the disdain of life and friendliness with death.

Shintoism taught loyalty to the sovereign, reverence for the ancestral piety memory, and filial piety. Unlike Christianity, Shintoism has no doctrine of "original sin" but believes in the innate goodness and godlike purity of the human soul. Its nature worship endeared our country to our inmost souls, while its ancestor worship made the Imperial family the fountainhead of the nation. To Dr. Nitobe its central moral instructions were these: Know thyself, look into thy mind, see in thy heart a god enthroned, obey his mandate, and thou wilt need no gods.

From an ethical point of view the teachings of Confucius were the most fruitful source of Bushido. Followed closely, they would awaken in the Japanese an inborn ethical consciousness. As Dr. Nitobe said:

> When Confucius taught the five moral relationships between parent and child, husband and wife, master and servant, older

and younger brothers, and between friend and friends—and gave them names, it was the nomenclature and not the morals themselves that we Japanese adopted.

"To know and to act are one and the same" was the maxim of another great Chinese philosopher, Wan Yang Ming, who influenced the samurai and Inazo Nitobe. As a Friend he believed that faith and practice are inseparable and that they complement each other.

At its best Bushido taught that it was manly to help the weak and show sympathy for women and children, to feel in the heart a sense of pity. Above all it regarded benevolence as a master virtue.

But he was aware, also, that Bushido could foster a class spirit and could lead to fanaticism and even militarism. He hoped, however, that in the future Bushido would grow in a different direction. That hope was expressed in these words:

> With an enlarged view of life, with the growth of democracy, with better knowledge of other peoples and nations, the Confucian idea of benevolence—dare I also add the Buddhist idea of pity?—will expand into the Christian conception of love. Men have become more than subjects, having grown to the estate of citizens; nay, they are more than citizens—being men (human beings).

To Dr. Nitobe, Bushido was not the final goal of religion. But he tried to find in it universal truths, building Christianity on its foundations. He acknowledged that Bushido laid particular stress on the moral conduct of rulers and public men and nations, whereas the ethics of Christ dealt primarily with individuals and His personal followers, finding its expression best in individualism. To Dr. Nitobe the ultimate truth was not to be found in puritanical Christianity but in Quakerism.

His Agricultural Work in Taiwan and Further College Jobs

While the Nitobes were still in California, he was asked by State Minister Shinpei Goto to become an agricultural administrator in Taiwan. His love for his work in Sapporo and his ill health led him to decline that offer several times. But eventually he accepted, with one proviso—that he should make a tour of several places to study the sugar industry on the site.

So, in July of 1900 he left the United States for Spain. Then he visited England, France, Germany, Italy, the Balkan states, and Egypt. The knowledge gained from those visits, plus his other qualities, enabled him to become a very successful administrator of the sugar industry in Taiwan and soon it became the largest industry on that island.

While in that post he visited Java, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Australia. And in 1902 he accompanied Minister Goto to the U.S.A., parts of Europe, and Egypt.

Soon, however, he was appointed as a professor at the Kyoto State University. But he continued to assist the sugar industry in Taiwan until the fall of 1906.

At that time he became President of the First National College in Tokyo, as well as a professor at the Tokyo University. He was loath to leave the old capital city of Kyoto, but the offers in Tokyo were tempting. The college he was to head had the highest academic standing in Japan, but it badly needed the qualities which he could bring it.

Once installed, he determined to concentrate on the administration of the university and on educational reforms. His special concerns were with the development of personality, discipline, and relations between the faculty and students. To encourage such relations he borrowed a house near the college where he could meet easily with students in an informal setting.

In addition, he gave some special lectures, such as those on The Life of Abraham Lincoln, Goethe's *Faust*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and talks on Carlyle, especially on his old favorite, *Sartor Resartus*.

His influence on the students was tremendous and many of them became prominent in Japan. One was Tatsuo Morito, who later became a leader of the Socialist Party and Education Minister. Another was Tadao Yanaibara, later the President of Tokyo University. A third was Professor Kawai of Tokyo University. Those and other Japanese leaders have paid tribute to Dr. Nitobe. Here are the comments of Professor Kawai:

> I was born in the family of a middle class merchant and grew up in the atmosphere of narrow-minded nationalism and utilitarianism, so I was much surprised to know his way of thinking and teaching. It seemed that a new world was opened to me. Dr. Nitobe taught us the dignity of individual personality and the difference between "to be" and "to do." He was the very person that gave me a right orientation when I was at a loss.

Linked with his emphasis upon personality, culture, and social relationships was his insistence on internationalism. For example, he would say:

> A good internationalist must be a good nationalist and vice versa. The very terms connote it. A man who is not faithful to his own country cannot be depended upon for faithfulness to a world principle. One can serve best the cause of internationalism by serving his own country. On the other hand a nationalist can advance the interests and the honor of his country by being internationally minded.

Unfortunately too few influential Japanese listened to his sage advice.

In 1911 he was selected as the first exchange professor between Japanese and American universities and he set out on a rigorous journey to such places as Brown University, Columbia University, Johns Hopkins, the University of Maryland, the University of Virginia, Washington and Lee, the University of Illinois, and the University of Minnesota. With him was Yusuke Tsurumi, one of his beloved disciples who later became the Minister of Transportation in Japan. All together he gave 150 lectures in the States.

While there, he had the special privilege of talking with President Taft and high-ranking officials about the anti-Japanese movement of that time. Some newspapers applauded his mission to promote better understanding and dubbed him The Apostle of Peace.

Back in Japan he continued to devote himself to the education of the common people as well as of university students. One such effort was a series of popular essays on The Discipline of Personality which he wrote for a popular magazine called *Industrial Japan,* which was prepared for people who could not afford to go to school.

During his seven years as president of the First National College he was able to write six books in Japanese and two in English—those two being *Essays and Thoughts* and *The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and Its Life—With Special Consideration to its Relation with the United States.* That volume was a collection of his lectures from his trip as an exchange professor to the U.S.A.

After his return from the journey to the United States, he decided to resign his presidency. Of course there had been criticism of some of his policies, but there was lavish praise, also, for all he had accomplished, especially from the students, many of whom maintained their contacts with him for years.

He continued, however, to teach colonial policy as a full-time professor at the Tokyo Imperial University. Then, in 1916, he was sent by the government to the Philippines, Borneo, Java, and the great cities of China.

In 1918 he became the first President of the newly established Tokyo Women's Christian College, in addition to his work as a professor at the Tokyo Imperial University. On that new institution he left an indelible imprint, one which persists even today.

In that interval of four years (1914-1918) he wrote seven more books in Japanese, two of them essays on women.

His Work With the League of Nations

After World War I, Shinpei Goto, who had just resigned as Foreign Minister, invited the Nitobes to accompany him on a trip

to the United States and to several countries in Europe. On that trip to obtain background information on political affairs, several of Dr. Nitobe's former students accompanied them.

That party reached Paris at the time when the Peace Treaty following World War I was being drafted and the League of Nations formed. Eventually Sir Eric Drummond of Great Britain was selected as its first Secretary-General. Nobuaki Makino of Japan had been asked to suggest someone as Under Secretary-General, and he had had difficulty finding the right person until he met Dr. Nitobe. Then he knew he had the right man and proposed his name for that post. Of course Dr. Nitobe declined several times, but he eventually accepted, serving in that highly important position from 1919 until 1927, first in London and then in Geneva.

In that pivotal position he felt that he had three special tasks to perform. The first was to interpret the spirit which the League must foster to live up to the ideals of its founders. The second was to establish and oversee the work of the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. The third was to interpret the culture of Japan to the world.

In a very real way, his work as an interpreter of the spirit of the League of Nations was the culmination of his life-long concern to foster bridge-building between the East and the West. Frequently he was asked to speak as a representative of the League, explaining the spirit which must permeate it and motivate its adherents. In addition he and Mary made their home an international house where the people of many countries gathered. In it visitors were warmly welcomed, offered Japanese tea and cakes or meals, shown beautiful examples of Japanese pottery, lacquerware, special paper, and told about the beautiful tea ceremony and the exquisite flower arrangements.

Although the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation was extremely small compared to the task it was intended to perform, it did serve a useful purpose. Primarily it was a group of the world's great intellectuals who exchanged ideas and promoted intellectual cooperation. Among its prominent members were Gilbert Murray, the British classical scholar; Albert Einstein, the German scientist; Henri Bergson, the French philosopher; Madame Curie, the Polish and French chemist and radiologist; and Eikitsu Tanakadate, the Japanese scientist. It was Dr. Nitobe's task to organize and oversee that aspect of the League of Nations.

As a member of the Secretariat of the League, Dr. Nitobe was an international civil servant. But that did not mean that he could not attempt to interpret Japan to the world. In fact he felt it was incumbent on him to do so, and he welcomed such opportunities. But his task was made difficult by the fact that Japan was becom-

ing increasingly militaristic and thereby inviting the criticism of peace-loving people around the world. But he was persistent in pointing out the more meritorious aspects of his native land.

Many individuals have attested to the significance of his work with the League of Nations. One was K. L. Stafford, who worked with the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation and years later with UNESCO. She pointed out that Dr. Nitobe was erudite but that he never put on airs. Furthermore, he was friendly and people had an easy access to him. If he had an initially poor impression of someone, he would make strenuous efforts to become better acquainted with that individual, in order to be fair to him or her and to understand that person better.

Frank P. Walter, one of the Under Secretaries-General and the Director of the Political Section of the League, has referred to Nitobe's kindness to his fellow-workers, his wise judgment on political issues, and his devotion to the ideals of that international organization. To Frank Walter, Dr. Nitobe was the epitome of cooperation, helpfulness, and peace.

His Close Connection with the Quaker Center and the Friends Meeting in Geneva

During those years in Geneva, Mary and Inazo Nitobe were closely associated with the Friends Meeting and with the Quaker International Center.

Among the other members of that small but influential group were Bertram and Irene Pickard, British Friends who served in Geneva for many years, Bertram being the secretary of the Center. In these words he once wrote about the Nitobes:

> Despite the professional and social pressures on them, the Nitobes gave liberally of their time to our Meeting and the committees of various kinds. Dr. Nitobe also prepared, at our request, a lecture on Quakerism which he delivered in a public meeting, with Professor Bovet, the Director of the International Bureau of Education, interpreting brilliantly into French. Last, but not least, Inazo Nitobe aided us greatly in the work of the Quaker International Center, especially through his contacts with the many organizations which established offices in Geneva.

In that lecture, printed eventually in English, French, and German, he spoke on *A Japanese View of Quakerism* in a concise, coherent, and convincing manner. His devotion to the tenets of the Religious Society of Friends is obvious to the reader today but he was dispassionate in his presentation, saying at the end that he hoped he had not overdrawn the virtues of this group with which he had been identified for the last 40 years.

Despite the fact that he referred early in that talk to Quakerism

as "peculiarly English," he then went on to show its affinity with much of the mysticism of Asia, even though it stays within the family of Christianity.

In that address he stressed the contribution of Quakers to the development of democratic thought and institutions, such as their interest in education, in race relations, in the mentally disturbed, and in prisoners. But, above all, he emphasized their interest in world brotherhood and peace.

In that pamphlet there are also some fascinating passages. For example, he spoke of the fact that people of many religions and philosophies had had glimpses of The Light. But he felt that they had been deprived of the special revelation in Jesus, the King of Kings. Of that he wrote:

> They could see rocks and pebbles of all sizes and shapes but they knew not the Cornerstone. They saw herbs of varied hues and qualities, but the Vine escaped their scrutiny.

Later, in summarizing the immense contributions of Quakers to the world, he asked in this vivid fashion:

> But what are these achievements compared with what still remains to be done—a handful of sand on the vast shore of human sorrow and suffering.

His Final Years and His Death

In December of 1926 Dr. Nitobe resigned as Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations and not long thereafter from his post in the Tokyo University.

The closing years of his life were filled with sadness and suffering because of events in his homeland and in the world. In Japan, the militarists were gaining control and claiming they were the protectors of the national interests. Relations between Japan and the United States were growing bitter, too, especially after the passage in 1924 of the Japanese Exclusion Act by the American Congress.

Despite his resolve not to return to the U.S.A. after the passage of that affront to the Japanese, Dr. Nitobe and Mary did make a trip to her homeland, hoping that they might in some way foster better understanding between the two countries. Of that trip and those times Mary said:

> Those were, indeed, dark days for Japan and for us personally, when my husband and I set forth in 1932 on his mission of interpretation for his country. America was hostile in thought; even friends did not understand. Many thought that he had come as a propagandist and protagonist for what he could not possibly endorse—a part which Nitobe never did and never would play.

After an international conference of the Institute of Pacific

Affairs, Dr. Nitobe became ill in Victoria City, Canada, and died of a broken heart on October 15, 1933.

Despite the sadness, setbacks, and suffering of those final years, he had persevered, undergirded by his morning and evening devotions and his belief that only religion could supply him with the spiritual strength needed for sustained endurance. Much of the bridge-building he had started remains for others to carry on.

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER

Prophet of Peace and Disarmament

KENNETH LEE

If war ever ceases to be an accepted activity of the international system, the dream of Philip Noel-Baker will be realized, for he must be numbered among the prophets of peace. He saw that great armaments lead to wars, and he dreamed of a disarmed world. He pursued that dream for his entire life and he was still pursuing it with vigor in 1982, when he died only a month short of 93 years of age.

Born in the Victorian era, he died when Elizabeth II was Queen. Thus he lived during five reigns, spanning a period of immense change and development in social conditions as well as in technology applied to both civil and military use. When he was a boy, the Liberal Party was the progressive radical opposition to the Tories, but when he entered politics, he joined the Labor Party which by then had become the radical alternative, striving to serve the needs of the common people.

He experienced two world wars—in 1914-1918 and in 1939-1945. He was in the League of Nations Section of the British Delegation to the Peace Conference of 1919, taking part in the creation of the League of Nations, whose secretariat he joined when he worked with Fridtjof Nansen of Norway on the problems of refugees. As principal assistant to the President of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1932, he saw the inside workings of the Conference and learned at first hand of the determination of some interests to prevent its success. He was a Minister of State in the British Government and delegate to the Commission when the United Nations was formed, and became an ardent supporter of the U.N. and an active member of the U.N. Association in the United Kingdom.

Philip Noel-Baker excelled as a scholar and academic and became Vice-Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, in 1914. He was the Dodge Lecturer at Yale University in 1934, where he received the Howland Prize for distinguished work in the sphere of government. His scholarship was not for an ivory tower; it was to serve his life and work, as his story will show.

Like the best of scholars, he was also an athlete, winning a silver medal at the Olympics in Antwerp in 1920, being captain of the track team in that year and in subsequent games. Always a supporter of the Olympic ideal as a major instrument of international friendship, he started his work in the administration of international sports and physical education when he was 71 years of age, becoming president of UNESCO's International Council

of Sport and Physical Education.

He was instrumental in suggesting and forming the Friends Ambulance Unit in 1914 and was its first Commandant. In 1915 he served as Officer of the First British Ambulance Unit for Italy, until 1918, receiving two decorations—a silver medal for Military Valor and a Croce di Guerra.

Furthermore, he was an active parliamentarian, serving in many ministries. His speeches were models for fact and presentation. But he will be remembered most for his dedicated work for disarmament and against the war mentality. That concern, not surprising for a Quaker, he shared with his father. Philip Noel-Baker was notable for his drive, enthusiasm, and persistence, and he well deserved the Nobel Prize, awarded him in 1959.

In 1978 he was invited to join the official British delegation to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, the year after he was made a Life Peer when the Labor Government was in power. In that same year he had the unusual distinction of receiving a Papal Knighthood. Aware that the resolution coming from the U.N. S.S.D.S. was far more positive than would have been the case if governments had known in advance what they could stall or prevent its happening, he took another initiative when nearly 90, in starting a new organization to prepare for the second Special Session, aided by his fellow nonagenarian, Lord Brockway.

Scholar, Academic, Author; Sportsman, Athlete, Idealist; Pioneer, Internationalist, Humanitarian; Parliamentarian, Minister, Statesman—he had many rich gifts, he lived fully, and he gave back, with interest, to his generation.

What were the influences in Philip's life that guided him to this kind of achievement? Certainly he had a gifted intelligence and that was developed by training and education. But his choice of concern, the values that he brought to his calling, and his pioneering courage and imagination, were as deeply rooted as his native intelligence. His family background sheds some light on their origins.

Family Background and Early Influences

His family had been Quakers almost since the days of George Fox. Philip's great-grandfather, Samuel Baker, emigrated to Canada from Ireland in 1819 where he bought a 200 acre farm in Ontario on which the gravestones for him and his wife can still be seen today. Samuel's youngest son, Joseph, moved nearer to Lake Ontario, and, with the help of his brothers, cleared and built a house on land given to him by his father. He lived and farmed there happily, but there came a day when health and fortunes went through a bad patch. So Joseph Baker and his eldest son, Allen (later to become Philip's father but then only 17 years old),

set out to save the family fortunes by selling books, maps, and pictures door-to-door.

Allen had to leave school and give up any hope of attending college, and the work went against the grain. But he persisted and eventually they added to their merchandise a hand flour mill, invented by Joseph, which obviously met a need. So successful was that product, as well as further inventions, that they decided to go to England to test the market there.

Allen Baker went to England in 1876 and in the course of a few years had established the sales of the early inventions so successfully that production on a bigger scale, and of commercial equipment, became possible. In 1878 he married a Scottish girl, Elizabeth Bulmer Moscrip, daughter of a devout Presbyterian family from the Tweed valley of the Border country, whose brother he had met in Canada. A few months later he was joined by his father and brothers, and the first steps were taken in founding the family firm for the manufacturing of baking machinery.

Philip was born in 1889, and the works established near London in 1890. So he grew up in a household that experienced little of the poverty suffered by so many in England at that time. Allen Baker learned about that poverty and deplored it. He became active in the Adult School Movement, started by Friends, to enable those without education to learn to read and write. Starting with evening classes, they ran an early Sunday morning group in Bunhill Fields, for which Allen would rise at 6:30 a.m. Through the people he met there and through the firm's employees, he came in touch with the conditions in which many of the common people lived, and his urgent wish to improve the waste and misery of the London slums drew him later into public work on the London County Council.

Associated with the Progressive Party, he devoted imagination, foresight, and practical judgment to the development of the London electric tramway system under the control of the L.C.C. to provide cheap and efficient transport for the people, taking it out of the hands of private companies concerned only with private profit. That led naturally to his years of service in Parliament to which he was elected in 1905. He saw that peace was the first of all interests both to his own and other nations. He deplored the steady growth of armaments in Europe, not only because of the expansion of militarism, but also because of the misdirection of resources from urgent social needs.

Not content with his efforts in Parliament and in the Liberal Party, he saw the importance of an informed public opposition to war, and the part the Christian churches could and should play in creating and leading it. He actively promoted meetings between German and British Christians and went on to promote the World

Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. When World War I was declared, he was attending an international Christian Peace conference which he helped to organize in Switzerland.

Those events must have had a considerable influence on Philip and he clearly took the view expressed later by Lord Grey of Falloden and quoted in the *Memoir* of his father, of which he was part author: "The moral is obvious; it is that great armaments lead inevitably to war . . ." But the household also must have been a formative influence, with all kinds of guests being received and welcomed there. Arthur Garratt Dorland, the Canadian Quaker historian, described the Baker family home where he was often a guest:

> Countless invited, as well as uninvited, guests found a welcome in their gracious home—Donnington House, in Willesden. In fact, so many visitors from different lands would foregather there that their house earned the sobriquet The International Hotel.

In Arthur Dorland's book, a group photograph shows Philip as a young man, slight of build and with a serious expression.

Education and Involvement in Sports

From that home Philip had been sent to two Quaker schools—first to Ackworth and then to Bootham in York. From there he went to Haverford College in the United States. After a year there, he returned to enter King's College, Cambridge, from which he graduated in 1912. There he obtained an M.A. Historical Tripos Part I in 1910 and an Economics Tripos Part 2 in 1912. He became president of the Cambridge Union Society in 1912. In addition, he was University Whewell Scholar in International Law in 1911, continued in 1913, and became Vice-Principal of Ruskin College in 1914.

Though so accomplished a scholar, he did not neglect athletics at the university or afterwards. He always believed in physical fitness and in the discipline and fellowship of sport. He ran in the Inter-Collegiate Athletic Championships of the United States in 1907, so it was not surprising that he was elected president of the Cambridge Union Athletic Club in 1910.

His faith in sport remained strong throughout his life. He was an ardent supporter of the Olympic ideal and considered sport as a means of creating the atmosphere in which peace could thrive. Dan Anthony, director of the Center for International Sports Studies, says of him:

> To Philip, sport is neither a beginning nor an end in itself, but it is a vital catalyst for personal well-being, international friendship, and the essential values of a civilized world.

