

# **Opposing World War One: Courage and Conscience**

*An information briefing about  
conscientious objection and peace  
activism in the First World War*

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## Introduction

**‘How can we make sure that the courage of men and women who campaigned to prevent the First World War, who resisted the jingoism, and who, as conscientious objectors, refused conscription, is given proper attention during the First World War centenary commemorations?’**

This brief guide is one response to that question and it has been compiled by a group of British peace organisations: the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Pax Christi, Peace Pledge Union (PPU), Quaker Peace and Social Witness (QPSW), Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

The FOR and WILPF were even founded in response to that war, and will be celebrating their own centenaries in 2014 and 2015 respectively. 2016 will be a significant anniversary for Britain as one of the first countries to enact any kind of legal provision for conscientious objectors - a right which has since been endorsed by the United Nations but is still not recognised in many countries.

Some of the stories of the peace activists of the First World War are dramatic and powerful. They include:

- \* The intrepid determination of 1200 spirited women from 12 countries who overcame multiple obstacles to gather in The Hague in 1915, as war raged. They drew up 20 proposals for stopping the war by a negotiated peace - and took these personally to world leaders.
- \* The death-defying courage of conscientious objectors, such as the group imprisoned in Richmond Castle, Yorkshire, who believed they were going to be executed, and scrawled heart-rending messages on their cell walls which are still visible there today.

We hope that this information guide will inspire journalists, programme-makers, event and exhibition organisers, to include in their centenary plans some of this hidden history about conscientious objection and peace movement opposition to the First World War. It’s an aspect of our British heritage that deserves to be uncovered, remembered and honoured.

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## THE MILITARY SERVICE ACT AND OPPONENTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

**Active opposition to the First World War took many forms in British society: public meetings and demonstrations - some of these leading to pitched battles - personal protest and conscientious objection, mutinies and trade union strikes, and of course artistic expression in painting, poetry and literature.**

Nevertheless, the opponents were far outnumbered by enthusiasts for the war. By 1916 there were still more men volunteering than could be equipped, according to A.J.P. Taylor, but politicians wishing to give the impression that they were helping the war effort decided that conscription was the way to demonstrate this.

The Military Service Bill (the proposal in parliament to make a new law introducing conscription) was debated in the House of Commons in January 1916. The government, led by the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, knew the Bill would be very controversial and that there would be fierce opposition to conscription from some MPs - particularly

Quaker MPs and members of the Independent Labour Party.

To deal with the expected opposition to conscription, the government had included a section in the Military Service Bill known as the 'conscience clause'. This allowed people exemption from conscription 'on the ground of a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service'. The government knew there



Anti-war meeting 1917 (photo: PPU)

would also be strong opposition to the conscience clause from a large number of MPs.

MPs debated long and hard about which types of conscientious objector the new law would recognise. On the day of the final vote on the Military Service Bill there was great tension in parliament. Everyone knew the seriousness of the proposed new law and knew what a dramatic change it would be for Britain (Ireland was not included in the Bill). Out of 630 MPs in the House of Commons at the time 165 of them were already in the army or navy and most of those had come wearing their military uniform. Only 36 MPs opposed the Military Service Bill and so, on 27 January 1916, the Bill received the Royal Assent and became the law of the land.



CO stone-breakers at Dyce Quarry near Aberdeen (photo: PPU)

The new law would come into operation on 3 February 1916 and from 2 March all unmarried men aged 18-41 would be 'deemed to have enlisted' in the army. In just a few months conscription would be extended to married men also.

Over 16,000 men claimed exemption from military service. They were required to attend a tribunal (an interviewing panel with legal authority) to have the sincerity of their claims assessed.

Conscientious objectors were usually offered non-combatant work in the army, or civilian work (for example, working on the land) that was useful to a country at war. Men who turned down

these alternatives, and men who had not even been offered them but still refused call-up, were then arrested and sent to military barracks. Here they faced court martial, like any soldier who disobeyed orders - as indeed the COs did, refusing to wear uniform or respond to any commands. The court martial would give a prison sentence, to be served in a civilian prison. When the CO had finished his time in prison, he would be called up again a day after his release and arrested when he failed to obey: this was known as the 'cat and mouse' process. It was all very tough on the men who endured it. More than eighty COs died in prison or as a result of their experience there. Some became physically or mentally ill, and of these some never fully recovered.

