

For the INDIVIDUAL.
For the MINORITY.
For COUNTRY.
UNDER GOD.

VOICE

INTEGRITY
FREEDOM
RESPONSIBILITY

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Voice

Many readers of *Voice* will regret its passing and some explanation of the suddenness of this event is called for. At the same time, the information imparted incidentally is of general interest and by no means implies either the failure of the interests which the supporters of *Voice* have at heart or the frustration of their purposes. If anyone should entertain either of these suppositions, this account will, I hope, dispose of it.

Publication of the journal began nearly three years ago as the outcome of a suggestion made to the Social Credit Secretariat that the validity of the belief entertained by those who supported that body—that the traditional and necessary place of Authority as one of the three elements co-operating in the unique though unwritten political Constitution of *England*—had been insensibly and progressively undermined, could be established (or destroyed) by suitable presentation to the personnel of the institution, the Church, which enshrines the function of spiritual advisorship to the *King*, the *Queen*, the *Crowned Head*. Clearly in this single sentence there is reflected a conception of the nature and constitution of what is now oftener called 'The State' than 'The Nation' which has become distressingly unfamiliar. There is abundant evidence that *Voice* has clarified in many minds this conception, which was for centuries the prevailing and operative conception of this or any other truly Christian State.

The suggestion to which reference has been made was instantly taken up and Mr. John Mitchell, the first Editor of *Voice* was offered the ready-made circulation of alternate issues of the Secretariat's official organ, *The Social Crediter*, then appearing weekly, as a platform from which to launch a Christian Campaign for Freedom, over which Dr. Basil Steele was invited to preside. The position of the subscribers to *The Social Crediter* in this matter need not unduly concern the readers of *Voice*. Some, without understanding what was being done, objected to the non-propagandist and exploratory nature of the new journal but accepted, as did others, the temporary substitution of one journal for another in alternate weeks. After the resignation of Mr. John Mitchell just over a year ago, the editorship was assumed at short notice by the Reverend Henry S. Swabey, a clergyman of the Church of England, whose scholarly articles are now well-known to readers. *Voice* had then attracted a subscription list of its own, which increased, though very gradually. This special circulation is small, too small to support an independent journal, and to increase it to the degree of self-support would entail great labour, money and time, and more of each of these than is available immediately.

We have said that the underlying motive for the institution of *Voice* was not propagandist. It was not desired to indoctrinate the minds of the Clergy, but to bring to con-

sciousness what *was* in the minds of the Clergy, to harmonise it and to clarify it. What Clergy? When we have said 'The Church,' we have been asked, 'Which Church?' The reply, in word and practice, to these two questions was well-considered. To the second, we have refused to judge a theological issue, saying that, in the nature of things, if there is a Christian Church, there can but be one Christian Church and one only. We have not intentionally appealed to the Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, believing that, as reflected in the pronouncements of the *Vatican itself*, the social philosophy of that Church was clear, consistent, and unexceptionable, and if it was *not* reflected in the minds of its Clergy, that was at once unalterable by us and not our concern. An essential constituent of the *Christian State* is the *Christian Church*. If the State of England is *not* Christian, what is it? If it is nothing, England has no policy, no objective towards which its people are consciously and willingly working. We are English and *politically* the national Church of the English is the Church of England. If there is any spiritual advice, any line to be drawn between right courses and wrong courses, in the government of England, the channel for such advice, the 'Lords Spiritual' who guide the King, are, since the Reformation, Churchmen of the Church of England. So *Voice* has addressed itself to the English Clergy chiefly, not, however, disregarding their dissident brethren on occasion. There is *one* Church.

With what result has it addressed the English Clergy?

(1) It has gained intelligent and permanent friends among them, men who have sought anxiously for clear-cut and accurate opinion in the swamps of corruption and confusion which England is all too unconsciously trying to cross, men who are Christian not by 'profession' but by conviction. Relatively, they are few; but it is for them to devise means for further work on the lines of *Voice* if they deem the accession of additions to their number essential to the ultimate triumph of their ideas. That such accessions are desirable is admitted; but, intimately bound up with the prevailing grounds for terminating the present form in which the activities of the Christian Campaign for Freedom are cast, is the conviction that the imminence of a major crisis in human affairs leaves now little time, or none, for the further development of individual conviction, and that the future of mankind depends upon what resources of mind and heart exist or will appear spontaneously with the unfolding of events. The power which is wrecking the world has to be broken at the source, not counteracted at the periphery.

(2) Thousands of copies of *Voice* have been distributed gratuitously since its foundation and hundreds of letters have been written and posted to individual Clergymen of all ranks, and, in consequence, the Chairman of the Campaign is in possession of a volume of answering letters, many of them written in confidence, by Bishops and the humblest

VOICE

A JOURNAL OF STRATEGY FOR PERSONAL,
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

"Liberty consists in the freedom to choose or refuse
one thing at a time."