In 1912 Philip ran in the 1500 meters, although he had just finished his tripos examination and had had no time to train up to competition fitness. His foot was strapped up solid as he had dislocated it the previous year. So, in the finals he was determined to help his British colleague win. He steered him away from trouble at the first corner, timed the first three laps so as to bring him to the right position behind the leader for a victorious sprint in the final straight. The gold medal went to Britain and Philip came in sixth.

Not until after the war in 1920 was there another chance. He trained in the Lake District hills and reached the finals of the 1500 meters with a British colleague, a railway guard. The guard, Albert Hill, won the gold and Philip the silver medal.

In 1924, when captain of the British track team, he was suffering acutely from lumbago caused, as later discovered, by an infection from an impacted wisdom tooth. All he could do was to encourage Henry Stallard to stay close to Paavo Nurmi, the world-record-holder. Stallard had broken a bone in his foot and it was his fifth day of running. On that day, Stallard dropped ten yards behind on the first lap, then 30 after the next, and 50 after the next. As he came up to where he was standing, Philip yelled, "Henry, sprint," and Henry did. He began to gain on Nurmi, up ten yards around the bottom stretch, only 30 yards behind down the back straight. Around the top bend he came within ten yards, and in the final straight he came up and up until, with 15 yards to go, he was at Nurmi's shoulder. Then the appalling pain in his foot took hold. He staggered, became unconscious, and fell over the line in third place.

Philip continued to take physical exercise throughout his life. When he was 80, he went to the Lake District to write a book. His daily routine was four hours writing in the morning, three or four hours walking after lunch, and five hours writing in the evening. Without his daily exercise in the hills, he said he could not possibly have maintained an average of nine hours of work a day.

Recalling the Munich Games in 1972, when the international crowd rose in delight at the magnificent victories of a communist, a Kenyan, and a local schoolgirl, he said:

> The spirit of that stadium is the spirit that some day will save the world by showing that the human race will have one world or none, and that brotherhood and cooperation are the law of life.

In a memorandum to UNESCO in 1971 he wrote:

> I have been left with a profound conviction that physical education and international sport are . . . a factor of prime importance for the progress of mankind. While the prophets of real-

politik have sunk to the barbarity of nuclear weapons and nerve gases, the Olympic torch has become the symbol of the Unity of Mankind. It is a powerful instrument for educationalists to use to bring about the ordered peace and fraternal understanding which is UNESCO's purpose to achieve.

But we have plunged ahead.

World War I and the Quaker Relief Work

He had hardly taken up his appointment at Ruskin College when World War I broke out. Philip, his father, and Arnold Rowntree discussed what action Friends might take. Though most Friends would be faithful to the long-held testimony of the Society against war, the desire to do something to identify with the national sacrifice in such a way as to witness to human unity and a spirit of reconciliation would be strong. The idea of a Friends Ambulance Unit emerged and Philip took the first step towards its realization with a letter to *The Friend* on August 21, 1914. He became the chief organizer and Commandant of the Unit when it started, and then the Commanding Officer of the section that went to France. That section was engaged in ambulance work, transporting wounded soldiers, and in hospital work and public health when typhoid broke out among the civilian population.

The section landed in Dunkirk, and on the first night they started work before they had obtained any proper authorization, without any proper attachment, without any permis de sejour, without anything else official, assisting the wounded at the railway station waiting for transport to England.

Before long they had 50 members transporting the wounded from the front, and 65 working in hospitals where they were assisted by local people organized by some energetic ladies from the district. They had arrived toward the end of the big battles that ended the autumn campaign on the northern line, and accomplished much in the first two months. After a time, the center of action moved and the pressure was relieved. Philip, as Officer Commanding, had to maintain morale in that situation. Records of his weekly meetings with the team reveal the problems and show his capacity for leadership and his sense of humor.

One of his drivers was Irene Noel, a young woman heiress to a large estate on the Greek island of Euboea, and there is a story of how she cut through red tape when the team first arrived and was without allocated accommodation. Apparently she attracted the attention of Philip, for they were married in 1915. By that time he was in charge of the first British Ambulance Unit for Italy. In 1917 he was awarded a Mons Star for bringing the wounded from the front line. He served in Italy until the end of the war.

Then his association began with Lord Robert Cecil, a member of the Salisbury family, who became his friend and hero, and his work for and with the League of Nations.

Philip was a member of the League of Nations section of the British delegation to the Peace Conference and helped to frame the protocol of the League, on which he wrote his first book in 1925. In 1920 he joined the League Secretariat under its first Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, and worked with another of his heroes, Fridtjof Nansen, the famed Arctic explorer and statesman, in helping refugees. In a lecture he gave on Nansen's place in history. Philip told how this began, saying:

> In March, 1920, when the League was only two months old, the Government of the principal Allies and Associated Powers asked its Council to undertake the work of repatriating a large but unknown number of prisoners of war who, 16 months after the Armistice, were still unable to reach their homes. The Council decided to undertake this task and to invite Nansen to become its High Commissioner for its fulfilment. I was sent to Oslo to convey the invitation.

Nansen was a passionate believer in the League. He saw the mission as a first act of reconciliation between enemy nations, because the P.O.W.'s were of many nationalities on both sides. So he accepted. Actually, the plight of the prisoners was far worse than had been known. Some were in actual slavery in Central Asia. Many were living the lives of helpless serfs. In Siberia and in Central Russia they had been told that they were free, but most of them stayed in their ghastly camps because they had nowhere else to go. Clothed in rags, suffering tortures from the cold, without rations, ravaged with diseases, some were trying in desperation to walk home to Europe, and were dying in great numbers on the road. In December, 1920, Nansen reported that hundreds of thousands of the P.O.W.'s had reached their homes and that hundreds of thousands more would do so very soon.

Philip continued to work with Nansen, who was also the delegate of Norway to the League. At the request of 48 Red Cross Societies and 12 governments, Nansen was asked to undertake famine relief in Russia. He did a great deal there but, years later, in reply to a letter Philip received which was critical of a sympathetic reference he had made to Russia in a speech, he wrote:

> I was working for Nansen of Norway when he proposed a League of Nations loan to save the starving people of Russia from death by hunger. The loan was defeated by anti-Russian forces in the League Assembly and seven million Russians died as a result. This tragic fact is still remembered and talked of in Russia.

Nansen became the first League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Among his many accomplishments was the introduction of a travel document which became internationally recognized. Known as the Nansen Passport, it enabled the movement and settlement of many thousands of refugees who had no document of national origin. Without it, they would have been refused entry across any national boundary.

Philip saw that an international structure was needed to prevent nations from resorting to war and to eliminate it altogether. He hoped that the League of Nations would be that structure, but he knew that everyone did not share his hopes. In 1922, in a private memo, he let fly his feelings:

> I am divided between complete despair and greater hope than I have yet had. So far as the Council (of the League) is concerned, it has been perfectly despicable. A greater display of incompetence, ignorance, and frivolity has never been given by any collection of so-called statesmen brought together to discuss matters of importance.

That explosion may have been due in part to the impatience and keenness of youth, but it shows a critical perception and a depth of feeling when he encountered poor quality and lack of high principle in public affairs. Perhaps it was his enthusiasm and hope that the League of Nations would rise to that task successfully, that expressed itself in his choice of heroes. In his Nansen lecture he said:

> History will record that Wilson, Cecil, and Nansen were the true creators of the League.

I believe it would be true that Noel-Baker (the name he adopted in 1922) was no less certainly one of those who helped create it. It is little known that he had a great deal to do with stopping the opium traffic and was expert in his knowledge of it. Reports to the XII Assembly of the League included Traffic in Women and Children, Child Welfare, Mandates, Protection of Minorities, Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs and Penal and Penitentiary Problems and Improvement in Penal Administration.

Academic Career and Writing

Philip then entered a new phase in his academic career. Having contested the Handsworth division of Birmingham unsuccessfully, he accepted appointment to a new chair in London University as the Ernest Cassell Professor of International Relations. There was only one other similar professorship, established five years earlier at Aberystwyth, Wales.

That appointment gave him the opportunity to carry on the

necessary research for writing two of his major books. The first was *Disarmament*, published in 1926. In the Preface he described the purpose of his writing, which was "to show the complexity of these problems to those who think them simple and to suggest solutions to those who think them insoluble." He always believed that, given the will, solutions could be found.

The second book he wrote during those years was on a very different subject. He returned to international law, the subject of his Whewell Scholarship, and in 1929 published *The Juridical Status of the British Dominions in International Law.*

When he resigned in the same year, he had laid the foundations of an academic department in the London School of Economics which has remained the largest in the country, devoted to international relations.

Philip resumed his academic career again for a short spell in 1934 when he was without a Parliamentary seat. At that time he went to Yale, where he was presented with the Howland Prize for distinguished work in the sphere of government.

It was in 1937 that his book on *The Private Manufacture of Armaments* came out. In it he attributed the blame, not to individuals, but to a system that depends upon national military strength and the power of armed threat with no international control, and to the governments that perpetuate it and, in so doing, degrade the political process and human societies.

Return to Politics and His Work for Disarmament

Then he returned to politics, winning Coventry in the 1929 election as the Labor Party swept back to power.

In the next two years he served as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Arthur Henderson, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who became another of his heroes. He shared with Henderson a belief in disarmament and always maintained that general disarmament could have been achieved if it had not been for the failure of successive British governments to support it.

The Labor government fell in 1931 but, before it fell, it had called the Disarmament Conference over which Arthur Henderson presided, with Philip serving as his personal assistant. In a tape recording of Philip's own voice, he recalled how the conference came about:

> Lloyd George, often called the man who won the war, conceived a hatred of war, and he knew the only way of stopping it was to end the arms race, and the only way to end the arms race was to have general and complete disarmament of all nations. He conceived a plan to disarm the Germans totally and completely. So, by the Treaty of Versailles, he disarmed the Germans completely, breaking up their armed forces, and this disarmament

was accompanied by a pledge that the other nations would follow suit, a pledge renewed in a separate note signed by the leaders of the West. On the strength of that pledge, Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles.

There was a third part to Lloyd George's plan. With the help of Woodrow Wilson and Robert Cecil, he put Article 6 into the Covenant of the League of Nations, a pledge that all nations would drastically disarm and that the Council of the League would arrange the World Conference by which the World Treaty would be made.

It was on the initiative of the British Labor Government that the conference met in early 1932, with Arthur Henderson presiding and Robert Cecil serving as delegate of the British Government. But the Labor Government had fallen in 1931 and three maniac militarists came in as Ministers of Defense. So the conference broke up without result. As a consequence, war broke out again in 1939.

Philip often referred to that missed chance in 1932 which gave many people the impression that he was living in the past when the truth was that the intensity of the experience and of his disappointment had given him a flash of insight that he never forgot. That led directly to another of Philip's great experiences, that of the Peace Ballot of the League of Nations Union.

I turn again to his recorded words to tell that story:

In 1931 military rebels in Japan started an aggression in Manchuria. Sir John Simon helped the militarists in Geneva to flout the will of the League of Nations in the League Assembly. . . . This aggression was the first great blow against the Covenant of the League of Nations, the first breach of its law against the use of force in international affairs. In 1934-1935 Mussolini . . . began to prepare his aggression against Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Our militarists were so encouraged that they started a campaign in our newspapers to demand that Britain should leave the League of Nations and should make a declaration that it would never again go to a disarmament conference because disarmament is futile. . . . This provoked a tremendous reaction from the British League of Nations Union of which Sir Robert Cecil, now Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, was the chairman. He organized 39 national non-governmental organizations into a committee which drew up six questions which they put to the British public in a voluntary, non-governmental referendum.

We thought if we got a half-million answers, it would be a wonderful poll. When we launched our campaign, half a million volunteers took our referendum paper with its six questions to

every house in the country. The questions and answers were as follows:

Should Britain remain a member of the League of Nations? Yes—97½ percent.

Should Britain take part in the new Disarmament Conference and try to make a new world peace? Yes—92 percent.

Should Britain agree to the abolition of all national air forces if other nations did the same? Yes—85 percent.

Should Britain agree to the abolition of the private manufacture of armaments? Yes—92½ percent.

Should Britain take part in economic sanctions against an aggressor who violated the League Covenant? Yes—92.2 percent.

Should Britain take part in military sanctions if ever needed to restrain an aggressor? Yes—74 percent.

At first hopes were high for half a million votes. But the hopes rose steadily. Eventually their wildest dreams were surpassed—they got 11,650,000 written answers. More than that, the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, was forced to resign and very soon Sir Samuel Hoare had to resign over the Hoare-Laval Pact, engineered by Sir Robert Vansittart, the head of the Foreign Office.

It was at that moment, in 1936, that Philip fought his first election in Derby. He won that election and represented Derby for the rest of his years in the House of Commons, though from 1950 his constituency became Derby South. The vacancy occurred because the sitting member, J. H. Thomas, had to resign in disgrace. Philip and his young agent refused to make capital out of that and fought on the issue of foreign affairs, not generally a good ground for an election campaign. But the circumstances were unusual. Japan had attacked China, German troops were in the Rhineland, and Italy had invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

Support came from many Labor leaders and even from Lloyd George, who declared:

> We could have stopped the oil, stopped the poison gas, could have re-established the liberty of Ethiopia, and we could have put the great Covenant of the League on such foundations that no aggressor could ever shake it.

International relations remained an issue in Derby from that day forward, for the town took Philip to its heart and with him they also embraced his major interest and concern. In 1961 he was presented with the Freedom of the Borough and in 1971 a service of thanksgiving was held for his long service as an M.P. for Derby.

In 1942 Churchill made him joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for War Transport, and in 1945 Attlee invited him to become Minister of State at the Foreign Office under Ernest Bevin, an appointment far more to his taste, and he was made a

Privy Councillor. It is said that he strongly disagreed with certain measures of the Foreign Secretary, but he never let his disapproval appear publicly. He was fittingly British delegate to the United Nations Preparatory Commission, where his experience with the League would be so valuable, and he attended the General Assembly of the U.N. as a member of the British delegation in 1946-1947.

In that year he became Secretary of State for Air, which one might think accorded strangely with his views. His acceptance of that office in loyalty to Attlee and the Party caused some unease among Quakers. He surely welcomed his move to Cabinet rank and to the Commonwealth Relations Office, where he spent three years, and in 1950 to the Ministry of Fuel and Power. During the Berlin Crisis of 1948-1949 it was he who suggested the air-lift which saved the situation for the West.

Then, in 1959 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, two hours before losing his seat on the Shadow Cabinet.

For one year he was chairman of the Labor Party and he was chairman of the Labor Foreign Affairs Group for several years until he retired from the House of Commons in 1970, when he was in his 81st year.

Philip Noel-Baker never became Foreign Secretary and that must have been sad for him and probably a great loss to Britain and even to the world. He was passed over twice for men surely less fitted to hold that office, which both of them did for only a short period. However, he did not let disappointment sour him or deflect from the promotion of the ideas and causes he had so much at heart.

At the closing session of the League, he had said:

> Geneva has been the first Parliament of the World. Our work has not ended; it has only just begun.

It was thus that he saw the United Nations as humanity's last chance, the necessary and indeed inevitable successor to the League. Toward the support of the U.N. he now turned his considerable powers of presentation, persuasion, and counsel. Always a supporter of the United Nations Association, he served on its committees and especially on its disarmament committee. Characteristically, he gave the money from his Nobel Prize to support the work of the U.N. Association.

It was in 1972 that his book, *The Private Manufacture of Armaments,* was published again. In the Preface to the 1937 edition, he said, "It is more than ten years since I first began the studies of which this book is the result." So he had started it when he was at London University. In the Introduction to the 1972 Dover Edition, it says:

> The book was not an attack on Private Manufacturers of Arms to which the present system leads, since the system has always had the active approval and support of Governments of almost all arms-producing nations in the world. This point is fundamental. It is the system, not the failings or misdeeds of individuals, which must be examined and judged. And between the wars, as now, the system existed because the Governments desired that it should.

That point is underlined by the existence, in both Britain and the United States, of government offices to promote the sale of arms to other countries. The book is still relevant.

Influences of the Religious Society of Friends

It is clear from what has been written that Philip was greatly influenced in his values and in his whole life's work by the Religious Society of Friends, (or Quakers as they are more familiarly known). Yet there is very little evidence of his playing any part in the organization of the Society, whether at the local or the central level, as had his parents, and especially his father, before him. I think there were reasons for that, some of them resting in Philip himself, and some the responsibility of the wider body of Friends.

Yet the foundation of the Friends Ambulance Unit in which he played so leading a part had a great influence on the Society both internally and externally. It provided an outlet for the energies and witness of many younger Friends for whom the absolutist pacifist position, which others of them were able to take, would not have provided enough of a practical activity and visible service to people suffering the trauma of war. It also satisfied their sense of human and national identification. Those Friends who took an absolutist position obviously felt that the F.A.U. offered a compromise position, though the Society accepted it, understood, and expected individual Friends to make up their minds in the matter of conscientious objections to war.

The operations of the F.A.U. brought considerable publicity and credit to the Society then and did so again in World War II when the China convoy, especially, had an exciting history of endeavor in difficult and dangerous circumstances. So the Society owed Philip many thanks for the original conception and realization of so fruitful an idea.

He liked to see things happen and the political sense that he acquired early in life undoubtedly made him work for what he saw as possible of achievement as a step toward a more ideal situation. But he was willing to accept the part-way measures as a substitute for the greater goal. In the matter of disarmament his judgment was not always acceptable to others, especially to some

of his Labor Party colleagues to whom his faith in the reliability of an international treaty, even a world treaty of disarmament, appeared utopian or simplistic. That applied to some Friends, quite a number of whom thought much more than a disarmament agreement was needed for war to become effectively outlawed by all the nations of the world. When the movement for arms control arose, attracting the interest of some Friends, Philip saw it would be manipulated by the opponents of disarmament as a means for delaying or preventing the main business of getting rid of armaments. At the same time there were many Friends who admired and welcomed Philip's gallant advocacy and the quality of his speeches both for content and presentation, and he would inspire people at those meetings he addressed, whether of Friends or others. His address at the Founder's Feast at King's College, Cambridge, when he was 91, provoked a spontaneous standing ovation from the undergraduates—a quite unprecedented occurrence.

He always felt that the major Trusts founded by successful Quaker businessmen should have devoted their resources to the pursuit of disarmament, and he was critical that they spread their grants so widely. But his links with Quakers remained strong and mutual. A celebration of his 90th birthday took place in Friends House in London, and afterwards he spoke of his hopes and aims, urging us to greater action. He began his speech with a short and funny story in an absolutely contemporary idiom, which showed how flexible his mind still was.

Irene, his wife, died in 1956. After the war she was chairman of a committee to help the Greek people, and did much, with Philip's help, to send relief aid when it was most urgently needed. They had one son, Francis, who continued his mother's interest in the family estate, and several grandchildren of whom Philip was very fond. In the vacations, one would meet them, very much at home in their grandparents' house.

Philip enjoyed young people. He played tennis until he was 70 years old, but later in life arthritis developed and his legs became very stiff, so that he had to walk with a stick or cane. That did not deter him, however, from foreign travel and taking part in conferences where somehow he always had the help of young people around him to care for him. So he was attractive to the young as they were to him.

He had been very much the efficient Parliamentary Secretary in his earlier years—composed, confident, and keen; self-disciplined, with the appearance of a high-ranking civil servant. Even when he was lame, he retained his trim figure, and all his experiences and knowledge did not in the least make him difficult of access. An instance of that occurred in 1977 when the British Home Secretary had decided to deport an American, Philip Agee, and a

campaign was mounted in Agee's support. Philip agreed to address an open-air meeting in Hyde Park, sandwiched between a conference in London and a train to Derby. He arrived in a car, put out his arms to be helped, and then unconcernedly made for a rickety chair there as a step to the lorry platform from which he was to speak. Helped up on to that, and entirely composed, he began a peroration on the intrusion of the C.I.A. in Guatemala in 1965. He knew every date, every invasion point, every officer's name, every camp site; he spoke loudly, clearly, eloquently, and entrancingly for 30 minutes with never a note. The wind was blowing smartly; everyone was dressed in wools and sheepskins; there stood Philip in his sturdy serge suit.

That tale was told me by a friend who went to Philip's help in a domestic crisis, until more permanent help could be arranged. His sight was very poor then, and he depended on others reading to him. But his memory was phenomenal. All his speeches were carefully prepared, some of them far in advance of their use. When he wanted a reference, he would remember the volume or file he needed, where to find it on the shelves, and the page to refer to. A parliamentary colleague remembers him when in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attending a conference at which a visitor gave a 15 minute speech in French, Philip translated the whole speech when he had finished, without a single note.

Some Further Honors and A Last Campaign

And so to his last campaign. Meanwhile he had won further honors. In 1961 he was awarded the Albert Schweitzer prize for his book *The Arms Race.* He became an officer of the Legion of Honor in 1976, a Papal Knight of St. Sylvester in 1977 (a most unusual honor for a non-Catholic and Quaker) and, when James Callaghan was Prime Minister, an honor came that was surely overdue—a Life Peerage.