In May 1916 about 50 COs being held at Harwich, Seaford and Richmond Castle were sent to France, and threatened with the death penalty. On the 'Front Line' they could be court-martialled and executed for disobeying orders.

They were transported in secret by night to Southampton, but one of them managed to drop a note from the train as they crossed London. This was picked up and somehow the information reached the No-Conscription Fellowship (and their families) that they were on their way to France. Once there they remained defiant, despite the intimidation and brutal treatment - including in some cases field punishment such as being 'crucified' for several hours on a wooden frame or barbed wire. In June 1916 they were court-martialled and sentenced to be shot, though this was immediately commuted to ten years penal servitude. It meant being sent back to England.

COs faced the unpleasant and severe consequences of their actions with responses as varied as themselves. Their only backing came from peace organisations and a small group of Members of Parliament, and above all from the sustained vigilance of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

## HAROLD BING'S STORY

**Many protested against war in 1914. Some were socialists, who believed that the working men of the world should unite, not obey orders to kill each other. Some belonged to religious groups which forbade taking human life, while some thought this particular war was wrong. Thousands of these varied protesters gathered in London's Trafalgar Square on August 2 to make their anti-war voices heard.**

A 16-year old called Harold Bing was there. He had walked 11 miles from his home in Croydon. 'It was thrilling,' he said. Harold and his father were both pacifists (his father had opposed the Boer War), and they both joined the No-Conscription Fellowship. Harold helped to distribute NCF leaflets from house to house; on one occasion he was chased by a hostile householder wielding a heavy stick.



Harold Bing (photo: PPU)

After conscription was introduced in 1916, Harold went before his tribunal. He was not thought to qualify for exemption. '18? - you're too young to have a conscience,' said the chairman - but not too young to be sent to war. He was arrested but refused to regard himself as a soldier, or obey military orders and was court-martialled. The sentence: six months hard labour. In the end Harold spent nearly three years in prison.

During his time in prison Harold helped to get vegetarian food provided by the prison kitchen, and additional nourishment (a mug of cocoa) supplied for men who worked overtime. He also made friends with a few warders - helping the daughter of one of them with her maths homework.

Harold was also one of the men who with others created a prison magazine: written on thin brown sheets of toilet paper using the blunt end of a needle and the ink supplied for monthly letters home. Just the one copy was passed secretly from one prisoner to another. In Harold's prison this was called 'The Winchester Whisperer'. The idea was widely copied in other prisons.

Harold Bing left prison with his sight damaged by years of stitching mailbags in dim light, but also having taught himself German and French. He wanted to teach, but many advertisements for teachers said 'No CO need apply'. 'And if you did apply, you got turned down as soon as they knew you were a pacifist.' Eventually he found a sympathetic headmaster who was willing to employ him. As well as teaching, Harold worked as a peace campaigner and a member of the Peace Pledge Union. He died in 1975.

## CATHERINE MARSHALL'S STORY

**Catherine E. Marshall (1880-1962) was a middle class feminist, active in Liberal politics, and in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Society (NUWSS), the largest organisation working for votes for women in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain. She moved towards socialist and pacifist views through her involvement with the British and international suffrage movement.**

The NUWSS split over the issue of support for the war, with Catherine Marshall being amongst the group who resigned from the NUWSS and organised an international peace congress of women at The Hague in 1915. This resulted in the creation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF or WIL).



Catherine E Marshall

(photo: © Religious Society of Friends in Britain)

Catherine Marshall chaired the meeting in Westminster Central Hall, London, on 11 May 1915 to receive the Report on the Congress of Women by Jane Addams (American), Dr Aletta Jacobs (Dutch) and Signora Rosa Genoni (Italian). These Congress delegates expressed their appreciation of the vigorous work done by the British Committee of the Women's International Congress and especially Catherine Marshall, the Hon. Secretary.