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parish incumbent. These form a volume of evidence concerning the mind of the Church of the greatest interest and value. It was intended minutely to analyse these letters and, without betraying any of the confidences made to us, to present an account of the results. It is hoped that, as contributing to the work of clarification and thus reinforcing conviction wherever it exists, this task may still be completed. Is it wise or unwise to attempt to sum up these results 'in a sentence'? Having regard to the wide variety of emphasis which is placed by different minds and temperaments upon the individual terms of even the simplest generalisation, we think it would be as unwise as it would be unfair and perhaps misleading to do so. Our readers may rest assured that, for the present, and until we can see our way further, nothing of positive value arising from the suggestions we have received will go unheeded or that the application of its lesson will, if we can help it, go unused.

(3) Many—who knows how many?—who, with a watchful and speculative eye, have watched the Campaign from afar (not, perhaps Samaritans) have been shaken in their easy conviction that the downfall of one of the greatest civilising influences the world has known is 'inevitable.' It is not, even now, inevitable. "History is crystallised policy," and the greater and more widespread the determination to formulate a policy, even—or even especially—if it is a personal policy, the more certain it is that what crystallises out of the efforts of mankind to reach a tolerable and a workable *order*, will be sound and (to adopt what has become a cant phrase and no more) 'to the common good.'

Among the enumerations above, that which began the short series, (1), ended with the suggestion that an exceptional, perhaps a unique, gravity attends the crisis which has developed since last summer. Already it involves not only the private motorist, the bus queues, prices in the shops, but it does these things over the whole of Europe and its effects reach out so far as to be certainly for the worse however unpredictable. The reputations of statesmen, even in America, are visibly shaken. The world is shocked, and from that condition of shock anything may emerge. Some sense of vital insecurity, transcending the sense of insecurity generated by recently discovered forms of frightfulness in war, is suddenly abroad. A "loathsome mask" has fallen.

It is this feature of current events which has induced our hosts, those who gave us standing-room at the political feast, to review their contract and to decide reluctantly that it could not be renewed.

TUDOR JONES,

Advisory Chairman: The Social Credit Secretariat.

January 10, 1957.

The Future

Dear Reader,

I hope that you will not be too surprised at the announcement that this is the last issue of *Voice*, but these are days of grave crisis and attempts are being made to meet that crisis which make this action necessary. And you will find the same policy pursued in *The Social Creditor* to which you will have become accustomed in this journal, although the emphasis may be a little different.

For we have tried to emphasise the need to distinguish Authority, which proceeds from right reason and should be embodied in the Church, from Power which today becomes more and more naked and unashamed, but which wiser ages knew should be distributed and curbed by a system of checks and balances. We have further emphasised the folly of building on sand, which after all is a Gospel precept, and the need for building firmly; and we have specified the "sand" as falsehood, whether this be in the form of treating Man as part of a machine or as an ant, or in the form of setting up such objectives as "full employment."

Some Bishops, you will recall, have written to us, and we have given what prominence we could to the Bishop of Oxford's valuable words on work: that work for works' sake is not a Christian maxim. Some readers have been disappointed that we did not describe the workings of irresponsible power more fully, but others have appreciated the attempt to formulate sound doctrine on "work" and such matters, about which our leaders remain incorrigibly vague.

I had to take up the editorship at short notice, and should like personally to thank those who have worked so hard to keep the paper alive and interesting, and to maintain a public: for of course the reader, the public, constitute the *raison d'être*. A vast amount of work has been done. Now the time has come not to stop but to move on and concentrate our efforts with those who are our natural allies that light may still shine in a dark world, and that words may still convey meaning, though infinitely and often purposely abused.

I trust that readers will not let slip their interest in these matters, for the line of least resistance—however spicily advertised—often amounts to the "broad way" leading to destruction; and beyond question our destruction is meditated. The most casual reader of history knows that only resolution and integrity of individuals has saved this country time and again, and we have frequently pointed out the dangers of eliminating the individual, as a thinking unit "with a mind of his own," and of substituting some abstraction in his place.

All this concerns a Church that still maintains her position of the "nation's conscience," unless these words also have lost their edge. And it would ill become fathers-in-God to feed stones and scorpions—in this case misleading advice—to their flocks, or to hold that religion has no concern with such vital matters as policy or money or whether we lead our lives in violation of natural law.

Nor, finally, can we say that our opinions do not count and that only an elephantine majority obtains results. The minority, if effective, always counts in any age, whether apostolic or democratic, and with the divine assistance can move mountains.