A year later Philip was invited to represent the non-governmental organizations on the official British delegation attending the first Special Session on Disarmament of the General Assembly of the United Nations, called at the instance of the non-aligned nations, expressly because of the negative results of the negotiations of the big powers.

There had been nothing like that session before, and it made history. The big powers did not know quite what to prepare for, and the final report was a landmark. Philip spoke of it in this way:

> The time must come when the Charter is given again its binding force upon the actions of the Governments, when the Nations agree that they will abolish their competitive national armaments, that they will use their wealth instead for ending world poverty and promoting social justice in every land. That is the pledge of

the first Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1978. The final document is, in my profound belief, the greatest state paper in human history.

It says accumulation of weapons today constitutes much more of a threat than a protection for the future of mankind. This fallacy revealed in the final document can lead to triumph if the peoples of the world speak up and say to their governments with a mighty voice which resounds from continent to continent around the world. We shall have peace. You must disarm. You must use our taxes to promote human welfare and happiness. You must stop preparing the final nuclear war which will destroy our civilization.

Knowing from his life-long experience that there would be many interests seeking to deny this outcome, he founded a World Campaign for Disarmament in Britain, aided by his fellow nonagenarian, Fenner Brockway. It was directed to publicity and support for the second Special Session. Then he threw himself with vigor into making that campaign a success. The second Special Session reiterated the original report and recommendations of the first, but in other ways was a disappointment. So the World Disarmament Campaign in Britain decided not to lay itself down as originally planned, but to continue to hold high the torch of disarmament and peace.

Philip's life work was done. In October of 1982 he breathed his last. His legacy was to the common people of his nation and of the world, in whom he set his faith and to whom he offered his faith that someday reason will overcome unreason and that women and men of all nations will demand and build a system to secure peace on earth.

HEBERTO SEIN

International Interpreter

SUZANNE FEHR SEIN

When people first met Heberto Sein, they were almost always amazed to learn that he was a red-headed, freckle-faced Mexican Aztec and Quaker. The combination seemed to them incredible and unforgettable.

But, as they came to know him, what they remembered was his perpetual good humor and smile, his many gifts as an interpreter of languages and as a poet, and his philosophy of life with its roots in the Quaker faith.

His Background and Early Years

Heberto was born in Matehuala, San Luis Potosí, Mexico, on December 7, 1898.

His father was Eucario Montes de Oca Sein, born a Roman Catholic in Toluca. In his early manhood, Eucario renounced his religion and became a Friend. Because of that he was rejected by his brothers and forbidden to use their father's family name. Consequently he used his mother's name, becoming simply Eucario Sein.

Eventually Eucario was sent by Friends to Matehuala, a small town in San Luis Potosí, where he became the head of a print shop, a teacher in the Friends School, and then a minister in the Friends Church.

Heberto's mother was originally from England but later from Canada. She went to Mexico to start a Friends school in Ciudad Victoria in the state of Tamaulipas.

When Margaretta and Eucario met in Matehuala, it was love at first sight. They married soon and had a family of seven boys and one girl. When Heberto was asked how many brothers and sisters he had, he would often reply that he had six brothers and that each of them had a sister. Hence people would go away thinking of the large Sein family with 14 children!

Most of the eight Seins were born in Matehuala, although the last three were born in Puebla where the family lived later.

When Heberto was seven or eight, his parents had to leave home for a day and his father told him to look after some Quaker missionaries who would be visiting—and to look after them "in English." That was apparently the beginning of his life-long career as an interpreter.

Then came the Mexican Revolution and the Seins moved to Texas and then to California. In Los Angeles, Eucario Sein

became minister in a Mexican Methodist Church, a post he held for 25 years. When his wife died, he was left with two young children at home. Often the older sons took a younger brother to school or to the university in their roles as "baby-sitters."

After 25 years, Eucario Sein moved back to Mexico to Heberto's home, meanwhile serving as the pastor of a Methodist Church.

Heberto, the second in the Sein family, eventually completed his studies at the University of California in Berkeley, joined the Consular Service of Mexico, and then the Mexican Diplomatic Service in Washington.

Feeling ill at ease in his job after several years, he decided to fulfill a longtime dream and go to Europe. He sailed, as he said, third class—only because there was no fourth class.

Landing in Portugal, he toured that country on foot. Then he journeyed to Spain where he covered it in the same manner. Next he headed for France. There he bought a bicycle and pedalled to Paris.

There he enrolled in the Faculty of Theology and visited the Quaker International Center where he met a girl who was working in the library, fell in love, and planned to marry her. But her parents had other thoughts about that intended marriage. Suzanne was their only daughter and they were frightened by this wild, red-headed Mexican. So they asked him to go away for six months and not to correspond with her. Then, they said, "nous verrons" (we shall see).

Having met Pierre Ceresole and learned about the international workcamp movement, Heberto spent part of that six month period of "probation" in Liechtenstein, working in the reconstruction there and making many new friends.

Those long months finally ended and he returned to Paris—and he and Suzanne were married. His dream was to return to the school in Ciudad Victoria which his mother had started. So they went there in 1929.

They travelled to Mexico on a Dutch vessel, the *Sierra Ventura.* But it was shipwrecked near the Azores Islands, and all the passengers had to take to the lifeboats to reach the shore. Another boat eventually rescued them.

Once the fright of their escape from death was over, they had a wonderful extended honeymoon. Blue hydrangeas were everywhere and there was a small canoe and a bicycle built for two.

Finally, after 21 days, the awaited ship came. It had taken 52 days, including the shipwreck time, to cross the Atlantic; but they finally landed in Tampico, Mexico—the port for Ciudad Victoria. From there it took them eight to 10 hours in a very primitive train to reach Ciudad Victoria. Once there, they soon found the Friends Church of which Fortunato Castillo was the pastor. Also

there were several missionaries and a thriving school.

For four years they worked there as teachers and to them were born Heberto Junior and Magali, the first two of their three children, Daniel being the third.

Then, at the invitation of the Mexican Minister of Education, they moved to La Huerta in the state of Michoacan where Heberto served as the headmaster of a school for peasants who wanted to become teachers.

But what a trip they had to make to get there! They had a Ford but there were no well-defined roads. In the front seat were Heberto and Suzanne and the new baby; in the rumble seat, grandmother and the little boy. Each time they crossed a river they stopped to wash diapers.

Finally they reached Mexico City, which seemed to them like Paradise. En route to La Huerta, they stopped at a hacienda for hospitality. Confronted by armed men and chains, Heberto was asked to produce identification papers. Despite the fact that those documents showed that he was being sent by the new government, they gave the Seins a negative reply to their request for hospitality. But they later relented out of pity for the two babies.

Ensconced in a miserable little room, they put the youngest to sleep in the drawer of a dresser. Grandmother and the little boy occupied the bed, and father and mother slept on the floor.

For three years the Seins stayed in La Huerta. Then they moved to Mexico City where Suzanne's mother helped them build the home at Monte Blanco 1135 which is still there and belongs to the family.

Heberto then went to work for the Ministry of Education and published a book on the teaching of English.

With the help of Daniel and Elizabeth Jensen they soon started a small Quaker Meeting which met outdoors in their garden, often surrounded by brilliant poinsettias and other colorful flowers. To that Meeting a number of Spanish refugees came—people who had been helped by Friends in France and Spain to resettle in Mexico.

On Sunday mornings they took out small folding chairs and placed them in the garden. Watching from the windows above, the younger son, Daniel, would sometimes call to his mother, saying, "Mother, the people who come to sleep in our garden are here again."

At that time refugee women came on Thursday afternoons to sew layettes for the babies to be born to them and to enjoy the friendliness and fellowship of the group. After that period was over, they continued coming, making and knitting clothes for the American Friends Service Committee to distribute in Europe.

Often their husbands joined them for tea or supper and some

lively discussion under Heberto's direction.

His Work as an Interpreter for the U.N. and Other Groups

Meanwhile Heberto had become well-known as an interpreter as well as a teacher. And when Edward Stettinius, the Secretary of State of the United States, met with President Avila Camacho, Mr. Stettinius was impressed with Heberto's work and with his personality. So he was invited to become one of the translators and interpreters at the conference in San Francisco in 1945 at which the United Nations was formed.

Translating is comparatively easy for linguists as one can sit at a desk and have time to think about the words and ideas one is transferring into another tongue. Interpretation is far more difficult as one has to transmit words and ideas immediately into another language. To do so creatively as well as competently, one must know both languages well and the subject matter under discussion. To excel, one must also be able to catch something of the personality, inflections, and even the body language of the person who is speaking.

On all these counts Heberto excelled and not in just two languages but in three—English, French, and Spanish.

His experiences at San Francisco made Heberto an interpreter of the U.N. as well as an interpreter of languages. He was an ardent admirer of that international organization and remained so despite the discouraging events that took place after its founding. He knew the problems and pitfalls, but he also knew its potentialities.

Often Heberto expressed his innermost thoughts and dreams in poetry. Here is a poem which he wrote in 1946 about the U.N.:

THE UNITED NATIONS—IT'S YOURS!

Common man of the common millions,
United Nations. It's yours!
How weak?
As weak as you keep it.
How strong?
As strong as you make it.

Make it a Congress of World Law.
You can, common man.
Take it and make it World Government.
You can!

Affirm in your thinking,
Affirm in your living,
Oneness of life.
Oneness of country,
Oneness of freedom,

Oneness of truth,
Oneness of beauty,
Oneness of bread.

Leave not to others to build a new world for you.
Rise up in your right, common man; you can.

Take your fifty flags, blend them into one!
Take your fifty coins, melt them into one!
Take your fifty anthems, create a magnificent one!
Take out-dated borders, erase them into one!

Be not deceived, common man, by a fragile peace built on sand,
And schemed for the interests of dominion and wealth.
Arise to create a real peace built on the rock of brotherhood,
A peace that shall prosper unto the health of man, common man.

No more chamber of chess games,
Where you, man, and your sons
are played in games of opposing powers
till a Check! and a Clash! shakes the world.

Not a one world
hatched in sickly,
secretive, darkened diplomacy.
But an unashamed one world
conceived in the concept of unity
and creatively advancing into the fullness of day.

Common man of the common millions,
United Nations! It's yours!
You—the power behind power—
Arise with conscience awakened
and claim it with courage for you and your sons.

It's yours
like the carpenter's bench,
like the blacksmith's anvil,
like the weaver's loom.
Arise in your might, common man,
and work at it. You can.

United Nations! It's yours,
like the sun, the ocean, the earth,
like the atom, the seed, the tree,
like one great tree of many branches
each to bear fruit.

It's yours to husband it, prune it, clean it,
to nourish its roots
with soil from all lands,
and to water it with water from all rivers,
and to bless it with new songs by the world's children.

United Nations! It's yours,
common man of the common millions
the world round.
How weak?
As weak as you keep it.
How creative and strong?
As creative and strong as you make it.
As you with the Light within you make it.

The Geneva Years and the "Quaker Team" in New York

Heberto had acquired such a splendid reputation that he was called by the International Labor Office (the I.L.O.) to come to Geneva to work with them. The I.L.O. had been formed in the days of the League of Nations after World War I and had been its only active agency. After World War II and the formation of the United Nations, it had been revived as one of the several specialized agencies of that overall body.

Those were wonderful years for the Sein family. They lived in a lovely chalet in a big park. The children attended good schools and made many friends. And they were a part of a small, active, and often influential Friends Meeting in Geneva, with its members, attenders, and visitors drawn from many parts of the world.

But Heberto became bored. Life was almost too easy for one with a sensitive conscience. In Switzerland so much had already been accomplished; in Mexico so much remained to be done.

Perhaps he was a little homesick, too. So he sat down and penned these verses of remembrance:

DAWN

Their brown feet beat up the brown mud.
Their brown hands made rows of warm Adobes.
Their black eyes followed white lines
of mason string quivering in sunlight.
Their brown arms raised and laid shingles
of lustrous leaves of green Maguey.

They hung vines of honeysuckle
on rustic white-washed walls.
With daisies and geraniums
they framed square window holes,
while barefoot Indian children
scattered polished river pebbles
like a mat before the doors.

On the summit of the hill it stood—
a white school looking over cornfields,
over rolling, waving cornfields.

When fireflies came flitting,
they came out for dancing and for singing,
and sang into the scented air of night
till the echo climbed unto the moon.
They danced under a thousand stars,
danced till yawning hills
stretched gauntly cactus arms
into the eastern copper glow.

On the summit of the hill it became clear,
clear and clean as growing corn,
and white as white shirts drying on bushes,
and rosy with lucent geraniums,
and radiant with red garlands.
It broke the sky, like a shout of joy—their Dawn!

Consequently the Seins left Geneva and returned to Mexico. But when the ship arrived in Cuba, there was a telegram for Heberto from Clarence Pickett, the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. It contained an invitation for Heberto to join the first "Quaker Team" in New York City during the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Naturally he accepted and went off to New York City while his family settled into their old home in Monte Blanco which had been occupied in their absence by the Duckles family who headed the A.F.S.C. work in Mexico.

The idea of that team was to present to individuals, delegations, and groups associated with the U.N. some of the concerns of Friends. The Quaker delegation at that time, and for every General Assembly since then, concentrated on a few special issues with which that overall international organization was wrestling and on which Friends had special points of view. The membership of those teams has changed from year to year but they have always capitalized upon the concerns of Quakers in different parts of the world and on the expertise of Friends in those fields. Those who served on the first team were Clarence Pickett and Elmore Jackson from the United States, Agatha Harrison and Gerald Bailey from Great Britain, Heberto Sein from Mexico, and a few others.

In subsequent years Heberto served on the Quaker Team two other times, and on both occasions Suzanne Sein joined him.

That special relationship has been possible because the Friends World Committee for Consultation had been granted the status of a non-governmental organization (known as N.G.O.'s) since the time of the creation of the U.N.

Heberto was extremely effective and happy in such situations as he believed deeply in non-violent approaches to world as well as

to personal and national affairs.

Volunteer Service Projects in Mexico

Once he returned to Mexico, Heberto began to participate actively in the work of the Friends Service Units. That volunteer endeavor had come about as a result of a letter from Heberto to Ray Newton, the head of the Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee, suggesting the many advantages of bringing groups of North and South American young people together in Mexico. Started in 1939, those Service Units have involved thousands of volunteers and they are still continuing.

Included in the work of those Service Units were the draining of malarial swamps to improve the health of people in the underdeveloped Mexican villages, the construction of school buildings and the reconstruction of a school after a hurricane, the digging of wells, the vaccination of school children (in conjunction with the Mexican Ministry of Health), and assistance to teachers. In almost all of the units there was a variety of activities, too, with the villagers, such as discussion groups, crafts and recreational activities, family visitations, and horticultural and agricultural projects.

The Seins became accustomed to seeing Heberto leaving his comfortable home with his rucksack, his big hat—and that everlasting smile—whether he was off to Tolomé, Santa Ana del Pilar, Paso de Ovejas, Xico, or some other village. When the people in those places knew he was coming, many of them came to greet him, to talk with him, and to ask his advice on a wide range of subjects.

One of those villages was Jicaltepec in the state of Veracruz. It is on the edge of a wide river, and the only way to get there was to shout for the villagers to send a "panga" (a vessel resembling a long canoe) which transported people across that body of water. Jicaltepec had been founded about 100 years ago by French people from Madagascar who were experts in cultivating vanilla. So in many ways it was different from the usual Mexican villages.

It had long, straight streets and houses with double-pitched tile roofs which would shed the rain. And the smell of vanilla!

But the village had been hit badly by a hurricane; and the school, along with other buildings, had been destroyed. It was the job of volunteers, under Heberto's direction, to rebuild it. So he called together all the villagers to help. And they came—men and women, boys and girls. Some of the younger ones did not have much experience in such work; but oh, how much good-will they had! To encourage them and to spur them on there was always Heberto's boundless energy and his wonderful sense of humor.

After a few weeks the school had been rebuilt, a roof put on the

building, and a paint job completed. It had been transformed by 16 young people from several countries, plus the villagers.

Then the volunteers started to work on the streets, removing the mud and making the roads passable again.

While those volunteers worked in Jicaltepec, they lived in what was called Casa de los Amigos. In it there were domitory rooms, a kitchen, and a long meeting room which was used partially as a library for the local people.

On that project, as well as on others, each day began with a Meeting for Worship which a goodly number of the volunteers attended.

Since the work took place during the winter vacations of the students, it took several months to complete.

It was during those months in Jicaltepec that Heberto wrote this poem:

TINY WHITE FLOWERS

When you see only black mud,
Look out for the tiny white flowers
That keep growing in quiet places,
That keep showing their hopeful faces.

You may see only poor workers,
Dirty, quarreling workers;
But as hard as it may seem,
They will build the world you dream.

When you see only black mud,
Look out for tiny white flowers
That give beauty in ugly places,
That keep lifting their radiant faces.

You may see only the dark;
But there's a new dawn coming
When men will follow the light
Through the trials of the night.

When you see only black mud,
Look out for tiny white flowers
That keep striving in a humble place
Like thoughts enlightening the race.

You may see only destruction
And nations rushing to war;
But with deeper thoughts of truth
The road to peace is built by youth.

When you see only black mud,
Look out for tiny white flowers
That keep growing in quiet places,
That keep lifting their hopeful faces.

It was approximately at that time that Heberto wrote an article in Spanish for the Mexican Press that he called "Four Men in a Sailboat." That piece was inspired by the statement of the American Friends Service Committee on Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons in which they said that:

> All of our action will take place openly, with confidence, and in the Gandhian spirit through non-violent efforts that will speak to the deepest in human beings.

At that time four men were navigating towards Eniwetok, the area in the Pacific Ocean designated for atomic tests. They had written President Eisenhower of their intention to stay there during the period of those tests, no matter what happened, to try to detain actions that menaced the well-being of people everywhere. They recognized, they said, the culpability on the part of the Russian authorities and planned parallel action to bring to them the same moral and political message.

On the morning of March 25, 1958 the small boat, *Golden Rule,* left the port of San Pedro, California on that mission. Among those on board was David Gale who had participated in the Friends Service Unit in Jicaltepec. To Heberto, that fact made even more meaningful the dangerous and dramatic gesture those individuals were making against the immorality of the atomic tests in the Pacific, and prompted his piece in the Mexican press.

His Work as a Free-Lance International Interpreter

All through those years he was a part of a group of free-lance translators and interpreters who were called upon frequently for work with the United Nations and its specialized agencies and with other international groups, such as the Organization of American States. From time to time he was called upon to travel to the far corners of the earth to perform such work. Once he knew the topic which would be discussed, he would bone up on it for several days, as an effective interpreter must be knowledgeable about the topic being examined as well as adept in the languages being used.

There were a few occasions when he was so effective in clarifying the words of a speaker that those who knew both languages applauded his interpretation.

He always regarded such meetings as rare opportunities to help people obtain pertinent information, solve knotty problems, and reach understandings despite the barriers of language.

He revelled, too, in the personal contacts which were possible in the free times during such conferences. Always he enjoyed the give-and-take of such encounters with the individuals involved; often he engaged in serious conversations with the participants on

a wide range of subjects, frequently expressing in a low-keyed way his firm adherence to non-violent approaches to baffling situations and deep-seated problems.

From time to time there were special assignments such as the trip on which he accompanied President Lopez Mateos of Mexico to Washington as his personal interpreter in conferences with Dwight Eisenhower, the outgoing President, and Lyndon Johnson, the incoming President of the United States.

Something of his feeling about the work of international interpreters is reflected in the following poem, written undoubtedly with a smile on his face as he recalled scores of situations in which he had worked:

INTERPRETERS

Hail! Loquacious band
of jolly, global interpreters,
language servants of assemblies,
listeners of all languages and accents,
serving diplomats, delegates, debaters.
(the bright ones and the . . . less bright.) Hail!

Hail, merry company of gracious speech improvers,
skillful phrase-turners, coolers of the over-heated,
steady clarifiers, swift bringers of light.
Interpreters, Hail!

Workers at the fountain-head,
Workers with the spoken word,
Your mouths start the keyboards clicking,
and the inky drums spinning,
and the telephones ringing,
and a cosmopolitan multitude
of hands and eyes
typing, reporting, printing,
cabling, telegraphing, photographing
—the word,
the spoken word
that must vanish darkness,
that must bring light,
that must build understanding,
that must create harmony in diversity. Hail!

Because sometimes in the silence
of the council chamber of the soul
you have quietly interpreted
what the stars say to the night,
the waves of the sea to the shore,
the rains to the earth;
Because sometimes you have sensed

the deeper cries,
the universal longings,
the voices of destiny
and the whispers of the cosmos to the soul;
Because sometimes in the inward stillness
you have interpreted
what trials mean to life,
struggles to growth,
problems to progress,
purity to joy,
justice to brotherhood,
fire to creativeness,
truth to freedom;
That's why sometimes in the undertone
of your clear interpretations,
inevitably, unconsciously,
there sweeps a breadth of faith—
faith in a fellow man and Spirit,
communicating it
like roses share aroma,
the sea the odor of salt,
and the fresh-plowed field
the smell of happy earth.
Hail, fellow interpreters!
Cyranos of the advancing one world,
moving upon the peoples and the nations
like creative, jubilant, unpreventable dawn!