Catherine got more and more involved with the work of the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF) which, following the introduction of military conscription in 1916, was engaged in supporting COs at tribunals and in prison. She thought that the NCF offered 'a positive way to oppose the killing'. When Clifford Allen was imprisoned she became the acting Hon. Secretary, and later 'calculated that so frequently had she flouted the law to aid COs, she was liable for 2,000 years in prison'.

An astute political lobbyist, she planted questions in the House of Commons, and was so efficient at record-keeping that the War Office used to ring her to find out in which camp particular COs were confined.

Catherine Marshall articulated her personal commitment to peace in a paper entitled *Women and War* (1915) for a London conference on religious aspects of the women's movement and of peace. Unfortunately she was ill and unable to deliver it. In the paper she stated '...all the horrors of war... do violence to the whole spirit of civilisation, the whole teaching of Christianity' and 'I believe that women...are more likely than men to find some other way of settling international disputes than by an appeal to force'.

H. Runham Brown, in *The No-Conscription Fellowship: A Souvenir of its work 1914 -1919*, described the role of women in the NCF and noted Catherine Marshall's contribution.

*'As we went to prison they took our places in the Pacifist movement, fearless through all the years, with police often following them from place to place, raiding their homes and offices. A number of women served sentences of imprisonment for the propaganda work they did. The NCF was conceived in the mind of Lilla Brockway, and throughout its history, but particularly while men were away [in prison] women were among its most enthusiastic workers and officers. At the Head Office there was a splendid band of keen and capable women. To our first [November 1915] Convention*

*Catherine E Marshall came as the Fraternal Delegate of the Women's International League [for Peace and Freedom], she was so impressed by the spirit there revealed that she decided to devote all of her services to our movement. She became Parliamentary Secretary, and later Acting Hon. Secretary of the Fellowship. It was her determined will that built up the Parliamentary Department of the NCF, so that our stand was never without a champion either in the House of Commons or the House of Lords.'*

After 1917 Catherine Marshall suffered from periods of ill health but remained active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Labour Party and international politics. She died in 1962.

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## SOME OTHERS WHO SAID 'NO' TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

### **Thomas Attlee (1880-1960)**

A socialist like his brother, Clem, who was later Prime Minister - but while Clem joined the army, Tom was a Christian pacifist. As one of 1300 'absolutist' conscientious objectors, he spent over two years in prison. He was among the first members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and in 1919 took part in the meeting which formed the International FOR. Unable to resume his work as an architect, after the war Thomas Attlee settled in Cornwall, lectured for the Workers' Educational Association, and looked after church buildings in the Truro Diocese.

### **Lord Fenner Brockway (1888-1988)**

Editor in 1915 of Labour Leader, which committed the Independent Labour Party to oppose the war, and initiated the No-Conscription Fellowship. Brockway was repeatedly imprisoned for refusing non-combatant work, and endured solitary confinement and a bread and water diet for prolonged periods. Elected to parliament in 1929. Did not later oppose war with Hitler, though remained chair of the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors. Throughout his political career he championed the causes of racial justice and human rights, and in his nineties founded the World Disarmament Campaign.

### **Helen Crawford (1877-1954)**

Daughter of a baker from Glasgow's Gorbals, Crawford witnessed the shocking poverty of her clergyman husband's Clydeside parish and was converted to militant feminism and socialist politics. She set up a Glasgow branch of the Women's International League and a popular Women's Peace Crusade which appealed to working class women who resented the effects of war on families, munitions work, and rents. This had branches in other cities, and operated between 1916 and 1918.

### **Emily Hobhouse (1860-1926)**

Emily Hobhouse campaigned against the British Government keeping Boer families in concentration camps during the Boer War. She opposed World War One too, sending a Christmas letter from British women to German and Austrian women in 1914, doing relief work during and after the war and, in 1916 travelling to Berlin to meet the Foreign Minister. Her attempts at bridge-building were rejected by the British, but her suggested exchange of civilian prisoners took place later.

### **George Lansbury (1859-1940)**

Pacifist, and Independent Labour MP for Bow and Bromley, who resigned his seat over women's suffrage. Temporarily out of Parliament, in 1912 Lansbury co-founded the Daily Herald as a radical socialist newspaper, becoming editor just before the declaration of war in 1914. He displayed the banner headline

WAR IS HELL as fighting began, and supported the anti-militarist cause throughout, opposing conscription and publicising the position of conscientious objectors. As Mayor of Poplar he led a rates rebellion in 1921 on behalf of the poor, and became Leader of the Labour Party 1931-35.