H. S. SWABEY.

Christian Campaign for Freedom

A I M S

1. To provide a meeting ground for those wishing to take action to restore lost freedoms of our Christian heritage, and to give the fullest opportunity for the individual to exercise initiative and true freedom of choice.
2. To ensure that the new despotism of legislation be stayed and referred to true authority.
3. To rally an electoral force inflexibly bound back to the principles of INTEGRITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

The Campaign

For some of us the form which the Christian Campaign for Freedom has so far taken is just one expression of all that went before and of all that should come after. The wording of its Aims will continue to be, for some of us, an embodiment of our long-term aims. These aims are far from their achievement and *Voice* is no longer thought the most suitable tool to hand. Supporters of the Campaign who are already readers of *The Social Creditor* will still be with us, and will readily understand our meaning. We are a movement within a movement.

To those members of the Clergy whose sympathy was aroused in one way or another and who have met us on the meeting ground which it was part of our first aim to provide, we would say how greatly their presence and association is valued. We would invite them to follow us into the "stiffer" pages of *The Social Creditor*. There is no point in our concealing our knowledge that this is unlikely to be an easy step. The fact, however, that we are able to state without any hesitation that this small paper has over the years predicted with great exactitude the unfortunate events which we see taking place at present, may encourage some to brace themselves to make this effort, in the face of so many seemingly more immediate demands on their time.

History is not "episodic"—present events are clearly the outcome of the policy of a philosophy which it is our aim to defeat. The odds are greatly against us but that has always been so for those to whom we look as examples through the ages. Sir Arthur Bryant, in his poetic volume *The Story of England, Makers of the Realm*, expresses much as we feel it. Paulinus tells the Northumbrians "a tale of heroism and devotion. Its purport was that behind the forces of fate was a God who had made men in his own image and, loving them, had given them freedom to choose between good and evil. He had made them, not helpless actors, but partners in the drama of creation. And because men had misused that freedom and God still loved them, He had sent them His son as leader and saviour to show them, by revealing His nature, how to live and, by sharing theirs, how to overcome sin and death."

Later he says, "that King Alfred wrote in one of his books, comparing seekers after wisdom with royal messengers, 'They would come by very many roads. Some would come from afar and have a road very long, very bad and very difficult; some would have a very long, very direct and very good road; some would have a very short and yet hard and strait and foul one; some would have a short and smooth

and good one; and yet they all would come to one and the same Lord.'"

We must go on by hard ways, but we are still your friends.

Christian Campaign for Freedom

Funds will still be needed for the objects and purposes of the Campaign. Contributions to the funds should be sent to the Treasurer, Penrhyn Lodge, Gloucester Gate, London, N.W.1, to be used at the sole discretion of the Chairman for such purposes.

Review

Lord Melbourne

Melbourne by Lord David Cecil. The Reprint Society, London.

The writing of history often appears to be founded on the selection of unimportant facts, which leaves the reviewer with the task of picking up the crumbs. The present volume contains two books—*The Young Melbourne* and *Lord M*—and clearly does less than justice to the financial background which produced the hungry forties, and of which Cobbett, for one, was fully aware.

Nevertheless Lord David Cecil's study, from the birth of William Lamb in 1779 to the death of Melbourne in 1848, throws valuable light on the central personality of the books and on the changing period.

The Whigs, he says, "despised the royal family" and they all believed in "ordered liberty, low taxation, and the enclosure of land; all disbelieved in despotism and democracy." Moreover, the bolder spirits among them were atheists. As a result of this somewhat shaky foundation, we find Caroline Lamb, the protagonist's wife, announcing that "Truth is what one believes at the moment."

William Lamb never freed himself completely from his background, although it failed to satisfy him, and we may allow the author's description of him as a "genuinely independent personality." In 1815 he noted that "every fresh struggle and convulsion in France or Spain or elsewhere only terminates in impairing and diminishing justice, liberty and all real rights, or rather the real interests of mankind." Such was his opinion of revolutions, although doubtless not of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689.

Lamb argues vigorously on behalf of economy and against income tax, although he shut his eyes to the disagreeable and complained that the realistic poet Crabbe "degraded everything he touched." But Crabbe described what he saw in the village of the time, and even the future Lord Melbourne (as he became in 1828) was to be implicated in rural suffering, for as Home Secretary he was responsible for the transportation of the Tolpuddle martyrs in 1834 and for their pardon in the next year, as well as for restoring public order. He declared that he liked "what is tranquil and stable," but he never discovered the foundations of stability.

But the Whig sceptic showed now and then his discontent with a narrow rationalism, when for instance he broke out at a Cabinet meeting that he considered "that

England has been under the special protection of Divine Providence at certain periods of her history," and objected to the condemnation of mystics, "to which persuasion I belong."

Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister in 1834 and disliked "Peel's low, creeping policy," a sound instinct warning him against the professional politician. Peel superseded Melbourne for a matter of weeks, and then Melbourne was Prime Minister again for his long term of office. The Hollands were a leading Whig family and pressed Melbourne to give an honour to a Mr. Goldsmith, whereupon the Prime Minister replied, "I wish you would not press Goldsmith upon me. I hate refined Solomons. God knows I hate doing something for these Stock Exchange people; there are as many refined Christians as Goldsmith; and, after all, there is not so much merit in being a Jew as to cause him on that account to be selected in a manner which must provoke much clamour and discontent."

Lord David Cecil deals fully with Melbourne's relations with Queen Victoria, and notes that among foreign statesmen he praised the moderate Sully and disapproved of Richelieu and Mazarin, whom he called "Shocking fellows." He resigned in 1839, but owing to a disagreement between Peel and the Queen over the court ladies—known as the Bed-chamber Plot—Melbourne soon returned to office. Possibly the author mistakes the reason for the Queen's preferences for Melbourne and Disraeli beside Peel and Gladstone, and in reality she may have preferred what was not too dull. As for Melbourne, "personal obligations had always meant more to him than general principles just because he believed in them more . . . the old Melbourne disregarded every other consideration in order to stand by Queen Victoria."

When Prince Albert arrived, "Melbourne did not sympathise with the Prince's political ideas. The conception of a neutral moderating monarchy was likely, in his view, to lead to the Crown taking an active line independent of the Government; whereas, according to the orthodox English doctrine, it was the King's duty to back whatever party was in power. . . All the same, when he heard that the Prince objected strongly to have Anson as his secretary, Melbourne told the Queen that she ought to give in to him." This *orthodox English doctrine* of the dependence of the Crown on the party in power is not to be found in Blackstone and is too readily assumed to be an essential ingredient of our ancient constitution.

Melbourne suspected international agreements which committed England to a definite course of action in the future, and said, "Our policy is to have our hands free." He recognised that the abolition of the Corn Laws would undermine the rule of the English landed gentry, and he "continued to favour the rule of the English landed gentry." In fact, after the fall of his Government in 1841, he still appeared as an Englishman rather than as a party man, saying, "As we haven't a majority, we may be allowed to think a little what is best for the country and the world."

In what Lord David Cecil says might be called his political apologia (in a debate of 1842), Melbourne said that changes in the constitution or in those who administer public affairs would not alleviate distress, "for if the existence of national distress is looked on as a reason for organic

change in the constitution or in the individuals who compose a Government, there is an end of all stability in public affairs." The great changes and strong measures of the time were not so much to blame for current disappointment as "the wild, unfounded, exaggerated expectations of their effects" which were indulged in and anticipated. He died in 1848, but was not well enough to see the full measure of disappointment with such strong measures as the bank "reform" of 1844. H.S.

Crystallising Policy

" . . . The second war proved at its end that two of the chief war-waging powers, though they claimed to differ in all else, agreed in two cardinal purposes: the expansion of the Soviet Empire and the establishment of the Zionist State. The second peak in the range was reached. The Zionist State was not among the aims proclaimed when the masses were mobilized against each other, yet an international agency called The United Nations Organization was set up at the war's end and a majority of its members, who included such redoubtable powers as Liberia and Haiti, awarded the ancestral lands of the harmless Palestinian Arabs to invaders from Eastern Europe. Arms, money and invaders were forwarded and arrived from America and Russia (subsequently a Zionist Minister complained that of the £100,000,000 which the affair cost Israel, 'only £15,000,000 was borne by outside help').

" . . . History knows of no instance of aggression so strange or shameless, and in the later life of this body many of its members may vainly cry: 'Out, damned spot!' and wish they could undo it. . . . The new United Nations Organization proved itself at birth a much more malevolent and dangerous society than the old League of Nations. It planted in Arabia a time-bomb more lethal to Western mankind than even the one in the middle of Europe; I think the remainder of the century will prove this."

—Douglas Ree, *Somewhere South of Suez*.

Psychiatric Approach

Eugène de Savitch in his lively memoirs (*In Search of Complications*, Simon and Schuster, 1940) has considerable praise for Dr. Sewall of Denver who had "particular contempt for the psychiatric approach," backed up with the incident of the lady with a painful skin rash, who thought she was perfectly happy in her married life until the psychiatrist found that the skin rash disappeared when she took a recommended vacation. This having occurred twice, the psychiatrist decided that it was marital incompatibility, much to her horror, but bringing her to the brink of filing an action for divorce, until it was discovered that she used her husband's shaving powder. On changing the powder, domestic harmony returned to normal.

Whether the combined intelligence of Sewall and de Savitch will have any effect on curbing the racket is still in doubt. The sixteen years' interval has given small indication that the populace is returning to medical sanity.