As there are only a few men and women in the world who are adept in such work, they are well paid. Hence that work enabled Heberto to support his family and gave him considerable free time to take part in the many concerns and activities in which he was interested.

One of those was the establishment of a Quaker Center in Mexico City. Part of the inspiration for such a place came from the concern of Carl Heath, the British Friend who developed the idea of Quaker Embassies around the world. Part of it came from his first-hand knowledge of the various Quaker International Centers in several key cities in different parts of our globe and from the work of the Quaker Team at the United Nations in New York City.

Eventually a Board, formed by members of the Mexico City Friends Meeting, was able to purchase the home of the internationally-famous mural painter, José Clemente Orozco, as that family needed to obtain funds to help in the restoration of some of his famous murals.

In that home, Mexican Friends established what they called Casa de los Amigos—a center for local, national, and international activities. Visitors could be housed there and a wide range of activities sponsored. Included were the efforts of weekend work-campers, discussion groups and forums, and many different types of conferences.

The decision to establish such a center was a bold one for such a small group. But it has proved to be a highly important decision as it is still thriving and still filling a variety of human needs.

His Mexican Roots

Despite the fact that much of his life was devoted to international interests, Heberto was a proud and concerned Mexican. He was well aware of the importance of combining a refined type of nationalism with a refined type of internationalism. In that regard he agreed whole-heartedly with Gandhi who once said:

> It is impossible for one to be an internationalist without being a nationalist. . . . It is not nationalism that is evil; it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations which is evil.

Occasionally Heberto expressed his love of his country and its people in poems like this which combined pride and sorrow:

THREE SOMBREROS

One, two, three,
three palm hats
pass by my window;
three Indian faces
peep from beneath them;
three Indian faces smile
—and move on.

And the joy of child-like living
and the sorrow in the soul of the race
and the trace of a song on the lips
were all in the lilt of the dark eyes
and the smile of Indian faces
that passed my window this morning
in the shade of three broad hats.

In a poem reminiscent of Shelley's "Ozymandias," King of Kings, he reflected on the glory and the grandeur of the early civilizations of Mexico, but also the sorrow associated with them. He said:

"EL SOL" THE PYRAMID
TEOTIHUACAN

You sit in the splendor of silence now;
Your children are hushed and gone.

Out of the earth they made you rise,
Now in the earth their empire lies,
And you—you are left alone.

You were born in the soul of the Toltec kings,
When their drums and flutes were loud;
And men were cranes to hoist your stones
And blood and mortar were mixed with groans
Till you grew high and proud.

They crowned your summit a shrine to the Sun,
And in crystalline porphyry made
His image to serve and adore through the years;
With thousands of priests and millions of tears,
To exalt the grim victor of shade.

The sacred processions would fill for you
The altars of igneous stone,
With human flesh to feed the flame,
And drums to thunder and laud your name;
Yet now—you are left alone.

When dawn drops smoothly a veil of rose
On your untempled mossy crest,
And the breeze shakes down the drops of dew,
I think they are tears that roll from you
To the tombs where your children rest.

In the dim light of dawn you are weary and lone;
Your soul has wept in its sleep;
You miss your children, the feast and king;
The glories of empire your stones would sing. . . .
El Sol! You are great; you weep.

Of the relatively recent Mexican Revolution—and the Revolution that must take place in each generation if the torch is passed to others, he wrote these verses:

NEW SOWERS

Upright against the morning blue,
sun-browned man of full stature,
wide-brimmed sombrero of straw.

Peon and son of hacienda peon,
bent to the sod were his fathers,
bent to the sod by hacienda's whip,
bent to the sod by priestly phrase,
bent to the sod by feudal ways.

Down they had gone in misery's toll,
downed by oppressive slavelike stupor,
downed by landlord's flame alcohol,
downed by the starless night in the mind.

Revolution Wind! Resurrection Rains!
came sweeping corn and wheatfields horizons,
Stirrings! Awakenings!
came harvesting the soul of the peon
till a nation rose from sod and chains.

A people looked up at the sun:
"My light and warmth for all on earth;
so, land for all who till the soil.
Peons no more; my children rise."
Up they rose against scarlet skies.

Odor of fertile earth in the wind,
and man upright against morning blue.
Kernels of yellow promise
warmed within calloused hands,
then the sower's swing,
scattering sun-swept seeds
into happy Agrarian Earth

His Espousal of Non-Violence

Central in Heberto's life was his belief in the power of non-violence. To him it was based on three considerations. One was that there is something good—a divine Light—in everyone. Second was his belief that everyone was given reason and conscience, and therefore dialogue is possible. Third was his strong conviction that people are not divided into good and evil individuals—everyone can do good and evil.

To him, non-violence faces evil with all the force of the spirit. It does not look for the destruction of people who are responsible for the injustices of the world but for their participation in doing good. He was certain that non-violence did good to those who practiced it as well as to those to whom it is applied.

To him it was important to look for the truth and to communicate it. Living in that way produces energy. And just as evil creates evil, so active love generates more love.

Heberto looked upon Gandhi as one who practiced "authentic non-violence." Consequently he removed fear from his own person and from others, producing new sources of energy.

But Heberto was well aware of the need for training in non-violence. To him such training implied daily discipline which produced purification.

For him the great hope for the future lay in convincing enough young people of the power of non-violence and for individual discipline in its use. Only in that way could injustice be overcome and justice triumph.

His Death and Some Tributes to Him

On October 31, 1977 Heberto's life came to an end at the age of 78, and he was buried in the beautiful Parque Memorial on the edge of the city.

A memorial service was held at the Casa de los Amigos at which a number of friends spoke about his life and what his spirit and friendship meant to them.

Quite different were the tributes of people in the neighborhood —the man who used to mend the Sein family's shoes, the woman who did their ironing, and the gardener. All of them offered to have masses said for the repose of their friend's soul. And so the Seins attended three other services in three different churches and prayed with those and other friends.

And there were scores of other tributes from many kinds of people and from many places in the world, Heberto had friends everywhere and from various walks of life. One such message was from his close friend and colleague, Edwin Duckles, who wrote in the *Friends Journal* saying:

> During the 36 years that I was fortunate enough to know Heberto, I never heard him speak an unkind word about anyone. Even more significant was the fact that his thoughts were consistent with his words—he *felt* kindly toward everyone, even those who had caused him suffering.

Among the many persons who knew him personally and loved him were over 100 Mexican volunteers from the State of Sonora in Northern Mexico who had participated in various Service Units. For many years that group has sponsored its own Community Service Units in Sonora. Then, in February of 1985, they organized, with the help of North American Friends, El Centro de Paz (Peace Center). Making a down-payment on a house in Hermosillo, Sonora, the Mexican volunteers named it Casa Heberto Sein in appreciation of the influence he had on their lives.

In many ways, then, Heberto Sein was an international interpreter and an interpreter internationally.

SUZANNE STEPHEN

South African Friend of Prisoners

W. SCARNELL LEAN

How can a Quaker with a sensitive conscience and a desire to promote God's kingdom "on earth as it is in heaven" live in a nation which promulgates laws which are repugnant to most Friends?

That is a problem which has confronted Quakers at various times and in various places—in Denmark and Norway in the 19th century, with military conscription; in the southern part of the United States in the same century, with slavery; in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, under the Nazis; in Uganda in the 1970s, under the repressive rule of Idi Amin; and currently in the Middle East, with its ongoing conflicts and tensions.

This chapter is the story of Suzanne Stephen, a South African Quaker, and how she answered the question of how she should live as a Christian and as a Friend in a nation which officially approved "apartheid," racial discrimination against the majority of its inhabitants.

In order to understand her life better, it may be helpful at this point to review very briefly the history of what is now the South African Republic, located at the tip of the vast continent of Africa and stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Indian Ocean in the east.

For centuries southern Africa was merely a spot on the maps of Europeans. In fact their first acquaintance with that part of the world came in 1488 when Bartholomew Diaz, sailing for the Portuguese, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in his search for a short route to India and the riches of Asia. However, it was more than a century and a half before any Europeans settled there. That was in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company established a fort at Cape Town (or the Cape of Good Hope) and planted gardens to furnish fruits and vegetables for the sailors en route to the East Indies, saving them from the dread disease of scurvy on a voyage that in those days lasted six months.

As the Dutch settled, they brought in slaves from the east and west coasts of Africa, and Malays and Javanese from the Indies. Since women were few, there was some mixing of the races; hence the origin of the large group today called "coloreds."

Fearing that the French would take over the Cape at the time of the Napoleonic wars, the British seized it in 1795 and remained there, first as administrators and then as colonists. By 1820 the British had sent colonists, including a settlement on the coast of

the Indian Ocean, in the neighborhood of what is now Port Elizabeth.

Then, in 1833, the momentous decision was made by the British to free all slaves in their Empire. Irked by that decision, culminating years of tension between the British and the Dutch, most of the Boers (people of Dutch descent) packed their belongings in 1836 in wagons or prairie schooners drawn by oxen—something like the covered wagons which took settlers west in the United States. Eventually about 5000 Dutch or Boers moved north, making the hazardous trek over the seemingly impossible barrier of the mountains. But they were rewarded because of the limitless stretches of grass which they could plough under and cultivate, or use for their herds of cattle and sheep. Then, too, game was plentiful.

But the more they penetrated that potentially rich ranching area, known as the "Veld," the greater the resistance of the Bantu tribes which had moved south from Central Africa. In one battle between the Zulus (one of the Bantu tribes) and the Dutch, 20,000 Zulus attacked one of the wagon trains. Few of the Boers were killed but 3000 Bantus died.

Eventually the Boers gained control of the northern sections of what is now South Africa, establishing the new republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

But riches of another kind were soon discovered—diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1884, and the struggle for the land which contained those precious possessions intensified the quarrels between the Boers and the British, leading to the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). Actually that struggle began in 1896 when a raid was made by Leander Starr Jameson in an attempt to wrest the colony of the Transvaal from the control of the Dutch, Boers, or Afrikaners. The British won and by 1910 had incorporated the northern regions in the new nation of the Union of South Africa (now the South African Republic).

As we have already said, slavery was abolished in 1833 but racial discrimination has continued with different degrees of intensity and various sets of laws to keep the blacks, and to a lesser extent the coloreds and Asians, in a subservient position to the whites. That has included separate and unequal educational opportunities; limitations on the types of jobs they could hold; restrictions on travel; bans on appearing in restaurants, hotels, and other public places; and recently the establishment of segregated areas in which most of them must live. All this in spite of the fact that out of every 100 South Africans 72 are Bantus or blacks, 16 are white, 8 are coloreds, and 4 are Asians.

To nearly all whites, and especially to members of the Dutch Reformed Church, such subservience was ordained by the Bible,

a belief which has been held passionately for generations.

No, we have not forgotten Suzanne Stephen. Against this necessarily brief background, let us look at her life in South Africa.

In a Memoir written a year before her death in 1972 and on which most of the material in this chapter is based, she stated that her name was Suzanne Minnie Stephen, born Browne, and that she was a South African of Dutch and British descent, speaking English and Afrikaans (a simplified form of Dutch).

Then she stated that one of her earliest recollections of events outside their home was the Jameson raid, already mentioned here. What she remembered was seeing armed citizens riding past their family farm and hearing her parents discuss the raid, wondering whether the difficulties and differences could be resolved by discussions or whether war would break out.

Her parents delayed leaving until it was apparent that war would ensue. So, just two months before the outbreak of hostilities, they travelled by train to King Williams Town in the Cape Colony as it was then called.

The response in London to the upheaval in South Africa was immediate, and large sums were donated to a fund established by the Lord Mayor to aid the refugees. Actually, she said, the shops in the Cape Colony did a booming business and the merchants were aided by the influx of people.

However, the local citizens shunned the refugees as if they were lepers. Nevertheless Suzanne and her sister were able to borrow books from the local library and to continue their education under the supervision of their mother. "Life was not dull or drab in any way," she declared.

Earlier in her life her father had contracted malaria and shortly after their move to King Williams Town, he died. Life, then, became very difficult and there were times when they nearly starved. Water, too, was scarce and they had to use the limited supply sparingly—once to wash their hands and faces, a second time to wash the dishes, and a third time to water the garden.

An aunt of her father's had a farm, and the Brownes often visited her on holidays. Then, after her father's death, his brother invited them to join him. Apparently Suzanne's mother was a remarkable woman who kept her family alive by raising poultry. Otherwise, Suzanne said, she didn't know how they would have survived.

Suzanne felt that the Anglo-Boer War was an unjust one but that the peace which ended it was "the most just and the most fair of any war the world has ever known, because of the lenient terms the victors granted the vanquished."

At the age of 15, Suzanne started to earn her own living as a teacher, eventually taking some training at Grahamstown. It was

difficult to live on the small government grant she received, but she did—and she spent a happy year there. She considered herself "a plodder," but she had a younger sister who seemed to her very bright and she was able to help her to obtain a scholarship at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.

After teaching for a time in a high school in Bloemfontein, she was asked to teach in a rural school for white children in the Orange Free State. It was there that she became engaged to be married.

One day, while obtaining the background on her pupils, she asked a little girl where her father lived. The child's reply was, "I don't have a father, Miss Browne. The English shot him dead in the English War." That brief statement shocked Suzanne Browne for she had thought of that conflict as the Boer War and of the Boers shooting the English, rather than vice versa. Of that incident she said, "It brought home to me that when one crosses the boundary, a brilliant victory becomes a crushing defeat." Commenting further on that event she said, "I date from that my first attempt to see things from the other person's point of view. Through the years I have come to be a passionate pacifist and Quaker, but it was the remark of that little girl that set me thinking."

Meanwhile Suzanne's mother had died suddenly and "it seemed to me as though the world had gone to pieces. As time passed, however, I realized that one must live and face what comes . . ."

Then, when World War I broke out in Europe, the man to whom she was engaged, volunteered—and never returned. Again she was faced with death and felt "as though life held nothing more for me. But that is a cowardly attitude. Again I found I had to carry on."

A few years later, while she was doing a year's training as a nurse at the Johannesburg General Hospital, she met her future husband and in 1917 she married John Stephen. He was a detective who later became a policeman. He was a widower with four children, and after their marriage they moved to Cape Town. In a comment which was characteristic of her hopeful and courageous attitude toward life, she remarked that "Life was not easy, but it was full and interesting."

When her husband died in 1930, she was left with three daughters of her own, and two stepsons and two stepdaughters. She did not receive a pension as the widow of a policeman but she kept the family together by teaching in Durban in a school for Indian children and then in a similar institution in Johannesburg. Eventually she had 13 grandchildren and six great-grandchildren whom she adored.

In 1935 she flew to England to visit her oldest son and to stay

there for two years. She was in touch with Quakers and was invited often to speak about South Africa. She has said that she spoke freely, trying to give a balanced picture of conditions in her country, but fully recognizing the injustices. Despite her admiration for the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Jan Smuts (one of the founders of the League of Nations and the United Nations), she maintained that he would be judged at the bar of history because he never faced up to the relations between blacks and whites. As she pointed out, he continued to talk about "guardianship," forgetting that children grow up and come of age.

After her return to South Africa, she resumed teaching, this time in a convent school. But she had been observed by government agents in England and was considered a troublemaker. The school was in receipt of a grant from the government officials who told the principal that Suzanne must resign. From that time on all government schools were closed to her.

But nothing could prevent her from teaching. Soon she found a new calling—combining her love of teaching with aid to black prisoners, an appropriate and powerful combination of her concerns as a Quaker.

That new development came about in a fascinating way. Two African prisoners wrote the Isaacson Memorial Fund inquiring whether it was possible for them to take a correspondence course. That was impossible under the terms of that fund as its aid was limited to graduates, so their request seemed doomed. But the recipients of their letter put an advertisement in the *Rand Daily Mail* asking for a volunteer teacher. Suzanne Stephen replied and with the help of the newspaper obtained the consent of the Commissioner of Prisons to teach men through the mail.

In fact, when he granted her permission to do so, he added that he thought it would be a good idea, but that she must limit herself to correspondence about school work.

Thus she resumed her role as a teacher.

Gradually word spread that this opportunity for an education was available and others requested that they be included. Consequently by May of 1962 she had 20 pupils. Eleven of those students were serving long sentences, some of them life terms.

Teaching by correspondence was not easy, especially as many of the men were barely literate. But she was able to find materials which dealt with life in South Africa and were simply written and well illustrated, making it easier for them to learn. It was also necessary for her to find materials in the various languages that the blacks spoke. That meant that she had to turn frequently to dictionaries to understand the various tongues in which she had to correspond.

A typical letter requesting help read like this:

> My great desire in life has been to receive as much education as I possibly can so I can fit myself into modern life. Unfortunately through financial setbacks and unforeseen circumstances the realization of my ambition became extremely difficult. I attribute my failure to the fact that my environment was composed of undesirable elements as a result of which I am now in bondage. I do not wish to take advantage of your goodness, but my desire for help is so strong that calling for help to you is irresistible. . . . Financially I am a pauper, but spiritually I am a martyr.

Another wrote:

> I am a Bantu male serving a very long term—nine years. So, dear madam, I have decided to ask for your help as I am not educated.

As the number of her students increased, so did the demands for teaching materials. Soon she was begging books and stationery from her friends—and paying the postage from her own limited funds.

When she could not cope with the demands on her time and energy, the Commissioner of Prisons granted her permission to recruit other helpers on the condition that all the correspondence be handled by her. She also received assistance from the *Rand Daily Mail* which appealed for volunteers and for supplies. Booksellers sometimes gave her volumes at reduced prices and stationers occasionally donated paper and envelopes.

She received some help, also, from the Prison Reform League until it was dissolved in 1967. At that time its funds were divided between the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Social Services Association. Accordingly Suzanne's funds were augmented, as she had been a long-time member of the Institute.

Soon her work snowballed and she had 12 tutors, without whom she could not have continued. But all her students assumed that she was carrying on all the work with them as she was not allowed to tell them that she had some splendid helpers.

Suzanne was almost compulsive about keeping meticulous records of the money she received. A friend helped her with the books and a chartered accountant donated his expertise in drafing financial statements which she mailed to those who contributed.

Asked by friends about the value of her work or by critics of her correspondence school, she often responded in this way:

> It is of very great value. . . . In the first place the prisoners realize that there are people outside who care. Secondly, in prison every decision is made *for* the prisoners. Their study enables them to make their own decisions as to whether they will study at all and then as to what work they will undertake. In the third

place the opportunity to make decisions is a valuable preparation for their return to the outside world where they will be entirely on their own.

To Suzanne Stephen, "the response of the men was most rewarding and their enthusiasm inspiring." Furthermore, she insisted that "If they did not have an honest desire for rehabilitation, they would not bother with their studies." She was unsentimental about this mission, asserting that "People should be educated as a right and not because they are 'poor dears' or to make them more useful."

At the age of 75 she claimed humorously that she had become "a prison pin-up girl," as a warden had posted an article and picture of her in a rehabilitation center. She was pleased, thinking how much it must have meant to those men to see this account of their teacher.

Asked what she knew about her pupils, she asserted:

> I do not know what they are in prison for and I don't pry. I never ask questions. But often they come and see me when they are discharged.

Typical of such visits was the time when a tall, shabbily but cleanly dressed ex-convict knocked at her door and told her that he had been sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence had later been commuted to 12 years and for good conduct he had been sent to a rehabilitation center where he began to study. Later he brought his wife to meet Suzanne Stephen. Such situations caused her to comment:

> I feel these men are arguments against the death penalty. He had been given a chance and he had made good. I am against the death sentence and to me he is proof that I am right. Today he has a very good job as a chef and is doing well.

To her this work was highly rewarding, enabling her to do something worthwhile with her life. She kept a sheaf of letters from prisoners and even from wardens expressing their appreciation for her efforts. Here are excerpts from two such testimonials:

> You bring light into my life. The light you bring drives away the dark that is on me so long. The study is giving me a good mind so now I do not think about my long sentence.
>
> My friend . . . has been discharged and we have lost a man with a sympathetic heart.

Despite her total involvement in this form of rehabilitation, she could maintain a balanced point of view about prisoners, saying:

> Look! They broke the law and they must pay for it. But I am sometimes abashed when I see their work. Heavens! I can't speak

a word of their language and here they are learning arithmetic in mine—and mastering it!

Often prisoners develop "gate fever"—a dread of having to face up to life outside their Rip Van Winkle existence. Suzanne's courses frequently stimulated them mentally and helped them to meet this situation calmly and courageously.