### **Muriel Lester (1883-1968)**

Founder in 1915, with her sister Dora, of Kingsley Hall settlement in Bow. Refused to respond to war fever by resolute inclusiveness and service to all, offering prayers for enemy nations, pacifist speakers, cheap meals for munitions workers, protection of local German and Austrian businesses attacked by a patriotic mob. Threats against Kingsley Hall ended after it was damaged in a Zeppelin raid. Lester visited imprisoned COs, spoke on anti-war platforms for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and later became its International Secretary and a fervent advocate of Gandhian nonviolence.

### **Chrystal Macmillan (1872-1937)**

Pioneer as female science graduate and barrister, and a leader in the international women's movement. Organised relief supplies for Belgian refugees in 1914. Chair of the Scottish Women's Hospital Scheme which provided female doctors and nurses to care for injured soldiers in Serbia, France and Russia. Macmillan helped organise the International Women's Congress at The Hague in 1915 when 1200 women discussed how the war could be ended and was one of five delegates who took their message to European and US governments.

### **Sir Francis Meynell (1891-1975)**

Book-designer, printer and poet, who for a time chaired the No-Conscription Fellowship, worked for the anti-war Daily Herald, and other publishing enterprises. Meynell admired George Lansbury, and became an absolutist CO

on grounds of socialism (a war between imperial powers) and Catholic faith. At Hounslow Barracks he refused both food and drink and collapsed after about ten days, close to death. This hastened his discharge as someone unlikely to become an efficient soldier. In 1916 Meynell co-founded 'The Guild of the Pope's Peace'.

### **Sylvia Pankhurst (1882-1960)**

Artist, writer and radical campaigner who linked socialism with women's rights. Imprisoned frequently and went on hunger strike to achieve votes for women. Sylvia was pacifist, horrified when her mother and sister urged men to join up in 1914. Instead, she improved life for East End women with a cheap restaurant, maternity clinics, legal advice to gain better allowances for soldiers' wives, and a toy factory to provide jobs. Her newspaper supported the No-Conscription Fellowship, and published Siegfried Sassoon's famous anti-war statement. Involved in leftwing politics to the end of her life.

### **Max Plowman (1883-1941)**

Volunteered in 1914, and was wounded in 1917. Plowman became convinced that the 'greatest crime' was killing unknown people in cold blood. For refusing to return to his unit he was court martialled, dismissed from the army, and made liable for conscription. Adopting an 'absolutist' position at his tribunal, Plowman was sent away to reconsider - by which time the war ended. Author of *A Subaltern on the Somme* and other books, he later worked for the Peace Pledge Union, and in the 1930s co-founded with John Middleton-Murry the Adelphi Centre, a pacifist socialist community and farm at Langham, Essex.



# PEACE ORGANISATIONS ACTIVE IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

## The No-Conscription Fellowship

Knowing that conscription was likely, it was opposed by some people long before it was even introduced. On 12 November 1914, just a few months into the war, and following a suggestion from Lilla, his wife, Fenner Brockway had a letter published in a newspaper which led to the formation of the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF).

He received 300 replies to his letter and soon the NCF had almost 10,000 members. The NCF was an organisation which campaigned against conscription and supported conscientious objectors. Other anti-conscription organisations included the (Quaker) Friends Service Committee and the National Council Against Conscription. All three worked closely together, but the No-Conscription Fellowship was the leading anti-conscription organisation of the time.

In the spring of 1915 the NCF produced a manifesto, set up offices near Fleet Street, London, and appointed Fenner Brockway as Secretary and Clifford Allen as Chairman. Both were 26 at the time. At first, membership of the NCF was only open to men who were liable for conscription. Before long, though, the NCF had support among men not liable for conscription, as well as from women.

Women would play a key role in running the NCF in the future. Many leading male members of the NCF were arrested for refusing to join the army, which caused disruption to the running of the NCF. Because women could not be arrested for refusing to join the army, they ensured the NCF ran smoothly.

Despite continual harassment by the police (which meant going partly 'underground') the NCF managed to keep track of almost all COs, provide moral and physical support for some of their families, and campaign against the harsh treatment and imprisonment so many of them endured. The NCF was fortunate in its intelligent and dedicated leaders and in its organiser, the formidably efficient Catherine Marshall.

The NCF disbanded at the end of the war, but many COs, now radicalised by their experience, wanted to continue the struggle against war. They formed the No More War Movement which, in the late 1930s, as another war approached, merged with the newly established Peace Pledge Union.

## No-Conscription Fellowship - Manifesto

*We have been brought to this standpoint by many ways. Some of us have reached it through the Christian faith in which we have been reared, and to our interpretation of which we plead the right to stand loyal. Others have found it by association with international movements; we believe in the solidarity of the human race, and we cannot betray the ties of brotherhood which bind us to one another through the nations of the world.*

*All of us, however we may have come to this conviction, believe in the value and sacredness of human personality, and are prepared to sacrifice as much in the cause of the world's peace as our fellows are sacrificing in the cause of the nation's war.*



Conscientious Objectors' Memorial Plaque which records the names of 70 of the 81 British COs known to have died as a result of their ill-treatment as resisters to the First World War. It was carved by Dorothy Stevens in 1923 and can now be seen at the PPU office in London.

(photo: PPU)

## The Women's International Congress in The Hague and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

In April 1915, amidst the carnage of surrounding warfare, 1200 women from 12 countries met in The Hague for three days to discuss how the war - and all wars - could be ended.

War fever was rampant, the press ridiculed the women as misguided 'peacettes', and travel restrictions meant that getting to The Hague - Holland itself was neutral - was problematic. No French or Russian women could attend, and passports were granted to only 25 of the 180 British delegates. Arriving at Tilbury they found that all shipping had been halted. Three British women did succeed in reaching The Hague: Chrystal Macmillan, Kathleen Courtney and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence.

The International Women's Congress - organised independently by women, active in the well-established International Suffrage Alliance, who wanted to show that their ability to sustain international cooperation was stronger than patriotic militarism. The Congress produced 20 resolutions on how to avoid war in the future. Chrystal Macmillan was elected by the Congress as one of five delegates who then travelled across Europe and to the USA during the summer months of 1915, visiting 14 countries and meeting 24 influential leaders: Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Presidents, the King of Norway and the Pope. The women urged the political leaders to set up continuous

mediation by neutrals to end the war. Although most of the statesmen declared themselves sympathetic, not one would take the first step. However, US President Wilson adopted many of their proposals in his 'Fourteen Points', which laid the foundations for the League of Nations.

In 1919 a second International Congress of Women met in Zurich just as the Paris Peace Conference published its treaty terms. The Women's Congress elected delegates to take directly to Versailles their prophetic critique of those terms - which they believed would 'recognise the rights of the victors to the spoils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities which can only lead to future wars'.

At the Zurich Congress the international women's peace movement which had grown out of The Hague initiative was formalised with a constitution, and the international organisation and national committees united under the name of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The legacy of these determined women continues to be acknowledged today. Members of WILPF - the oldest women's international peace organisation - are making plans to return to The Hague in 2015 to review their current work and celebrate 100 years of women's peace activism.



International Women's Congress,  
The Hague 1915.  
6th from the left is  
Jane Addams (USA)  
Congress President.  
5th from the right is  
Chrystal Macmillan (GB)  
*(photo: LSE Library, WILPF/2011/18)*

## The Origins of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

In 1914 an ecumenical conference held in Constance, Germany, by Christians seeking to prevent the outbreak of war in Europe, came to an abrupt end. World War One had started and those present hurried home to their respective countries.

As they parted on Cologne railway station two participants shook hands with the words, 'We are one in Christ and can never be at war'. They were Friedrich Siegmund-Schültze, a Lutheran, and a former chaplain to the German Kaiser, and Henry Hodgkin, an English Quaker.