The correspondence course was not all Suzanne managed to do. Somehow she squeezed enough social work of other kinds into her life to make people half her age buckle at the knees. For example, she was active in Quaker Service and gave one or two mornings a week to finding positions for unemployed nurses, persuading whites that they could rely on blacks to work in their homes, helping to remove the prejudice against them. Often she pointed out that blacks had to pass the same qualifying exams as whites for nursing.

She was also a founder-member of the Black Sash, the women's movement in the Transvaal which was organized in 1955 when the colored people were removed from the voters' roll by a devious amendment of the Constitution of South Africa. To some 1500 members of that political protest movement the Black Sash represented a sign of mourning for the death of the Constitution of South Africa and was worn over the shoulder and across the body.

That courageous group of white women were deeply involved in protests against a large number of restraints placed upon blacks and coloreds by the apartheid legislation, such as the Pass Laws (requiring people to carry identification papers at all times), the resettlement programs or the uprooting of people, the so-called "homelands" which were being established, the de-nationalization of South African citizens, the Group Areas Act, and the security legislation—especially the detention of persons without trials and for indefinite periods of time.

The methods the members of the Black Sash movement have used have been numerous and varied. Sometimes they have arranged for articles in newspapers. Often they have written letters to officials in the government or arranged for sympathetic members of Parliament to pose questions of Ministers in the government on specific topics or cases. At other times they have taken part in a variety of lobbying activities. Frequently they have given people help in obtaining free legal advice. And often these women have held silent, public protests, usually with placards and wearing their black sashes. For several years, five to ten women were allowed to gather at one time but more recently such protests have been limited to one individual.

The Black Sash was an unpopular group, but that did not matter to Suzanne Stephen. To her it was an important public testimony to her beliefs and that was all that mattered. So she

took part in those silent demonstrations whenever she could. Only disablement or illness could keep her from such public protests. Even in the grimmest of weather, she would stand patiently, often carrying a placard indicating what she and her friends were opposed to.

Sometimes passers-by would make unfavorable comments and Suzanne would get into conversations with them and try to persuade them to think differently on a given issue.

She was also a fervent street collector for various good causes, often stationing herself in front of the General Post Office or the prominent Rand Club as the "best pitches."

Suzanne Stephen was also a staunch member of the local branch of the Liberal Party until it was dissolved in 1968 when the government forbad anyone to belong to a racially mixed party. Before its dissolution, it had only 2500 or so members but they included such well-known liberals as Alan Paton, Laurens van der Post, and Nadine Gordimer.

Suzanne was always a liberal in spirit, fully convinced of the value of universal suffrage and a more peaceful, just, and humane society. She was the stuff of which suffragettes are made and would have been a martyr if that was necessary in any cause in which she believed.

Later in her life, some of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) University students protested against discriminatory measures and called for reforms, much as students did in other parts of the world. Asked about her feelings on their actions, she identified with them despite the 60 years' difference in their ages. "I have two grandsons at the university and I am greatly in favor of students lifting up their voices," she said. Then she added, "But there is a danger of things getting out of hand. As long as they keep the idea of freedom for all, as long as they realize the way to freedom is not to smash everything that has been built up . . . They must see the need to discipline themselves."

When people expressed surprise at her interest in contemporary affairs, she snapped, "Give your mind an age. If I had to write an epitaph for many people, it would be, 'Buried at 80, died at 50!' " Continuing on this theme, she added, "I enjoy life. I think that to get up in the morning, to have plenty of hot water for a bath, and a nice room is plenty to be thankful for." And that was when she was living in one small room in an old-age home!

Once when the writer asked her, "How are you, Suzanne?" she replied, "Quite well, thank you. Still interested in the opposite sex." And she sipped her glass of sherry with relish.

Obvious she was fiercely independent. At the age of 76 she had been living with a daughter for several years just outside Johannesburg. But she realized that she needed to live somewhere

central to her work and that her daughter needed her room. So she moved to the Gerald Fitzpatrick House in "J-burg." There, at the top of the stairs she had a small room which resembled a student's study at exam time. To visitors she often apologized for the books and papers under the table and on the bed, explaining that she didn't clear up until she had finished working. If it was tea-time, she would sit down on one side of the table which was her desk and her dining space, pushing some papers into a folder and leaving an incomplete report in the typewriter. Then she would prepare tea in an electric kettle and serve Kupugani biscuits, with its high protein content, made by the Nutrition Corporation of South Africa for Africans (Kupugani meaning self-help).

Ready to listen intently, she would lean forward with her elbows on the table and her chin in her hands. Her eyes would sparkle, almost crackle—her face lined with the wisdom of the ages and the experiences of a lifetime.

To a reporter who apologized for staying too long, she brushed aside the protest by saying, "The moment I lose my interest in people, you can bury me."

At 80, her sole complaint was that there were only 24 hours in a day and you couldn't work all of them. "I smile," she said, "when people talk about a 48-hour week. What I want is a 48-hour *day* as my job swallows all my time and quite a lot I haven't got."

Noticing a book on yoga among the many volumes in her small room, this writer commented about it and her reply was, "Oh yes, I do my daily exercises and can still touch my toes without bending my knees."

As one of her daughters pointed out, Suzanne hated to be described as a pathetic pensioner struggling to keep the school going by using her own pension money for stamps—which her family and friends were certain she did.

Asked in her later years about the changes she would make in her life, if that were possible, she replied:

> That is a most difficult thing to say for I cannot remember a time when I did not want to be a nurse. Owing to various conditions, however, teaching came my way and I enjoyed it. No, in the main, I think things come one's way. I do not mean that my life has been easy; it certainly has not been. But life is a challenge and I have enjoyed it.

As a reader, perhaps you have wondered how Suzanne Stephen became a Quaker. Commenting one time on that, she asserted that she was an atheist for a long time. Then she became a pacifist, and the simplicity of the Quaker way of life appealed to her. Parenthetically, she referred to the first time she read *Uncle Tom's*

Cabin—and wept. She recalled, also, that it was the Quakers who helped the slaves.

When she moved to Durban in 1939, she met members of the Religious Society of Friends and eventually became a member. In her words she was no longer an atheist because "The amount of good in all human beings presupposes a source from which that good derives." She continued by saying, "I suppose that fundamentally I believe we are all God's children." She had also learned much from English Quakers, pacifists, and conscientious objectors to war. Asked about her feelings about war, she replied tersely but effectively, "It is a sin against man and God."

Returning in 1954 from England, Suzanne lived with her daughter, Hazel Pinnock. There she took an active part in that family and in furthering the education of her grandsons at the University.

She also attended the Johannesburg Friends Meeting regularly and occasionally took part in it vocally. Often her ministry took the form of a prayer early in the gathered worship, giving it direction and a sense of corporate unity.

Frequently she quoted from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. For instance, a favorite quotation was, "Lord, unto whom all hearts are open and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit." Or "Prevent (go before) us, O Lord, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favor, and further us with Thy continual help; that in all our works—begun, continued, and ended in Thee—we may glorify Thy Holy Name."

When there were crises in the national life which caused or indicated suffering among the underprivileged, she would speak in the Meeting for Worship or in Monthly Meeting, expressing her concern. Often she kept Friends on their toes by her challenging outbursts in Monthly Meeting, sometimes incurring the displeasure of some with less courage than she had.

Occasionally, however, she would come to the writer, revealing that she had been rebuked and deeply hurt. She had been told, for example, "You do more harm than good." Surely no wise Elder of the Meeting would do this or anyone who remembered the words of Jesus, "Judge not that ye be not judged." She would never disclose who had chided or even condemned her. Probably it was someone who was excessively timid and fearful for himself or herself and others, lest Suzanne's words should incur the notice and the wrath of the Government. But the damage had been done and she was full of self-criticism and self-doubt, feeling that she was not accepted by Friends and was not approved by them.

On political matters one of her characteristic and oft-repeated comments in conversation was, "If it weren't a crying shame and

a scandal, it would be a mirth-provoking farce." Her eyes would flash as she made that statement or similar ones. She was what the Scots call "a bonny fighter," a champion of the weak and an ardent campaigner for justice for everyone.

Of course her membership in the Religious Society of Friends made her automatically a member of the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, consisting of seven Meetings in South Africa and four in other parts of the southern tip of that continent, with a total membership of 191, plus 40 Young Friends. She did not play an active part in that larger group, but she did occasionally attend its sessions.

In reality, then, she was dearly loved by many people. Friends in Johannesburg and in the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting needed her piercing clarity of vision and her awareness of the evils of society which some accept too readily or forget too easily.

Some of the affection for her was symbolized on the eve of June 30, 1970, her eighty-second birthday, when three dozen friends, past and present colleagues, and members of the Transvaal Monthly Meeting met to convey their affectionate salutations. Presents, cakes, candles, and a multi-racial tea—all these, combined with much talk and eager conversation, made the occasion a memorable one. "Rarely," said Suzanne, "do I fail to find words, but today I cannot find them."

Despite the regard of many for her, she forfeited the trust and affection of some of her nearest and dearest who could not find unity with what she believed, said, and did, and were not prepared to share the risks she ran in opposing the powers-that-be in such an open and outspoken manner. One relative, for example, was told by supporters of the government that unless he kept her in check, he would be in trouble. Consequently he began to fear for his job.

Of course she was completely color-blind and would have loved to have had her friends visit her at home, but it was not her house and she could not do so.

In 1972 a friend who knew and loved her wrote:

> She is 84 years old, frail and slender, living on a tiny pension. She has a wonderful story to tell, full of courage, humor, and wisdom. She has done more than anyone I know for improved race relations, not only between blacks and other blacks, but between whites and other whites. She is a Quaker but she understands and interprets the faiths of others.

Commenting on her work for prisoners, that writer continued:

> She sits, hour after hour, in her tiny room in an old-age home, preparing assignments for her students, marking homework, and wrapping the bulky packages for the mail. She is so brave; she

has endured calumny for holding unpopular opinions; family tragedies and serious illness have beset her. Yet nothing deflects her from her purpose—her indomitable will to serve with *love* those who suffer. She has *faith* that the money will come from somewhere and the *hope* that one day things will be better for the poor, the distressed, and the down-trodden. But her attitude to her prison pupils is by no means starry-eyed or sentimental.

The writer then continued by saying:

> Her heroism is not only in what she does but in what she is—a charming person, elegant still in clothes she has had for many years—witty—an entertaining guest at dinner, able to talk well about most things—no prickles of disapproval and no 'holier-than-thou' attitude—and, all the time, on and on, doing a task which, so far as I know, nobody else in South Africa attempts.

Having referred above to a serious illness, perhaps it is important to be specific and to explain one of the most amazing facts of her life. That illness was no mere bronchitis or kidney infection; it was cancer of the breast which was discovered shortly after she moved to Johannesburg. The remarkable fact is that this did not deter her. Far from it! It was only after that discovery that she achieved her greatest service—her most creative work—the teaching of the prisoners.

Suzanne went into the hospital for the last time in October, 1972. Her volunteers carried on as best they could, but it was only she who had permission to work with the prisoners and so the correspondence school soon ceased to function.

In 1971 the Commissioner of Prisons had told her that the Department intended soon to take over that work and one assumes that has happened. It is to her lasting credit that she had pointed out the need and had stimulated the government officials to put that work on a formal basis. That work is her memorial—a memorial to a gallant, selfless innovator.

On November 7, 1972 she died at the age of 84.

In November 9 the *Johannesburg Star* said of her:

> Last year, octogenarian Mrs. Suzanne Stephen . . . quoted Winifred Holtby's lines;
>
> 'Give me work till my life is over,
> And life till my work is done.'
>
> When she died peacefully on Tuesday evening, her work had indeed been well and truly done in a dedicated, selfless fashion. The work was giving hundreds of non-European long-term, male prisoners, in jails all over the country, formal education by correspondence. In her hospital bed this week Mrs. Stephen lay wan and muted, her eyes closed, her thin hands idle on the coverlet. A

nurse took me to her side and gently made my presence known. Mrs. Stephen opened her eyes and smiled, but speech was a gasp away.

The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote on the 11th of November:

> A light went out for black scholars in South Africa's jails when an 84-year-old pensioner died in Johannesburg this week.

The *Race Relations News* called her "this modern South African Elizabeth Fry." Perhaps that was journalistic exaggeration but surely the same spirit had motivated both women.

Surely Suzanne Stephen was one of the modern Prophets of Israel with their "Thus saith the Lord." Surely, too, she was a Quaker pioneer of the 20th century, carrying out George Fox's admonition to "Walk in the Light."

WILL WARREN

An Instrument of Peace

JOHN LAMPEN

One night in the early years of World War I, a little boy of ten woke in the night and, without knowing why, go out of bed and ran to his mother's room. A minute or two later the house shook with an explosion. A bomb had fallen on the house, cutting it in half, destroying his bedroom with all his toys and other treasures. That incident, impossible to explain in "human" terms, was the prelude to a life spent in protest against war and violence. Will Warren was courageous in confronting a wide variety of such situations and remarkably indifferent to his own safety, comfort, and material conditions.

That war cast shadows over the life of his family. Shopping with him one day, his mother was asked to sign a petition asking for air-raid warnings to be given. Reading it, she saw that it also called for reprisal raids on German cities. Therefore she said she could not sign it. For that action she was called "German" and chased with the little boy down the road. Not long afterwards the Warrens were told to leave the non-conformist chapel where they had always worshipped, because "There's no room for pacifists here!" When conscription was introduced in Britain in 1916, Will's father was called up and faced the possibility of prison as he knew he would not fight. However, his work as an analytical chemist was so important that he was told to continue it.

One day the Warrens saw an advertisement in the local newspaper for a meeting organized by the Religious Society of Friends, to protest the war. Attendance at that meeting eventually led them to join the Society. One consequence was that Will went to a Quaker boarding school. But he neither enjoyed it nor did well there. "I was unhappy, lonely, and reserved," he said later, characteristically adding that "I believed that Christianity was something to be lived rather than to be sung about." He was then apprenticed as a compositor, an unlucky choice, given his poor eyesight.

After World War I a vigorous "No More War" movement arose and Will joined the Youth Section. Travelling frequently to camps and conferences, he sometimes spoke and soon overcame his shyness. It was also in that movement that he met his future wife, Nellie, who was a member. But it was not until the mid-1930s that they were married. Of those years as a young man he wrote:

> I had long periods of ill health (physical and mental), of unemployment, and of earning my living in a wide variety of

occupations—as a day laborer digging trenches, as a carpenter's laborer, as an errand boy, as a night watchman, and so on.

In 1929, as the Depression deepened, Will, then age 23, was still working as a printer's proofreader. But an optician told him that to preserve his eyesight he must give up that occupation. At that time he saw an announcement in the Quaker journal, *The Friend*, asking for helpers in a project in the Rhondda valley in South Wales, a coal-mining district where thousands of men were unemployed.

British Quakers had first become concerned for the suffering there when the miners' hopes for better wages, working conditions, and job security were crushed in the collapse of the General Strike of 1926. The immediate need was for "material help and loving sympathy." Consequently Friends sent clothing and other materials to local distress committees and helped to set up repair workshops for the boots of schoolchildren. During 1926-1927, 82,000 pairs of shoes were repaired in those shops, an indication of the dire need.

But the Friends who had gone to live there withdrew from the relief work. Instead, they decided to establish a Social and Educational Center. It was to be a place for friendship, counselling, and self-development, based not on charity but on the principle of encouraging people to help themselves. Maes-yr-haf was opened in 1927 and for the next 20 years two Quakers, William and Emma Noble, worked as its wardens.

Clubs were developed for unemployed men and boys, and later for women and girls. Often the members built their own premises with materials provided by the Society of Friends. In those clubs there was a wide range of activities, some of them unknown previously in that area—such as table tennis, folk dancing, and hill-walking for pleasure. In addition, there were lectures and study groups, sometimes conducted by visiting speakers and young university graduates.

In those organizations many local people discovered and developed their powers as organizers and leaders by arranging their own programs.

Those groups also afforded opportunities for the local people to discover their welfare rights, to fight local maladministration, and to negotiate with the local mine-owners to be allowed to mine abandoned coal-seams for their domestic use. When unemployment benefit was introduced, no one could qualify unless he could prove he had worked during the previous six months. So the Quaker team arranged for the men to work one day a week for the Council, improving the amenities in the area and also qualifying for the new benefits.

Many older Friends, raised in the tradition of philanthropy

rather than radical change, had their doubts about the Maes-yr-haf experiment and the slightly later and better-known one at Brynmawr. But those projects gave the younger generation of Quakers an opportunity to put their idealism into practice. Their philosophy, formed in large part by World War I and its aftermath, included concern for the rights of working people, social equality, and women's emancipation. Such projects, therefore, gave them an outlet for their beliefs.

After working in the club for 18 months, Will Warren spent three years at a farm training school for delinquent boys. But he then returned to South Wales to work with a voluntary building scheme and again with a club. He was most happily involved in one of the early camps of the International Voluntary Service. In that project volunteers turned an old coal dump into an attractive park and employed ex-miners for one day a week as before.

In that period of his life, Will Warren worked for a time at a "children's house" in London. In 1934 he was able to develop a scheme for destitute children in Cardiff, Wales. However, it did not attract sufficient funds and was closed after a year and a half.

The importance of those years for him was that they balanced his previous peace campaigning with the demands of intensive practical work for a better world.

His Marriage and Work During the Spanish Civil War

In 1936, Will and Nellie were married. That year the Spanish Civil War broke out and Will felt that he ought to respond in a practical way. So the next summer he and a friend toured the English coast in a lorry, asking people to give tins of milk for children caught in the war. By autumn he was in the Pyrenees, helping in a camp for refugee children which was organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

His Protests Against H-Bombs

It was in the 1950s that Will's pacifism attracted public attention. Hearing about Henry Steele's attempt to enter the H-bomb testing area near Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean, Will decided he must do something to protest the bombs being developed in Britain. So he joined the first of the famous marches to the air-base at Aldermaston and was among those who camped at the base all summer. That group 'invaded" it in September and sat down inside. They demanded and obtained permission to see the Commanding Officer.

In 1957 the suspicion grew that the Royal Air Force was secretly constructing launching pads for Thor rockets armed with H-bombs. Questions were asked in Parliament and the answers were evasive. At that point some concerned people formed a

"direct action" committee, prepared to break the law if necessary, but determined to demonstrate beyond doubt that the sites existed. Will was a member of that group. It also led to the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (which keeps within the law).

In accordance with the principles of non-violent direct action which Gandhi had used, the committee informed the authorities that they intended to "penetrate peacefully" into a secret base which was being prepared for rockets. Police, airmen, and laborers were waiting as the 150 protesters got over the barbed wire fences. According to a newspaper report in the *Sunday Dispatch* in London for July 12, 1958, written by Anthony Hunter:

> An R.A.F. flight lieutenant marched up to the leaders. "You are trespassing on R.A.F. property," he said. "Please leave at once." The demonstrators marched on towards the big concrete mixer which was their objective. Suddenly a powerful jet of water from the fire tender sprayed the procession. Ducking under mackintoshes, they struggled on. Groups of them threw themselves in front of the lorries which were taking concrete from the 60 foot high mixer to the rocket launching bases. The drivers tried to push away the demonstrators. Then detectives and police marched up. The detectives seized Will Warren, a 52-year-old demonstrator, and the field organizer, Miss Pat Arrowsmith, and began to lead them away. Then the riot began.
>
> Workmen, police, and R.A.F. men tried to pull the demonstrators away from the front of the lorries. There was a struggling mass of legs and arms in mud and concrete six inches deep. Police went over in the mud. Women screamed as they were dragged out by the hair. . . . Everyone, including the security forces, was soaked in mud and cement.*

Astonished readers of the next morning's newspaper learned beyond doubt that the British government, despite its evasions, was building rocket sites. They also saw a photograph of Will Warren being dragged away by the arms by two police officers, his legs trailing him in the mud. Will's sentence was two weeks in prison. A friend gives a glimpse of him at that time:

> A police officer strode up, speaking as if to the drunk and disorderly. And suddenly Will Warren turned his head, smiled, and spoke to him, and the relationship was transformed. Thereafter, although individual policemen might forget themselves, it was tacitly understood that this protest was a serious statement made with clear notice to the authorities of what was planned. Will

*Despite the press reports, Will said that the workmen refused to take part in the fracas.

was always for openness with the police, seeing them as people rather than obstacles. . . .

God bless him, Will found it easier to cope with "enemies" at a non-violent protest than with colleagues in the day-to-day running of a civil disobedience campaign. Perhaps, though, there's nothing particularly strange in that. Men of special vision are often every bit as human and even purblind as the rest of us when it comes down to the mundane. But the Lord be praised for the flash of spirit they shine out sometimes on a world aching for people to rise up and say, "No, not in our name."

The group spent Christmas in prison and the flood of mail from friends and supporters was so great that the officer in charge of censorship gave up and handed them their mail to sort. In the prison they held Meetings for Worship with an officer sitting among them. On their release the protests continued; Will was imprisoned a further five times for similar activities at various Atomic Weapons sites.