Henry Hodgkin (*photo from The Rebel Passion, George Allen & Unwin, 1964*)

In subsequent months Hodgkin and other British Christians who were dismayed at how the churches fell in behind the war, discussed the need for a campaigning peace organisation. They called a conference which took place in Cambridge in December 1914. At this meeting, attended by 130 Christians of all denominations, the Fellowship of Reconciliation was established, Henry Hodgkin was elected as first chairman, and the visionary Christian pacifist statement, known as the Basis of the Fellowship, was drafted.

The founding of the German branch came later. For circulating a leaflet in Germany after the Constance conference, Siegmund-Schültze was arrested and put before a military tribunal for his pacifist involvement. He was condemned to death but, on production of a letter of support for his views from the Kaiser, was immediately released, though harassed throughout the war.

During the First World War the Fellowship gave spiritual, emotional and practical support to the growing number of people who refused conscription on the grounds of conscience.

By early 1915 there were 1,500 people enrolled in the FOR and 55 branches throughout the UK - including London, Bournemouth, Burnley, Manchester, Leicester, Bristol and Reading. By 1916 there were 84 branches and 4,820 people enrolled, and by 1917 this had grown to 7,000.



Friedrich Siegmund-Schültze  
(*photo from The Rebel Passion, George Allen & Unwin, 1964*)

An American FOR came into being in 1915 when Hodgkin visited the United States. In 1919 representatives from a dozen countries met in Holland and established the network soon to be known as the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), which now has about seventy-two branches and groups in all five continents.

## Friends Ambulance Unit



Red and black Quaker star  
(photo: © Religious Society of  
Friends in Britain)

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) had been involved in large scale relief from suffering ever since the potato famine in Ireland (also known as The Great Hunger) of 1846-1849. A dedicated Quaker

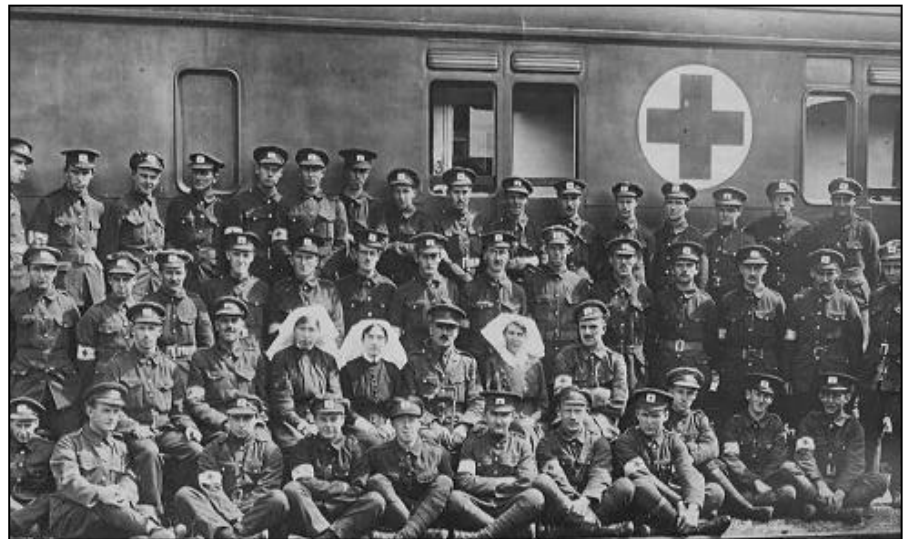
relief organization was created during the Franco Prussian War (1870-71) to assist those not covered by the Red Cross - which at that time only supported wounded soldiers. The Quaker Star (eight pointed, black and red) was first used then to distinguish Quaker relief from that of the Red Cross.

In the 1870s Friends War Victims Relief Committee was initially set up to be a temporary body, but then provided relief in East Europe during the 1890s, and further relief during the Balkan Wars of 1912 -1914. From this history and experience of relief and support during wartime Quakers gained an understanding both of the needs and of what they could provide. It also meant that there was institutional learning about how relief schemes could be set up.

Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU) was established by a group of Quakers at the outbreak of war in 1914. It provided an alternative to military service from the outset. When conscription was introduced in 1916 its members were drawn from registered conscientious objectors, most of whom were not themselves Quakers. FAU members chiefly provided medical support for wounded and sick troops on ambulance trains and hospital ships. At least eight hospitals in France and Belgium

were staffed by the FAU, and four more in England. By 1918 more than 1500 people had served, and 21 FAU members had died in service.

During the First World War a naval blockade was imposed on Germany, causing starvation among the population. Quakers embarked on a German feeding programme in 1920 and fed more than five million children during the following four years. This enabled British Quakers to have a unique insight into the situation in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, about which they used to constantly inform the British Government. By the end of the 1930s Quakers were instrumental in enabling 10,000 unaccompanied children to come to Britain through a scheme now known as the Kindertransport.



Friends' No.16 Ambulance Train  
(photo: PPU)

Friends Ambulance Unit was reformed in 1939 by two Quakers who had worked in FAU in World War One. Over 1,300 members served between 1939 and 1946 including 97 women.

Anyone wishing to do more in-depth research into the FAU is welcome to visit Friends House Library, London.

## The Guild of the Pope's Peace

This tiny and short-lived peace group was founded in 1916 by Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison, the typographer, both Catholics and COs, who had met when they worked at Burns and Oates, the publishing house run by Meynell's father. The Guild's 'committee' of seven comprised the entire membership. Their main activity was to print and distribute the peace messages of Pope Benedict XV. The new group met with a hostile response in the religious press and the disapproval of bishops who were determined to prove the patriotic loyalty of Catholics (especially at that time of Irish rebellion against British rule).

For the most part the Guild was ignored, as were the impassioned appeals of the Pope for a negotiated end to the war, and warnings that humiliating peace terms would perpetuate conflict. The significance of the Guild is that it was the first British attempt to form a Catholic peace organisation. One of its committee members was E.I. Watkin, the philosopher, who would be instrumental in founding the PAX Society in 1936, the Catholic peace organisation which merged later with Pax Christi.

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## CENTENARY PEACE EVENTS

**Please check Network for Peace website: [www.networkforpeace.org.uk](http://www.networkforpeace.org.uk) for further events as plans develop.**

### 2013

Monday 2 December - 20.00 - Fellowship of Reconciliation centenary concert and carol service at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

### 2014

Thursday 15 May International Conscientious Objectors' Day

London - 12 noon - annual commemoration in Tavistock Square WC2

June - Sarajevo peace events see [www.1914-2014.eu](http://www.1914-2014.eu)

Monday 4 August

London - 12.00-14.00 - silent vigil at St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, WC2 with the message 'War No More - War Never Again'

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## PLACES TO SEE

**London** - Granite stone monument to Conscientious Objectors, Tavistock Square, WC2.

### **Richmond Castle, North Yorkshire** -

Interactive exhibition about the COs imprisoned there in the First World War includes the inscriptions written on their cell walls. Access to the actual cells is by special application only because the inscriptions are now so fragile.

The **Peace Museum in Bradford** will be hosting a temporary exhibition about Conscientious Objectors; dates to be confirmed. Please visit the exhibitions page at [www.peacemuseum.org.uk](http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk) for further information.



Conscientious Objectors Memorial in Tavistock Square London (*photo: Alan Gerrard*)

# SOURCES OF FURTHER INFORMATION

## Publications

New and secondhand books on these topics can be ordered through Housmans Bookshop  
www.housmans.com

## WW1 Peace Organisations

Vera Brittain, *The Rebel Passion: a short history of some pioneer peacemakers*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964

Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965*, London: WILPF 1980

Martin Ceadal, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-45 Defining of a Faith*, Oxford: OUP 1980

Chris Clayton, 'Pacifism and Socialism in Hyde during the Great War' in *North West Labour History*, issue 35 2010-2011, 5-11

Jill Liddington, *The Road to Greenham Common: Feminism and Anti-militarism in Britain since 1820*, Syracuse University Press, 1991

Cyril Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War*, London: Francis Boutle, 2001

Youssef Taouk, 'The Guild of the Pope's Peace: a British Peace Movement in the First World War' in *Recusant History*, Vol 29, No2 October 2008, 252-271

Jill Wallis, *Valiant for Peace: a History of the Fellowship of Reconciliation 1914-1989*, London: FOR, 1991