His Work with Oxfam

Then he turned again from protest to practical peace-building activities, working as a Regional Organizer for Oxfam—the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. That group, formed in the 1950s by many people, including Quakers, had become the best-known relief agency in Britain. It not only supported work in emergencies but sponsored a wide range of projects in economically poor parts of the world aimed at eradicating the causes of starvation. One of its mottoes was "Help Oxfam *stop* feeding hungry children." Will's work included alerting people to the great needs in the Third World and coordinating the fund-raising efforts of local groups.

His work with Oxfam was followed by his return for a brief period, from 1969 until 1971, to his earlier profession as a printer's reader. Then came his retirement at the age of 65.

His Efforts for Peace in Northern Ireland

As his retirement approached, he became convinced that God was calling him to go to Northern Ireland where the situation was becoming increasingly violent. He wrote to Denis Barritt, a Friend who was the Irish secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and prepared to cross to Ireland in July for an F.O.R. workcamp in Londonderry, followed by a visit to survey the situation in Belfast.

The story of Northern Ireland and the conflicts there in recent times is a highly complex one but some background is probably necessary here to understand his part in trying to bring peace to that area.

In 1921 Ireland, except for the six northeastern counties, was

granted an independent government. The exception was made because the majority of people in those counties (conveniently but inaccurately called Ulster) who were Protestants, organized and armed a force of 100,000 men to rebel if they were made part of a self-governing Ireland. Those people, known as Unionists or Loyalists, claimed that they had an overriding allegiance to the British Crown.

But one must suspect other motives. The Unionist community was composed of a small, wealthy, and aristocratic group who owned most of the land and industry, and were strongly linked to the Conservative establishment in England, and also many working class people; they were descendants of the Scotsmen who had settled in Ulster in the early 17th century. Many of them lived in extremely poor conditions.

Most of the Roman Catholics in that region lived in similar poverty, even though the industrialized city of Belfast was the most productive part of the whole island. Despite times of tension and violence in the past, those two communities had lived alongside each other in comparative harmony.

In most parts of the six counties in the north, Protestants outnumber Catholics two to one. The attachment of most Protestants to England was supported by their belief that their economic interests would be fostered best by such a political arrangement, and by their mistrust of the Roman Catholic church and its power in the new government of Ireland. Furthermore, many Protestants had left the South after it had been granted independence and their numbers there continued to decline. Protestants pointed to that fact as an argument that they were not welcome in the South.

When the partition was made, the British government delegated almost all its powers to a parliament in Northern Ireland which had a permanent Unionist majority; the first prime minister there said, "A Protestant parliament for a Protestant people." That approach should not be interpreted, however, as anti-Catholic in nature. Rather, the impression was created that the Catholics had "their" government in the South and the Protestants had "theirs" in the North.

In the early period of separation, the Roman Catholics tended not to enter the government services in the North, such as the police, because they felt cheated by not being included in the newly formed "free state" of Ireland. Later, when they realized it might be better for them to take part, the doors had been closed against them.

From time to time there were efforts to build a coalition of working people among both Catholics and Protestants. But the Protestants were persuaded that they had more in common with the wealthy Protestant upper class than with the Catholic poor.

And the Protestant poor were given marginal advantages to encourage them to stick with their fellow-religionists.

In order to retain Protestant domination in the Town Councils in areas which were predominately Catholic, officials resorted to the gerrymandering of districts, and other tactics. Such discriminatory measures sometimes brought inter-community rioting and a continuing feeling of mutual suspicion and bigotry.

In the 1960s, a new factor appeared when many young Catholics entered university as a result of the extension of free education. Adopting many of the strategies of Martin Luther King, Jr., they formed the core of a Civil Rights Association. That movement was not limited to Catholics; many Protestants joined it. Together they campaigned for "one man, one vote" in district elections, for the fair allocation of housing, and for the repeal of the Special Powers Act—a measure used by the Unionist police to suppress the nationalist movement for a United Ireland. Although that movement is seen now generally as a non-sectarian, non-violent cause to right genuine grievances, many people at its inception felt it was a Catholic effort to subvert the Northern state.

The present "troubles" may be said to have started in October, 1968, in Londonderry, when civil rights marchers refused to accept a rerouting order and were attacked violently by the police. Further clashes ensued. Catholics in Belfast took to the streets in order to draw the pressure from those in Londonderry. They were met by Protestant mobs who set fire to many Catholic homes. The situation became so serious that the British army was called in on August 14, 1969. The Roman Catholics welcomed the army as protectors.

Up to that time the story had been primarily one of Catholic protest against discrimination and Unionist intransigence. Now, however, there were positive moves by the Unionists. Within a year all the demands of the civil rights movement had been met except for the repeal of the Special Powers Act. Other measures were also taken to right past wrongs. For example, the police force was largely disarmed and reorganized; the Londonderry Corporation (the most blatant case of unrepresentative local government) had been replaced by a government-appointed commission; and a new Northern Ireland prime minister, with a positive commitment to change, had been elected.

If those and other changes had been made in the 1960s, it is probable that the present "troubles" would never have occurred. But it was then too late. Interlinked developments helped to carry the situation past the point of no return.

At that point the once-active Irish Republican Army or I.R.A. reemerged, pledged to the unification of Ireland and opposed to the main political parties of the South and to the Unionist domi-

nance in the North. But there were disagreements in the I.R.A. and a split ensued, resulting in the appearance of the Provisional I.R.A., dedicated to violent exploitation of the current situation and to driving the British presence out of Ireland.

Once the army realized that a terrorist movement existed within the Catholic community, their reaction rapidly alienated that community altogether. Two disastrous consequences developed. The first was the creation of Loyalist paramilitary groups to counter the I.R.A.s. One of those groups, the Ulster Defense Association, had so many members that the government has not dared to ban it. The second was that the appearance of the I.R.A. lent color to Protestant fears that the protests had been arranged from the beginning by a small and unprincipled group determined to overthrow the Northern state. The new prime minister convinced the British government that the police knew the names of the terrorists and if they were arrested and interned without trial, the troubles would end, since "ordinary Catholics" only wanted peace. The British government agreed, but the result was an explosion of Catholic anger after the arrests were made in August, 1971.

That event took place in the middle of Will Warren's first visit to Ireland. He was fully aware of the extremely complicated nature of that situation. His comment about his part was, "I want to listen to people on both sides and maybe, one day, to help them to listen to one another." As a Quaker he was particularly perturbed by the fact that every party in the dispute hoped to "improve" the situation by using violence, even though some of them made statements condemning it.

After the workcamp in Londonderry, he arrived in Belfast during the convulsions caused by the internments without trials. The people who lived in working-class areas dominated by the other community were being burned in their homes. So the South Belfast Friends Meeting, along with other church groups, opened its doors as a refuge for people with nowhere to go.

Will threw himself into helping those people with so much energy, considering his age, that Quakers wondered how long his health would last if he were to go to Northern Ireland. But he had already decided to complete his last months with the firm of printers and then to move to Londonderry. Of that decision he told me, "The Holy Spirit doesn't give you much briefing. I only know I have been sent to listen. . . ." Denis Barritt recalls that Will was already considering the possibility of "a peace army" which would monitor any cease-fires which might be arranged.

People in Northern Ireland are sceptical about visitors who come with new plans to end the conflicts there, only to disappear soon, publishing the results of their experiences there. But the local people discovered that Will Warren was different.

Former members of the I.R.A. have told me how puzzled they were to see an elderly Englishman, with tousled grey hair, thick-lensed glasses, and a knapsack, wandering about the Bogside. The authorities were trying to gain information about the I.R.A. and some Catholics had been shot by the paramilitaries as informers. It was even rumored that the army had sent spies into the area. One could hardly imagine anyone less like the legendary James Bond than Will Warren. But could this be put down to the army's incompetence—or their cunning?

Gaining trust is seldom a quick business, even in a normal situation. Will recalled in a report to the I.F.O.R. (not published until September, 1979):

> When I first occupied a house in the strongly Republican area of the Brandywell, small children saw me move in. Within an hour many had come to see what I was up to. In fact, some helped me move in. They came in whenever they wanted, often straight from school, staying till I turned them out when I wanted to go to bed. Frequently they cooked meals for me. Many times they were engaged in running fights with the British army and rushed in the house when attacked with CS gas. On one occasion they were more than usually gas-ridden, so I packed 17 of them into my mini (designed to hold four) and drove them over the border, a couple of miles away, so they could get some fresh air. This delighted them and gave rise to a custom whereby I took loads of them out when I was not too busy. . . . The parents got to know me and the paramilitaries decided I was not too bad if I cared for their children.

At that time throwing stones at the soldiers and pestering them in other ways was a daily occurrence (except, as Will noted, when it rained). The boys said they were considered sissies if they didn't do that, even though the soldiers sometimes responded with CS gas and rubber bullets. But in the low-lying Bogside the acrid gas drifted about for days, particularly tormenting the elderly and babies. Will's first experience of it was a shock and he wrote to Nellie:

> What worries me is my emotional reaction. For the first time I was overcome with hatred that such a weapon should be used against people, many of whom had nothing to do with the troubles. I soon overcame this but it is physically impossible to remain what I mean by non-violent under such an attack. An answer must be found, but it is eluding me at present.

Before he went to Ireland he had said of non-violence: "To walk to meet an aggressor and then to challenge him quietly with non-violent action, forces him to reconsider what he is doing." It was that ideal which was stopped by the convulsive effects of the

gas. But what upset him was to lose the inner peace which makes such action possible. In other riot situations he would walk out between the rioters and the police or army, his hands well away from his pockets so that no one would think he was armed. That sometimes caused the troops to hold their fire for fear of hurting him, and the children who knew him would drop out of the riot.

One day, Will returned to find his house surrounded by the police and soldiers, while others were searching through his belongings. He was arrested and taken off for hours of questioning before being told that a soldier had been shot at and killed from a window in the house. Willingly he answered all their personal questions, but he refused to discuss the local people and events. When he was finally released, he was met at home by people whom he knew to be associated with the I.R.A. To his surprise, they seemed to know not only what he had been asked, but also what he had said in answer, and when he had refused to reply. From that incident he dated the beginning of their trust in him.

But to do the tasks which were beginning to take shape in his mind after his first hopes of a cease-fire and a "peace army" faded, he needed to be trusted by others, too—the church leaders, the politicians and community workers, the police, and the Loyalists. We do not know exactly how he achieved this but we do know that it was slow, patient, and often frustrating work. A U.D.A. (Protestant paramilitary commander) told me recently, "I didn't look on Will so much as a peacemaker; I looked on him as a personal friend who loaned me his van to get away on a holiday." The Roman Catholic bishop of Derry wrote:

> He often called on me, as he said himself, to seek my advice. However, Will usually received far less than he gave. Whatever the value of my advice to him, I found his advice very useful. He had an excellent judgment and a remarkable insight into the complexities of our situation. He could never have been identified with any particular element in the conflict here. He was accepted by everyone as an honest and upright individual, full of concern and compassion for anyone who was suffering.

He gained the confidence of the Chief Superintendent of Police to the extent that he was allowed to visit anyone who had been arrested, without a police officer present, so that he could reassure the family. And he was trusted not to abuse this by carrying messages. On one occasion a man said to him, "Don't go up that road, Will. A bomb's just been planted." Will was in considerable difficulty. He had never betrayed a confidence. But this time his silence could cost an army patrol's life. Fortunately, while he was trying to decide what to do, the bomb exploded harmlessly. He heard that the man later had been reprimanded by an I.R.A.

leader, but not for the risk of detection: "Don't you understand why Will Warren is here? He must never be put in a position of having to decide between keeping a secret and saving a life."

But there were setbacks. One of the most severe occurred only a few months after his arrival when the British troops fired into a crowd now believed to have been unarmed. Thirteen people were killed, most of them young. Yet time and again in the blackest tragedies, the people most affected pleaded for no retaliation. Will made a point of visiting the relatives of those killed, giving support and often establishing friendships which lasted many years.

People who were being intimidated by paramilitaries (either for their work for peace or because one of the family had been suspected of informing) called on him for help. He would talk to neighbors to arrange some support, or sit in the house to answer the telephone so that the children would not lift it and hear a gruesome threat. But his Notes on Intimidation for Discussion made the point that army and police, as well as paramilitaries, could be guilty of intimidation. As his reputation for honesty and trustworthiness grew, he felt he could afford to challenge the paramilitaries when they brought suffering on the innocent.

In a talk to the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1977, he gave his answer to those who might disapprove of a peacemaker's cultivating friendships with men of violence, saying:

> That I was sometimes successful is an indication that the paramilitaries are honest when they declare that they only adopt violence as a last resort. The tragedy is that all too often no other resort is offered them. Once people think of them as "terrorists" and cut off communication with them, the gunmen lost touch with the ordinary man and in so doing find their choice of action limited. I'm certain that it was only because I treated them as friends that I had any influence on them. Obviously the converse is also true. They had an influence on me to the extent that they treated me as a friend. This is how reconciliation works.

But sometimes he answered the same disapproval in blunter terms. To a lady who criticized his friendships with "men of blood," he answered that he considered her son (who was an army officer) to be "a man of blood," too.

Will had hoped from the start that he might be able to bring the warring factions together. But he found that whenever one group was prepared to talk, the other was not. However, he began to be trusted to carry messages between them. At first, those were often threats; and the answer was more threats. On such occasions he was able, after delivering the message faithfully, to suggest an alternative course of action. After a while he felt able to refuse to carry threats, but to suggest a different kind of message which

would have the desired response. On one occasion the Belfast U.D.A. telephoned him to say that they were coming to Londonderry to murder six Roman Catholics at random, in revenge for two of their members who had been killed, they thought, by the Derry I.R.A. Will was given two hours to find out if the rumor was true. He was able to ring back in time to say he had spoken with the I.R.A., who knew nothing about the killing. He was interested to note that each side trusted the word of the other on that occasion as well as on others.

In the period about which we are writing, Belfast had been suffering a spate of "sectarian" killings—members of one community killed at random by the other. Until the end of 1974 Londonderry was free of them, apart from a single incident. Will Warren gave an account of what followed in his talk to the I.F.O.R., saying:

> But then, one night two Protestants were taken away onto a hill and shot and killed. Everybody held their breath, thinking we were now going to be involved in sectarian murders. I was very concerned about this. First of all I went to the Protestant paramilitaries. I said to them, "Look, if you retaliate, there's not the slightest doubt that the Provisionals will retaliate, and you'll just get murder and murder and murder, as they have in Belfast. Will you consider talking to the Provisionals and seeing whether you can come to some sort of an agreement? They were rather taken aback that I should suggest this. But I was fortunate in having a personal friendship with these people. They said yes, if I wouldn't talk about it.
>
> I took a Provisional boy in my car over to the headquarters of the U.D.A. It was a very brave thing for this boy to do. We went into a room and we discussed the matter. Various things were thought out and discarded and it looked as if the whole operation was going to end in disaster. So I thought, well, I'm such a silly old fool that I can try one more silly thing to do. I said, "Look here. If I forget about my pacifism and if you forget about your Republicanism, and you forget about your Loyalism, let's see where we can go from there." They looked at me rather surprised.
>
> "Look," I said, "I'll agree to your murdering somebody if you will agree to the kind of murder that I'm going to offer you." They listened.
>
> I said, "If a Protestant murders a Catholic, then I will agree to a Protestant murdering a Protestant who murdered the Catholic. And if a Catholic murders a Protestant, then I will agree to a Catholic murdering a Catholic who murdered the Protestant. That way you'll get the pleasure you have of killing people and you will have no sectarian murder. Then I sat back and waited for the explosion—which didn't happen. They agreed. I went home, not too happy about having agreed to somebody's being

murdered.

Later I got them together again and said, "Look, that's fine; it's worked. . . . But instead of murdering somebody, why don't we just shoot them?" They said, "All right, we'll knee-cap them." Then I thought, okay, let's go a bit further, shall we? I said to them one day, "You must punish these people, that's clear. But let's find a new way of doing it." They said, "What's this, Will?" I said, "Well, let's dye their hands. Then everybody will know who's done something they shouldn't have done, and there's no harm done." They said, "That's fine, but there's no such dye." I said, "I know better. I know there's a dye like that." So I went along and got some and I gave it to them. I explained carefully how to use it, and they were so afraid of it that they diluted it too much and it didn't dye.

That's the stage we've got at present. People are still knee-capped and not dying. And I hope, God willing, to proceed with the other.

Shortly after those meetings, Roger Fiske wrote an article in the London *Times* for November 29, 1974, in which he said:

> The Provisional I.R.A. and the Protestant U.D.A. in Londonderry have agreed to a secret truce that neither side will engage again in sectarian murders. The agreement, almost unprecedented in Northern Ireland, was worked out after the Provisionals —who shot dead two Protestants just over the border in County Donegal earlier this month—sent an intermediary to a Loyalist politician who represents the city in the Ulster Assembly.
>
> No one is prepared publicly to disclose the name of the I.R.A. and U.D.A. intermediary, although it is believed he is an outsider and belongs to neither community in the city. The church authorities in Londonderry were certainly made aware of the agreement; and since the truce started, no sectarian shooting has occurred.

The lines of communication opened by Will at that time were of great help at other times of tension and are still in use today. "I believe," he used to say, "that there's something of God in everybody. That means, quite distinctly and clearly there's something of God in what the papers call a terrorist, there's something of God in the gunman, there's something of God in the paramilitary." Will set out to find it.

Will Warren as a Human Being—and His Faith

Earlier in his life, during a spell of depressive mental illness, a psychiatrist had prescribed "an atmosphere of crisis—one a day if possible." There is no doubt that his stay in Northern Ireland, filled with crises, was the happiest period in a life which had

known times of physical and emotional deprivation and bouts of depression which caused his family and friends great strain at times.

Will Warren was not in any conventional sense a saint. He could be awkward and abrupt. Many of his fellow Quakers found him "difficult." He was also extremely shy. My first impression was of his withdrawn and rather forbidding expression, until it was softened by a gentle and radiant smile. He was most at ease with the children whom he took out, first in his car, and later in a minibus donated to him by the Cabot Trust of Boston, Massachusetts. A young woman who had met him when she was seven, told me recently how fresh the impact of that encounter still was.

A friend observed that "Will Warren should be an encouragement to all of us. He is living proof that the Holy Spirit isn't choosy about who does Its work." Will himself said:

> Anyone less likely to be able to cope with the Northern Ireland situation would be hard to find. . . . I went with only one advantage—ignorance; and only one talent—the gift to accept hospitality from people. I exploited this gift to the full.

But such comments do not do justice to the preparation of the early years—the determination to test his pacifism in a difficult situation, the wish to work without the publicity of his anti-bomb protests, and the belief that reconciliation involves sharing the same language and the same tough life as the people one is seeking to reconcile.

Will's different homes in Londonderry (except for the last flat) were old and crumbling, poorly serviced, cold, and located in districts where street noises from the bars and prostitutes went on late into the night, interspersed at the worst times by nearby bomb explosions. Nor do those comments reach to the heart of Will's simple but deep philosophy of life. He said to the I.F.O.R.:

> I do believe—and I can't prove it—that there is a certain amount of violence in the world, and if violence is met by violence, then there is double the amount of violence in the world. And this is what's happening all over the world. But if you meet violence by doing nothing, then there's not more violence in the world, but the same amount. And if you accept the violence on yourself and answer violence by non-violence, answer hatred by love, then by that much the amount of violence in the world is lessened. I am quite convinced in my mind that if people were to do this consistently, we could eliminate violence in a generation.

A piece of paper which he carried in his pocket at all times, in case he should be killed, gave the reasons why he came to Ireland and pleaded that there should be no search for, nor punishment of, his killers.

What was the source of his strength? When my wife asked him about non-violence training courses, fashionable then as now, he replied, "The Quaker Meeting for Worship is the only effective training in non-violence that I have ever found." By this we took him to mean that one must search deeply inside oneself, not only to ferret out the fears and greeds which lead to conflict, but also to discover profound sources of peace, wisdom, and energy. At various times he held series of Meetings for Worship in his home, supported by a few local Friends and attenders and quite often by Friends from farther afield.

A small circle of people in Ireland and Britain were more deeply in his confidence; he asked them to review critically what he was doing and give him their reactions. Characteristically he used their visits to bring them into contact with local people who could benefit from this. Former members of the I.R.A. still talk to me of the impact of conversations with people like Adam Curle, the first Professor of Peace Studies in Britain, and Roger Wilson, who had worked under Dag Hammarskjold in the Congo (now Zaire).

But most of all he had Nellie—not only her unflagging belief in what he was doing, but also her penetrating intelligence about the situation and her shrewd assessment of people. For long periods of Will's six years in Northern Ireland, she left the Norfolk home and garden she loved, to live with him in the rough and ready homes which he found. Her slight deafness made the Derry accent particularly difficult for her to understand. Often she must have felt isolated when a particular problem kept Will on the go for days on end. But she was greatly loved in her own right and has received many invitations to return on a visit since Will's death. Well into her 70s, she wrote to me recently to say that she had been putting Will's papers in order for the day when it will be safe to write his biography without putting people in Londonderry at risk, and that she was just off to London to take part in a massive demonstration against nuclear weapons.

However great the loneliness and need for support, Will believed that ultimately one man on his own was enough. About that he told the I.F.O.R.:

> Fundamentally I believe that one person with God is stronger than the rest of the world put together. It can be put in another way: that one person's love is stronger than a million persons' hate. I believe that if God is on our side—if we are on God's side—we can't help but succeed.

The former Anglican bishop of Derry and Raphoe told me:

> My abiding memory of Will is of the night he came to see me very late. He was clearly upset and very tired. I discovered he

had been without sleep and real food for several days. In that period he had been attempting to find the whereabouts of a young man missing from home. Because of that person's involvement with an illegal organization, it was feared he had become another victim of the bullet. All the traditional methods of finding him failed. But Will found him.

In 1977 Will began to feel increasingly tired and ill. More than his health, he worried about whether his judgment might be declining, thus endangering the work and even the lives of his friends. He also went through a time of depression in the spring. "Clearly here I have achieved nothing, or not much," he wrote to me.

In the autumn he and Nellie accepted posts as wardens at the Quaker Meeting House at Waterford in the Irish Republic, trying to mitigate the pain of leaving the country. A letter of goodbye and thanks went out to over 300 people who had helped, or supported, or known him in Londonderry. With his usual flair for the unexpected, he expressed gratitude to "a few organizations that were more than usually helpful," starting with the Provisional I.R.A. and the U.D.A., and ending with the police and the Society of Friends! He never went back to the city.

His Trip to South Africa and His Last Months

He left Waterford a year later to go home to Norfolk. Before the journey, he experienced a sharp attack of illness which he set down to grief at leaving Ireland. But a few weeks later his doctor told him he had had a heart attack, must avoid all physical and mental effort, and above all cancel a visit to South Africa which the International Fellowship of Reconciliation was planning for him. On that visit he hoped to meet and encourage people who were opposing apartheid non-violently. In a letter he wrote:

> So what? Nellie and I talked it over. I phoned the I.F.O.R. about it, and discussed the matter with Friends House. We are all agreed I should go to Africa. We all think I shall be better doing something than lying in bed in Norfolk thinking how ill I am. Also the climate might do me some good. So I fly next Monday. . . .

At the time of Will's visit to South Africa, Rob Robertson, the minister of a multi-racial congregation in Johannesberg, was becoming increasingly concerned at the expulsion of Indians from their family homes in his parish, under the notorious Group Areas Act. Rob and Will discussed the possibilities of direct action. Soon there were front-page photos in the newspapers of an Indian family camping on the pavement in front of their demolished home, refusing to move, and a "white" minister camping with them. The

resultant publicity led to 100 letters from lawyers offering their services free of charge to fight any further evictions in the courts. Consequently removals from that area slowed to a trickle.

Will had a second heart attack in South Africa, which put him into the hospital. Of that situation he commented, "A good thing on the whole, because it brought me into contact with Afrikaners (the dominant group of white South Africans) whom I would otherwise not have met." Nevertheless, his illness ended his travels and cut short his visit. He returned home in early 1979. That was a time when a racist organization called the National Front was making a determined effort to influence British politics. In August, Will wrote:

> Still under the doctors, but hopefully getting better. I have started to take an interest in life again. I suggested to my Monthly Meeting that they meet the National Front, and I was on the deputation. We did not get very far as our viewpoints were so different. But I think it was a worthwhile attempt. I do a little gardening most days and have started, at my son's request, to write an autobiography. I have thereby discovered what an uninteresting and dull life I have led.

He must have been joking, commented Elizabeth Roberts, the recipient.

My family went to stay with him in April, 1980. He was talking about plans for Nellie and himself to go to India in the autumn for a congress of non-violent activists. He seemed very tired but insisted on coming out for a long drive in order to show my boys the Norfolk Broads, the scene of a series of stories they had been reading. We sat a long time by the light of a dying fire, talking about scenes he had witnessed in South Africa, about mutual friends in Londonderry, and about our hopes and fears for the world. On June, 1980, at the age of 74, he died, easily and peacefully.

Of Will Warren, Bishop Edward Daly wrote:

> As time went on, I came to understand what brought Will here. It was simply love of his fellow men. Nothing more. Nothing less. He did all the things that St. Francis urged in his prayer of peace. He was truly an instrument of peace. That is the highest tribute I could pay anyone in this community.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the quotations in this chapter are from the book *Will Warren: A Scrapbook,* published by Quaker Home Service, London.

MARGARET WATTS

An Australian Friend in Action

EILEEN BARNARD-KETTLE

When I first met Margaret Watts, not many years before she came to the end of her varied and colorful career, she had long been a "weighty Friend" and a public figure in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

She was tall, as I remember her, always well and suitably dressed (although she managed on a small budget) and there was a faint tint of mauve in her grey hair.

Born and educated in England, she spent most of her life in Australia. Nevertheless she was basically British and cosmopolitan.

She was active in many fields. After World War I she worked with English and American Quakers in Germany, Poland, and the U.S.S.R. In Australia her main work with Quakers lay in her peace activity in Brisbane, Queensland, in 1917. Her public work included activities for the Red Cross, Crippled Children, and the Good Neighbor Council in New South Wales, work which could not have been done had she not been a Quaker. Perhaps her main concerns lay with migrants and with Asian students.

Her organizing ability was very apparent. She could certainly "fill the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds' worth of distance run," although she would not have used the word "unforgiving." Time was a challenge, as life was an adventure, and her success in what she did lay largely in her ability to organize her own life and those of others.

We were both widely travelled and catholic in our taste in friends; otherwise our backgrounds were quite different. I had only discovered Quakerism during World War II, after many years of wandering in the cold and draughty corridors of agnosticism. I was a rationalist rather than a natural "believer." But I had always been a "seeker" and we became fast friends. She had many friends and she kept in touch with people all over the world.

Consequently, after her death, I found myself in possession of all her diaries, press cuttings, visitors' books, and photographs—a mass of material. She was remarkable both as an activist and a recorder; a very well-organized person.

It is largely from her diaries that this too-brief record is presented, and where possible, in her own words. It was in the diaries and press cuttings that I discovered the radical young Margaret whose passionate work for peace, before and during World War I, made her very critical of many professing Christians (including some Quakers) who did not share her vision. Yet she had kept her

faith in the way of non-violent progress and always presented it to the "mixed-bag" of radicals with whom she worked.

Her Early Background and the Centrality of Her Quaker Faith

Margaret Watts was born on June 12, 1893 into a comfortable home in Liverpool, England, where her father was a doctor. Both her parents were Quakers and she was educated at The Mount, a Friends School in Yorkshire, England.

Shortly before World War I her father (then retired) and her mother decided to visit the Friends in Australia who were scattered over that continent. Margaret agreed to travel with them, although she would have preferred to work among women in India.

At that time the head of the Friends School in Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, was away on leave; and Margaret's father was asked to serve as the Acting Head for six months. So Margaret and her mother lived and worked with him there. Meanwhile Margaret was able to engage in various peace activities, including work with the young school lads who were required at that time to do military training.

When the Head of the Friends School returned to his post, the Watts family moved to the mainland of Australia.

Early in her life the Meeting for Worship became the center of Margaret's life and remained so through her years. Toward the end of her life her prayers in the Sydney Meeting were unforgetable. She was so sure of her loving God that he was:

Closer than breathing,
Nearer than hands or feet.

Like the valiant George Fox, she was both mystic and organizer. Her work was outstanding and her high spirit will long remain with all who knew her.

Young Margaret in Business

Although most of Margaret's life was spent in service work of one kind or another, she had, in her youth, experiences in more mundane types of work.

Early in her life in Australia, she worked for a Quaker family in the southern part of the country, preparing fruit from their orchard for canning. She found that monotonous and "hard on the hands."

Later, in Queensland, she became a factory girl—attempting to live on incredibly low wages and finding that spaghetti was the cheapest food. (Apparently she tried this work as a kind of self-challenge.) Nevertheless, she was certainly discovering her talent for leadership. For example, her diary records that when one of the factory girls died, the other employees asked for a day off to

attend the funeral. That was refused. So Margaret led the way out of the factory on a one-day strike. When they all returned next day, the boss wisely said nothing, as he had met his match.

Still later she became an inspector of factories. In that post she sometimes had to cope with very angry factory owners who had no taste for their working conditions' being revealed. Margaret learned how to put her foot in doors that might be shut in her face.

More suitable to her education and cultural background was her social work in one of the largest retail stores in Sydney, New South Wales. There she arranged classes in music, drama, and sports.

In those different positions her qualities of leadership and her talent for organization were being trained for the significant social career which was to fill her life in later years.

Her Work for Peace During World War I

Margaret's first visit to Australia came early in the century when her parents were visiting the Friends in various parts of that vast area. By 1917 she was living in Sydney and at that time she felt a deep desire to do peace work in Brisbane. So, with the blessing of Sydney Friends, she went north.

Her first efforts were directed toward other Christian bodies and women's groups and to seeking out people in the mass media. She was clear about her plans, confident, and completely committed.

She was a good speaker and usually astute in gauging her effect on her audiences. For example, after addressing the Women's Christian Temperance Union, her diary reports, "I made some impression, but as to whether it will make them work and live for peace, I cannot tell."

At that time she was working alongside Sylvia Parkhurst of the famous suffragette family, but obviously for Margaret it was no handicap to be a woman. Australian women already had the vote and she had the long Quaker tradition and a Friends school education.

Her confidence was demonstrated at a meeting of the Y.W.C.A. when a Rev. Wilson gave a talk on the Indian Mutiny and extolled as a heroine a woman who had shot six Indians. In the question time, Margaret challenged him to tell her how the followers of Jesus (who had refused to lead a revolt against the Romans) could justify war. She wrote later in her diary that he was "quite overcome" and evaded her question. But several women supported her, so she asked if she might start a study group on the subject of Peace and War. Permission was given but on the condition that she "did not make women disloyal to their King." Margaret hoped they would "all be loyal to the Kingdom of God."

Her contacts included the Theosophists and the Christian Scien-

tists, and when the secretary of the latter talked of the "power of thought," Margaret urged the need to translate thought into action. In her diary she wrote, "I hope to go round to all the persons and stir them up." One hears the note of the activist in the words, "Prayer is all right but . . .," yet prayer was always part of her life.

She made no impression on the Salvation Army at that time; they felt that soul-saving was their business.

Even less successful was her head-on encounter with a canon of the Church of England whose church was being used as a recruiting center. As she recorded this episode:

> I took it upon myself to visit him in the basement of St. Luke's Church. The walls and doors were covered with posters—men dashing about with their bayonets. He was engaged as I went in, so I had time to receive the calm within. Presently he came bustling out, sleeves rolled up and apron on. I told him under what auspices I was doing peace work in Brisbane and why I was doing it. Then I asked him how it came to pass that a Christian Church was being transformed into a recruiting agency. Then he jumped up (nearly went off pop! in accord with his title) and said, "I have no time for you. Our present task is to kill every man of the enemy." I said, "How Christlike!" and handed him some literature, and he almost hissed me out of the building. Perhaps it was unwise of me to go, but I felt I must."

No wonder the Australian Security and Intelligence Organization was on her track.

But Margaret Watts was resilient and could take both success and snubs in her stride. After all, why not? She felt she was working for the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

She was next invited to speak at the annual meeting of the Theosophical Society. The president said they would be glad to hear her as long as she would be "judicious." Her reply was that "her remarks would not hurt anyone." However, she did not promise not to offend. But she was the second speaker and had to hold her own, trying to retain her audience amid the rattle of cups as tea was being served. Was this a subtle kind of sabotage, one wonders? But she "did her best and afterwards was thanked by some of the women."

The following Sunday she had a very different audience—mainly men and at the Trades Hall, where she had been asked to speak on The Menace of Militarism. She was emphatic as to its evils and stressed how antagonistic it was to democracy and Christianity. Then she told her audience about William Penn's experiment in America and how he dared to apply Christ's teachings to the building of a colony. There was approval for "all but the Christian

part" of the talk, against which there was a strong reaction. "The Bible ought to be chained up; . . . Christianity has checked progress more than anything else," they said. Margaret flew to the defense of the Bible, saying that the Old Testament was the record of man's long search for the Eternal and the New Testament showed the wonder of the teaching of Christ as understood by the Quakers. Some of her listeners responded, but "others thought me a fool."

The National Council of Women was the scene of her next stand for peace. She managed to get a hearing but no approval when she urged those present to join the Women's Peace Army or the Women's Peace Alliance (both radical movements). In fact, there was a backlash. "We cannot mention peace while war is raging," some said. But the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* invited her to go for an interview as Margaret's activities could be "newsworthy."

Her talk to the Rationalists led to a stormy encounter, especially when she suggested that the members were irrational in their support of war and their bigoted atheism. She told them:

> I wish the women of your Society would be more rational, and by uniting with us, put an end to the illogical and insane methods of settling international disputes. One or two of the women called out, "Here, here!"

But there was no instant conversion and when Margaret went on to speak of her Quaker faith as the basis of her struggle for a peaceful world, her audience was more than slightly stunned at what must have sounded to them like a sermon. But unselfconsciousness was one of her characteristics.

Inevitably she was to discover disruptive elements inside the peace movement which she found disturbing, especially when she was attacked for what she had not said. But, refusing to be daunted, she approached the Education Department and asked if she might give talks in the schools. That was refused, which was not surprising, as the country was deep in a "War to end all wars,"—"To make the world safe for democracy" and all that went with such beliefs. But she was allowed to express some of her ideas in the journal which was sent to all the teachers in the state.

National Service was a live issue in Australia at that time and outspoken opposition to the introduction of conscription made her many enemies. She had a lot of jingoism to contend with. There was even difficulty in finding halls for meetings. In the diary she recalled that:

> The Town Council refused to allow us to use the hall, so we were forced to have an open-air meeting. A long trestle table was erected in the square where a crowd of 500 listened attentively.

> There was hardly any disorder. I felt free from nervousness and was conscious of the surrounding Love and Care.

But there was also hostility.

As always, Margaret emphasized the Quaker position, despite the fact that one woman shouted that "she ought to be home at the washtub." One reflects that there was nothing in her Quaker background, her tranquil home, and her Friends school education to prepare her for the stormy life of a social reformer. But she did know her early Quaker history and realized the price those valiant Friends paid for their faith.

Her final peace work in Australia was concerned with her deep involvement in the Anti-Consciption Campaign, on which there was strong public division towards the end of the 1914-1918 War. At the Trades Hall she was impressed by men who, from purely humanitarian motives, were prepared to run risks for their convictions.

She learned that many men lost their positions if they refused to enlist and she took part in planning a mammoth meeting sponsored by the Industrial Council, the Women's Peace Army, and the Anti-Conscription League.

Even after the result of a referendum had shown that the majority of Australians were against conscription, the "hawks" of the day fought hard to reverse the verdict.

Margaret Encounters Violence

One incident was recorded in the press of the time but, strangely, it is not recorded in her diary. It was at a meeting of women who were violently pro-conscription and determined that no contrary opinion should be heard. Margaret stood up in the audience to oppose a resolution urging conscription. She was verbally and physically attacked but managed to stand on a chair to be heard better. When thrust out one door, she entered by another and mounted the platform. Again she was attacked. Fortunately the arrival of the police put a full stop to the assault. It is interesting to note that on that occasion the press was on the side of free speech and of the English lady who was so calmly determined to be heard, whatever the risks.

The need to return to England with her mother put an end to that particular period of Margaret's life and she must have rejoiced to hear that the majority of Australians continued, for various reasons, to oppose conscription. (There were no conscript Australian soldiers in World War I.)

And the dossier which the Australian Security and Intelligence Organization was compiling so carefully seems to have ended at that point. However, the task of the officials concerned must have been easy as there was nothing secret in the methods Margaret

used to express her convictions.

Her Service Work in Germany and the U.S.S.R.

Her work in Germany and in the U.S.S.R. was an outstanding part of Margaret Watts' life, yet her record makes light of the danger, dirt, and discomfort with which she had to deal, including the bugs which were a nightly trial in the Soviet Union.

However, she was a very balanced person and found relief in good companionship, in the occasional concerts for which the Quaker team received free tickets, and in the beauty of nature and architecture. And always she was in the hands of God—her great and all-embracing God.

Her account of the period she spent in Germany is cut to the bone. Perhaps the sheer pressure of events there gave little time for more than the bare noting of facts. But there are glimpses of discomfort, for example, on a German rail journey:

> The third class carriage was very full and stuffy. The Germans seemed averse to fresh air. A 12-hour journey, and passing through Eisenbach we saw the place where Luther threw a bottle of ink at the Devil.

It would be interesting to know just how Margaret would have reacted to Luther's devil as she seemed to have no devils in her own life.

Her account continues:

> We breakfasted the following morning at a hotel with two pieces of black bread and jam (minus milk, butter, or sugar), then on to the palatial offices of the Friends Relief Center at Dorothean Strasse. There we met Alfred Scattergood (the genial American leader) and Will Eves. In the office were Gertrude Giles, Marian Fox, Violet Tillard, and Caroline Norment. We worked a great deal with university students.

Describing further that work with students, she reported a tour of student feeding centers at various universities, saying, "We visited Rostock, were met by two students and taken to see "His Magnificence, the Rector." Is there a touch of irony in her use of the word "Magnificence"? George Fox himself had no more respect for mere position than Margaret Watts!

She and Herta Kraus, a German in the Quaker office in Stettin, and two American men, then went to the Russian camp at Altdauer. Of that trip she said:

> We were taken round by a Russian princess. There were 2,000 prisoners of war—157 in one room—and women and children crowded together in great poverty and hunger. The combination was appalling! Arrangements were made for special relief to be sent. We called in at some of the Frankfurt school feeding centers

and saw hollow-faced children with rickety legs, but with bowls of nourishing soup supplied by the Friends Relief.

Between visits to the universities (before such work was turned over to the Student Christian Movement), she and a Scottish member of the team, May Connel, administered another project at the Central Depot, distributing clothing and tinned food. In Berlin at that time there were many members of the intelligentsia —artists, sculptors, and members of the aristocracy who were too proud to ask for charity. So she and Scotty used to visit their homes. They had prearranged signs to indicate to each other their understanding of the degree of need.

From time to time there were meetings of the Field Committees to assess their work and make plans for the future. Often leading English and American Friends attended those sessions. Margaret recorded one such meeting, attended by Rufus Jones, the chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, and Wilbur K. Thomas, its executive secretary. Of that occasion she wrote:

> In the early morning I climbed up to an old castle and lay on the long grass, then came down to Meeting held in the woods where Rufus Jones gave one of his unforgettable messages.

One wonders whether her contact with the grass and trees lent an extra radiance to the "unforgettable message" that day, because Margaret could always go to her God via the good earth as well as via "that of God" in so many people.

In her diary jottings she wrote of "my inadequate German service." But one would not think of her work in those terms when she described this visit:

> I took a journey to refugee camps at Wildermann and Altenau. The bus took me into the mountains and from the terminus I had a six-mile walk (with not a soul in sight) through beautiful pine forest country with deep gullies and streams, until I reached the Wildermann Camp. I was warmly welcomed and shown over this lonely refugee center, meeting many of the Russian aristocracy, pathetic in their isolation, frustration, and loneliness. They had escaped the Revolution and had terrible stories to tell. We arranged special self-help classes, some horiticulural. The effort of visiting these very isolated camps was one of the most worthwhile of my German service. The people seemed so glad of friendly interest. As time went on, various families would go to Paris where the men became waiters or taxi drivers, and some of the women worked in light industries.

Soon she was sent to Danzig and Koenigsberg to discuss the needs of the universities there. Wearing her Quaker grey uniform with the red and black emblem on it (worn since the days of relief

work by Friends in the Franco-Prussian War), she felt reasonably safe.

Then, on to Rostock, Lubeck, and Hamburg. Her comment on that visit was:

> I saw ghastly sights—TB babies with protruding stomachs and matchstick legs—some with deformed legs. One of our members, Alfred Splett, took me to see one of the largest jails in Brandenburg. (Her early interest in prisoners had gained her permission to visit them in Brisbane.) In Brandenburg great improvements had occurred since the end of the war. Prisoners worked in well-equipped workshops, slept 30 together in spotlessly clean dormitories. We met "life" prisoners and watched them playing chess after work.

Back in Berlin, Joan Fry, the well-known English Quaker, visited the relief centers and discussed with Margaret the proposal that she go to the U.S.S.R. to observe Quaker work there before returning to Australia to help raise funds to support the efforts in Germany and Russia. That proposal was strongly supported by Arthur Watts and Edith Ellis, both of whom had been imprisoned during the war for their pacifist convictions.