Ken Weller, *Don't be a Soldier: The Radical Anti-War Movement in North London 1914-1918*, London History Workshop Centre, Journeyman Press, 1985

Anne Wiltsher, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Campaigners of the Great War*, London: Pandora 1985

## Individuals

Peggy Attlee, *With a quiet Conscience: a biography of Thomas Simons Attlee 1880-1960*,

London: Dove & Chough Press, 1995

Fenner Brockway, *Autobiography - Towards Tomorrow*, London, Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1977

Malcolm Pittock, 'Max Plowman and the Literature of the First World War' in *The Cambridge Quarterly*, Vol 33, No 3 2004, 217-243

Jo Vellacott, *From Liberal to Labour with Women's Suffrage: the Story of Catherine Marshall*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993

Jill Wallis, *Mother of World Peace: the Life of Muriel Lester*, Enfield Lock Middx: Hisarlik Press, 1993

## Conscientious Objection

Felicity Goodall, *A Question of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in the Two World Wars*, Stroud Glos: Sutton Publishing, 1997

Oliver Haslam, *Refusing to Kill: Conscientious Objection and Human Rights in the First World War*, London: PPU, 2006 (includes CD of activities for Key Stages 3 & 4)

Lyn Smith, *Voices Against War: a Century of Protest*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing in association with the Imperial War Museum, 2010.

## Archival Resources

Conscientious Objection Resource Centre at the Peace Pledge Union Office in London, open to the public, includes a database of Conscientious Objectors as well as a wide variety of original archive material and a library.

The Peace Museum, Bradford

Archives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and WILPF are held at the London School of Economics

Friends House Library, London

Imperial War Museum and Sound Archives, London.

Working Class Movement Library, Salford -  
Exhibition and other documents about local  
COs - [http:// www.wcml.org.uk/ncf](http://www.wcml.org.uk/ncf)



Panel from exhibition about Conscientious Objection  
available at the Working Class Movement Library,  
Salford (photo: Valerie Flessati)

## Commemorative Projects

Legacies of War project of Leeds University  
includes a strand on War and Resistance  
<http://arts.leeds.ac.uk/legaciesofwar/>

## Film

### Conscientious Objector

Edna St Vincent Millay's poem provides the  
script for this 14-minute film. It opens with the  
haunting line 'I shall die, but that is all I shall  
do for death...' Poses the question what will  
we not do as a matter of conscience /morality?  
(available from Pax Christi)

## Music

### 'The ones who said no'

Words and music by Sue Gilmurray is on the  
CD Call Back the Fire (available from  
Movement for the Abolition of War) which  
includes other songs relating to the First World  
War. Another song by Sue Gilmurray is called  
'Vera' - about Vera Brittain. Hear it on  
[www.soundcloud.com/mightierpen](http://www.soundcloud.com/mightierpen)

### Links to some peace organisations in the UK today working on conscientious objection, militarism, and a culture of peace.

Conscience - Taxes for Peace not War -  
[www.conscienceonline.org.uk](http://www.conscienceonline.org.uk)

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) -  
[www.for.org.uk](http://www.for.org.uk)

ForcesWatch - [www.forceswatch.net](http://www.forceswatch.net)

Movement for the Abolition of War -  
[www.abolishwar.org.uk](http://www.abolishwar.org.uk)

Network for Peace -  
[www.networkforpeace.org.uk](http://www.networkforpeace.org.uk)

Pax Christi - [www.paxchristi.org.uk](http://www.paxchristi.org.uk)

Peace Museum - [www.peacemuseum.org.uk](http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk)

Peace Pledge Union (PPU) - [www.ppu.org.uk](http://www.ppu.org.uk)

Quaker Peace and Social Witness -  
[www.quaker.org.uk](http://www.quaker.org.uk)

Veterans for Peace -  
[www.veteransforpeace.org.uk](http://www.veteransforpeace.org.uk)

War Resisters International - [www.wri-irg.org](http://www.wri-irg.org)

Women's International League for Peace and  
Freedom (WILPF) - [www.ukwilpf.org.uk](http://www.ukwilpf.org.uk) and  
[www.wilpfinternational.org](http://www.wilpfinternational.org)

## Opposing World War One: Courage and Conscience

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