After visiting Halle, Leipzig, and Dresden, she moved on to Vienna, Austria. There she visited the Quaker Office in Singerstrasse, did a round of the university, talked with the workers in the student movement, and met a charming writer of children's books who was interested in the child-feeding program and in Quakerism. It was thrilling for her to spend an evening there with Fraulein Eisele, her music teacher from The Mount School days. To Margaret's dismay, however, she discovered that Fraulein Eisele had saved her month's ration of meat for the dinner she had prepared.

Over and over in Margaret's records there are instances of the extensive network of Quaker contacts and friendships, a legacy of Quaker peace work, suffering and service, based on the Quaker affirmation of "that of God in everyone."

The list of cities visited lengthens, with Bonn, Cologne, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, Essen, and Leipzig added.

In Leipzig Margaret recorded the cryptic comment that "One day some of us walked through the Tiergarten to Meeting and attended a public lecture on Russia, given by Arthur Watts."

The full story of the part played by Arthur Watts in Margaret's life will never be told but it is evident that he showed great judgment in his assessment of her caliber as a service worker and fund-raising organizer. Her comments on him in her diary were always brief and non-committal. But we do know that after her return to Australia, he followed her there and they were married. But the

marriage did not last and he returned to Russia. Apparently he followed the Marxist line and moved out of the orbit of Friends—not the first young idealist to follow the gospel according to Marx.

Margaret saw him go "with mixed feelings." She was a very private "public Friend." The diary just says:

> Towards the end of my relief service in Germany it was decided that I should visit Warsaw and Russia before the end of my European service. I had the conviction that Arthur Watts had influenced the committee to send me for a week of observation on the famine needs of Russia in the hope that later Australia might send substantial help for Friends work there.

At that period of time the great explorer, Fridtjof Nansen of Norway, was the lone voice raising interest in and funds for the colossal needs in the Volga provinces resulting from the Russian famine. Hospitals were overflowing, no anesthetics were available for operations, and vast numbers of people were leaving for Moscow and other cities where food was available.

Margaret knew that her role as arranged by Arthur Watts was mainly to face the full horror of the Russian situation and to report back on what was being done about it—to tell the donors that the food was really reaching the starving people, despite false press rumors to the contrary. Her task was relatively easy compared to that of the long-term workers, some of whom died of typhus and other diseases. The relief workers were aware that unless the charitable donors of the West were reassured, the much-needed funds would dry up and the suffering become even greater. Because of her appearance and her obvious sincerity she was the perfect "front person" for contact with the world. Ruth Fry was one of the key figures at that time in the field, having worked in France while World War I was still raging—a story which has been told in the book *A Quaker Adventure,* unfortunately now out of print.

During her time in Germany, Margaret was already deeply involved in helping to alleviate some of the effects of war, and the efforts of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom gave a great lift to her spirit. Of a side trip to Budapest she wrote:

> The W.I.L.P.F. Conference opened with a glorious musical program, music being international and understood by all. (Margaret came from a musical family.) Jane Addams gave the presidential address—a most impressive one—and I had the pleasure of speaking to her several times. That evening Anna Louise Strong gave an excellent address on War and Economics. It was not easy to conduct a conference in three languages, but I found the sessions very stimulating and to my thinking the well-

educated Jewish women delegates from various countries were the most intelligent and to the point. The session on minorities was one of the best.

To Poland and the U.S.S.R.

Then came the most adventurous part of Margaret's service in Europe—her visit to Warsaw, Poland, and eventually to Moscow and some other parts of the U.S.S.R.

After a rugged trip to Warsaw by train, with trouble at both frontiers and long delays at both barriers, she finally arrived. This is how she described that event:

> I was taken to my room across a noisy courtyard and met our team and found that they were going via mission truck via Brest Litovsk to visit refugee families from Russia at Baranowieze. There were soldiers everywhere—destroyed villages—barbed wire entanglements. At a huge refugee camp there were 20,000 Russian Poles—10,000 others had been sent away to be deloused.
>
> We bumped through wonderful forests but the roads were shocking. We saw Russian trenches and German dugouts; many were living in dugouts and we talked to many families. Some refugees had arrived with a cow, a goat, or a pig—anything they were able to salvage. Reconstructions were being undertaken and homes were being rebuilt. The housing officer had to insist on the peasant's fingerprint, pledging that no animal would be kept in the house. That was most difficult—the animal was their only capital. We saw rabbits and pigs in the same room as the peasants.
>
> . . . My escort was very faint and feverish and I gave her my bed. At 3:00 a.m. I went down with the same virus, and on returning to Warsaw, I was put to bed for some days. . . .

In reading and re-reading Margaret's record, one is impressed by the ease with which she adjusted to the violently contrasting living conditions which were part of her European Quaker service. Compare the above statement with this one:

> That night I stayed in a palace, entrusted to the Friends group by its owner, a princess. With eight men of the local team, I ate supper with golden spoons and elegant gold-plated china.

Later she recalled:

> We visited a Russian refugee camp and heard first-hand stories from various families of the disastrous famine. There had been little snow and the land was parched through lack of the usual thaw. Added to this, the peasants were reluctant to plant grain. They distrusted the Soviet control. Self-help schemes were undertaken by our team in the campcrafts and handwork of all kinds and a peasants' shop set up. We also visited two orphanages and

saw feeding schemes in a great dining room—1,300 a day being served. I met Polish Red Cross workers and those of the American Quaker Relief Administration—Harry Timbres, Richard Cadbury, and Anna Louise Strong.

Soon, however, she was off to Moscow and other places in the U.S.S.R. She says that "The Polish team workers saw me off with misgivings, some wondering if I would come back alive." She does not go into the question as to why her fellow-workers were so uneasy, but no doubt all had some idea of the famine and disease in Russia which she was to encounter. This has been well described by many others. The physical and psychological stress on the Quaker workers was very great. Yet Margaret merely reported that her all-night journey was in a second-class carriage with a Polish soldier on one side and a Russian soldier on the other. Soon she felt a head on each shoulder but she let them sleep while she stayed awake.

Her arrival is described in these words:

> It was an incredible scene at the great railway terminal—Russian peasant families from the famine areas were camped on platforms everywhere. On the walls were huge pictorial posters telling farmers how to cultivate their crops, and mothers how to feed their children on the food available. At that time 92% of the people were illiterate.

She was taken to a nearby hotel in a lorry furnished by the Friends mission. There she began to catch glimpses of the system under which, for better or for worse, Friends were working. She says:

> While walking along the hotel corridors I asked Strin (a fellow-worker), why there were stars on certain doors. He told me that the spies in those rooms had been shot.

Was that meant as a warning? She continues:

> Quakers seem to be the only relief body trusted by the Bolsheviks. We found that (rightly or wrongly) the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A. were suspected of sheltering spies.

At that point in Margaret's diary one becomes acutely aware of the amazing courage and fortitude of the service workers and the great stress they were under at this point in Russian history. She records no feeling of dread, but there is a vivid description of discomfort:

> My room was fairly well furnished but I kept dreaming I was in a cattle truck full of life and would wake to find the sheets brown with bedbugs and the walls also alive with them. The next night the legs of the bed were put in tins of kerosene which helped to some degree.

During her stay in Moscow, Margaret became housekeeper and cook for the Quaker service people because she saw that they were far too busy to bother with nourishing food.

Soon, however, she was off to see the work being done in Buzuluk in the Volga area. On the trip there she was the only woman in the railroad compartment of journalists—most of them former war correspondents who were there to see the extent of famine in Russia. Unfortunately she learned that most of them were writing about the famine before seeing it, according to the policy of their papers. The effect of that discovery was considerable and she was to encounter other such disillusioning experiences. But there was nothing of the cynic in her then or ever.

The appalling horror of the famine in Samara breaks through the customary calm recording in her diary:

> When we arrived at Buzuluk the next morning, one of the journalists threw some of the remains of our breakfast—crusts, etc.—and immediately, as if from everywhere, people almost fought for the bits of bread. The station was packed with refugees. On leaving the train, we went into a fish café. While eating I suddenly saw starved faces pressed against the window glass, watching us eat. The food stuck in my throat.

Going outside the city, she reported that:

> Throughout the area crops had failed, the land was a brown desert. We walked along the roads and saw many who were dying of starvation and typhus and there were piles of dead bodies. Parents would wander away to die, hoping that their children would be picked up and cared for.

Patience was a necessary virtue as the Quakers coped with the Russian bureaucracy. She reported that it was very difficult to get her return passport and visas for England as the Foreign Office had a way of losing the papers of anyone who might be useful to their people. But the arrangements for her return were eventually finalized through the influence of Arthur Watts.

Not the End

As has been indicated, what has been written here has come mainly from Margaret's diaries and other personal records, plus press clippings. I have touched on her childhood and her early working life and have written about the passionate peace worker of World War I rather than the Margaret of the Establishment she had become before I knew her. I found that the young radical had often felt more at home with radicals of other shades than with conservative Christians, including some Quakers. Yet she was always in depth a Quaker; her Inner Light lit her way into action.

The period of the 1920s which followed her anti-war struggles

brought her first-hand awareness of the effects of war and civil war, when she worked with other Quakers in relief work in Europe and the U.S.S.R. It was necessary to counter the false rumor that the food was going to the Red Army. As she recorded in her diary, it was Arthur Watts, the chief Quaker organizer, who had the confidence of the Russian government and who was responsible for her service in Russia. He saw her as the one who could best present a true picture of the great need and act effectively in fund-raising after her return to Australia.

For Margaret the period in the U.S.S.R. was the most painful and dangerous in her varied and colorful career, and amply justified her earlier attempts to put a stop to all violence and war. Its grim results were now laid bare to her still-youthful eyes.

During that time she learned that the building of peace based on justice and attained by non-violent means is long and difficult. Later in her life the direct assault on all wars passed to younger hands. She accepted the fact that the service we sometimes call "band-aid" is also necessary in our far-from-perfect world. Her zeal and talent for organization was directed to several causes, notable among which were the Good Neighbor Council (to assist migrants) and the Crippled Children's Association.

Her work for migrants received special mention at a public memorial service soon after her death. It was organized by representatives of the special causes she had served so well and held in a large church in Sydney. At the end of the more formal tributes the then Minister of Migration (a colorful character) spoke of his admiration and affection for her and said, "I feel that we should regard Margaret as the Patron Saint of Multiracialism." The phrase caught the attention of the press—and would have greatly amused Margaret Watts.

We knew, as she did, that she was no saint. She was a deeply caring and believing Quaker, as well as a public figure.

Yet she had traces of both the psychic and the mystic. Her early diary tells of a certain spare room in the large old house of her childhood which she would not willingly enter because of its "atmosphere."

On the positive side, she told me she was, at every crisis in her life, conscious of the support of her beloved mother, both during her mother's life and after her death.

And her spoken prayers in Meetings for Worship revealed the mystic; they are unforgettable.

Throughout her life the beauty of nature was a constant consolation. She found the "empty social activities" which she sometimes had to suffer, a bore and a trial. But right to the end of her life in Sydney she loved to extend hospitality to friends and strangers in an atmosphere which made for in-depth understanding.

As for the "public" Margaret: towards the end of her life she received the citation of Member of the British Empire and was named Senior Citizen of the Year in her final home city—Sydney.

The Margaret who died in her eighties, still young, is revealed in the final press photograph we have of her—and links her with the peace and relief worker of her early days. The candid camera shows the arthritic hands of an elderly woman. But the face is young. Her chin is held high and her eyes are half-closed in hearty laughter. She went through life with her chin up, with courage, and with the ability to laugh in saving sanity through "the darkness and death" which she, like George Fox, had encountered.

She moved where she was led. She kept her faith in "that of God in everyone" to the end.

And she was utterly sure that, for her, this life is not the end.

Biographical Sketches of the Authors

EILEEN BARNARD-KETTLE is an Australian Friend by convincement and the mother of three children. Vocationally she had had two careers: on the stage—in repertory production and broadcasting (writing and talks), and librarianship. For several years she taught at the large and well-known Friends School in Hobart, Tasmania, Australia. In addition, she has travelled widely (primarily on Quaker journeys) in Asia; in the United Kingdom, Europe, and the U.S.S.R.; and in the United States—chiefly for the Friends World Conference at Guilford College in 1967, which she reported on the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Her chief concerns are in peace work, race relations, and outreach.

S. JOCELYN BURNELL is an astronomer at the Royal Observatory, Edinburgh, Scotland, and from there she carries out research using telescopes in Hawaii and on satellites. She was born and brought up in Northern Ireland, attended The Mount School in York, England, and has degrees from Glasgow and Cambridge Universities. She has been a Quaker all her life, is an Elder of her Meeting in Edinburgh and much involved in Quaker ecumenical affairs in Britain. Her husband, Martin Burnell, is also an active Friend, and they have one son.

L. HUGH DONCASTER was educated at two Friends Schools—Sidcot and Leighton Park, and at Cambridge University, where he studied natural science. He was clerk and then travelling secretary of the Young Friends Central Committee. As a student he participated in workcamps arranged by Jack Hoyland and spent some months helping him to organize camps and recruit volunteers. He worked for several years among the unemployed coal miners in South Wales during the great depression of the 1930s. For 37 years L. Hugh Doncaster was associated with Woodbrooke, mostly as a full or part-time member of the staff. He knew Jack Hoyland as uncle, colleague, and friend.

MARGARET GIBBINS is a prominent Friend from Edinburgh, Scotland who was a close friend for many years of Sigrid Lund with whom she worked closely when Margaret Gibbins was executive secretary of the European and Near East Section of the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

JOHN ORMEROD GREENHOOD was born in London July 26, 1907 and joined Friends while a student at Cambridge University. He gave the Swarthmore Lecture during the London Yearly Meeting held at Lancaster in 1978, and is the author of a three-volume

history of Quaker international work through 200 years, entitled *Quaker Encounters*. He has held many offices in the Society, including the presidency of the Friends Historical Society of London and the Quaker Fellowship of the Arts. He has been lecturer in English and drama at Morley College, London, and subsequently for 20 years at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. For six years he was producer of religious drama in the radio service of the BBC. He is married, has three children and five grandchildren. At present he is an Elder of the Lewes Meeting.

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY was born in Indiana and attended Westtown School, Earlham College, Columbia University, and Teachers College-Columbia. He taught for a few years in Quaker schools and other independent schools and was the first director of the Division on Education for International Understanding of UNESCO in Paris. Much of his life has been spent in teacher education in Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, specializing in the social studies and international education. He has travelled in all 50 of the states and in 88 countries. In addition, he has written widely for children, teachers, and other adults. His most recent Quaker volumes are *An American Quaker in Nazi Germany, Quaker Quotations on Faith and Practice,* and *Quakerism: A Study Guide on the Religious Society of Friends.* He is the editor of both volumes of *Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century.*

JOHN LAMPEN was born in 1938 and spent his childhood in the Sudan where his father was governor of a province. His compulsory military service was spent as an army Greek interpreter during the terrorist campaign in Cyprus. After obtaining a degree and a teacher's certificate at Oxford, he joined one of the pioneer schools for the treatment of maladjusted children in England—Shotton Hall—in 1962, the year in which he married Diana. Brought up in the Church of England, they joined the Society of Friends in 1969. They have four children: Clare, Judith, Graham, and Francis. From 1972 to 1982 John was Headmaster of Shotton Hall. After leaving that post, he and Diana spent three months in South Africa. They now live in Derry, Northern Ireland where they are engaged in a number of youth, community, and reconciliation projects. His writings include *Wait in the Light: The Spirituality of George Fox, Will Warren: A Scrap Book,* and several books on the residential care of children.

SCARNEL LEAN was born in England into a Quaker family with a long Quaker ancestry. He attended two Quaker schools—the second being Ackworth—and graduated from London University.

He followed his father's career of pharmacy, lecturing in that field most of his professional life, going to South Africa in 1947 to join the staff of the Witwatersrand Technical College in Johannesburg, eventually becoming Head of Department. He has been semi-retired since 1970. He has held many positions in the Religious Society of Friends in Southern Africa, including the clerkship of that yearly meeting. He knew Suzanne Stephen during all her years in the Society of Friends.

KENNETH ALEXANDER LEE became a pacifist and joined the Peace Pledge Union and the Religious Society of Friends prior to World War II. In 1939 he and his wife, Hope Headly, began their work with refugees in Shanghai, and during World War II they were interned by the Japanese for two and a half years. Returning to Europe, he has been active in many organizations, institutions, and committees such as the Friends Peace and International Relations Committee, the Conflict Research Society, and the Friends Centre in Brussels. In 1977 he was awarded the Queen's Jubilee Medal and in 1984, the O.B.G.

YOON-GU LEE was born in Seoul, Korea and his higher education took place at the Han-kuk Theological Seminary (1953-1956) in theology, at the Central Theological Seminary (1956-1957) in social work, and at the University of Manchester, England (1970-1972) from which he received his Ph.D. in social administration. Impressed by the work of the American Friends Service Committee in Korea, he joined the Religious Society of Friends. Vocationally he was an Interpreter-Translator for the U.N. Armed Forces, Executive Secretary of the Korea Church World Service, Special Representative of the World Council of Churches to the Middle East, Deputy Representative of UNICEF to Egypt, India, and Bangladesh, and Executive Secretary of the Task Force of UNICEF on Infant and Young Child Feeding. Currently he is Professor of Social Welfare at Han-shin University in Korea. He and his wife, Shin-Ai Lee, have two children: Shin-Il and Yoon-Hi.

HOWARD T. LUTZ has been a faculty member in the History Department of the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire since 1957. While a student at Haverford College he became a convinced Friend and in 1941 joined the Radnor Meeting. At Douglas Steere's suggestion, he began studying Swedish during his years in Civilian Public Service (1942-1946), after which he was sent by the A.F.S.C. to Finland to participate in work camps there. He taught two years at the Viggbyholm School near Stockholm where he became well acquainted with Swedish Quakers. In 1973-1974 Haverford College gave him a T. Wistar Brown Fellowship in

Quaker History to study the life and works of Emilia Fogelklou. His book about her, entitled *Reality and Radiance,* is to be printed by the Friends United Meeting in 1985. Howard Lutz has served on the Board of Pendle Hill and been clerk of Northern Yearly Meeting.

DOROTHY MUMA is married and lives with her husband and two children in Toronto, where she was born. For 23 years she was Secretary of the Toronto Friends Meeting. For 10 years she was recording secretary of that group and for five years she was recording clerk of the Canadian Yearly Meeting. Her long association with Fred Haslam dates back to 1945 when they worked together in the Canadian Friends Service Committee. She was his assistant during a long period when he was Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Yearly Meeting and succeeded him upon his retirement in 1972. In addition to her Quaker activities, she is interested in leatherwork and served five years as the editor of the quarterly bulletin of the Canadian Society for Creative Leathercraft.

SUZANNE FEHN SEIN spent her childhood in Paris with her parents and brother. After marrying Heberto Sein in 1929, they settled in Mexico City in 1935. There Suzanne became active in helping Spanish refugees from the Civil War to reunite with their families and to settle in Mexico. Later she carried on relief work to help people in Europe during World War II. With Heberto, she started the Friends Meeting in Mexico City in their home and also a Quaker Club for young people. From the 1950s until recently she worked with the School Affiliation Program of the American Friends Service Committee in Mexico. Suzanne still lives in Mexico City surrounded by her daughter's family, including two grandchildren, and with her son and daughter-in-law.

HAROLD SMUCK was born in Indiana, grew up and became a Friend in Colorado, and returned to Indiana where he obtained degrees from Marion College, the Christian Theological Seminary, and Earlham College. He has served Friends in a variety of capacities—in the Young Friends Movement, as a pastor, as a joint appointee of the Mission Board of the Five Years Meeting and the American Friends Service Committee in Jamaica, and as principal of the Friends Boys School in Ram Allah, near Jerusalem. Following that he was the representative of the Friends United Meeting to East Africa Yearly Meeting. From 1966 until 1981 he directed the overseas program of the Friends United Meeting. Currently he is the leader of the "Team Ministry" of West Richmond Friends Meeting in Indiana. He and his wife, Evelyn, have three grown children. His active association with Thomas Lung'aho spanned a period of 20 years.

TADASHI YUASA studied in 1971-1972 at Woodbrooke, the Quaker Study Center in England, after he had completed his work in philosophy, religion, and history at a Christian university in Tokyo, Japan. Then he studied at the Earlham School of Religion in Richmond, Indiana, U.S.A. for three years, obtaining his master's degree in religion. In 1974 he was married to a German woman whom he had met at Woodbrooke and who had worked previous to their marriage in the Cameroons in Africa. Following their marriage, he and Gerta became pastors of the Friends Meeting in Mito, Japan. Now they are living near the Ibaraki National University where they both teach German, history, and English. They are both active in the Mito Friends Meeting and he serves on the International, Social, and Peace Committees of Japan Yearly Meeting.